ICC-01/05-01/13

- 1 International Criminal Court
- 2 Trial Chamber VII
- 3 Situation: Central African Republic
- 4 In the case of The Prosecutor v. Jean-Pierre Bemba Gombo, Aimé Kilolo
- 5 Musamba, Jean-Jacques Mangenda Kabongo, Fidèle Babala Wandu and
- 6 Narcisse Arido ICC-01/05-01/13
- 7 Presiding Judge Bertram Schmitt, Judge Marc Perrin de Brichambaut, and
- 8 Judge Raul Pangalangan
- 9 Closing Statements Courtroom 1
- 10 Wednesday, 1 June 2016
- 11 (The closing statements start in open session at 9.00 a.m.)
- 12 THE COURT USHER: All rise.
- 13 The International Criminal Court is now in session.
- 14 PRESIDING JUDGE SCHMITT: Good morning. Please be seated.
- 15 Would the court officer please call the case.
- 16 THE COURT OFFICER: Thank you, Mr President. The situation in the
- 17 Central African Republic in the case of The Prosecutor versus Jean-Pierre
- 18 Bemba Gombo, Aimé Kilolo Musamba, Jean-Jacques Mangenda Kabongo,
- 19 Fidèle Babala Wandu and Narcisse Arido, the case reference ICC-01/05-01/13.
- 20 And we're in open session.
- 21 PRESIDING JUDGE SCHMITT: Thank you. And now we come to the
- 22 presence in the courtroom and we start with counsel for the Prosecution.
- 23 MR VANDERPUYE: Thank you, Mr President, and good morning to you,
- 24 your Honours. Good morning, everyone. Today, the Prosecution is
- 25 represented by Ester Kosova in the third row, Sylvie Wakchom,

- 1 Nema Milaninia in the second row, with Ruth Frolich and Hesham Mourad
- 2 and in the first row, Sylvie Vidinha, Olivia Struyven and myself, good
- 3 morning.
- 4 PRESIDING JUDGE SCHMITT: Good morning. Thank you very much.
- 5 Then we go over to the Defence teams and I see a front runner to put it this
- 6 way. Mr Gosnell, please.
- 7 MR GOSNELL: Good morning, Mr President, Your Honours. I've been
- 8 promoted from the back benches. It's Christopher Gosnell and
- 9 Maître Vercken representing Mr Mangenda, assisted by Nikki Sethi, Rita Yip,
- 10 and Antonia Reiss. Thank you very much, Mr President.
- 11 PRESIDING JUDGE SCHMITT: Thank you. Your promotion has been
- 12 noted. And then, we get over to our, I think we continue with the Defence of
- 13 Mr Arido.
- 14 MR TAKU: May it please your Honours. I appear for Mr Arido, with me
- today is my learned colleague and friend, Beth Lyons. Mr Arido himself is
- 16 here. Mr Tharcisse Gatarama, Mr Michael Rowse and Mr Tibor Bajnovic will
- 17 be joining us shortly.
- 18 PRESIDING JUDGE SCHMITT: Thank you very much. And perhaps then,
- 19 Maître Djunga for the team of Mr Kilolo.
- 20 MR DJUNGA: (Interpretation) Good morning, Mr President. Good
- 21 morning, your Honours. For Maître Aimé Kilolo Musamba's Defence,
- 22 Steven Powles, counsel. Tara Nasrollahi, case manager, and myself,
- 23 Mr Djunga.
- 24 PRESIDING JUDGE SCHMITT: Maître Kilenda for Babala.
- 25 MR KILENDA: (Interpretation) Good morning, Mr President. Good

- 1 morning, your Honours. Our team is the same as yesterday. Thank you.
- 2 PRESIDING JUDGE SCHMITT: The team for Mr Bemba.
- 3 MS TAYLOR: Good morning, Mr President. Good morning, your Honours.
- 4 The Defence for Mr Bemba has the same configuration as yesterday. Thank
- 5 you.
- 6 PRESIDING JUDGE SCHMITT: Thank you very much. Excuse me, I
- 7 deduce from the fact Mr Gosnell sits in the first line that the Defence of
- 8 Mr Mangenda is the first to make their closing statements. Please.
- 9 MR GOSNELL: That's right, Mr President. Thank you very much. And
- 10 it's an honour to do so.
- 11 To listen to the Prosecution's submissions yesterday, you would think that
- 12 this entire trial was an inconvenient concession to the rights of the accused,
- an essentially unnecessary concession to the obvious on the way to the
- obvious truths that all the accused are guilty as charged. After all, how
- 15 could they not be guilty with so many charges against them?
- 16 And yesterday the Prosecution told you, and I quote, "That its witnesses said
- 17 exactly what we said they would say."
- 18 Your Honours, notwithstanding the Prosecution's self-confidence, it's a good
- 19 thing there was a trial, because during that trial you heard certain things that
- 20 the Pre-Trial Chamber did not know and did not hear. You learned from
- 21 D2 and D3, for example, that Mr Mangenda did not participate in any
- 22 discussions with the witnesses in Yaoundé about their testimony.
- 23 This was a fact presented as truth to the Pre-Trial Chamber and that they
- 24 accepted. And it was one of the bases for confirming the charges against
- 25 Mr Mangenda.

1 You learned from those same witnesses that Mr Mangenda was not present

- 2 during any undocumented payments to witnesses on that occasion.
- 3 You learned that there is ambiguity about the purpose for which those
- 4 telephones were provided in Yaoundé, and there was no confirmation from
- 5 the witnesses that Mr Mangenda was present when any improper, let alone
- 6 criminal, purpose was explained to the witnesses about why they were
- 7 getting those telephones.
- 8 And you learned something else of unexpected importance from those two
- 9 witnesses. And it's unexpected because up until the closing submissions by
- 10 the Prosecution, the Prosecution's position in this case was that between 11
- 11 October, when the Prosecution says that Mr Mangenda and Mr Kilolo first
- 12 learned of the potential existence of an investigation by the Prosecution, and
- 13 26 October 2013, when Mr Kilolo allegedly met D2 that during that time
- 14 period, the intercepted telephone calls show a fictitious scenario, a fictitious
- 15 pretextual discussion between Mr Kilolo and Mr Mangenda about the
- 16 existence of two people who are informers.
- 17 And now we learn in the closing brief that it's the Prosecution position that
- this was, in fact, a discussion about a real cover-up.
- 19 Now, this fundamental change of position at the 11th hour of proceedings
- 20 already says a lot about the Prosecution case. It already says a lot about the
- 21 reliability of the Prosecution's interpretations of those intercepts.
- 22 But what's important is that you heard D2 describe his conversation, his
- 23 contacts with Mr Kilolo on or around 26 October 2013. He doesn't make the
- 24 slightest suggestion that Mr Kilolo tried to bribe him, suggested that he
- 25 should cover anything up about what had happened in Yaoundé, nor does

1 he even suggest that Mr Kilolo implied that there was an investigation into

- 2 the offing into such matters.
- 3 The witness was here, not here, in the courtroom in the other building in
- 4 front of you. The Prosecution asked about that meeting. The meeting was
- 5 described. There was no follow-up from the Prosecution. No suggestion
- 6 from the Prosecution that any bribes or any suggestion had been made to the
- 7 witness that he should cover anything up. And as we'll see in the course of
- 8 my remarks, Mr President, that is part of a pattern of the Prosecution asking
- 9 you to draw inferences where there was no evidence or where there was
- 10 quite simply evidence contrary to the inference that the Prosecution is asking
- 11 you to draw.
- 12 So it's a good thing, Mr President, that you heard that witness, because if you
- 13 hadn't heard that witness, you might just be tempted to accept the
- 14 Prosecution's submission at paragraph 314 of its closing brief that, and I
- 15 quote "Clearly Kilolo's trip to Cameroon was made to execute the cover-up
- 16 discussed in the preceding weeks."
- 17 Wrong, Mr President. Wrong, as clearly shown by D2's testimony as well as
- 18 by D3's testimony.
- 19 Now, Mr President, I will come back a little bit more to this theory of the
- 20 Prosecution. But first I'd like to set out for you what I propose to cover
- 21 today. And there are five topics that I hope to cover. The first is to say just
- 22 a few words about the criminal standard of proof that applies in these
- 23 proceedings. It's one of the few areas where I can say we agree with the
- 24 Prosecution closing brief, so it's not a bad place to start.
- 25 The second area is to address just a few of what I suggest is a large number

- of misstatements of evidence by the Prosecution in its closing brief.
- 2 Third, I propose to discuss again a bit more fully the alleged cover-up.
- 3 Fourth, specific issues concerning D15 and D54 in particular, what I say is
- 4 the Prosecution's absurd claim that forwarding questions by the Legal
- 5 Representatives for Victims, which Mr Kilolo already had in his email, in his
- 6 possession could possibly constitute the actus reus of an offence against the
- 7 administration of justice.
- 8 And finally I propose to briefly address you on an issue that came up
- 9 yesterday, namely, whether the Prosecution's own practises are in any way
- 10 relevant to your Honour's assessment in this case, and we say that it
- 11 certainly is.
- 12 Your Honours, Article 66(3) of the Statute requires that you, and this is a
- word -- there is a verb in this provision, you be convinced of the guilt of the
- 14 accused beyond reasonable doubt. Now, these words reflect what I would
- say are the core guarantee of any criminal trial anywhere in the entire world
- 16 no matter what system you belong to. It's the universal principle that before
- 17 you visit upon a person the grave consequences that go along with a
- 18 conviction in a criminal proceeding, that the Judge be darn sure that the
- 19 person committed the offence.
- 20 It's also a fragile guarantee, your Honours, because as you know from your
- 21 own experience, it's not really reviewable. It's a question of an intimate
- 22 assessment of the facts by your Honours, having heard the evidence and
- 23 having sifted through the massive volume of documentary information that's
- 24 presented to you.
- 25 Maybe the French formulation is better, actually, presenting a more realistic

- view that it is an "intime conviction." This is not something that is written
- 2 in an encyclopaedia. It is something that actually goes on in the bosom of a
- 3 judge, based on your long years of experience and not based upon anything I
- 4 could possibly tell you today about what any particular cases have said.
- 5 But as a lawyer, of course, I have to at least say one or two things about how
- 6 the standard has been elaborated. And I'll just give you this very typical
- 7 definition from the common law, which is this standard of proof is very
- 8 exacting. It is a standard far beyond the civil threshold of proof on a
- 9 balance of probabilities. This is not a standard of absolute or scientific
- 10 certainty, but it is a standard that certainly approaches that. Anything less
- entitles an accused to the full benefit of the presumption of innocence and
- 12 the dismissal of the charge.

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- 13 Now, the Prosecution invoked common sense yesterday morning, and there
- 14 is nothing wrong with common sense, your Honours. And we'll talk about
- 15 whether or not some of the Prosecution's claims stand up to the standard
- even of common sense. But the standard of proof is not met by loose
- 17 conjecture. Even if we do think that that loose conjecture accords with
- common sense, it's not about what may have been the case based upon
- 19 common sense. It's not even what was probably the case based upon
- 20 common sense.
- 21 Your Honours need more than that under Article 66(3). It's a particularly
- 22 stringent form of common sense where you can be sure that the acts alleged
- occurred, that they're true. That's what reasonable doubt is all about.
- Now, to what does this standard apply? Now, we agree with paragraph 23
- of the Prosecution closing brief, which says first that it applies to the

- 1 elements of the crimes.
- 2 Second, it applies to the elements of the modes of responsibility. And your
- 3 Honours, you'll notice that we've set out what we consider to be the elements
- 4 of the modes of responsibility and the crimes at paragraphs 18, 23 and 27 of
- 5 our brief. And we say that each and every one of those elements must be
- 6 proven beyond a reasonable doubt.
- 7 But that's not all, Mr President. And this is where I place particular reliance
- 8 on the Prosecution brief. That standard also applies to facts indispensable
- 9 for entering a conviction.
- 10 Now, what is a fact that is indispensable for entering a conviction? That in
- itself is a fact specific question that only your Honours will know in the
- 12 course of your deliberations, because we don't know yet what you may or
- 13 may not rely upon.
- 14 What can be said, your Honours, is that you should be at least alert that there
- will be some factual findings that will be so important, so decisive in your
- 16 finding of guilt or innocence that that particular material fact ought itself to
- 17 be subject to the standard of proof beyond a reasonable doubt.
- 18 Now, your Honours will know that at paragraph 75 to 89 of our brief, we say
- 19 that Mr Mangenda, even if he heard the promise, the famous promise in
- 20 Yaoundé, that he would not have inferred anything improper, let alone
- 21 criminal. But we say that if your Honours are even going to make the
- 22 preliminary finding that Mr Mangenda heard that promise, that's a finding
- of fact that's so important, I suggest, that it ought to be subject to your
- standard of proof beyond a reasonable doubt.
- 25 I make that submission advisedly because of course I have no idea what your

- 1 reasoning may be. It depends. I suggest that this is a candidate for the
- 2 application of that particular standard.
- 3 Misstatements in the Prosecution closing brief. And your Honours, I'm told
- 4 that if you turn to evidence channel 2 since I'll be referring to some
- 5 quotations coming up, you may wish to just see the quotations that I'm
- 6 referring to in black and white, so to speak.
- 7 Misstatement number one: Paragraph 73 of the closing brief, Prosecution
- 8 closing brief: "Kilolo and Mangenda kept close contact with witnesses
- 9 immediately before and during their testimony."
- 10 I can't -- I'm not here to represent Mr Kilolo. I'm here to represent
- 11 Mr Mangenda. And what I can say is that this claim is utterly false in
- 12 respect of Mr Mangenda. There is no evidence at all in this case of
- 13 Mr Mangenda having been in touch with any witness during their testimony.
- 14 There is no evidence whatsoever in this case of Mr Mangenda having been in
- 15 contact with any witness after the cut-off date. There is no evidence at all of
- 16 Mr Mangenda having spoken to any witness at any time about their
- testimony let alone, as the Prosecution says here at paragraph 73,
- 18 "Immediately before or during their testimony."
- 19 Now, these statements I would have thought were uncontroversial because
- 20 the Prosecution didn't even allege that in its closing brief or its opening
- 21 station. As obvious as it might be and unnecessary as it might be for me to
- 22 point this out to you, Mr President, this claim presented to your Honours,
- 23 asking you to make a conviction, draw inferences is utterly false and without
- 24 evidential foundation.
- 25 Misstatement number 2, Paragraph 74: "In these contacts, Kilolo,

- 1 Mangenda, and Arido illicitly coached witnesses on what and how to
- 2 testify."
- Well, I'm tempted, your Honours, to right away say that this is manifestly
- 4 false, and it is manifestly false in light of what I've just said. But let's go
- 5 onto the third misstatement.
- 6 Misstatement number 3, paragraph 332 of the Prosecution closing brief:
- 7 "Mangenda was also present with Kilolo at the Yaoundé meeting, and
- 8 specifically when Kilolo was explicitly instructing the Cameroon witnesses
- 9 on the content of their testimony."
- 10 Now, your Honours, if there had been no trial, if you did not know how
- 11 witness D3 understood the word "present," if you had not heard his entire
- description of the situation, it's just possible that this claim would not be a
- 13 misstatement based upon a partial reading of the witness's statements given
- 14 before trial.
- But what did the witness say, both witnesses, D2 and D3? I quote, "Maître
- 16 Jean-Jacques was exclusively in charge of security issues. He needed to
- 17 receive each one of us and take their details relating to their identity...
- meanwhile, we continued to have other discussions with Maître Kilolo."
- 19 "Maître Mangenda did not know what we were doing. He did not take part
- 20 in the discussion. And in the presence of means you're present in the room
- 21 even if there are different parts but you are indeed in the room."
- 22 Pre-Trial Chamber found at paragraph 74 of its decision almost precisely
- 23 what the Prosecution has now put in its closing brief.
- 24 Pre-Trial Chamber didn't have the benefit of this testimony which shows that
- 25 that claim is simply untrue. There are many more quotations, many more

1 contextual descriptions I could have presented to your Honours. It's not

- 2 necessary. You were here. You heard the evidence. It's clear.
- 3 Mr Mangenda did not participate in those meetings about the substance of
- 4 testimony. And therefore I suggest that to do as the Prosecution has done at
- 5 paragraph 332, to use the word "present" as probably most of us in the room
- 6 would understand it, as if to mean participating, listening, understanding,
- 7 that's misleading, Mr President, and it's certainly a misstatement of the
- 8 evidence.
- 9 By the way, D3 already indicated during his pre-trial statement that that was
- 10 the case. Here is what he said in a portion of his statement that was not
- drawn to the attention of the Pre-Trial Chamber: (Interpretation) "In fact,
- when Maître Kilolo was having discussions with me, Jean-Jacques and the
- four other witnesses were on the other side having discussions as well."
- 14 (Speaks English) Misstatement number 4, Mr President, paragraph 335 of the
- 15 Prosecution closing brief: "Mangenda was present when Kilolo illicitly
- 16 coached" we've just covered that one, Mr President "and paid the
- 17 Cameroon witnesses."
- 18 Serious allegation, important allegation, central issue of fact. Your
- 19 witnesses heard a lot -- your Honours heard a lot of testimony from one of
- 20 the witnesses about this particular fact. In fact, you heard the witness's
- 21 answer four times on this particular fact. And the witness confirmed, even
- 22 after being misled during redirect as to what he had previously testified to,
- 23 he still affirmed quite clearly that Mr Mangenda was not present.
- 24 It doesn't matter, Mr President, into the brief it goes. More spaghetti into
- 25 the pot. Slow it against the wall and hopes that something sticks.

- 1 Misstatement number 5: "On 5 June 2012, Kilolo, Mangenda and D55 met in
- 2 Amsterdam, where Kilolo sought to convince D55 to testify for Bemba and to
- 3 negate the damning letter."
- 4 Then there is a footnote where many of the most interesting things in a brief
- 5 can be found, "D55 did not identify Mangenda by name. However,
- 6 Mangenda is the only member of the Bemba Defence meeting the witness's
- 7 description (Interpretation) Another person, an African."
- 8 (Speaks English) Well, let's just start by analysing this claim on its own
- 9 terms. Where is the evidence that there was no other African man on the
- 10 Defence team?
- 11 It's not cited there. I may be wrong but I'm not aware of evidence showing
- 12 that there wasn't another African man on the Bemba Defence team. I could
- 13 tell your Honours that there were other African men on the Defence team
- standing here in front of you. That wouldn't be a very suitable submission,
- 15 Mr President, so I'm not going to do it, because there is no evidence about
- whether there were other African men on the Bemba Defence team at any
- 17 time or during this time period.
- 18 But more fundamentally, Mr President, the witness in his statement, which
- 19 was tendered into evidence and upon which this inference the Prosecution
- 20 asks you to draw, there is never any indication that the person
- 21 accompanying Mr Kilolo was a member of the Bemba Defence team. It
- 22 could have been a taxi driver. It could have been a friend. There is no
- 23 indication by the witness that this was a member of the Bemba Defence team.
- 24 And even more, Mr President, no indication from the witness that this
- 25 person who met the witness in a grey Mercedes at the hotel attended any

- subsequent meeting to discuss testimony. No indication of that whatsoever.
- 2 And it's not just filling in the blanks that's the problem here. It's not just
- 3 asking you to draw inferences for which there is no evidence or on
- 4 foundations that do not exist. It's even worse than that, Mr President,
- 5 because the witness was here. The witness was in front of you. This
- 6 particular allegation is not even to be found in the pre-trial brief. And here
- 7 it comes in the closing brief, after the witness has been here and could have
- 8 been asked: Who was this person? No such questions were asked.
- 9 Nonetheless, the Prosecution in its closing brief says that it's Mr Mangenda.
- 10 Misstatement number 6, the purpose of the telephones. Now, this one I
- 11 concede, Mr President, does require a little bit more analysis. It's not a clear
- 12 misstatement, although I hope at the end of this analysis you'll see that there
- is a specific aspect that's been confused that clearly shows that the
- submission is not correct. And the Prosecution submission which again
- 15 they're asking you to accept, to rely upon in order to convict Mr Mangenda
- is: "In Mangenda's presence, Kilolo explained to the group that to maintain
- 17 contact, they should choose a phone and use a different SIM card in it
- 18 because VWU would take away their regular telephones."
- 19 Now, I'll just say for starters, Mr President, that this argument has been
- anticipated and addressed at our brief, I say thoroughly, at paragraphs 41 to
- 21 50. And I'm not going to repeat everything that's there. You can read it.
- 22 But the specific issue that needs to be addressed is whether it's correct that
- 23 Kilolo explained to the group, which implies telling the group together
- 24 assembled, at haute voix so everyone can hear and implicitly so that
- 25 Mr Mangenda heard.

1 Now, D3 made quite clear that the purpose of the telephone that was being

- 2 given to him was explained the night before the meeting with the group,
- 3 which was the next morning according to him. He did not specify, although
- 4 he did say that the explanation was given the next day, he said that the
- 5 information was given to other members of the group. He did not say to the
- 6 group.
- 7 D2 testified and I quote, "We shared information amongst each other,
- 8 amongst ourselves," unsurprising, these witnesses knew each other to some
- 9 degree. Of course they would compare notes or discuss with each other
- what had transpired. So the mere fact that D3 would have said that the
- other members of the group were informed of this the next day in no way
- 12 confirms that this was an instruction given to the group as a whole.
- 13 And what did D2 say about this question? And I've put the entire quotation
- on a slide for your Honours in somewhat of Star Wars format getting
- 15 gradually larger as you get down to the bottom of the page, because that, I
- suggest, is what's most important. Because when you read this as a whole,
- 17 and this was certainly my impression as I was sitting in the courtroom, but
- 18 sometimes impressions in the courtroom are not quite correct. And then
- 19 you look back at the transcript and you correct yourself, and you say, well,
- 20 my impression was not quite correct.
- 21 But actually when I reread this passage multiple times, I actually came to the
- 22 conclusion that my initial correction, my initial impression was entirely
- 23 accurate, namely, that by the end of it, after the Prosecutor had asked a few
- 24 follow-up and clarifying questions, and I credit him for having done that, but
- at the end of the day, what does the witness say?

1 "My question -- My question is just what did you observe and what do you

- 2 recall about how those phones were distributed and by whom?"
- 3 Answer: "It is clearer now, the question is clearer, but I don't remember.
- 4 The telephones were placed on the table. We had to -- I really don't
- 5 remember who handed over the phone to me. I don't remember."
- 6 Now, your Honours know from the questions that we asked to these, to this,
- 7 to D3 in particular, that it was not our position that Mr Mangenda did not
- 8 know that the phones were given. Our position was that there wasn't
- 9 evidence showing that an illicit explanation or purpose of the phones had
- 10 been explained to the witnesses in his presence. That was the issue that we
- 11 raised.
- 12 And that is why it is important to know whether or not this alleged
- instruction was given individually, when it was given, was it given to the
- group, where was Mr Mangenda at the time. And yes, it's right that in
- response to the question was Mr Mangenda around, D2 did say yes. But
- 16 around where? Around when exactly? And by the time you get to the
- bottom of this passage, you realise that this witness manifested a lack of
- 18 memory about those details, which are important.
- 19 Now, the Prosecution would probably say in response to what I've just told
- 20 you, well, this is really splitting hairs and quite trivial, isn't it? This is not in
- 21 accord with common sense. He surely must have been there listening to
- 22 this explanation. Mr President, I beg to differ. It is not obvious. It is
- certainly not shown beyond reasonable doubt that he was physically there
- 24 listening to this particular explanation. Even D3 had to concede that
- 25 Mr Mangenda went away for at least one period of time. That's not proof

1 beyond reasonable doubt. And I would suggest to your Honours it's not

- 2 even proof on a balance of probabilities.
- 3 And the Prosecution's submission that Kilolo explained to the group is its
- 4 own spin, its own interpretation, its own inference, which does not derive
- 5 directly from the evidence. And yet that's not clear from the submission
- 6 that's been made in the closing brief. That is not transparent for your
- 7 Honours that this is an inference being drawn based upon the witness's
- 8 evidence.
- 9 And while we're discussing the telephones, it's perhaps useful to recall that
- 10 D2 gave inconsistent testimony, he gave an inconsistent statement in his
- prior statement to the Prosecution about the purpose of the phones as he
- says was explained to him by Mr Kilolo. And D2 says, (Interpretation)
- 13 "Kilolo having left, left us the telephone there with which we communicated
- 14 with him because it was absolutely necessary to have it in order to
- 15 communicate with him because we had to go home and come back so that he
- 16 could make us available to the Court" (Speaks English) Now, here D2 is
- 17 giving what appears to be a different explanation of what he was told by
- 18 Maître Kilolo, namely, that the purpose of the phones was to stay in touch
- 19 with the witnesses before the handover, not after the handover.
- 20 Now, secondly, your Honours, it's important to remember that the
- 21 hand-over and the cut-off did not occur on the same day.
- 22 And on the page in front of you, you see the VWU submissions. The hand
- over of these witnesses occurred on 27 and 28 May. The cut-off was on 10
- 24 and 13 June. That's a long time, your Honours. It's not the day before the
- cut-off that the phones are being given. It's not the day before the

1 testimony. The circumstances wouldn't show that obviously these phones

- 2 are being given so that Mr Kilolo can call the witnesses up and be in touch
- 3 with them during their testimony. And by the way, the contact logs don't
- 4 show that.
- 5 So where do we -- what do we conclude from the Prosecution's submissions
- 6 in respect of just these six matters which we say are not the totality of
- 7 misstatements? Well, first of all, I would suggest to your Honours it shows
- 8 that you should treat the Prosecution's closing brief with great caution. Not
- 9 all of the submissions are directly reflective of the evidence itself. They are
- 10 interpretations. In some cases they are blatantly incorrect interpretations,
- 11 not supported in any way by the evidence.
- 12 But there is a second lesson I think to be learned by these statements. And it
- may be one of the great weaknesses of the adversarial system that one would
- 14 hope could be corrected perhaps by the modifying influence of the civil law
- 15 system that parties tend to be affected by centrifugal forces in a trial. We
- tend to become more oppositional to one another. Perhaps your Honours
- 17 have already seen this, just in this very friendly trial.
- 18 And I don't think for a moment, Mr President, that the Prosecution in putting
- 19 some of these submissions in its closing brief was trying to mislead your
- 20 Honours or was acting in bad faith. It's something much more basic than
- 21 that, and that is that in an adversarial trial, all of us tend to see things a little
- 22 bit less objectively. My colleague, Ms Taylor had an expression for it
- 23 yesterday. We do put our blinders on. We do put our rose coloured
- 24 glasses on. We don't tend to see the weaknesses in our case. We do tend to
- 25 exaggerate facts that may be helpful to our side.

- 1 This partisanship is simply inevitable given the nature of these trials. And I
- 2 think that, your Honours, is an important phenomenon to keep in mind
- 3 when thinking about the alleged duty on Mr Mangenda to spot facts to
- 4 which witnesses testified that the Prosecution says were objective lies and
- 5 that they say he had a duty to somehow, never mind that he is a case
- 6 manager, to somehow denounce or to take some remedial measure. It's
- 7 always easy to say in retrospect to go through various pieces of evidence,
- 8 carefully consult what was said, review the record and say, well, that's not
- 9 true.
- 10 But in realtime and in the heat of a trial that is very hard to see, let alone do,
- 11 your Honours.
- 12 And so these misstatements are actually in my opinion very significant, not
- so much for their, the fact that they are not correct and that your Honours
- 14 need to look at the evidence and make sure that in fact you're not misled, but
- more importantly, to understand that they reflect the dynamic of what
- 16 happens in a trial of this nature. And the Bemba trial, as you can tell from
- 17 reading the submissions was much more adversarial, much more contested
- than the atmosphere in this particular trial.
- 19 A third issue, Mr President, and that concerns the Prosecution's change of
- 20 position in respect of the alleged cover-up. Now, the Prosecution, this is the
- 21 Prosecution's position. This is not my position. The Prosecution's position,
- 22 to be clear, is that Mr Mangenda became aware of the Article 70 investigation
- on 11 October. Their position is then that Mr Kilolo met D2 on or around 26
- October and that he exchanged SMSs around the same date with D3.
- Now, if Mr Mangenda and Mr Kilolo were involved in a scheme to procure

- 1 false testimony from those two witnesses, which they had executed in May,
- 2 so that's about five months before October, then one would expect that their
- 3 conversations would reveal a genuine concern about this misconduct that
- 4 they had engaged in. This is what would be expected if they possessed
- 5 what we call consciousness of guilt.
- 6 And remember that the Prosecution told you yesterday at page 13 of the
- 7 transcript that the subjects, "had no idea they were being intercepted."
- 8 And I should hasten to add, and this really is a point that cannot be
- 9 overstated, is that even if they had engaged in no acts of misconduct
- 10 whatsoever, with any of the Yaoundé witnesses, it would be only normal
- and natural upon learning of an investigation, a criminal investigation
- against them, that they would have expressed fears that maybe there is
- 13 something that could be misunderstood.
- 14 Every lawyer who has worked in an international case, and particularly any
- 15 lawyer who has worked for the Defence on an international case, has
- 16 experienced meetings with witnesses that have left the lawyer extremely
- 17 uncomfortable. It would be nice if we lived in a world where the lawyer
- 18 could simply wash their hands of such witnesses and walk away.
- 19 But in some cases, the witness might be particularly important. Witnesses
- 20 might be hard to find. And more broadly, what you start to discover is that
- 21 many witnesses in certain situations will leave that impression when you are
- 22 meeting with them.
- 23 You can't just reject a witness that you sense is dodgy because, for example,
- 24 you're worried that they might later make false allegations against you, false
- 25 allegations in order to get benefit for themselves, especially considering that

1 many witnesses are perfectly aware of the benefits that might arise from that

- 2 one way or another, or much more innocently, simply because they don't
- 3 understand the role of a lawyer or an investigator and may for one reason or
- 4 another take offence at something that occurred in the course of the
- 5 relationship with the witness.
- 6 This is endemic to international criminal investigations and the Defence are
- 7 more exposed to this problem than the Prosecution. The Prosecution has
- 8 institutional protections that prevent such allegations from rising to the level
- 9 of being taken seriously and ending up in a criminal trial. The Defence
- 10 doesn't. The Defence is largely left to its own devices in such matters and
- all of us know that on the Defence side. And there is not one of us, I dare
- say, no matter how perfect our investigation had been, no matter how well
- documented, there is not one of us who wouldn't be concerned if we learned
- 14 that the Prosecution had opened an investigation into alleged misconduct
- against us because one or more witnesses came forward and said, "You
- 16 know, that Mr Gosnell, he came down here and he tried to get me to say X, Y
- 17 and Z. And I felt under a lot of pressure. He coerced me."
- 18 Even if I knew that wasn't true at all, if I heard that the Prosecution had
- 19 opened such an investigation, I would be nervous. I would be concerned.
- 20 And if I was having private conversations with a colleague, I very well could
- 21 express that concern. And it would be all too easy, Mr President, for that
- concern to be mistaken, confused with a reflection of consciousness of guilt.
- 23 And it's a remarkable thing to imagine that the Prosecution accepted up until
- 24 its closing brief that there was no genuine expression of consciousness of
- 25 guilt by Mr Kilolo and Mr Mangenda during that critical time period

- between the 11th of October and 26 October. Think about it, you learn
- 2 about the existence of a potential investigation. And the Prosecution is
- 3 listening to your realtime reactions immediately after you learn about such
- 4 an investigation. If there is consciousness of guilt, the Prosecution should
- 5 have it, and it should be distinct and clear for your Honours to see.
- 6 Instead of that, not even the Prosecution says that there was conscious -- at
- 7 least up until the closing brief, not even the Prosecution said that there was
- 8 consciousness of guilt in respect of these conversations. Instead, the
- 9 Prosecution says that there was a fictitious scenario to gain a little bit of
- 10 money from Mr Bemba and that there was on that basis a pretextual
- discussion about witnesses as not real informers, but fictitious informers.
- 12 The Prosecution told you that during the opening statement.
- 13 Then, in fact, the exact words were: "Kilolo and Mangenda's stories about
- 14 informers being amongst Defence witnesses in October 2013 were entirely
- 15 made up."
- By the way, the Prosecution didn't necessarily have much choice in that
- 17 respect considering that that was also the interpretation of the independent
- 18 counsel.
- 19 Now, at paragraph 294 of the Prosecution closing brief, "Kilolo and
- 20 Mangenda discussed their suspicions that the leak came from witnesses D2
- 21 and D3."
- 22 This is said as if it's now being submitted as the truth, that this is a proper
- 23 interpretation of the intercepts. And then we see that confirmed even
- 24 further at paragraph 314 of the Prosecution closing brief: "Clearly, Kilolo's
- 25 trip to Cameroon was made to execute the cover-up discussed in the

- 1 preceding weeks among Kilolo, Bemba, Mangenda and Babala."
- Well, Mr President, that may be clear to the Prosecution. It wasn't clear to
- 3 D2.
- 4 D2, the person whom the Prosecution says is the object of the cover-up plan,
- 5 D2, whom the Prosecution says is being discussed by Maître Kilolo and
- 6 Mr Mangenda during this period between the 11th and the 26th of
- 7 October 2013, D2, the one who is supposed to be bought off in order to keep
- 8 quiet.
- 9 And what does D2 say about his interaction with Mr Kilolo at the end of this
- period between the 11th and the 26th of October? "That is where we spoke
- 11 to one another. We chatted for a while. It took a little while. He gave me
- some money. He paid for the transportation so that I could go there."
- "I had received 100,000 francs and he paid for the transportation."
- 14 And 100,000 francs, your Honours, is about 152 euros.
- Now, as your Honours know from having looked at our submissions, that
- amount of money bears no relation whatsoever to the ostensible amounts
- 17 that were being discussed in the intercepts. On its face clearly it's not
- 18 enough to be a bribe to conceal criminal conduct. And quite obviously, it
- 19 was not a quid pro quo to keep quiet because there is absolutely no
- 20 indication from D2 that Kilolo mentioned any such thing even subtly, even
- 21 suggested a little sous-entendu, maybe I'll give you and this -- no,
- 22 Mr President. No evidence of that whatsoever.
- 23 And if it was the Prosecution's case that this was the case, then more
- 24 questions should have been asked of this witness. I say the answers are
- 25 already clear enough to show obviously that there was no discussion of a

- 1 cover-up, that this money clearly was not a bribe. But even if you're not
- 2 willing to accept that, it was the Prosecution's burden to ask questions, to
- 3 clarify, to adduce the evidence upon which the material fact, the conclusion
- 4 that it would ask your Honours to draw at the end of the case was
- 5 established.
- 6 And the same could have been done with D3, and it wasn't done.
- 7 Now, yesterday the Prosecution at page 36, line 12, tried to wallpaper over
- 8 this change of position saying, and I quote "True or not, what it means is that
- 9 Mangenda was involved in all of this."
- 10 All of what, your Honours? What was he all involved in? Was he involved
- in a fictitious scenario or was he involved in an actual cover-up?
- 12 And I think it should be alarming to your Honours that the case can change
- in such a fundamental way and then have it explained away so casually as if
- it really doesn't matter at all, as if it's not different than what had been
- presented at the very start of trial in the opening statement.
- 16 And of course it is hugely significant to what your Honours can infer about
- 17 the meaning of those conversations and whether they reflect consciousness
- 18 of guilt.
- 19 And related to this, your Honours heard a portion of an intercept from 17
- 20 October played by the Prosecution at page 40 of the transcript. And there is
- 21 laughter being heard. And the Prosecution seems to infer that this laughter
- 22 shows you that the interlocutors thought that it was preposterous that
- 23 Mr Bemba could think that he would not somehow be implicated in
- 24 Article 70 offences if Mr Kilolo was. That was the interpretation of the
- 25 laughter.

1 Now common sense, your Honours, common sense. If what is really being

- 2 talked about, if Mr Kilolo is actually hypothesising about becoming a
- 3 sacrificial lamb, and charged with Article 70 offences by Mr Bemba, if that is
- 4 what is really being discussed, would he laugh? Would he consider it so
- 5 risible the situation that he would just laugh and that Mr Mangenda would
- 6 laugh with him?
- 7 Common sense, your Honours. And we say that that passage is
- 8 fundamentally ambiguous, but most importantly, it's got to be viewed in
- 9 light of what the independent counsel agreed was this fictitious scenario.
- 10 That can't just be glossed over as if it doesn't exist, as if these intercepts
- should be read as if they're talking seriously, except when they're laughing
- 12 about the absurdity of Mr Kilolo being on trial for an offence against the
- 13 administration of justice.
- 14 D15. The Prosecution alleges that Mr Mangenda assisted the procurement
- of lies from D15 because on the evening of the first day of his testimony
- Mr Kilolo made a reference to having spoken to the witness, and because on
- 17 the evening of the second day of his testimony, Mr Kilolo called
- 18 Mr Mangenda and insisted rather strongly that Mr Mangenda forward the
- 19 Legal Representative for Victims' questions to him.
- Now, before addressing the specificities of these allegations, it's perhaps
- 21 useful to consider the wider context. First, the Prosecution alleges that
- 22 Mr Kilolo spoke to the witness 33 times between the cut-off and the start of
- 23 the witness's testimony. That's their allegation. There is no allegation and
- 24 there is no evidence that Mr Mangenda was informed of any of those 33

25 contacts.

1 That is the prelude to the incident that the Prosecution relies on. And let's

- 2 remember that the Prosecution's allegation is that there is a scheme in place.
- 3 There is an effort at co-perpetration in which Mr Mangenda is involved,
- 4 involved and yet somehow not informed of these 33 contacts. And let's
- 5 remember that during this period Mr Mangenda's phone is being
- 6 continuously monitored.
- 7 Now, in this case there hasn't been any representation by any victims, but in
- 8 cases where they are present and participating, their questions are circulated
- 9 by email to all the parties. The lead counsel receives those questions. If the
- 10 lead counsel in this case had Citrix and knew how to use it, he wouldn't have
- even had to ask Mr Mangenda to forward the questions to him.
- 12 So are we really here basing a case on the fact that Mr Mangenda forwarded
- a document that he was duty-bound as a case manager to supply to
- 14 Mr Kilolo, a document that Mr Kilolo already had undoubtedly in his email?
- 15 Is this really the contribution that is said to be substantial or essential as is
- required in case of co-perpetration and aiding and abetting?
- 17 Now, we say in our brief that of course it would not have been clear to
- 18 Mr Mangenda that anything criminal was going to be done with those
- 19 questions. And frankly, your Honours, it's not clear that anything criminal
- 20 was done with those questions. And the reason I can say that is because
- 21 there hasn't even been an allegation that any of the answers to the questions
- 22 that were posed by the Legal Representatives for Victims was a lie.
- 23 So how is there a causal connection, let alone a connection satisfying the legal
- 24 standard of connexity between forwarding those questions and any offence?
- 25 It's not established, Mr President.

- 1 D54. Now, the Prosecution alleges that Mr Kilolo spoke to the witness on
- 2 the evening before his testimony. Prosecution says that was about an hour,
- 3 and that before his testimony, he spoke -- excuse me. And that during his
- 4 testimony he also spoke to the witness at some length. And there is no
- 5 evidence, Mr President, that Mr Mangenda was informed of the contacts on
- 6 the evening before the testimony or during the testimony.
- 7 And in fact, it's important to assess what were the contacts between
- 8 Mr Kilolo and the witness that Mr Mangenda was aware of and their timing,
- 9 because the Prosecution brief gives the impression -- it's not a misstatement,
- 10 but it gives the impression that Mr Mangenda was aware of many contacts
- 11 that somehow would be indicative of something improper.
- 12 The witness, the witness's cut-off was only one day before his testimony.
- 13 Contacts before that time were permissible. And as you see on the screen in
- 14 front of you, which shows the dates prior to the commencement of testimony
- of the discussions between Mr Mangenda and Mr Kilolo about the testimony.
- Most of the discussions, Mr President, were 51, 59 and 60 days before the
- 17 witness's testimony. We assert strongly that none of the contents of those
- discussions so long before testimony were in any way indicative of
- 19 procuring lies.
- 20 And in assessing that, your Honours, you may wish to consider how long
- 21 before the witness's testimony those discussions between Mr Mangenda and
- 22 Mr Kilolo were occurring. It's not the night before the witness's testimony
- 23 that these discussions are occurring. It's two months before.
- 24 Mr Mangenda does have notice of one contact 11 days before the witness's
- 25 testimony in a fleeting reference by Mr Kilolo, which was a permissible

1 contact because it was before the cut-off. Whether the witness then later

- 2 came and denied that that contact 11 days before took place, it's highly
- 3 ambiguous that Mr Mangenda would have been able to remember that this
- 4 reference, which was completely unremarkable because it was permissible,
- 5 that he would remember that and that then he would think that the witness
- 6 was lying about it.
- 7 And by the way, otherwise the witness did not lie about these contacts,
- 8 because he said that, indeed, he had been in touch with the Defence up until
- 9 about six weeks before the testimony.
- 10 Mr Mangenda did provide the LRV questions in respect of D54. And why
- 11 wouldn't he? There is no indication here that there was anything untoward
- occurring, that there had been any improper contacts, let alone that the
- 13 witness was being coached to lie.
- Last topic, Mr President, and that is the relevance of the Prosecution's own
- 15 practises. And the Prosecution seems to be suggesting that these practises
- are completely irrelevant to your Honours, that you shouldn't take it into
- account at all; or that you should only take it into account if there is proof
- that the accused knew about those practises at the time and therefore were
- 19 somehow affected by that knowledge in their own conduct.
- 20 That seems to be the Prosecution's position at paragraph 24 of its closing
- 21 brief.
- Now, perhaps I should read the sentence so that your Honours have it in
- 23 mind. "Despite repeated and unsubstantiated claims that the Prosecution's
- 24 reimbursement practises in the main case somehow influenced the accused's
- 25 conduct, the Defence has failed to articulate, let alone adduce any evidence

1 establishing a link between the Prosecution's legitimate provision for witness

- 2 expenses and the accused's criminal conduct."
- 3 Now, Mr President, maybe this submission is unnecessary because it's so
- 4 obvious, but this statement obviously puts the cart before the horse. It
- 5 assumes that the accused are engaged in criminal conduct, ergo any
- 6 payments made are obviously criminal as well. But that's not the way that
- 7 the case is structured. The Prosecution is asking you to draw inferences
- 8 from the money that was provided on various occasions. They are asking
- 9 you to infer mens rea, to infer a guilty mind. Based upon those payments.
- 10 Whether that is a reasonable inference for you to draw, of course must assess
- the Prosecution's own practises, because the Prosecution's own practises
- should, unless someone says otherwise, be assumed to be appropriate and
- 13 correct, and the right way and the necessary way in many cases of dealing
- 14 with difficult witnesses in difficult circumstances. Of course it's relevant.
- 15 And it doesn't matter at all whether the accused had actual knowledge of
- 16 those practises.
- 17 And it's vitally important because of what the Prosecutor said herself on the
- 18 very first day of this trial when she said "This case is not a case against the
- 19 Defence as an institution."
- Now, that statement must imply that there can't be any double standards,
- 21 that the same inferences that would apply to the conduct of the Prosecution
- 22 must also apply in respect of any inferences in respect of the Defence
- 23 conduct, of Defence conduct.
- 24 Mr President, may I take this opportunity now on behalf of myself and
- 25 Maître Vercken to thank everyone on the Mangenda Defence who has

assisted in presenting this Defence to your Honours, and it's been a privilege

- 2 to appear in this case with so many quite talented lawyers on both sides of
- 3 the courtroom. And of course your Honours it's been a privilege to appear
- 4 before you, who have brought this case to such an efficient and successful
- 5 conclusion.
- 6 And in closing, I wish also to express my thanks to Mr Mangenda. He has
- 7 suffered a great deal from these charges, including having been in prison at
- 8 the time of the birth of his third child. And what remains to be known is
- 9 whether he will receive some vindication from this Trial Chamber by being
- 10 found, as we say the evidence shows, not guilty of all charges against him,
- and that is a question, your Honours, that is now exclusively in your capable
- 12 hands, and I thank you for your time.
- 13 PRESIDING JUDGE SCHMITT: Thank you very much. We would have
- enough time to start with the next Defence team, but of course it may be well
- so that the next Defence team does not want to split their closing statements
- so we could also have a break now. Mr Kilenda, you have the floor.
- 17 Do you, Mr Kilenda, do you prefer to start now with your closing statement
- or is it better to have a break so that you can have your statement as a whole?
- 19 MR KILENDA: (Interpretation) Mr President, we have three persons to
- 20 speak, Maître Azama and our client, who will be speaking, and I believe that I
- 21 will not take much time myself. And for that reason I would like to speak
- 22 now, I would like to address the Court now.
- 23 PRESIDING JUDGE SCHMITT: We give you a little bit time to discuss this,
- 24 but.
- 25 MR KILENDA: (Interpretation) Rather, Mr President, we could take the

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- 1 break now and I'm in your hands, come to think of it.
- 2 PRESIDING JUDGE SCHMITT: Yes, yes. We have heard this many times
- 3 now that you are in our hands. But of course we take this up, as I just
- 4 suggested, we have the break now until, let's say 11 o'clock, so we have
- 5 substantial coffee break here. Thank you.
- 6 THE COURT USHER: All rise.
- 7 (Recess taken at 10.16 a.m.)
- 8 (Upon resuming in open session at 11.01 a.m.)
- 9 THE COURT USHER: All rise.
- 10 PRESIDING JUDGE SCHMITT: Please be seated.
- 11 Now in open session.
- 12 I have been informed for the Prosecution there are two new team members
- in the room. If you will, Mr Vanderpuye, you can introduce them for the
- 14 record.
- 15 MR VANDERPUYE: Thank you very much, Mr President. The Prosecution
- is joined by Céline Fontaine seated in the third row in the middle and Maman
- 17 Aminou Amadou seated in the middle in the second row as well. Thank you
- 18 very much, Mr President.
- 19 PRESIDING JUDGE SCHMITT: Thank you very much. We will now give
- 20 the floor to Mr Kilenda.
- 21 MR KILENDA: (Interpretation) Thank you, your Honour, for the floor.
- 22 Mr President, your Honours, among one of its very famous albums entitled
- 23 "Loi," which came out in 1997, the Congolese musician Antoine Agbepa, alias
- 24 Koffi Olomide, a top artist, stated these words which deserve being stated
- 25 before the oral submissions for Mr Babala.

- 1 "A lie always takes the lift and gets there first, whereas even when it takes
- 2 the stairs truth will always get there." To put it in other words, truth will
- 3 always triumph ultimately.
- 4 Your Honour, your Honours, Mr Babala for whom today we ask for the
- 5 acquittal of, was very much outside any alleged plan to sabotage the judicial
- 6 process in the main case. He is not complicit of any charge against him, his
- 7 involvement in this case is the consequence of massive untruths. It's also
- 8 the result of inconsiderate haste in the examination of his case, of procedural
- 9 incompliance which constitutes no more, no less than a lack of rigour in the
- analysis of his real status, and the exact relations both with the accused in the
- main case, as well as with the members of his Defence team with whom he
- 12 has been in contact.
- 13 As regards alteration of the facts by the Prosecution, Mr Babala for no reason
- was charged by the Prosecution with the help of independent counsel
- 15 indeed. While without being heard first, the Single Judge issued an arrest
- warrant against him, the execution of which was brutal and it constitutes
- 17 inhumane and degrading treatment.
- 18 With regards to the real statute of Mr Babala during the pre-trial phase,
- 19 which is coming to an end -- or the trial phase which is coming to the end,
- 20 the Prosecutor ascribed a fallacious statute to Mr Babala: A lawyer,
- 21 confidant, financier, treasurer, manager of Mr Bemba.
- 22 Yesterday, too, in its pleadings, the Prosecutor even exaggerated the role,
- 23 saying that Mr Babala held the funds, untruth with regards to the real
- 24 financial status of Mr Bemba's Defence in the main case.
- 25 To give credence to its theory of hidden financing of the Defence of

- 1 Mr Bemba with a view to corrupting, influencing witnesses, the Prosecutor
- 2 deliberately does not bring out the situation of financial distress in which this
- 3 team found itself. It presents the funds made available to it as being dirty
- 4 money aimed at sabotaging the judicial process. However, it remains void
- 5 of details as regards the budget for this as well as the financial cost of the
- 6 alleged sabotage operation in the main case.
- 7 In the oral submissions yesterday afternoon, my esteemed colleague,
- 8 Mr Djunga, a mathematician on one day carried out a calculation to show the
- 9 insignificant character and nature of the sums provided to the witnesses to
- 10 justify legitimate expenses. But as American realists state neither facts nor
- law are data which can just be used, that is to say, Mr President, your
- 12 Honours, that the facts that the Prosecution presented to you were
- deliberately altered. Maître Gosnell spoke about an exactitude. They are
- 14 false and they cannot -- they can only be used in an acritical way by you.
- 15 They have to -- you have to take a distance with regards to this fault by
- omission, by reestablishing the exact facts with regards to Mr Babala.
- 17 Your Honour, your Honours, the pre-trial brief of the Prosecutor in its
- paragraph 263 and its closing brief in annex E thereof, paragraphs 338 to 342,
- 19 as well as in paragraphs 5, 9, 21, 41, 44, 61 to 84, 227 to 246 are crammed full
- 20 of untruths against Mr Babala. There are allegations which are unfounded
- 21 which constitute incommensurable injustice and they have been
- formed -- but we have formed our responses to them in our written
- 23 submissions.
- 24 The Office of the Prosecutor, we heard from them that there had been no
- 25 injustice because all the formal aspects of the statutes and rules of the ICC

1 have been observed, but as Montesquieu wrote in "Considerations on the

- 2 Causes of the Greatness of Romans": "No tyranny is more cruel than that
- 3 which is practised in the shadow of the law and under colour of justice."
- 4 Shakespeare also wrote in "The Merchant Of Venice" that even the devil can
- 5 quote scripture for his own use.
- 6 The fundamental texts of the ICC are only employed correctly when they are
- 7 brought to support facts that are correctly respected because when law does
- 8 not respect the facts, the facts take vengeance and they take over law.
- 9 Altering, exaggerating or masking facts and submitting them to law can only
- 10 be as a varnish on an unsavoury reality. Sooner or later reality will come to
- 11 the fore. And the reality, your Honour, your Honours, is that criminal
- 12 justice is time ascribed. Patiently you have instructed this affair. You've
- led this case, listened to the parties present their thesis and their evidence,
- 14 while you have ensured the equity of the trial. The evidence of the Defence,
- 15 contrary to those claimed by the Prosecutor as being abundant and
- impressive before the Pre-Trial Chamber, have come via the staircase, a sign
- of being taken slowly in a sure way and in a reasoned way.
- 18 The professional judges that you are will, therefore, note that the truth is that
- 19 Mr Bemba and our client have had friendly relations since their university
- 20 studies in Belgium. Several years afterwards they met in their country of
- 21 origin where at a particular time they decided together to be members of the
- same political party, the Mouvement de Libération du Congo. When
- 23 Mr Bemba was in trouble with international criminal justice, Mr Babala did
- 24 not abandon him. He remained in solidarity with him respecting the law,
- 25 public order.

- 1 The fact that made Mr Babala involved in this case beyond friendship and
- 2 solidarity is that Mr Bemba's team never had free legal aid provided by the
- 3 Court. Mr Bemba's funds, as Melinda Taylor said yesterday in her
- 4 submissions, T48, lines 19 to 21, were frozen. We don't have money for the
- 5 investigations and the financing of the Defence has always been a difficult
- 6 point to address.
- 7 The Registry did not recognize Mr Bemba as indigent. See paragraph 26 of
- 8 Mr Kilolo's submissions and 455, annex A of Mr Kilolo, taking advantage of
- 9 the frozen assets, the Registry established a sui generis system of financing
- 10 which consisted of an advance of funds, a sort of loan which Mr Bemba
- 11 would reimburse when the procedures had been carried out.
- 12 This financing which just covered the fees of members of the team were
- insufficient to cover the needs for investigations in the field, hindered by his
- deprivation of liberty. Mr Bemba, at a particular time and given the death
- of his father, Papa Jeannot, whose memory we greet now, called upon those
- close to him to help him meet his needs and it is -- that is how there was a
- 17 great synergy that took place, a chain of solidarity composed both of
- members of his biological family, as well as his political and other friends.
- 19 Mr Babala, therefore, appointed -- was appointed by Mr Bemba himself.
- 20 The same goes for Mr Kilolo. He was appointed as a focal point. This is in
- 21 paragraph 455 of annex A from Mr Kilolo and I quote, "that he was
- 22 responsible for bringing together necessary funds to advance the funds for
- 23 travel, meals and hotel expenses linked to the work and needs of his Defence
- 24 team."
- 25 And yesterday too in his statement under Article 67(1)(h) of the Statute,

- 1 Mr Kilolo had the right words on this subject. To mention the financial
- 2 difficulties of the team that he supervised, the nature of the expenses to be
- 3 carried out, and the alternative financing which explained, and here I quote,
- 4 "the movements of money disputed by the Office of the Prosecutor." This is
- 5 the transcript 48, page 120, lines 10 to 29 and page 121, lines 1 to 25.
- 6 Mr Babala's Defence, your Honour, your Honours, challenges the Prosecutor
- 7 to show that Mr Kilolo was not saying the truth on this point. In its letter of
- 8 the 15th of July 2013, the Counsel Support Section spoke about the lack of
- 9 availability of funds to pay for field missions and asked the Defence to
- advance the funds itself linked to missions. This is in paragraph 457 of
- 11 annex A of Mr Kilolo.
- 12 As one sees, this sui generis financing of the Defence of Mr Bemba, contrary
- 13 to what the Prosecution wants to admit to the Chamber, it's not hidden
- 14 financing. We are talking about financing which is completely transparent
- 15 which the Prosecutor, for reasons not mentioned, does not correctly describe
- 16 the function of deliberately keeping quiet as to the real financial status of the
- 17 Defence of Mr Bemba. And this fault by omission is symptomatic of a lack
- of objectivity and impartiality on the part of the Prosecutor. It constitutes a
- 19 regrettable evasion or avoidance of his obligations under Article 54(1) of the
- 20 Statute.
- 21 Your Honour, your Honours, altered facts, facts altered by the Prosecutor are
- 22 not proved. The evidence of the Prosecutor, allegedly documentary
- 23 evidence, is unable to prove beyond reasonable doubt any involvement of
- 24 Mr Babala in the alleged overall strategy. Indeed, none of the witnesses of
- 25 the Prosecutor were in contact with Mr Babala. All of them under oath

- 1 before your Chamber said they did not know him. The submissions of the
- 2 Prosecutor with regards to the alleged overall strategy written about in the
- 3 closing brief, whether its officers -- witnesses from the DRC, paragraphs 188
- 4 to 124, witnesses from Brazzaville, paragraphs 178 to 226, those from (Redacted)
- 5 which my colleague Steven Powles yesterday called the Scandinavian
- 6 witnesses, paragraphs 227 to 246, all those who the Prosecutor states are
- 7 other witnesses, 247 to 282, these submissions reveal nothing that is
- 8 criminally incriminating against Mr Babala. Mr Babala is, however, frank
- 9 and spontaneous in recognising before you, your Honour, your Honours,
- that he transferred at the request of Mr Kilolo sums of money to D57, D64
- and his co-accused Mr Arido. In doing so, Mr Babala did not know all of
- 12 the capacities of the beneficiaries. Furthermore, these people were never
- 13 illicitly prepared by the Defence. Cross-examined by the Defence of
- 14 Mr Kilolo, these people have said that the sums they received had no impact
- 15 whatsoever on the contact -- on the content of their submission -- of their
- 16 pleadings.
- 17 And Prosecutor has not shown the contrary beyond reasonable doubt.
- 18 Mr Arido, who Mr Babala saw for the first time in the detention centre,
- 19 justifies as Mr Kilolo does for the rest, the sums justified by Mr Babala as
- 20 compensation for an expert work which was carried out for the Defence in
- 21 the main case.
- 22 Paragraph 14 to 30 of the final conclusions of Mr Lyons.
- Now, the alleged documentary evidence of the Prosecutor is a mishmash of
- 24 different telephone calls between in particular Mr Bemba and Mr Babala.
- 25 All the time is taken out of context and they try to impute logical coherence

to them to support, although in vain, the factual allegations which are

- 2 without any proof beyond reasonable doubt.
- 3 In her submissions, Ms Taylor showed, highlighted the serious problems of
- 4 synchronisation with regards to telephone calls thanks to the remarkable
- 5 work of an expert in acoustics that the Prosecutor vainly tried to discredit
- 6 while they had no technical competence in the matter.
- 7 You don't contradict work of an expert with good sense or common sense
- 8 but with another counter expert report.
- 9 Complicity is one of the modes of criminal participation. It consists of
- 10 ascribing or bringing to the main perpetrator or co-perpetrators of a crime,
- aiding or abetting or otherwise assisting them and without such aid, the
- 12 crime could not be committed. Like any other mode of criminal
- 13 participation, complicity is something that needs to be proved, and at the
- 14 ICC, it has to be proved beyond reasonable doubt. Here in the case in point,
- 15 this does not seem to have been the case in the written or oral submissions of
- 16 the Prosecutor.
- 17 With regards to the submissions paragraphs 88 to 282 of its final brief, the
- 18 Prosecutor gives a description overall the witnesses concerned. It mentions
- 19 the acts allegedly carried out by the accused in coaching and preparing them.
- 20 If we look at what they write, we see that the name of Mr Babala rarely
- 21 appears. Our case managers, Adriana-Maria Manolescu and Coralie Klipfel
- 22 were able to establish statistics yesterday relating to the number of times
- 23 Mr Babala's name was mentioned in the brief of the Prosecutor, 14 times.
- 24 And furthermore, wrongly. Clearly the Prosecution mentions no aid or
- other assistance that Mr Babala allegedly brought to the alleged

- 1 co-perpetrators of the alleged overall strategy with a view to corruptly
- 2 influencing witnesses. Respect of the norms of administration mean that
- 3 each witness describes and demonstrates the aid that Mr Babala should have
- 4 brought with a view to turning the administration of justice in the wrong
- 5 direction.
- 6 The name Mr Babala only appears in paragraph 227 and 246. And here it's
- 7 precisely in regard to D57 and D64.
- 8 Your Honours, Mr Babala does not deny having directly himself transferred
- 9 a sum of money and also via 272 to these two people who he didn't know.
- 10 Now, the question is whether the sum of money which was provided in this
- 11 way to these two witnesses can be analysed as an act of complicity, that is to
- say, aid or other assistance brought to these people with a view to corruptly
- influencing them.
- 14 The answer to this question is factually and legally negative, for the 9
- 15 following reasons:
- One, if we remember the objective aimed at by the alleged global strategy, it
- was according to the Prosecutor the acquittal of Mr Bemba in the main case,
- paragraphs 283 to 316 of the Prosecution brief.
- 19 Secondly, D57 and D64 were never coached nor illicitly prepared by any
- 20 member of the Defence of Mr Bemba. The Defence of Mr Babala challenges
- 21 the Prosecutor to prove the contrary beyond all reasonable doubt.
- 22 Three, the lie which has been ascribed to them by the Prosecutor would
- 23 consist in denying the fact that they received, from the Defence of Mr Bemba
- 24 a sum of money, even as reimbursement for legitimate expenses linked to
- 25 their transport. Such a lie, even though there isn't one, because it did not

- 1 exist, is completely outside the objective of the alleged global strategy.
- 2 Fourthly, when questioned by the Prosecution at hearing, D57 and D64 did
- 3 not provide any incriminating evidence against Mr Babala nor any other
- 4 accused.
- 5 Fifthly, when cross-examined by the Defence of Mr Kilolo, and more
- 6 precisely by Mr Djunga, D57 and D64 affirmed, under oath, that the sum of
- 7 money received had no impact on the content of their testimony.
- 8 Sixth, the sum of money transferred to D57 and to D64 was not
- 9 criminally -- had no -- any element of criminality there, too.
- 10 Seven, in the additional questions, the Prosecutor showed nowhere beyond
- all reasonable doubt the pointlessness of this response from D57 and D64.
- 12 We would even ask after why the Prosecutor had these people even come in
- 13 the first place. A Defence witness is not by definition a liar. Obtaining the
- 14 appearance and the examination of witnesses for Defence witnesses under
- 15 the same conditions as Prosecution witnesses is a right under Article 67(1) of
- 16 the Statute.
- 17 Nine, D57 and D64 did not lie in the main case. The Prosecutor has never
- shown evidence of lies or of their illicit preparation.
- 19 The oral submissions of the Prosecutor have brought no added value to the
- 20 Prosecutor's written submissions, and indeed, the oratory of the Prosecution
- 21 has been sterile, it just regurgitate the written submissions and are unable to
- 22 prove beyond reasonable doubt the aid brought by Mr Babala to the alleged
- 23 co-perpetrators of the common plan, and it is here for the Defence of
- 24 Mr Babala, this is where we have to highlight that manifestly the Prosecutor
- 25 is confused, confusing the alleged overall plan with the true full scenario

- 1 upon which we will not go further into.
- 2 But the Prosecutor himself in paragraphs 155 and 316 of the final brief
- 3 recognized this full scenario but doesn't take the consequences at a legal level
- 4 because this is an impossible crime, neither Jean-Jacques Mangenda or
- 5 Mr Kilolo committed any crime.
- 6 Now, the role of focal point which was attributed to Mr Babala. With a
- 7 view to providing financial aid brought by Mr Bemba for the legal needs and
- 8 others is uncontested.
- 9 But with regards to the dossier of the Prosecutor is empty when we look at
- 10 paragraph 17 of its final conclusions. And we would invite you to look for
- other evidence which he himself has produced.
- 12 Now, the Prosecution is open and honest when it comes to being unable to
- 13 come up with relevant evidence which would establish the individual
- criminal responsibility of the accused. It admits the handicap in its
- argument and is asking you for crutches. You will understand why the
- 16 Defence of Mr Babala considers that the Prosecutor nowhere answered the
- 17 relevant questions that your colleague put to them.
- 18 Your Honour, in the case of Mr Babala, it merits being examined with
- 19 regards to the notion of accomplice, the Prosecutor is unable to prove this
- and we would ask that the jurisprudence of this Court in the Ngudjolo case
- 21 is examined and that a disjoinder is made and so immediately, if this view
- 22 that the Defence expresses is taken on by yourselves, Mr Babala should be
- 23 judged by others, you will see that the charges against him are not proved, as
- 24 the associate counsel will demonstrate.
- 25 Your Honours, ladies and gentlemen, members of the Office of the

1 Prosecutor and dear Defence team, I would like to thank you for your

- 2 attention. Thank you very much.
- 3 MR RODOMA: (Interpretation) Mr President, your Honours, dear learned
- 4 colleagues.
- 5 Mr President, you will recall that at the beginning of this trial on the 29th of
- 6 September 2015, Mr Babala told you that he did not understand why he was
- 7 before you. That question at this juncture and on this day seems even more
- 8 relevant because going through this case has demonstrated the shortcomings
- 9 of the case. The Prosecutor has brought only a few items before you,
- whereas he should have, as is the case with other accused persons, would
- 11 have been to call the person who is mainly involved in these cases and it has
- 12 not been established by the Prosecutor beyond reasonable doubt the charges
- that are brought against Mr Babala. At the close of these hearings,
- 14 Mr Babala must be acquitted. The Prosecutor has reminded you again that
- 15 facts are escapable. And if this were to be true in reality, it must also be
- true, Mr President, that the law is the law and that is it. When it comes to
- 17 matters of legality, in matters of evidence, it must be said that this is what
- 18 puts order into evidence. An offence can only be held against someone
- 19 when the conditions laid down by the law are upheld. Nullum crimen sine
- 20 lege.
- 21 Mr President, your Honours, Maître Kilenda has just been talking about
- 22 Mr Bemba -- Mr Babala being charged with criminal liability. And such
- 23 criminal participation is what determines liability, particularly when several
- 24 persons are involved in a crime and to determine when and to what extent
- 25 the material facts can be linked to the person who may have been part of that

- 1 offence.
- 2 Someone who is not physically participating in an offence may be liable
- 3 criminally for conduct that facilitates the creation of a situation that amounts
- 4 to a crime, particularly under Article 25(c) of the Statute, which calls for the
- 5 fulfilment of a number of conditions, such as knowledge of the criminal
- 6 nature of the main crime and the will to be associated thereto.
- 7 I believe, Mr President, that these two conditions are not in the alternative,
- 8 but they are cumulative.
- 9 Second point, execution in one of the acts that is covered by the law,
- 10 particularly by Article 25(c) of the Statute.
- And the third point is the existence of an offence that amounts to a crime.
- 12 Conduct is criminally punishable, not because it has a criminal nature, but
- because it is linked to an offence that is determined by the law. Article 25(c)
- of the Statute provides this correlationship and complicity in this matter and
- 15 I believe that this particular article --
- 16 PRESIDING JUDGE SCHMITT: We do not like to interrupt you, but I have
- been told that you are a little bit too quick. So it would be nice if you could
- slow down a little bit so that interpreters have enough time to translate.
- 19 Thank you very much.
- 20 MR RODOMA: (Interpretation) Thank you. For this correlation to exist,
- 21 there must be direct participation in the crime or in the offence. There must
- 22 be a situation where direct assistance is provided or where such a crime may
- 23 not be committed, or in the case where the author has provoked or caused the
- crime to come into existence. Mr President, your Honour, none of these
- 25 conditions was met by Mr Babala. In fact, when it comes to direct

1 participation in the execution of the crimes charged, there is no indication in

- 2 the case file of criminal participation by Mr Babala.
- 3 Nowhere in the case file do you find any evidence that Mr Babala provided
- 4 indispensable aid by which the alleged crimes could not have been
- 5 committed.
- 6 The Pre-Trial Chamber II, on 11 November 2014, dismissed the direct or
- 7 indirect co-perpetration of Mr Babala as well as any participation
- 8 whatsoever, and simply admitted the so-called aid and assistance to the
- 9 other co-accused with a view to facilitate the commission of crimes by the
- 10 co-accused such as false testimony, false evidence and influencing witness
- 11 statements.
- 12 This help allegedly was provided by Mr Babala when he managed and
- 13 distributed funds belonging to Mr Bemba.
- 14 Mr Babala, therefore, is charged by the Prosecution to be complicit in the
- influencing of witnesses and testimonies and producing false evidence.
- 16 Mr President, you have before you fuzzy and limping charges which relate
- 17 to matters of onus and matters of evidence. Let me explain what I mean.
- 18 In fact, in its final submissions at paragraph 17 on page 10, the Prosecution
- 19 itself acknowledges that it is impossible to enumerate all the material and
- 20 relevant material that would establish the individual criminal responsibility
- 21 of the accused.
- 22 The Prosecution again invites you, you, your Honours, to consider as
- 23 relevant and important all other materials or elements that you will discover
- in the course of your deliberations although the Prosecution did not bring up

25 those points.

- 1 Quite surprisingly, the Prosecution invites you to play its role and its
- 2 prerogatives of conducting exculpatory and inculpatory investigations.
- 3 This is tantamount to a breach of the rules that uphold the rights of the
- 4 Defence.
- 5 As usual, and throughout this trial, the Prosecution has put before you a tote
- 6 bag. And this is still the case today, and is inviting you to figure out by
- 7 sorting through this tote bag and this definitely violates Mr Babala's rights.
- 8 How can Mr Babala mount a proper Defence for himself when the
- 9 Prosecution has failed to be as specific as possible when it comes to the
- 10 charges against him?
- 11 Let me recall, Mr President, your Honours, that the burden and onus of
- proof is on the Prosecutor. In fact, at paragraph 27 of its brief, page 15, the
- 13 Prosecution recognized that Defence suggestions are reasonable and
- plausible and that a thesis is deducted then that the thesis will not be able to
- raise reasonable rights -- reasonable doubt.
- 16 The Prosecution, therefore, has used a number of telephone conversations
- 17 and reports by independent counsel as Maître Kilenda has highlighted to
- 18 come to the conclusion that there was an alleged common plan between the
- 19 accused, without mentioning them and without indicating how they were
- 20 used to influence witnesses, pages 42, page 23 of the Prosecution brief.
- 21 In the following minutes, Mr President, I would like to talk, address the
- 22 Court on eight telephone conversations as well as the various documents
- 23 used by the Prosecutor, namely, the telephone conversations, to point out to
- 24 you that there was never a common plan and that it is not possible for a
- common planned to have existed.

- 1 Mr President, when it comes to the theory of a common plan, it must be
- 2 understood to be a fraudulent, so to speak, agreement with a view to execute
- 3 a criminal plan with others.
- 4 Therefore, there is need for reciprocity in the conscience and the will of those
- 5 working for that criminal undertaking.
- 6 (Counsel confer)
- 7 MR RODOMA: (Interpretation) I'm sorry. I've been reminded that I'm
- 8 going too fast. That tends to be my habit.
- 9 Failure to establish knowledge and a will to be part of the crime, this must
- also be viewed in terms of looking at a number of conversations. In an
- attempt to show that Mr Babala was aware and had the intent to agree with
- 12 the other accused, the Prosecution basically relies on telephone conversations
- 13 between Mr Babala, Mr Kilolo at the time when Mr Kilolo was Mr Bemba's
- 14 lead counsel.
- 15 In this regard, Mr President, your Honours, let us point out that these
- 16 conversations must be assessed globally and in context. There is no reason
- in this regard to not take into consideration the report by expert witness,
- 18 Harrison, who highlighted a number of technical problems. This was raised
- 19 by Mr Bemba's Defence yesterday, and I think that this point must be taken
- 20 into attention.
- 21 Excerpts of conversations taken separately may lead to the point where it
- 22 appears that Mr Babala is answering questions that were not put to him
- 23 whereas he might be dealing with issues that were raised a minute or two
- 24 before.
- 25 The Prosecutor also for the first time and regardless of the adversarial

- 1 procedure says that Mr Babala was a politician and he had changed his
- 2 phone number because he thought he was being tapped. This is not only a
- 3 matter that pertains to Mr Babala's fear of being tapped by Congolese
- 4 authorities, but it is unfair because it was not actually part of the pleadings.
- 5 The Prosecutor charges Mr Babala in an attempt to establish mens rea, a
- 6 number of conversations. One, the fact that he communicated with
- 7 Mr Bemba, informing him about money requests from the colleague above
- 8 and requiring his authorisation before making any such transfers.
- 9 This is absolutely irrelevant for the following reasons. One must wonder,
- 10 Mr President, your Honours, what the link may be between intention as
- described here before, because Mr Babala himself does not challenge the fact
- 12 that he provided some funds to Mr Bemba's team which was deprived of the
- 13 necessary requisite funds required for his Defence and for his subsistence at
- 14 the detention centre.
- 15 These sums of money, it must be said, do not belong to Mr Babala. He
- simply raised funds from other persons in order to make the transfers. And
- 17 now to make a link between that and corruption of the trial process is
- something that is totally inadmissible because it lacks clarity.
- 19 In the conversations mentioned, there is no indication whatsoever that
- 20 Mr Babala is an intermediary between Mr Bemba, the accused and any other
- 21 persons. Therefore, it must be determined at what time and at what
- 22 moment the other accused persons are linked in this. There is no evidence
- 23 of that.
- 24 At what time did Mr Bemba and Mr Babala all, one or both of them, come
- 25 together with other persons to establish a common plan. There is no

- 1 evidence to that regard, in that regard whatsoever.
- 2 What is the common plan? No evidence. At what time did Mr Bemba,
- 3 Mr Babala transfer the information from Mr Bemba to the others? There is
- 4 no evidence to that matter.
- 5 Is it then therefore the fact that Mr Babala requested Mr Bemba's opinion
- 6 before making the transfers? Is that what is criminal?
- 7 Second conversation. Payments made to the accused, namely Aimé Kilolo
- 8 and Narcisse Arido. On this point, Mr President, your Honours, the
- 9 Prosecutor argues at paragraph 57 or refers to paragraph 57 of his pre-trial
- 10 brief and to a number of documents which I would not outline here but
- 11 simply mention a few.
- 12 He points out at paragraph 57 of the pre-trial brief that the charges are
- brought on the basis of Article 70, but there is no link with Mr Babala.
- 14 Further on in documents CAR-OTP-0077-1324, page 1327, 1328, at lines 66
- and 67, mention is made of one Ndokwa. And name of payments. At line
- 16 72 they talk about Wale's sister and not about payments. Line 79-80
- 17 reference is made to transfers to somebody at 07 and that the colleague d'en
- haut will tell you and there is no relation with Mr Arido and influencing
- 19 witnesses.
- 20 In document CAR-OTP-0077-1341, page 1343, line 7 to 18, Mr Babala informs
- 21 Mr Bemba as follows: "Charlie, okay. Eke, okay. Mama Leki, okay. Le
- 22 collègue d'en haut, okay."
- 23 The Prosecutor then alleges that this refers to distribution of money to the
- 24 accused particularly by, namely, Mr Kilolo and Arido for influencing

witnesses.

- 1 The reasons for the transfers have been explained by Mr Kilolo and for this
- 2 reason Defence does not see what evidence there is to point to the fact that
- 3 money is transferred to Mr Kilolo were destined for influencing witnesses.
- 4 And if there were any such influences, who would it be? Charlie, Eke,
- 5 Mama Leki or does reference to these relate to Mr Arido or to any other
- 6 witness?
- 7 In his annex to the trial, the Prosecutor argued that Charlie refers to
- 8 Cameroon, as well as to Mr Kokate. It could also mean, using the NATO
- 9 alphabet, the name of anyone beginning with C, such as Carlos or Canada.
- 10 Mama Leki refers to Mr Bemba's cousin. So on what grounds does the
- 11 Prosecutor come to the conclusion that Charlie refers to Eke or, Mama Leki in
- 12 a conversation between Mr Arido and a witness?
- 13 In document CAR-OTP-0089-0515, page or lines 384 to 385, after a lengthy
- 14 conversation on politics as usual, Mr Bemba asked Mr Babala in a very direct
- way, send an SMS to the colleague. I am looking for him.
- 16 PRESIDING JUDGE SCHMITT: Mr Rodoma, just a moment. There seems
- 17 to be a problem with the French transcript. Is this true or has this been
- 18 solved in the meantime?
- 19 THE COURT OFFICER: Mr Rodoma is speaking way too fast to allow the
- 20 court reporters to type his speech.
- 21 PRESIDING JUDGE SCHMITT: So Mr Rodoma, we don't have a technical
- 22 problem. So I remind you to really try to slow down. Although we all
- 23 know that temperaments are different, of course.
- 24 MR RODOMA: (Interpretation) Thank you, Mr President. I will make a
- 25 significant effort.

1 Mr President, in the third conversation, Mr Babala is being charged with

- 2 paying witnesses and families through direct transfer of funds, directly or
- 3 through intermediaries such as P-0272. In support of this argument the
- 4 Prosecutor refers to paragraph 180 of his brief which has nothing to do with
- 5 this charge. Clearly, Mr Babala transferred at the request of Mr Kilolo \$665
- 6 to the lady witness D57 and through P-0272 and (Redacted). At paragraph
- 7 171 of his pre-trial brief, the Prosecutor argues that in its -- and as well as in
- 8 its final submissions at page 172, 116 rather, Mr Kilolo had at least two
- 9 telephone conversations during that week with D64 and that they
- 10 communicated by messages during that time.
- But the Prosecutor does not establish that during the same period Mr Babala
- 12 had any contacts with Mr Kilolo, during which there was discussion of
- 13 witness influencing.
- How can it be that the Prosecutor is so specific when it comes to Mr Kilolo's
- 15 contacts with that witness and is vague when it comes to Mr Kilolo's contacts
- with Mr Babala and the same witness? How would Mr Babala have known
- 17 that the beneficiary of the transfer requested by Mr Kilolo was a witness?
- 18 So unfortunately, the Prosecutor relies on a conversation about "faire du
- 19 sucre aux gens" and comes to faulty conclusions when it comes to Mr Babala.
- 20 There is no evidence anywhere to point that Mr Jean-Pierre Bemba and
- 21 Fidèle Babala in any way whatsoever were talking about a witness. In fact,
- 22 it was a matter of Mr Bemba's sister having to receive some money through
- 23 such transfers, and therefore it is in this context that there was reference to
- 24 the death celebrations of Honourable Kanku, and there is no way by which
- such a sentence could be linked to the rather foggy strategy of the

- 1 Prosecutor.
- 2 The Prosecutor is misleading the Chamber by using terms which have no
- 3 content and no relation to the conversations.
- 4 Let me read material relating to various witnesses, D64, D57, whose words
- 5 and expressions do not appear in document CAR-OTP-0071299 (phon).
- 6 Number four, dissimulating the common plan by the use of codes during
- 7 conversations with Mr Jean-Pierre Bemba. Mr President, your Honours, the
- 8 Prosecutor has referred you to paragraphs 29 and 52 of his pre-trial brief in
- 9 support of this argument. And once again this is light-handed, a
- 10 light-handed way of proceeding because there is no reference to the
- allegations. These are contained, in fact, at paragraphs 46 and 47.
- 12 At paragraph 46, the Prosecutor mentions four conversations between
- 13 Mr Bemba and Defence persons as well as between Mr Kilolo and
- 14 Mr Mangenda in which they talk in codes.
- 15 Those conversations clearly indicate that Mr Bemba used codes when he
- 16 communicated with most of his interlocutors, particularly for political and
- 17 strategic reasons.
- 18 So when you take a conversation between Mr Bemba and Mr Babala, as
- 19 mentioned in argument in support of the dissimulation of the common plan,
- 20 there is no evidence that has been proven that has been put forth to support
- 21 that allegation. In fact, Mr Babala had some contact with Mr Bemba and
- 22 they discussed matters of diplomatic and political nature.
- 23 Fifth fact, paying witnesses in order to influence their testimony. This is as
- 24 cloudy an argument as the others. At paragraph 58, 57 and 74, the
- 25 Prosecutor refers to these paragraphs in his brief, but once again they are not

- 1 clear. A document that has been produced by the Prosecutor in itself does
- 2 not argue the absolute reality or materiality of the facts that he, the
- 3 Prosecutor himself, seeks to establish.
- 4 The argument that witnesses were paid in full knowledge, that the witnesses
- 5 were aware of the relationship, I refer here to a document in which
- 6 Mr Babala is required to determine whether Mr Babala actually made these
- 7 transfers at the behest of Mr Bemba. And so the whole issue here is about
- 8 whether or not such payments could be made.
- 9 The Prosecutor further attempted to demonstrate the existence of a common
- 10 plan by referring to conversations Mr Babala and Mr Kilolo and he used
- 11 expressions as after-sales service, from time to time 50 from time to time
- 12 100 --
- 13 PRESIDING JUDGE SCHMITT: The court officer is standing. This means
- 14 something.
- 15 (Counsel confer)
- 16 MR RODOMA: (Interpretation) On 31 May 2016, the Prosecutor in his oral
- 17 submission once again attempted in vain to demonstrate the existence of this
- 18 so called common plan when he referred to conversations between Mr Babala
- 19 and Mr Kilolo. And said that terms such as after-sales service from time to
- 20 time 50, from time to time 100, and so on and so forth.
- 21 These conversations actually are part of what could be referred to as a false
- 22 scenario as recognized by the Prosecutor himself. And I think this was
- reiterated to the Court this morning by counsel who spoke before.
- 24 Mr President, your Honours, we are convinced that even without reading
- 25 through the chronological conversations between Mr Kilolo and

- 1 Mr Mangenda of 16 October 2016, 18.48 and 12.38 and 16.38, as well as a
- 2 conversation of 22 October, at 20.26, that chronology of events is all the more
- 3 important because it demonstrates that Mr Babala is simply answering to
- 4 those faulty explanations that were given to him and the blame that was
- 5 placed on Mr Kilolo in relation to the treatment of vulnerable witnesses
- 6 without taking into consideration the various conditions laid out by Trial
- 7 Chamber III.
- 8 Mr Babala, today, it must be said is the victim because in spite of himself,
- 9 and against his own will, he has been placed before you in an unjust and
- 10 unfair manner.
- 11 Mr President, your Honours, from what has been stated above, it is clear that
- 12 the Prosecutor has not established the proof that Mr Babala collaborated with
- 13 the other accused in this matter of transferring funds to members of the
- 14 Defence teams and were used for other purposes. Under Article 70(1)(c) of
- 15 the Rome Statute, subornation of witnesses presupposes that the author
- deliberately seeks to mislead the Court.
- 17 This is only possible where one is able to influence witnesses and where the
- said false testimonies were actually implemented from the proceeding, and
- 19 going by the very confessions of Mr Kilolo's Defence team, it must be said
- 20 that Mr Babala did not know the beneficiaries of the transfer. He did not
- 21 know their status, AND the relation in the case against Mr Bemba and that
- 22 they had no possible family ties with any other person relating to this case.
- 23 I refer to document ICC01/05-01/13-674CONF paragraph 274. Same
- reference to ICC01/05-01/13-CONF-CORR2 (phon), footnote page 228.
- 25 Mr President, your Honours, how could Mr Babala under such conditions

- 1 have been able to determine what to do or brought anyone else to make a
- 2 false statement, given that he was neither the main perpetrator nor a
- 3 co-perpetrator? This makes the offence impossible. Article 70(1)(b) refers
- 4 to false evidence or falsified evidence and therefore deals with false material
- 5 which involves physical alteration of a document, as well as intellectual
- 6 forgery, which would mean subtly influencing the truth in the content of a
- 7 document as it is being drafted.
- 8 To be charged as complicit of such an offence, one must have knowledge of
- 9 the main crime, and at the same time, demonstrate an interest to be part of
- 10 the commission of the crime.
- 11 Pre-Trial Chamber II extensively interpreted this provision when it held that
- 12 Article 70(1)(b) should include all material evidence such as documents,
- 13 evidence, exhibits and oral testimonies. In this regard, Mr President, your
- 14 Honours, Mr Babala, it must be said, was not only unaware and is still
- unaware of all the 14 documents that were allegedly produced before the
- 16 Chamber, as well as has been the argument of his Defence team.
- 17 Furthermore, in its closing arguments on 30 May, the Prosecutor himself
- agreed that Mr Babala did not know the identity of the witness as a soldier,
- 19 ICC-01/05-01/13, T48, page 23. For Mr -- according to that report for
- 20 Mr Kilolo, the persons met in Douala in 2012, namely, D004, D006, D008, and
- 21 D009 were, indeed, to his mind soldiers. Therefore, it is not of bad faith and
- 22 for bad faith that he brought them before this Court as he himself stated
- 23 before this Court on 31st May 2016.
- In these circumstances therefore, the offence under Article 70(1)(b) as upheld
- in the document containing the charges has not been substantiated when it

1 comes to the accused and even, given that Mr Kilolo himself stated that

- 2 Mr Babala was not aware of the status of the Defence.
- 3 It therefore follows that Mr Babala can only be punished for crimes to which
- 4 his conduct relates. It has been argued that such a crime does not exist and,
- 5 furthermore, the Prosecutor has failed to establish beyond reasonable doubt
- 6 that Mr Babala provided any assistance or aid whatsoever in the preparing
- 7 and drafting of documents in relation to any witness whatsoever.
- 8 When it comes to Article 70(1) of the Statute, if one were to suppose,
- 9 Mr President, that false testimony was committed by any of the 16 witnesses
- 10 listed by the Prosecutor, it must be said that Mr Babala never had any contact
- with any of these witnesses as corroborated by the very confession of
- 12 Mr Kilolo's Defence team, Mr Kilolo, former lead counsel for
- 13 Mr Babala -- Mr Bemba rather, when he said Mr Babala was external to the
- team and only acted as a focal point without being associated in whatsoever
- manner to the strategy and to any other confidential matters of the Court.
- 16 How then could he have been able to influence any of the witnesses to
- 17 commit a false testimony or any other such act in the main case? In this
- 18 regard, once again, the Prosecutor has failed to prove the various elements
- 19 that point to a common plan between the five suspects, and that is also in
- 20 line with what the Trial Chamber III, Pre-Trial Chamber, held. It is
- 21 therefore also the case that the Prosecutor has failed to specifically identify
- 22 the witnesses who provided false testimony.
- 23 It therefore must be said, Mr President, that the Prosecutor has failed to
- demonstrate beyond a reasonable doubt that Mr Babala in one way or
- 25 another provided assistance to witnesses in a bid to get them to provide false

- 1 testimony or to alter their statements and that he -- and that he conferred in
- 2 any manner whatsoever with any members of Mr Bemba's Defence team.
- 3 It has been demonstrated, Mr President, above that Mr Babala did not know
- 4 any of the witnesses in the main trial, and he could not and therefore cannot
- 5 be able to influence either directly or indirectly, because all he did was
- 6 simply to help in the financial functioning of a Defence team without
- 7 knowing any details as to the purposes for which the funds will be used.
- 8 The charges against him are, therefore, simply impossible and the only
- 9 possible outcome is to simply acquit him.
- 10 Thank you, Mr President. I thank the entire courtroom for the time that was
- 11 given for us to present our arguments. Thank you.
- 12 PRESIDING JUDGE SCHMITT: I understand that Mr Babala now wants to
- 13 make his unsworn oral statement.
- 14 You have the floor then, Mr Babala.
- 15 MR BABALA: (Interpretation) Mr President, I thank you for allowing me
- 16 to address the Court. Your Honours, I thank you for this opportunity to
- 17 finally address the Court, intuitu personae. The only time I was ever able to
- address the Court since the beginning of these proceedings, which I would
- 19 describe as nightmarish, was at the identification hearing three days after my
- arrest and transfer.
- 21 On this unique occasion, I wondered to myself precisely what I was doing
- 22 before the International Criminal Court.
- 23 After 11 months of detention, after having familiarised myself with all of the
- 24 evidence of the dossier during the time in detention, and especially after
- 25 having followed in passive yet interested manner the presentation of the

- 1 Prosecution case and followed the various testimony provided by the
- 2 Prosecution witnesses and all of those provided by the Defence teams, I'm
- 3 still wondering precisely what I'm doing here.
- 4 THE INTERPRETER: Request from the interpreter. Could you please be
- 5 requested to slow down.
- 6 MR BABALA: (Interpretation) Your Honours, ladies and gentlemen, ladies
- 7 and gentlemen, members of the OTP teams and Defence teams, what brings
- 8 us together today in this courtroom despite our opposing interests is a quest
- 9 for truth. Some would say we are in such of a judicial truth. But I would be
- more inclined to say we are in such of the right truth.
- 11 Your Honours, I responded to a call of distress on the part of
- 12 Mr Jean-Pierre Bemba for whom I have great respect, who was and I, please
- 13 forgive the expression, between a rock and a hard place because of the
- proceedings against him on the one hand and also because he was being
- 15 prosecuted for serious offences. And on the other hand, because he lacked
- the means to assert his rights to defend himself.
- 17 Along with his family, friends and co-workers, a chain of solidarity was set
- 18 up with an aim to finding resources for him to face, to mount a Defence and
- 19 live decently. And that was the sole objective that I had in mind at the time.
- 20 Coming to the aid of somebody one respects is a humanistic value, not a
- 21 form of dishonesty.
- 22 The resources mobilised were meant to be put towards the Defence team and
- 23 the investigations and also for his subsistence at the detention centre, which
- 24 explains the quite regular contact that existed between the members of the
- 25 team and myself.

- 1 In brief, these contacts consisted in assessing the needs of lead counsel or
- 2 Mr Bemba, or in transferring the resources and the communication that the
- 3 operations details, which is where I came in, for the withdrawal of the
- 4 requested funds.
- 5 I was not interested in the details of this case that was confided in the hands
- 6 of the lawyers.
- 7 There was never any question between Mr Bemba and myself or between
- 8 any member of his team and myself of corrupting witnesses or sabotaging
- 9 the judicial process.
- 10 If Mr Bemba had asked me to do this, I would not have recognized him. His
- 11 mandate to the deputy presidency of the republic in charge of economic and
- 12 financial affairs involved fighting against corruption, misappropriation of
- public funds and other such practises. He did not hesitate to punish even
- 14 his closest co-workers who were involved in such practises.
- 15 And I could not therefore imagine that he would do likewise. Our
- 16 conversations with essentially political and private in nature and the only
- times that we talked about the case was quite simply to ask how the last
- 18 hearing went. It was really a question of decorum.
- 19 When, for example, you talk of somebody who is sick, the question that you
- 20 put to him or her is how they are doing. It is not because you want to give
- 21 this person treatment or because one has become a doctor overnight, it is
- 22 merely because such a question is timely. This was also the case when I
- 23 would give him the information of requests made by his Defence team. It
- 24 was simply a question of transparency.
- 25 THE INTERPRETER: Request from the interpreter. Could he please be

- 1 requested to slow down.
- 2 PRESIDING JUDGE SCHMITT: Mr Babala, we have the same problem that
- 3 we had before. And I understand, of course, that this is very special
- 4 situation for you. But if you also could please try to slow down a little bit.
- 5 Thank you very much.
- 6 MR BABALA: (Interpretation) I was always reassured when I heard from
- 7 the mouth of the president that you were professional judges. You will,
- 8 therefore, be able to distinguish between rushed, hashed and biassed
- 9 investigations and methods used by the Prosecution and the truth that you
- are seeking to establish via these proceedings.
- 11 Whatever the case may be, I am not a member of the Bemba Defence team. I
- 12 am not the manager of his possessions, and I was never aware of any alleged
- plan to corruptly influence witnesses and sabotage the judicial process or
- 14 any intention of taking part in it.
- 15 The Prosecution has not brought and will never bring any probative
- 16 evidence to contradict my statements. Quite simply because these elements
- 17 do not exist.
- 18 If the funds sent to the Defence team were unlawful, would it not have been
- 19 more intelligent to hand them over mano a mano rather than send them via
- 20 Western Union? I am not an imbecile.
- 21 I am being prosecuted, it would seem, for having used in my telephone
- 22 conversations with Mr Bemba a language full of allusion, deemed to be
- 23 coded by the Prosecution.
- 24 It is the manner that Mr Bemba expressed himself in before and after the
- 25 material time whoever he might have been talking to.

1 What is more, this type of language could protect me because I was living in

- 2 a dangerous country and 99 of our telephone calls were political in nature,
- 3 after all.
- 4 That is why, despite the lack of probative evidence against me, I was arrested
- 5 and transferred before this Court in violation of my rights. Why did the
- 6 ICC never note that any of my rights had been violated whilst my counsel
- 7 and I have constantly talked of this? And why was it that the documents, in
- 8 the documents there exist a similarity in the practise of the organs of the
- 9 Court and the authorities of my country?
- 10 Here are a few examples in support of my claim. When in violation of the
- 11 presumption of innocence the authorities of my country filmed and
- 12 broadcast continuously images of a major criminal handcuffed and prostrate
- 13 with nothing but contempt for my human dignity, these very same images
- 14 were then broadcast the world over. I did not once hear the Office of the
- 15 Prosecutor rise up against this summary condemnation by the media.
- Which then culminated in a press briefing by the minister of information and
- 17 a press conference by the Prosecutor in Kinshasa claiming, in no uncertain
- 18 terms, that I was guilty of the charges.
- 19 Your Honours, the crimes with which I am charged require an examination
- 20 of my honesty. I accept that my ethics be scrutinised, but I wonder if the
- 21 person calling my honourability into question is the touchstone by which
- 22 international morality can be measured?
- 23 Especially if we know that this referred person validated the legal theories of
- one of the most retrograde dictatorships in Africa.
- 25 Worse still, when during the entire pre-trial phase, these same authorities

continued to impede my return to my home country, presenting me as a

- 2 danger to public peace and a threat to peace while I was elected to universal
- 3 suffrage on two occasions, and I never broke the laws of my country. My
- 4 political combat has taken place for the most part within the hemicycle and
- 5 through the activities of my party. When, unashamedly, the minister of
- 6 justice, the ministry of justice, the deputy minister and the prosecutor
- 7 general of my country, on behalf of my country in turn expressed their will
- 8 that I should not return to DRC for very vacuous reasons, the Prosecution
- 9 relied on these arguments and argued against my provisional release and the
- 10 Single Judge repeated this in his successive arguments. Worse still, the
- 11 Single Judge of the Pre-Trial Chamber, in the context of my provisional
- 12 release, requested that I choice a host country in case the Congolese
- authorities continued to oppose my return to the DRC, forgetting that for
- one, my arrest took place in Kinshasa and, two, I am a Congolese national
- 15 and not a stateless individual.

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- With regard to the Single Judge of the Pre-Trial Chamber, I was very
- impressed by his capacity to read 1,550 pages of the Prosecution's request for
- a warrant of arrest between 11.35 on 19 November 2013 and 11.48 on the next
- day, which is an average of 193 pages per hour for a normal working day
- 20 comprising 8 legal hours of work.
- 21 With regard to the practises, both the Congolese authorities and the organs
- 22 of the ICC indulged in exaggerated and superfluous activities. Indeed, at
- 23 least 100 police officers came armed to the teeth to arrest me. Yet I would
- 24 not have put up any resistance to a subpoena or an invitation to appear
- 25 signed by the prosecutor general of the republic.

- 1 The ICC chartered an entire plane for me alone, whilst I have no crime of
- 2 genocide, no war crime, no crime against humanity, no crime of aggression.
- 3 I do not believe that this is the best way to use taxpayers' money.
- 4 There is nothing surprising about this when we know the Prosecutor's
- 5 generosity with regard to his own witnesses.
- 6 Your Honour, Mr President, you will be the only people by virtue of your
- 7 professionalism to be able to restore the image of this institution which has
- 8 been significantly, significantly sullied by the dubious procedural practises
- 9 of the Prosecution.
- 10 Such practises give substance to those of those African countries who believe
- 11 that your institution administers justice, to paraphrase La Fontaine, whether
- 12 you be rich or poor, tall or short, black, yellow or white.
- 13 Your Honours, with your authorisation I would like to revisit the conditions
- 14 under which the warrant of arrest issued by the ICC was executed upon my
- 15 person.
- At 2.40 a.m. in the night of 23 and 24 of November 2013, I was awoken by the
- 17 constant barking of my dogs. And I glanced out of my window. From
- there I saw and was able to rapidly count approximately 30 individuals
- 19 wearing balaclavas and armed with Kalashnikovs, tear gas and grenade
- 20 launchers in my car -- in my garden.
- 21 I was then, I only then had the time to put my wife and children safely in
- 22 their rooms and I rushed a call for help, calling the president of the national
- assembly and the town governor to no avail.
- 24 After having opened the door of the house, I had a gun pointed at me by at
- least 6 individuals with guns less than 30 centimetres away from my chest

- and they then pressed me to follow them without any explanation in
- 2 violation of the laws of the republic. The thought that went through my
- 3 mind at that moment was that I was close to death.
- 4 Out of modesty, I shall not mention the trauma experienced by my wife and
- 5 children. I was placed in a Jeep. The impressive police contingent had
- 6 alarmed the neighbours in the area who were themselves surrounded by
- 7 approximately 100 policemen. Without any further explanation, I am
- 8 driven, manu militari, to the intelligence services offices.
- 9 During the journey, I was appalled to hear over the police communication
- 10 system that my colleague, the MP for Bacongo, had been assassinated. You
- can imagine my terror at that moment because I did not know that a warrant
- of arrest had been issued against me and the prisons of the intelligence
- services are close to the Congo river, a favourite spot for extrajudicial
- 14 executions.
- 15 I remained detained in these premises from 3 a.m. until 1 p.m. on the next
- day and was then taken to the office of the prosecutor general of the republic
- 17 who, after a few formalities, notified me of the warrant of arrest issued by
- 18 the ICC.
- 19 I was then taken to the air force base at Kinshasa airport where I was
- 20 presented to the officers of the ICC, who then handcuffed me, gave me a
- 21 bulletproof vest and loaded me onto a Falcon jet bound for The Hague.
- 22 All of this was filmed by TV cameras and I had not either slept or eaten nor
- 23 had I been able to drink any water for two days.
- 24 And also you should know throughout the flight I was handcuffed the entire
- 25 time. These images were played ad infinitum in the DRC for at least a week

1 until the Pre-Trial Chamber ordered it to be stopped because of the

- 2 presumption of innocence.
- 3 Arrested on the very same day pursuant to a warrant of arrest, Mr Kilolo
- 4 arrived at the detention centre two days after me. Mr Mangenda arrived
- 5 three days after me and Mr Arido nearly four months after me.
- 6 This is because their country of residence decided to observe international
- 7 procedures or internal correction procedures foremost, and then observe the
- 8 warrant of arrest issued by the ICC. This was not the case regarding my
- 9 person.
- 10 So this brings me to wonder. Am I the victim of a certain agreement with
- the DRC, a sort of mechanical form of cooperation, servile form of
- 12 cooperation because they are servile to the ICC or rather am I victim of
- 13 political commitment? Does the ICC not have provisions to protect people
- who are quite simply suspects against the arbitrary actions of the state
- 15 authorities? And even against all-powerful OTP and Pre-Trial Chamber?
- 16 Do human rights not exist before the ICC or do they simply not exist when
- 17 opponents to the current regime face prosecution?
- 18 Your Honours, would an American, would a Frenchman or would a German
- 19 have been arrested under similar conditions?
- 20 Is one still in the 21st century damned because one is born in Africa or more
- 21 particularly born in the DRC?
- 22 I may not be familiar with your system, but I refuse to believe as an MP who
- 23 a few years ago voted in the law ratifying the Rome Statute setting up the
- 24 ICC, I refuse to believe that this Court is devoid of responsibility, be it by
- 25 virtue of its action or lack of action when executing its texts.

- 1 I think that the acquiescence of the ICC with regard to the violation of my
- 2 fundamental rights is a tacit form of agreement with countries like mine who
- 3 indulge lightly in the corruption of this practise, whereas to my mind the
- 4 ICC should incite or even have a didactic role towards other, less advanced
- 5 legal systems.
- 6 Your Honours, you will no doubt have noted by way of the facts recounted
- 7 with regard to my brutal and illegal arrest that, contrary to the arrests made
- 8 in Paris, in The Hague and in Brussels against my co-accused present here
- 9 today, the arrest conducted in Kinshasa against me by the judicial authorities
- of the Parquet Général de la République upon an injunction upon the
- ministry of justice constitutes a violation of the constitution of Congolese
- 12 law, and the elementary rules of human rights, namely, the Universal
- 13 Declaration of Human Rights and its Articles 3, 5 and 7, the African Charter
- on Human and People's Rights, to which the preamble of the Congolese
- 15 constitution refers in its Articles 5, 6 and 7, the Rome Statute and Articles 21
- and 59 thereof and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights,
- 17 notably Articles 9 and 10 thereof.
- Now, to return to the law of this Court, I have noted that at Article 59 of the
- 19 Rome Statute, a State Party which has received a request for arrest or
- 20 surrender shall take steps to arrest the person in accordance with its laws
- 21 and without any form of precipitation, considering that the arrested person
- 22 can make use of any law provided for under this provision that requesting of
- 23 the competent authority of the state that he be provisionally released.
- In my case, there was no hearing, no interview, no reading of my rights.
- Number two, as an MP and mandated by the people of my country, my

- 1 arrest should and must be made with the authorisation of the national
- 2 assembly of which I am a member. I was arrested without any prior
- 3 information reaching the parliament and none of my rights were observed.
- 4 Three, under Article 22 in fine of the code -- of the Congolese criminal code,
- 5 visits to premises, searches and seizures, notably visits to private residences
- 6 may only commence after 5 a.m. and no later than 9.30 p.m., unless
- 7 authorised by the Presiding Judge of the Tribunal du Grand Instance.
- 8 However, I was arrested and transferred to the ICC at 2.40 in the morning.
- 9 That is five hours and 40 minutes after and two hours and 10 minutes prior
- 10 to the legal hours authorised, without observing any of the rules of criminal
- 11 procedure.
- 12 Your Honours, in addition to these violations of the conditions of my arrest,
- transfer and detention, which harmed me deeply and profoundly and
- 14 affected me in an indelible manner, I returned to the main question: What
- 15 precisely am I doing here? Your Honours, Mr President, I completely
- adhere to the observations and conclusions made by my Defence team since
- 17 the outset of the proceedings, and I lay my full trust in justice and I thank
- 18 you.
- 19 PRESIDING JUDGE SCHMITT: Thank you very much. I think this
- 20 concludes for the moment the presentations by the Defence of Mr Babala.
- 21 Is this correct, Mr Kilenda?
- 22 MR KILENDA: (Interpretation) That's correct, your Honour.
- 23 PRESIDING JUDGE SCHMITT: So then we would have now the
- 24 lunch-break until 2 o'clock.
- 25 THE COURT USHER: All rise.

- 1 (Recess taken at 12.30 p.m.)
- 2 (Upon resuming in open session at 2.00 p.m.)
- 3 THE COURT USHER: All rise.
- 4 PRESIDING JUDGE SCHMITT: Please be seated.
- 5 I give now the floor to the Defence of Mr Arido. Please, Mr Taku.
- 6 MR TAKU: Good afternoon, your Honours.
- 7 The Prosecution at paragraph 347 of the Prosecution closing brief attempted
- 8 to mislead the Court by stating that the Arido Defence conceded in the Arido
- 9 opening statement that Arido provided false information to Mr Kilolo, as
- 10 opposed to Trial Chamber III and that it also considered dealings with
- 11 Cameroon witnesses, which Arido denied in his French statements. Your
- 12 Honours, you listened patiently to the opening statement of Mr Arido. This
- 13 statement is false, and with it, several other statements contained in the
- 14 Prosecutor's brief.
- 15 The Arido Defence vehemently rejects this mischaracterization of the Arido
- 16 Defence opening statement. The opening statement was clearly referring to
- 17 defining the very limited scope of the charges against Mr Arido in the
- 18 confirmation decision at paragraph 89 and restated by your Honours on
- 19 29 September 2015. It is therefore, your Honours, incorrect to impute any
- 20 other motives or interpretations of these opening statements. We
- 21 vehemently, vehemently denied all the charges against Mr Arido.
- 22 Your Honours, the Arido Defence argues the Trial Chamber to construe this
- 23 mischaracterization as a futile attempt to explain away the inability of the
- 24 Prosecution to meet its evidentiary burden in each of the charges against
- 25 Mr Arido. The Prosecution, your Honours, is picking and choosing to make

- 1 its case.
- 2 And this is very evident in paragraph 346, when the Prosecutor refers to an
- 3 email exchange between Mr Arido and D2, relating to some political matters
- 4 in Central African Republic long after, almost a year after the Douala
- 5 encounter. And the Prosecutor attempts to bring it within the context of the
- 6 Douala meeting to say that Mr Arido was advising witnesses not to discuss
- 7 the case so as to conceal the alleged plan.
- 8 One thing that has come out through this trial, your Honours, is that the
- 9 evidence on record indicate that there were two categories of refugees,
- 10 Central African refugees in Cameroon. There were those refugees among
- the more than 280,000 Central African refugees in Cameroon who were
- displaced by the war after the hostilities to Cameroon to seek refuge, and
- they were promptly settled in refugee camps. There were others who, like
- D2 and D3, who themselves in their own words said that they were escaping
- 15 from reprisal attacks by the new government that took place in Central
- 16 Africa as a result of the war in 2002 to 2003.
- 17 And the question is why reprisal attacks? Why should they be targeted for
- 18 attacks? Why should this new government pursue them to their country of
- 19 refuge to target them for reprisal attacks? The answer lies in the emails
- 20 communication which I will cite shortly and it lies also in their statements
- 21 and the reasons that they provided both to the Prosecution, provided to
- 22 Mr Arido and Mr Kilolo in their email communications why they were
- afraid, why they didn't have adequate protection in Cameroon.
- 24 They never said at any stage they feared for their life because of the
- 25 testimony in the Bemba case. They said that they were afraid of attacks by

- the force of Bemba and different participants in the conflict in Central Africa.
- 2 It is our submission, your Honours, that D2 and D3 did not need to be
- 3 coached nor to be recruited by Mr Arido. We will prove very soon from
- 4 their own words that they knew (Redacted).
- 5 (Redacted)
- 6 (Redacted)
- 7 (Redacted)
- 8 (Redacted)
- 9 (Redacted)
- 10 (Redacted)
- 11 (Redacted)
- 12 (Redacted)
- 13 (Redacted)
- 14 (Redacted). Now, these peace talks was
- 15 about what? Were peace talks to bring peace in Central African Republic as
- a result of that very war, the conflict from which he said he knew nothing,
- 17 Mr Arido had to coach him, he had to take notes, dip them in tea in order to
- 18 convince Mr Kilolo that they were old notes.
- 19 Your Honours found when he came here that when he met Mr Kilolo, that he
- 20 showed the note to Mr Kilolo, that he even, in the course of the interviews
- 21 with Mr Kilolo, produced this note or read these notes in order to refresh his
- 22 memory? The answer, your Honours, as obviously as day follows night, he
- 23 didn't, and indeed, he met Mr Kilolo himself in the absence of Mr Arido.
- 24 That's what he says.
- 25 But if he dipped a note in tea to convince Mr Kilolo they were old notes, did

- he convince him? Did he use this note for the purpose for which he said
- 2 dipped them in tea? The answer clearly is no. And therefore there must
- 3 have been another reason why he dipped these notes in tea: In order to
- 4 convince the Prosecutor, to deceive the Prosecutor, mislead the Prosecutor
- 5 that, indeed, his story of Mr Arido was credible, and that's why he said he
- 6 recopied the note some months after.

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- 7 Your Honours, the Prosecutor wisely advised this Honourable court to treat
- 8 the testimony of witnesses with caution. He laid out many factors which
- 9 the Court will consider in assessing their credibility. We'll come to that
- shortly, but what is important here, your Honours, is that through these
- witnesses and other evidence the Prosecutor did not meet the evidentiary
- 12 threshold. The Prosecutor himself, your Honours, stated yesterday, and I
- will quote him shortly, but I'll quote him after qualifying my statement,
- 14 introducing my statement this way, to conclude, as the Prosecutor attempts
- 15 to do, that Mr Arido recruited these witnesses, he coached them and
- improperly influenced them, your Honours, and to urge your Honours to
- 17 convict based on evidence in record, is a theory that rests on the very last
- assumption, Mr Arido -- the assumption is that the Prosecutor had to prove
- 19 that Mr Arido was privy to the Defence, to the Bemba Defence case theory.
- 20 Yet at that point in time Mr Arido had not even met Mr Kilolo physically,
- 21 face to face, nor, I submit, the witnesses, and that is evidence on record. By
- 22 what means had Mr Arido to know the case theory in Bemba?
- 23 The Prosecutor brought the call data that it could have and produced none
- 24 within that period and gave no explanation about the inability to produce
- 25 the call, telephone call records for the period in question. They did not even

attempt an explanation. They didn't merely withhold them in order not to

- 2 provide exculpatory evidence in favour of Mr Arido. What happened to the
- 3 call record within that period? It remains a mystery, your Honours. And
- 4 we are not going to conjecture, we are not going to decide this case on
- 5 conjecture.

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- 6 But the important thing, your Honours, is this, the Prosecutor, in his own
- 7 words yesterday said this, and I'll quote with your permission: "Arido had
- 8 to know the theory of the Defence, of the Defence case inside out, backwards
- 9 and forwards in order to be able to instruct these witnesses. He had to
- 10 know what would help Bemba in Bemba's trial, Have to read the interview
- statements and note the details that's in them. The only one way Arido
- 12 could have coached these witnesses and known what could work for the
- 13 Defence and that is through Bemba's lawyer, otherwise the plans couldn't
- 14 work. There would be inconsistencies. There would be guesswork
- involved, and simply would not fly." Page 27 and -- pages 27 and 28, the
- transcript of 31 May 2017. That was the Prosecutor's submission before
- 17 your Honours.
- 18 Now, let's proceed to ask your Honours, having said so, did the Prosecutor
- 19 at any stage of this case bring to your attention or call in evidence to show
- 20 that Mr Arido knew about the Bemba trial strategy, knew about the evidence
- 21 in Bemba's case, even knew about the content of the charges? The
- 22 Prosecutor failed, your Honours, to do so. And therefore we urge the Court
- 23 to hold the Prosecutor to this statement, hold the Prosecutor to this statement
- 24 which we adopt in the Defence of Mr Arido to say that it is preposterous to
- 25 say that Mr Arido will coach witnesses about a case whose case theory he

1 knew nothing about, and where there is no information, no evidence before

- 2 the Honourable court to suggest the contrary.
- 3 He had to be a magician, even a magician, even a magician would make
- 4 some error in this particular case, and we know, your Honours, that with the
- 5 protective measures in place, with the Court procedures, at least the Office of
- 6 the Prosecutor has not complained, or the Defence, that Mr Arido broke into
- 7 the Court system in order to know. Mr Arido knew Mr Bemba, Mr Babala,
- 8 Mr Kilolo -- I mean Mr Bemba, Mr Mangenda only when he was detained
- 9 here. You heard that evidence. He never knew them previously. And in
- 10 the case of attempts of other ethnic affinity or some other public affinity is
- 11 very, very far removed. He's a Central African and my colleague will
- 12 inform you when she gets up to submit, he's the only Central African in the
- 13 case. Why, we will prove why they brought him here in order to look for
- 14 ways to convict him (Redacted), who was in the case long
- 15 before Mr Kilolo and who had submitted a list of witnesses, these witnesses,
- to Mr Nkwebe, the first witness who will cite evidence, this witness who was
- 17 known. He submitted that list, saying they were in his militia, and then
- other witnesses in 2010 to Mr Nkwebe. So he knows more about the case
- 19 than even any other person who is in this Court. We will try to submit, in
- 20 the absence of the explanation of the Prosecutor, why they would prefer to
- 21 sacrifice him (Redacted). Mr Kokate must be a very
- 22 important person to the system, rendering services to the system and we will
- 23 demonstrate that when we come to that.
- 24 Your Honours, the Prosecutor also suggested that Mr Arido, in order to
- 25 conceal or mitigate his guilt made a misstatement to the French investigators

- 1 regarding the amount of money he received. Your Honour, the
- 2 circumstances under which he was arrested, this was asked, we've written
- 3 about in our submissions, but even Prosecutor witnesses refused that they
- 4 received money for number one, anybody paid them, and they came here
- 5 every morning they received from the Prosecutor, they were very reluctant
- 6 or they did not even provide the details. They minimised the amounts until
- 7 documents with proof were brought to confront them even by the Prosecutor
- 8 himself and the Defence. You had that very, very credible, very strong
- 9 condemnation by Mr Chris Gosnell about the amount they received from the
- 10 Prosecutor. That's what they were about -- that's why they even accepted.
- 11 But you know, your Honours, from the emails we will point to, and many of
- which are before the Court, that D2 and D3, everything around them was
- about money, topo, financial gain, they wanted to make money from every,
- 14 from both sides in the case and although the confirming Judge said that
- 15 Mr Arido attempted to exploit their precarious financial situation, your
- 16 Honours, these were not witnesses that had any precarious financial
- 17 situation. D2 himself testified, your Honours, that (Redacted)
- 18 (Redacted)
- 19 (Redacted)
- 20 (Redacted)
- 21 (Redacted)
- 22 (Redacted)
- 23 PRESIDING JUDGE SCHMITT: Mr Taku, you are now revealing information
- 24 that should perhaps not be revealed. I would perhaps suggest that you omit
- 25 this because I do not really want to go into private session, to be

- 1 honest.
- 2 MR TAKU: Your Honour --
- 3 PRESIDING JUDGE SCHMITT: So if you could and could be aware of the
- 4 problem that could arise, so if you are vigilant, to put it this way, when you
- 5 come to your further submissions on that, in that respect, I think we would
- 6 appreciate that very much because I think it is preferable that we have the
- 7 closing statements of everybody in open session. So please continue and
- 8 have this in mind, please.
- 9 MR TAKU: Indeed, I have it in mind. That's why I didn't mention the
- 10 location where he represented the president. I had wanted -- I didn't
- 11 mention that.
- 12 I think I'm careful enough this attribute which he gave himself before here
- could be ascribed to just anyone, it will not lead to discover anyone. There
- 14 are thousands of people in Africa as the expats or African descent in
- 15 Yaoundé in Cameroon who are, who are themselves (Redacted).
- 16 PRESIDING JUDGE SCHMITT: Mr Vanderpuye.
- 17 MR VANDERPUYE: Thank you, Mr President. And I'm aware of your
- 18 concern, but I think it is appropriate we go into private session just for a
- 19 moment. I'm very sorry about this, but I think, I think my colleague's recent
- 20 remarks are just not suitable for public broadcast.
- 21 PRESIDING JUDGE SCHMITT: Then we go shortly in private session.
- 22 (Private session at 2.21 p.m.)
- 23 (Redacted)
- 24 (Redacted)
- 25 (Redacted)

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- 16 (Redacted)
- 17 (Redacted)
- 18 (Redacted)
- 19 (Redacted)
- 20 (Redacted)
- 21 (Redacted)
- 22 (Redacted)
- 23 (Open session at 2.24 p.m.)
- 24 THE COURT OFFICER: We are back in open session, Mr President.
- 25 PRESIDING JUDGE SCHMITT: So please proceed, Mr Taku.

- 1 MR TAKU: Well, your Honours, without being very specific, from the
- 2 political connections of this individual, which he testified about, he was
- 3 perhaps one of the most influential, one of the most powerful individuals
- 4 within the refugee community in Cameroon. He wielded a lot of influence.
- 5 When I get to read some of his answers, maybe although I will not disclose
- 6 his identity, but just to be very, very cautious, I will check whether I could do
- 7 that in closed session. But he was one of the most powerful individuals.
- 8 He did not need to be coached. And I wonder whether at that point when
- 9 they met in Douala he really intended to be relocated to any other country
- 10 out of Africa.
- 11 I think, your Honours, that his greatest ambition was to get back to his
- 12 country and claim political power. You can see that in his emails. You can
- see when he's talking about, writing emails, clearly (Redacted).
- 14 You can see trying to organise the community in order to seek political
- 15 power. That was his greatest ambition at that point in time. This was
- through most of the emails apart from maybe at least one or two that he sent
- 17 to Mr Kilolo that I will read when I get to that spot.
- 18 Of course, I would just put, to be very cautious, his missionary activities, he
- 19 managed to impress (Redacted)
- 20 (Redacted)
- 21 (Redacted)
- 22 (Redacted)
- 23 (Redacted). And you had the opportunity of watching his
- 24 demeanour here. You had opportunity of listening to him. You had
- 25 opportunity to see if he was someone who could be coached. It looked like

1 somebody who wanted to hold himself as an intellectual, as a leader. And I

- 2 don't think there was a lot of coaching in the presence of someone who had
- 3 organised a series of activities intended to reclaim political power back in his
- 4 country.
- 5 With regard to D3, clearly from his own answers, D3 negates the charge.
- 6 When I get there I will point your attention to references. He said, "Arido
- 7 never told me to say that I'm a soldier, I'm a soldier, Central African soldier."
- 8 And he said, "If Arido told me to say so and I will ask my matriculation
- 9 number, military number, what will I say? No. That's why I will have to
- say I was a soldier in the particular militia." That was his own words.
- But consistently in the Prosecutor's submissions, he says that the government
- of Arido instructed this individual to say they were soldiers of the Central
- 13 African army but the witness himself says no. In my own case, Arido did
- 14 not instruct me to say so.
- 15 And the very witness again I will point out the reference again soon say in
- respects of D2, the idea of coaching in Douala didn't occur from the
- 17 statement of this witness if you read his witness -- evidence, I think when we
- 18 get to closed session, I don't want to stop for closed session, I will wait and
- 19 draw your attention to that and read it out, so as not to disrupt the flow of
- 20 my submissions. He said that, no, he has said that Arido said that, coached
- 21 him to say in Douala that he was a sub-lieutenant. But this Witness said no,
- 22 in Yaoundé, Arido introduced him as lieutenant, but in Douala, he himself,
- 23 he himself told, introduced himself as an intelligence officer. And when he
- 24 was asked, when Arido introduced you as a lieutenant, not sub-lieutenant as
- 25 he claims, which he says, did he mention a mission? No, he did not

- 1 mention the specific army. Therefore, the submission of the Prosecutor
- 2 either is selective or the Prosecutor did not pay attention to the answers that
- 3 were given during cross-examination that contradict the Prosecution
- 4 evidence.
- 5 Now, your Honours, D2, in a brief we pointed to the celebratory email where
- 6 he said that (Redacted). That was on 24 March 2013,
- 7 (Redacted).
- 8 Now, that was in an email he sent to Mr Arido and that was on 24 March.
- 9 Now, when he sent this email even before he testified in June, therefore
- 10 clearly at the time he went to testify what was on his mind was not the
- 11 relocation, was not anything that Arido was said to have coached him, it was
- 12 about going back home to reclaim a political position because according to
- 13 him, (Redacted). So outside of
- the email that he sent to Mr Arido, that was his focus at that point in time,
- 15 your Honours.
- 16 (Redacted). But
- 17 suddenly after his testimony he changed focus and he sent an email that was
- a week after the testimony, CAR-OTP-0088-0509. I have read this email
- 19 several times in my opening statement and also at trial. And he says:
- 20 (Interpretation) "By the present, I am bringing to your attention that what is
- 21 happening between Arido and myself risks leading to death."
- 22 And he went further to say: (Interpretation) "In this regard and given the
- 23 above, I ask you to seize the Court and ensure that we are relocated without
- 24 conditions. Without conditions. I know the intentions of Arido, his ruses,
- 25 and what he can do because he always writes to betray. If the Court and

1 you do nothing, don't regret it tomorrow and have no remorse, because in

- 2 writing to you I think I can trust you. All this group of thugs don't
- 3 recognize good acts. Furthermore, my wife wishes to confirm to you
- 4 everything that I've said. Significantly, he says no, that (Redacted)
- 5 (Redacted). They
- 6 will not pardon us, given that D4 informed D7 has through inattention
- 7 thrown oil on the fire and as I know them, they will use this information and
- 8 their discontent at lamentably having failed and their plan of swindling has
- 9 been thwarted."
- 10 (Speaks English) He states in that email that clearly Arido did not want him
- 11 to testify in the main case.
- 12 And I think, your Honours, you will remember the only instance where he
- 13 himself testified about was that before Arido left Cameroon to France, Arido
- 14 met him at the post, the central post and told him, "I have left that case. I've
- 15 left that case. My life has been placed in danger and they did nothing about
- 16 it. I leave you, do whatever you want for yourself." And they were
- followed by another email, which is before the Court, long, at least a year,
- 18 Your Honours, before he testified. And the question your Honour will ask
- again is that for an individual with a profile, with this profile, with this
- 20 unprecedented degree of ambition and leadership, a claimant for leadership,
- 21 Arido had left. If it were to be speculated, and we do not concede that, even
- 22 if Arido told him, Arido had left. Now, one year after, your Honours, he
- 23 goes to testify, can Arido be said to have coached this individual to testify
- 24 falsely in the Bemba case under the circumstances? Your Honours will
- 25 provide an answer to this in your deliberations.

But again, he says in this email that in addition to finding him, in addition

- 2 Arido had found him, that Arido did not want him to testify and present
- 3 Arido, instead of the 10 million, instead of the promise, promise of
- 4 relocation, he now provided that Arido is an immediate danger to him and
- 5 that he should consider, the lawyers should consider asking the ICC to
- 6 relocate him to some other location because his life was probably in danger
- 7 in the hands of Arido, and a number of military officials in his home.
- 8 (Redacted)
- 9 (Redacted)
- 10 (Redacted)
- 11 (Redacted)
- 12 (Redacted)
- 13 (Redacted)
- 14 (Redacted).
- 15 But here he presents him alongside Arido and other people, people who
- were a threat to his life on the basis of which he was seeking relocation.
- 17 Now, if relocation was offered to him as one of -- as incentive to testify, why
- 18 not just tell counsel if it was done pursuant to another strategy and the
- 19 counsel to whom was complaining was part of the overall strategy.
- 20 Why, why present a member, an alleged member of that plan as immediate
- 21 cause of danger to him alongside military officials in his country? And why
- 22 would these officials, in an independent neighbouring country want to come
- 23 to another country in the subregion that they have good relations to harm
- 24 someone who has sought protection in their country from reprisal, from
- 25 reprisals that he himself says in his own emails? Why, your Honours? His

- statement here. Why? There must be a reason. He must have been
- 2 identified. He was an identified enemy to them. They knew him. And
- 3 that's why that would happen.
- 4 And I do not want to go into other issues that they raised against Arido here.
- 5 They are not good for public consumption. I really hesitate, your Honours,
- 6 that you read and you see the degree of hatred coupled with evidence of one
- 7 of the witnesses who testified against Mr Arido. This when you put all of
- 8 them in context.
- 9 The problem, your Honours, here is that the question of the mens rea of
- 10 Mr Arido, which my colleagues talk which was not proved. What was the
- state of mind of this witness? What was the state of mind? Well, it can be
- inferred from his own statements and from this email.
- Now, your Honours, on the 28 October 2013, email CAR-D24-0002-0739 to
- learned counsel, Mr Kilolo, he again writes, and again this time he put
- 15 himself in the heart of the conflict. With your permission, your Honours, let
- 16 me read this out. (Interpretation) (Redacted)
- 17 (Redacted)
- 18 (Redacted)
- 19 (Redacted)
- 20 (Redacted)
- 21 (Redacted)
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- 23 (Redacted)
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- 8 (Redacted)
- 9 Now, your Honours, the problem is this: If the Defence of Mr Arido criticise
- 10 the Prosecution for not investigating further the status of this witness, so that
- 11 you can have a complete picture of the people who come before here to
- 12 testify, does that constitute, your Honours, as proud, or reckless and
- 13 irresponsible, unfounded accusation of misconduct and impropriety
- 14 against -- by the Defence as the Prosecutor alleged yesterday. The answer,
- 15 your Honours, is no, it doesn't. It has been fair that if someone came before
- the Prosecutor either in this proceedings, it might not just be for this case,
- 17 and provide information or evidence that might lead them not only to make
- a decision about his credibility and the integrity of the case which was linked
- 19 to the commission of the crimes that comes before -- within the jurisdiction of
- 20 this Court, it's in the interest of the Prosecutor to look at it. Maybe he could
- 21 be a witness again. Maybe he could be an accused. Maybe we do not
- 22 know.
- 23 And we'll say, your Honours, that -- loss of life at that borders, the instability
- in the subregion caused by these forces, that he put himself right at the heart
- of these different forces. (Redacted)

- 1 (Redacted)
- 2 (Redacted).
- 3 Now, it's not suggesting Mr Arido is the one who coached him to know
- 4 about these individuals, these warlords. And in an answer to the question
- 5 asked by the court, by the Honourable president, you remember, your
- 6 Honours, about the commanding battalion, he volunteered two things: The
- 7 individual who was leading, that the individual was named, I think, D52.
- 8 He volunteered that he knew him. He knew his military status. He also
- 9 knew that he was one of the persons involved in the war, and he went
- 10 further to say he volunteered for that, that during the war individuals
- 11 constituted the rebel groups and each -- and people gave themselves titles.
- 12 He personally used the word "colonel" and it was accepted. And if you look
- 13 at the Bemba main case, the Legal Representative of Victims took him
- through some vigorous cross-examination about how he came about the title.
- 15 And from the militia group which he said he was, because he never said he
- 16 was a soldier of FACA. He said he was in this particular militia group, he
- said in that militia group before he was co-opted to join the army as
- intelligence officer, he took up that rank, he explained. In the notes, the
- 19 alleged notes of Mr Arido, he never said all this. They provided
- 20 information about all this that later on came in Arido's emails, in the email
- 21 from Mr Kilolo and the information that you have here.
- 22 Your Honours, now, your Honours, let me move quickly to the credibility of
- 23 witnesses. The Prosecutor --
- 24 PRESIDING JUDGE SCHMITT: Mr Taku, but please be mindful of the
- 25 problem that redactions could pose. So in the end, as I said, we would really

- see it only as a measure of last resort to go into private session.
- 2 MR TAKU: Yes, your Honour, I will, I will.
- 3 PRESIDING JUDGE SCHMITT: Just to tell you this before you go to another
- 4 point again.
- 5 MR TAKU: When I'm reading the testimony which is on record, I will tell
- 6 you that that testimony was given in a closed session. I will read their
- 7 testimony, and I will apply for brief, very brief closed session just to read.
- 8 PRESIDING JUDGE SCHMITT: Then we go into closed session.
- 9 MR TAKU: Not now, your Honour, I'm not yet there. I'm not yet there.
- 10 PRESIDING JUDGE SCHMITT: Okay. But you will, you will announce it
- when you think we should go into closed session, please.
- 12 MR TAKU: Yes, your Honours.
- 13 Yes, your Honours. At paragraphs 30 to 34 of the Prosecutor's brief, the
- 14 Prosecutor invited your Honours to find the witnesses that testified in this
- case to be credible, irrespective of the limited use agreement, irrespective of
- their accomplice status, that the Prosecutor laid down a number of factors
- 17 that you consider. I don't want to go through them one by one because of
- the time available to me. But, your Honours, I will submit respectfully that
- 19 looking at those factors and looking at the evidence and considering the
- 20 demeanour of the witnesses, we submit that these witnesses were not
- 21 credible, not reliable. They provided materially inconsistent evidence,
- 22 contradictory and inconsistent. And some of the witnesses provided
- 23 internally inconsistent evidence. And the Prosecutor made no attempt to
- 24 explain these contradictions, inconsistencies, internal inconsistencies, no
- 25 explanation.

1 And therefore, your Honours, but more importantly, your Honour, is the fact

- 2 that at paragraphs 58, 71, 125, 127, 128, 129, 135, 136, 138, 139, 140, 141, the
- 3 Prosecutor makes these submissions of credibility of these witnesses. At
- 4 paragraph 59 -- page 59 paragraphs 127 and 129, the Prosecutor submitted
- 5 that, and I quote, "Arido coached the prospective witnesses to testify falsely
- 6 to the events as ostensible FACA soldiers in Central African Republic
- 7 between October 2003 and -- 2002 and 2003." And at paragraph 344, it says,
- 8 "Despite knowing that all four witnesses were not Central African military
- 9 soldiers and had no prior military experience, Arido instructed them to
- 10 pretend to be Central African Republic military figures in testifying before
- 11 the Court."
- 12 The Arido Defence submits respectfully, your Honours that this was not
- 13 proof beyond a reasonable doubt. We adopt Arido's submissions to
- 14 respond to this, I adopt what I've said previously that Arido did not come to
- 15 testify, although Arido was an expert, Mr Kilolo himself said so, Mr Babala
- said so, everybody said so. And email exhibits state that clearly. Mr Arido
- was a meticulous, very meticulous in keeping accounts about what he did.
- 18 He did not know there would be any case, there would be any interception,
- 19 but it was reasonable that from, left preparatory about what he spent, for
- 20 purposes of accountability in the first place, all reasonable lawyers would do.
- 21 I don't see how any lawyer would do differently, even the Prosecutor would
- 22 not do different. He kept very detailed accounts. In those accounts are
- 23 receipts, there is nothing to suggest that Mr Arido received any amount in
- 24 order to corrupt witnesses.
- 25 By the Prosecutor's narrative, it would appear as if Mr Arido did not play

- any role but just to recruit witnesses and coach them.
- 2 He disregarded these many emails about expert report and his expert report
- 3 was found here, he completely ignored this. He ignored the role of D52
- 4 whom I said was in this case before any other one, he has submitted a list of
- 5 these witnesses, witnesses in the Central African subregion who were in
- 6 battle. We cited the email in our Arido Defence brief. So he knew the more
- 7 he submitted a list to former counsel, even before Mr Kilolo came up on this
- 8 case, and therefore the Prosecutor had this, the Prosecutor had the possibility
- 9 of investigating this. He did not investigate. He did not even attempt to
- 10 investigate.
- 11 Now, the Prosecutor is in this case even urging your Honours to do the
- impossible, as he himself said, to sit in judgment over protocols that were
- put in place by the Bemba Trial Chamber, to look at violations of those
- 14 protocols. They were not followed. I'm asking you to sit in judgment in
- spite of the fact on 29 September 2015, we've clearly defined the limit of this
- case, that you're not going to substitute yourself to sit in judgment. You
- 17 again proceeded to warn, to caution that the Prosecutor had not made any
- attempt even, made no attempt to bring this case before the Bemba trial to
- 19 avoid overlap. You defined the case as a very limited case. But here, your
- 20 Honours, about the different theories, the two theories, competing theories
- 21 the Prosecutor developed which we treat as a matter of notice, Arido was an
- agent of Mr Kilolo, in the overall strategy, Arido was agent to D52 in the
- 23 overall strategy. Now in this brief today, they choose one. They've
- completely abandoned agent to Kilolo and choose that of D52. But what is
- 25 really, really troubling is the fact that they laid out a case, they presented a

- case against D52 at this stage, merely put Mr Arido adjunct and ask the
- 2 Court to convict Mr Arido for his actions.
- 3 For example, they state clearly that Arido looked for witnesses, prospective
- 4 witnesses on the orders of D52. Now, who can answer that allegation here?
- 5 Why, who can answer for D52, what he allegedly did to Arido, who apart
- 6 from D52 himself, your Honours?
- 7 Who? He's the only one, your Honours, who can answer. As I will explain
- 8 elsewhere when I get to D52, he's the elephant in this courtroom. He's the
- 9 missing piece of the puzzle. Without him the puzzle is not complete, the
- 10 puzzle just is not complete. Without him you cannot make significant
- findings with regard to the way the case has turned out in the Prosecutor's
- 12 brief. It is impossible.
- 13 And the Prosecutor explained --
- 14 PRESIDING JUDGE SCHMITT: May I just shortly address that Mr Babala
- 15 wished to be excused for a couple of minutes and I think we should allow
- that. Yes, this is okay. Please proceed, Mr Taku.
- 17 MR TAKU: And I heard that the Prosecutor said they could not reach, they
- 18 could not find him, but you know, your Honours, that the Prosecutor had
- 19 these call datas, these telephone call datas with the phone number of D52
- 20 which they presented at trial. They posed a question about him. They
- 21 could issue a warrant. Others were brought here by warrant. They lay out
- 22 the information. He could approach, they did approach him. It is not -- of
- 23 course, you know Mr Arido makes a good way attempt to bring him here, to
- 24 bring him here in the interests of justice. Your Honours know exactly what
- 25 transpired. But we'll come to that.

ICC-01/05-01/13

Closing Statements (Private Session)

1 Now, your Honours, about Arido, we submit, your Honour, that the

- 2 Prosecutor cannot invite you to find that limited immunity or deal was a
- 3 factor for a witness to testify truthfully. It is not in saying so that is a factor.
- 4 The Prosecutor has to prove that.
- 5 And I think the Prosecutor did not prove because together with other factors
- 6 and one of the factors, your Honours, I do not know. I think, I think your
- 7 Honours I can ask for a very brief, a very brief closed session. Members of
- 8 the public will bear me out. I will come back soon.
- 9 PRESIDING JUDGE SCHMITT: We go into private session then. I think
- this is meant by it, go shortly to private session then.
- 11 (Private session at 2.59 p.m.)
- 12 (Redacted)
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- 17 (Redacted)
- 18 (Open session at 3.05 p.m.)
- 19 THE COURT OFFICER: We are back in open session, Mr President.
- 20 MR TAKU: Now, what is significant here, your Honours, is that the
- 21 Prosecutor did not disclose this to the Defence. It was information that
- 22 ought to be disclosed about the contact with the Defence. They didn't
- 23 disclose then. They will not disclose now.
- 24 There yet, your Honours, this case is about the type of conduct arising from
- 25 what the witness said in this circumstance. And the witness himself said,

- 1 Mr Kilolo mentioned that in his brief, he himself said that he misled the
- 2 authorities of the country where he is giving them two different names. So
- 3 in the course of this case we didn't know which of the names to verify his
- 4 military status, which of the names that he carried about. If you could come
- 5 to mislead a country where he's seeking something and he provides false
- 6 information that he also provided here, your Honours, then it is, it is cause
- 7 for your Honours to question his credibility. He cannot be a
- 8 conduct -- cannot be a factor of credibility. On the contrary, your Honours,
- 9 it is a factor that you consider in making a determination about his
- 10 credibility.
- 11 Now, your Honours, let me move to -- about the answer he gave about the
- matriculation, I'll only give the reference, your Honour, to closed session.
- 13 There is at page 64 of the trial transcript of 22 October 2015, ICC-01/05-01/13
- 14 T26, he was, the question was asked at page 64, line 15 -- 16, if Arido asked
- 15 him to say that he was a soldier of the Central African forces, he said no.
- 16 Because if he had said that they would ask him about his military
- 17 matriculation number, which he didn't have.
- 18 Now, let's start first: How did he know about military matriculation
- 19 number? How did he know about Thuraya which he mentioned
- 20 somewhere in these proceedings?
- 21 So your Honours, from his own answer, from this answer, the allegation they
- 22 allege, the Prosecutor, that he trained them to say that there was Central
- 23 African forces is vigorously denied by the witness' own answer.
- 24 And again, I do not -- the witness -- the other transcripts where, where he
- 25 said that D2 introduced himself as intelligence officer, your Honours, in

- order not to go to closed session is at page, pages 58 and 59. No. Page 50
- 2 and 59, is where he was identified, captured and tortured, of the same
- 3 transcript.
- 4 And at page 62 of the same transcript, he gave information which was, he
- 5 volunteered information about the war. He had knowledge about the war
- 6 in 2002 and 2003. At page 62, line 20, he says, "As you are aware, during
- 7 that period in 2002 and 2003, there was any conflict involving the Yakoma
- 8 people and any group of Patassé."
- 9 Now, these are people who initially were blank. They knew nothing about
- 10 the war, they were never present. And this was not information was -- he
- didn't say that he was coached to say this. But he volunteered this
- 12 information, your Honours, to explain he knew exactly what the conflict was
- 13 about.
- 14 And about the alleged coaching of D2 in that location in Cameroon, your
- 15 Honours, you have information from the then director of public security for
- 16 Cameroon who is now the inspector general for the police, has been
- 17 promoted, that he went to that location and did not find any evidence.
- 18 In Cameroon, like every country in the world, and indeed, the Prosecutor
- 19 produced some information relating to the fact that Mr Kilolo and Bob
- 20 resided in different hotels in Douala. And everybody getting located, I
- 21 mean lodging in a hotel, there would be information. The purpose of that
- 22 information is for the security forces to control the movement of persons in a
- 23 very volatile subregion, to know who was where, without interfering with
- 24 the liberty of individuals. But the director of public security, you know,
- 25 Cameroon has cooperated in this case, so either for the Prosecutor or for the

- 1 Defence, and the director went there himself to verify and found that there
- 2 was no location that Mr Arido or anyone on the dates mentioned lodged in
- 3 the hotel.
- 4 But in any case, about the object of the alleged coaching in the transcripts of
- 5 22 October 2015, which I've cited, D3 again contradicts the Prosecutor's
- 6 submissions about the alleged introducing the individual as sub-lieutenant,
- 7 in fact, he said the introduction was done in Yaoundé. He said lieutenant.
- 8 And the Prosecutor press and press and press and he never said he was in
- 9 Douala. But in Douala, the individual himself introduced himself as
- 10 intelligence officer. That goes with that.
- 11 Now, your Honour, I have to navigate this very carefully. I don't want to go
- 12 to closed session again. But 14 October 2015, transcript of
- 13 CAR-01/05-01/13-T20 14 October 2015 at page 48, lines 12 and 14. D2
- 14 himself volunteered that he represented some significant personality in the
- 15 particular location contradicting his own testimony that he was in another
- location as a director. But when asked, the important thing asked him, you
- 17 represented the individual in what capacity, he said he is not answering the
- 18 question. He said, "I will not answer the question."
- 19 And your Honours will draw all the inferences against a finding of
- 20 credibility of this witness because he's an individual on oath allowed or
- 21 assessed -- into his file, into his immigration file. And thereafter he
- 22 withdrew, of course. D3 did the same on oath. But once he was not on
- 23 oath he withdrew. That was ex facie before your Honours.
- 24 So this is as much a case about the evidence laid that your own findings of
- 25 facts on watching the witnesses, the demeanour of the witnesses who came

- 1 here to testify.
- 2 Now, your Honours, let me move quickly to Mr -- I don't know how to call
- 3 this individual, but I think the question was asked, his name was asked. I
- 4 think I should be able to put the question as much as possible. I will
- 5 restrain myself so much, but I will say one or two important things about it.
- 6 Mr Kokate, we sought to call him to testify in this case, your Honour,
- 7 because we believe that in the search for truth, Mr Kokate had to be here.
- 8 Mr Arido was not afraid of anything. He wasn't afraid of this individual
- 9 coming to testify. And the reason is clear, your Honours, Mr Arido had
- 10 been presented to the world and to the Central African community as a
- 11 génocidaire. They misinterpreted his participation in the Bemba case as an
- 12 expert where he wrote an expert report. And in Central African they
- 13 believed he committed a crime, involved in some form of criminality. Of
- 14 course he fought to clear his name, he testified to clear his name.
- 15 But your Honours, this individual, as you will see more in the Prosecution
- 16 brief, is the missing piece of the puzzle.
- 17 I'm surprised how the Prosecutor would invite you to make finding of guilty
- against anyone, any of the accused when the Prosecutor neither investigated
- 19 this individual as a suspect of course, whether he will indict him or not is
- 20 another thing or make any attempt to bring him here. We understand,
- 21 your Honour, the Prosecutor has their own strategy. Maybe that in the end
- 22 he will play the same role he played in this case in other cases, potential
- 23 cases. No one knows. We're not going to speculate about that. But the
- 24 fact he's not here your Honours is a fact of impunity in a country where the
- 25 Prosecutor purports to be fighting impunity. And to leave this significant

- 1 individual looking at the roles he placed as a minister, as a military man and
- 2 the role he played in this case as the oldest member of the Defence team in
- 3 this particular case, that every piece of information leads to him. To make
- 4 that he remains a missing piece of the puzzle, your Honours, is regrettable.
- 5 But your Honours, I ask for one thing only, your Honours should not permit
- 6 this attempt to make Mr Arido the scapegoat, the sacrificial lamb for crimes
- 7 which the Prosecutor clearly lays out against this individual, Mr Kokate, in
- 8 their final submissions. Thank you, your Honours. And I will leave the
- 9 floor to my colleague, Beth Lyons.
- 10 MS LYONS: Thank you. Thank you. One moment, your Honour.
- 11 Thank you, your Honours, and thank you, Chief Taku, for the floor.
- 12 I've entered this courtroom for the last few months, and I never really
- 13 listened to when the case was called. Today, I listened. The court officer
- said, "situation in Central African Republic." I should have known this. I
- 15 should have listened. I was busy fixing my papers when I used to come
- 16 here. But it's about Central African Republic.
- 17 Yet, as my colleague has pointed out, there is only one Central African
- 18 Republic citizen in this courtroom in the dock, it's our client, Mr Arido: He
- 19 is the very first and the only Central African citizen to date to be prosecuted
- 20 in this Court.
- 21 For almost two decades now, since 2007, the OTP has pursued investigations
- into events in Central African Republic. Yet the fruits, if we can call it that,
- 23 the proceedings that have resulted in this courtroom involve only one
- 24 person, our client, who was an expert in the Bemba main case.
- 25 When we started our case, Chief Taku made an opening statement and

1 referred to Mr Arido as an accidental defendant. I heard these words this

- 2 morning also from Mr Babala. So he's the second accidental defendant.
- 3 But a person who is perhaps in the wrong place at the wrong time, who got
- 4 caught up in the OTP's web.
- 5 We can't explain why he's here. It's up to the OTP to tell us, but more
- 6 importantly, to tell you, the judges, and to present proof beyond a reasonable
- 7 doubt of its allegations.
- 8 The OTP repeatedly has referred to an anonymous tip, which set the wheels
- 9 in motion, so to speak, for this Prosecution of the whole case, including of
- 10 my client.
- 11 Admittedly we, the Defence for Arido, failed to obtain unredacted version of
- 12 the anonymous tip emails that were finally disclosed. Nevertheless, one
- thing was very clear from those emails: A, there is not a mention of
- 14 Mr Arido, his name is not there; and there is a mention of Mr K, who appears
- 15 to be either subject or object of the Prosecution's investigations.
- We're concerned because the Prosecution, during its presentation, as well as
- its conduct during the Defence case has done nothing in our view to dispel
- 18 the notion that Mr Arido is anything but an accidental defendant. Again,
- 19 we say it's up to them to explain to the client based on their obligation to
- 20 notice to all of us, but particularly to explain to the citizens of CAR and the
- 21 international community. These days with the mega communications,
- 22 everybody watches, everybody pays attention, everybody is listening
- 23 because this Court has a critical role to play.
- 24 Secondly, along the same vein, the OTP has failed to explain, certainly to
- 25 Mr Arido and as I listened to today perhaps also to Mr Babala, why it has

- failed to pursue investigations and prosecutions based on internationally
- 2 recognized principles of law and respect for human rights. I don't want to
- 3 go into closed session. I don't want to go into any details. The Court is
- 4 aware of Mr Arido's position of threats to his security, to his family, the
- 5 involvement, he's alleged, of the Court and its failure to respond in a timely
- 6 manner to this. And at this moment I will leave it at that.
- 7 But the bottom line is for Mr Arido, for anyone similarly situated, the issue
- 8 before all of us is why the silence from the OTP, particularly why the silence
- 9 from this institution.
- 10 Now, most people in the room are probably more familiar with the pleadings
- in this case. I'm relatively new to the case, so I just want to highlight a few
- things that the team thinks is important, a few things the team thinks are
- important in terms of your consideration and your deliberations. First of
- all, perhaps it's the obvious, there are two missing witnesses in this case, the
- 15 confirmation decision confirmed allegations against Mr Arido for offences
- under Article 70 for four people. There was D2, whom you've heard about,
- 17 D3 whom you've heard about, D4, who has been mentioned by the
- 18 Prosecution a little bit in its opening and in its brief, D6. But this Court only
- 19 heard evidence from two of them, D2 and D3.
- 20 The other two were not produced by the Prosecution. The Prosecution has a
- 21 duty to prove each and every element of the offences and modes of liability
- charged in respect to all of the allegations. So 50 per cent are knocked out.
- 23 They just weren't here.
- Now, is there good reason for this? I obviously can't speak for the
- 25 Prosecution. But from my perspective and the Defence perspective, they

- 1 were available. The Prosecution certainly knew how to contact them
- 2 because the Prosecution in fact had interviewed D4 as late as 21 February,
- 3 eight days before this trial started its Defence case presentations and they
- 4 certainly knew how important these witnesses were.
- 5 Based simply on this issue, as a matter of law, the Arido Defence
- 6 propose -- has asked for the remedy that the allegations in respect to
- 7 witnesses D4 and D6 as to Mr Arido, that the allegations against him in
- 8 respect to these witnesses be dismissed. The evidence was available. It
- 9 wasn't produced. The burden isn't met. End of story.
- 10 Now, I want to raise a similar legal issue that really came up yesterday. In
- the oral arguments, the Prosecution talked about D7, D8 and D9. Now, they
- weren't produced either. I'm a little concerned because the Prosecution
- said, "The evidence proves that D7, D8 and D9 and others were among the
- spurious witnesses as assembled by Mr Arido. D7 and D9 testified in the
- main case and their testimonies are among the transcripts which the
- 16 Chamber -- of which the Chamber has taken judicial notice."
- 17 This is in the English transcript, page 15.
- 18 First, the Prosecution refers to this whole grouping as prospective witnesses.
- 19 However, later on, however, I'm not sure what the Prosecution wants you to
- 20 do, if anything, with these transcripts.
- 21 But just in case they plan to ask you to somehow use this evidence to support
- 22 the offences against my client, who is charged only with four witnesses, our
- 23 position is we didn't get notice, it's acts not charged and we're asking that
- 24 this Trial Chamber make no ruling as a matter of law in respect to these
- 25 witnesses and our client, or the quote amorphous others, whoever the others

- 1 may be.
- 2 As everyone in the courtroom, wherever he or she is sitting, knows, the right
- 3 to notice is sacrosanct. It's a right under the rights of the accused, Article 67,
- 4 minimum guarantees. It mirrors the rights in all international courts, most
- 5 national jurisdictions, regional international entities and international
- 6 covenants such as ICCPR.
- 7 Now, someone may ask why make a big deal out of notice. It's first in all of
- 8 these documents. Why? Because a person who is accused of a crime or
- 9 offence has the right to be notified in detail of the specifics of that offence in a
- 10 language he or she understands.
- 11 If not, the right to defend oneself, to present your Defence becomes a nullity.
- 12 It becomes moot. If you don't know what you are charged with, how can
- 13 you defend against it, whatever it is, the charges.
- Now, now, whether I entered the case, I carefully read the confirmation of
- 15 charges decision, and we're using that as the guidelines, the judicial decision
- which guides the charges against Mr Arido.
- 17 But when I listened to the Prosecution's opening statement yesterday and
- then reviewed some of the paragraphs in the closing brief as well as in some
- 19 of the earlier pleadings, I'm hearing acting in concert, overall strategy, and
- 20 I'm thinking my client was not charged with joint criminal enterprise.
- 21 That's what I'm hearing. I'm hearing joint criminal enterprise.
- Now, admittedly I'm sensitive to this. I worked for too long at the ICTR,
- 23 which is where joint criminal enterprise has a home in the Prosecution's
- strategy. But the bottom line is that's what I'm listening to. I looked at the
- 25 COC again. I looked at the paragraph at the end which talks about the

- 1 charges which the Pre-Trial Chamber declined to confirm against my client,
- 2 as well as the other clients here. They specifically, they specifically declined
- 3 to, declined the charge which is proposed of an acting in concert, common
- 4 action under 25(3)(d), acting in concert -- group of people acting in concert
- 5 with a common purpose. That was the words, common purpose. I'm
- 6 sorry, I'm using ICTR language here. But it's common purpose.
- 7 There was no common purpose for any of them. My client, the other clients.
- 8 But I'm listening to a common purpose theory. Something isn't right here.
- 9 We did not get notice of a common purpose theory, because in fact this, the
- 10 Court declined that. What it's doing in the case, I don't know.
- But it's at least is confusing, but I raise it so that the Court understands what
- 12 we were defending against and how we understood the initial document, the
- 13 COC.
- 14 I also want to call your attention at this point to the famous paragraph 52,
- 15 where the confirmation, the Pre-Trial Chamber confirms a number of the
- allegations used to support the, in the broadest general terms, this overall
- 17 strategy to defend Bemba and engage in offences.
- 18 In that paragraph, my client and Mr Babala are assigned a limited role based
- 19 on the evidence available to the Pre-Trial Chamber. However, what's
- 20 important is it is described as a purported overall strategy. In other words,
- 21 the fact that that paragraph 52 is in the COC has nothing to do with the issue
- 22 it was, is it proved beyond a reasonable doubt. They used, they the judges
- of the Pre-Trial Chamber used the word "purported."
- Now, I understand that and I listened and I read the Prosecution's opening
- 25 statement, and I listened to yesterday about -- oral and the argument where

- 1 my client is described as the man on the ground of this overall strategy.
- 2 Our position is he doesn't belong, obviously doesn't belong there, but that
- 3 even that framing of his conduct doesn't belong with a COC that says there is
- 4 no common purpose liability.
- 5 I mean, that's our view in terms of that. So I don't know if we're litigating
- 6 the same case that the Prosecution presented and summed up on yesterday,
- 7 but I just wanted to raise that because that's our perspective on it.
- 8 In addition, as the Court is aware, the confirmation decision rejected direct
- 9 and indirect co-perpetration, which would be as modes of liability and they
- substituted direct perpetrator based on the information available to them.
- And I want to say this one last point on this. I'm concerned because I heard
- 12 the Prosecution yesterday and in the brief there are references to an
- organisation. So now we're dealing with a charge where my client is
- 14 allegedly associated with what has been described as a criminal organisation.
- 15 There is no proof there was this criminal organisation exists. I'm not saying
- that at all. But I don't -- it is another charge, he's not being charged with
- 17 membership in a criminal organisation. There is no criminal organisation.
- 18 There is no proof. All we have are words that have been put together by the
- 19 Prosecution about this overall strategy which extends out to an organisation.
- 20 And I think this is dangerous because the Prosecution especially here, but
- 21 every place, needs to be precise, and that precision, that specificity, what is
- 22 demanded, those requirements for notice just are not there.
- 23 I just want to spend another brief time, a little bit more on the issue of notice.
- 24 My colleague talked about different theories of the case that were proposed
- 25 by the Prosecution in its various documents that my client was both or an

- agent of Maître Kilolo or an agent of this person named Kokate.
- 2 It's not clear which theory they're pursuing. Notice demands that a
- 3 defendant be given clarity about what he or she -- about what he or she is
- 4 being charged with. That clarity isn't here. The Prosecution is supposed to
- 5 know its case before it starts, not mold the evidence. This is a tenet that has
- 6 come out of the ad hoc tribunals. I'm paraphrasing, but the idea is that the
- 7 Prosecution knows, has a theory and pursues it. The Prosecution is not
- 8 throwing darts at a board. This is a theory. Maybe it hits. This is another
- 9 theory.
- 10 That's not what notice is about, so that my client clearly is not given clear
- 11 notice about what it is his role is, what it is he is supposed to do.
- 12 Secondly, I noticed looking at the documents that the Prosecution theory has
- 13 what we refer to as chameleon, chameleon aspects, with all due respect to
- chameleons, as animals that can change their appearance given their
- 15 environment. And let me explain why. In its initial application for the
- warrant of arrest in 2013, the Prosecution presented its case against Mr Arido
- 17 as a case of false documents. He provided false documents allegedly and
- these were allegedly provided to the Trial Chamber and that he received
- 19 payments for doing this, so there was money for the false documents.
- 20 Now as we know, the confirmation of charges decision rejected the false
- 21 document theory.
- 22 So what, so what has become of these payments? Initially in the warrant for
- 23 arrest the Prosecution said that the monies were from individuals close to the
- 24 Bemba team and it named Maître Kilolo, Mr Babala, Mr Njabu and also
- 25 named somebody with the pseudonym D52, who is identified in the arrest

1 warrant request as the person or identified by the anonymous informant as a

- 2 CAR citizen who paid bribes to other witnesses in exchange for false
- 3 testimony.
- 4 The monies totalled, if my arithmetic is correct 8451 -- \$8,451 American
- 5 dollars, all right. Now, as I said earlier, the COC intervened. They said no
- 6 false documents. We reject this, this charge presented by the Prosecution, so
- 7 now the payments, these monies, they're still out there. The purpose has
- 8 been transferred in our view now under the new theory of these were monies
- 9 that were paid to Mr Arido for use in corrupting witnesses. Now, we've
- shown in our brief, and Chief Taku and others have talked about this, the
- 11 payments were for a legitimate task which Mr Arido undertook at the
- 12 request of the Bemba team to produce an expert report, and he was
- preparing to become an expert witness and go to The Hague.
- 14 We have that documented, I'm not going to take time to go through that.
- But what I'm trying to point out is that the uses of the money, the money
- stays the same. It's still the same money on the table. The use of the
- money changes between that original request for the arrest warrant and the
- pleadings and the basis on which this case is here today.
- 19 There was a second example of this, again, which is an example to show lack
- 20 of notice, which has to do with the reasons the Prosecution has proffered for
- 21 Mr Arido's flight to France.
- 22 In the request for an arrest warrant, the Prosecution linked Mr Arido's failure
- 23 to board the plane to The Hague to testify as conduct in response to the
- 24 Prosecution and LRV disputing the authenticity of the documents he gave
- 25 the Defence.

- 1 So the documents played in theory one, a key role.
- 2 Now we have theory two, which was advanced in the cross-examination of
- 3 the Prosecution by one of our witnesses indicating that the reason that
- 4 Mr Arido went to France was that he really wanted to pursue his own career.
- 5 It was a personal opportunity. He had his own agenda.
- 6 And as your Honours are well aware, we have presented evidence which I
- 7 will not detail here that the reason that he ended up in France had to do with
- 8 a situation that was apprised by Cameroonian authorities at a particular time
- 9 in 2012, where he felt threatened based on his role and work in the Bemba
- 10 case and felt exposed as a witness, received no response from the authorities
- at the ICC even to this date on this matter and ended up in France.
- 12 In conclusion of this section, I want to say that I've, I've been able to identify
- multiple theories. Maybe someone can identify even more. I don't know.
- 14 Two are enough because it's only supposed to be one, one theory. And the
- purpose is to illustrate that there was no clear notice given as to the theory of
- the case from the beginning until up to yesterday and including yesterday.
- 17 Now, I would just like to talk briefly about a few elements of the offences.
- 18 First under Article 70, one of the requirements for the offence under Article
- 19 70(a) and (b) is that the offender, that there be, sorry, that there be a witness,
- 20 the person be a witness, simple as that.
- 21 This is fundamental. As my colleague pointed out, a witness is a person
- 22 who, according to the protocol, is someone a party intends to call.
- Obviously that presumes a party has made a decision about X or Y being a
- 24 witness. That party intends to call them and has somehow communicated
- 25 that either to the Court for its list of witnesses or to the non-calling party if

the non-calling party wants to question or talk with the witness if the witness

- 2 gives consent.
- 3 The time period of the events in question, we're really talking about the
- 4 alleged Douala briefing 12 February. That's what we're talking about.
- 5 We're not talk being this no proof. We have go back to 2011, the start of this,
- 6 this common plan of which we received no notice. We don't accept that.
- 7 We're looking at the COC. We're looking at February 2012. And based on
- 8 that, it's our position that D2, D3, D4 and D6 were not witnesses within the
- 9 meaning of the protocol. Certainly it was years later, I'm sorry, certainly it
- 10 was after that that decisions were made perhaps about who to use as a
- 11 witness and witness lists were submitted.
- 12 We listened to Maître Kilolo's presentation this morning. You know, he
- talked about how you interview a huge number of witnesses, a large
- 14 number, then you cull and you pick.
- 15 And in fact, the Prosecution actually yesterday referred to what was going
- on in Douala in February 2012 as a "casting call," auditions for prospective
- 17 witnesses.
- 18 That's a quote from page 26, 1, line 23.
- 19 What this means is that as a matter of law, our position is that 70, 70(a), and
- 20 (b), and (c) should be dismissed because these were not witnesses. There
- 21 was no proof beyond a reasonable doubt that they were, and in fact, the
- 22 Prosecution seems to, in some paragraphs at least, in some pleadings agree
- 23 with the Defence that these persons had prospective status and prospective
- 24 is different than witness. We have to be very specific.
- Now, on the question of false testimony, (a) and (b) of Article 70 require false

- 1 testimony. False testimony is the sine qua non of this case. Without it, the
- 2 charges can't be upheld. It's our position the Prosecution has not proved
- 3 beyond a reasonable doubt that there was false testimony. False testimony
- 4 is a legal notion. It comes out of -- some of the jurisprudence comes out of
- 5 the Simba appeals judgment where the Appellate Chamber held, "false
- 6 testimony is a deliberate offence which requires willful intent on the part of
- 7 the perpetrator to mislead the Judge and thus to cause harm."
- 8 So you have to have an intent to mislead, which would cause harm.
- 9 False testimony is not about credibility. It's not a credibility test. False
- 10 testimony is not a reliability test. Credibility, reliability, whether something
- is inconsistent, all of these factors may be part of the issue, but legally you
- 12 have to show intent to mislead the Judge. What do we have here? We
- have two witnesses, D2 and D3. Now, they admitted they lied about
- something or in the case of, I think, D2, everything, everything in the main
- 15 case, and certainly they were examined over days by Prosecution, Defence,
- 16 two lawyers for the victims. So they were well examined. They said a lot.
- 17 They just simply said here though that they lied.
- 18 But the Prosecution did not prove that they intended to mislead this Court.
- 19 In fact, what did they say? As my colleague said earlier, D2 and D3 looked
- at this as a topo, as a way to make some money. What was their intent?
- 21 They wanted to make some money. Maybe they wanted to -- they wanted
- 22 to do something with the money. Who knows. But they wanted to make
- 23 money. That was very clear.
- 24 D3 waited until (Redacted) came to start to negotiate terms and conditions and
- 25 to see if it were worth it for him to be involved in this. This was a business

deal. It had nothing to do with any intent to mislead the judges in -- the

- 2 Bemba judges. It didn't even come up. And there was no evidence, no
- 3 shred of evidence led by the Prosecution on this point.
- 4 Now, sure there is something wrong with the picture, they said they lied.
- 5 This is a perjury case. Something should have been done in our view. We
- 6 said that in the beginning in our opening. But I think that, you know, that's
- 7 a separate issue beyond the scope of this trial. But when witnesses say they
- 8 lie, this usually investigation either by an amicus or by Prosecution or by
- 9 Trial Chamber, and then there is a proceeding if, in fact, the findings are that
- 10 the witness provided false testimony. That's a perjury case. But just if I can
- 11 ask you to indulge me for a moment. Think about it, if there were a perjury
- case, these people shouldn't be sitting in the dock. It should be D2 and D3
- and I don't know who else. But it's at least D2 and D3. They're the persons
- that should be in the dock.
- 15 Let me say briefly a little bit about mens rea. The offence of 70(a) requires a
- double mens rea. It's the mens rea of Mr Arido allegedly for why would he
- intend to do this, and secondly, the underlying mens rea which I've just
- talked about of D2 and D3, of the false witnesses which does not exist.
- 19 I won't go into that again. But in terms of Mr Arido, note the Prosecution,
- 20 which has the burden produced no evidence as to why Mr Arido, who was a
- 21 successful businessman in CAR, who was a military expert, well educated,
- 22 already had a legitimate activity dealing with his expertise, providing expert
- 23 report to the Bemba team which required a fair amount of work, you know,
- 24 assembling a team, getting the work done, producing a report, meeting with
- other experts, why, there was no reason why would he have any desire, any

- 1 intent, any reason to mislead the Court?
- 2 The question is not for us to answer. It's for the Prosecution to prove
- 3 beyond a reasonable doubt, and they didn't.
- 4 Now, I want to say something, two or three brief points more. The one
- 5 issue we briefed rather in much detail the violations to Mr Arido and his
- 6 family, human rights violations and his civil and political rights violations.
- 7 But I would like to repeat to the Court here and to those present again that
- 8 the label of génocidaire, which happened in regard to a request made to a
- 9 national state, because it was put on the paperwork of that national state,
- 10 that Mr Arido was suspected of genocide, is indelible. It's a violation, and
- 11 here we want to raise the Prosecution did nothing, absolutely nothing to
- 12 correct this mistake.
- 13 This is a court or any court where these kinds of incidents should not be left
- 14 to the wayside. The Prosecution has its own code of conduct. We all of us
- on both sides of the room have our ethics as lawyers. We're international
- 16 lawyers. We know the materials. We know the rights. We've read the
- 17 covenants. To do nothing in this situation is, to us, an extremely serious
- 18 violation.
- 19 The result is that Mr Arido, because the paperwork in a national jurisdiction
- 20 said, "subject matter: Genocide," and your Honours will understand we
- 21 referred to the request before, he is marked and anyone associated with him,
- but particularly him, he is marked as a génocidaire in his own country, on
- 23 the continent, throughout the international community. And this is not a
- 24 mark that can simply be erased. You can't put whiteout on it. You can't
- 25 blank it out. It can't be stamped out.

- And the injury to Mr Arido, to his reputation, to his honour, to his family
- 2 cannot be measured. And this is extremely serious. And we ask again that
- 3 the Prosecution should respond, although not necessarily here, but respond
- 4 to Mr Arido why they have done nothing, nothing to correct the paperwork,
- 5 nothing to do this.
- 6 One of the five fundamentals of the code of conduct of the Office of the
- 7 Prosecution is number four, respect for human rights and fundamental
- 8 freedoms, principle of equality before the law, presumption of innocence,
- 9 right to a fair trial.
- 10 He is presumed guilty now wherever he goes because of the génocidaire
- 11 label. That is a reality.
- 12 Lastly, I want to talk about the French interviews, and I want -- the French
- 13 interviews and -- one second -- and the Prosecution's brief. And I'm
- 14 focusing now at the very end on paragraphs 346, 347, 348.
- 15 Before I start, I will give you my interpretation, my view. Obviously, the
- 16 Trial Chamber will make its own judgment. But I strenuously urge
- 17 everyone who has access to these documents to read them again, read the
- interpretation, read each and every footnote and make a decision about
- 19 whether the Prosecution's conclusions are, in fact, based on the documents in
- 20 front of you.
- 21 Paragraph 346, the Prosecution says that Mr Arido lied about a number of
- 22 payments received from Mr Kilolo, that it was deliberate and it showed
- 23 consciousness of guilt.
- 24 And they refer to his French interview in November 2013.
- 25 In that interview the OTP asks about 10 payments. That was their idea, fine.

- 1 Mr Arido discusses two payments. But he talks about "autre payment,"
- 2 other payment, and he reserved his right to explain subsequently. So to
- 3 conclude that he lied based on this and showed consciousness of guilt makes
- 4 no sense. It's the opposite. He was open. He described the situation. He
- 5 said I will explain. He answered the question.
- 6 In terms of -- in the second French interview, one second, sorry, the paper
- 7 problem, your Honour, all right, but in any case, the second French interview
- 8 on page 2, this is what the Prosecution refers to in paragraph 347. May I
- 9 have a moment, please? I just want to get the interviews. One minute, one
- 10 second, thanks.
- 11 PRESIDING JUDGE SCHMITT: You get a moment but you are of course
- 12 mindful of the allotted time.
- 13 MS LYONS: Yes. I'm right at the end. I promise, promise, promise.
- 14 Found them. Thank you. Okay. Sorry. My nightmare comes true here.
- 15 I can't find the paper.
- All right. On the second French interview, paragraph 347, it alleges that
- 17 Mr Arido first said that he knew some persons and that he didn't know
- 18 them.
- 19 And I would ask your Honours to take a look at the second French interview
- 20 in February where he, and I'm going to read in French what he actually says
- 21 about this person, do you know, and I won't name the person, and he says:
- 22 (Interpretation) "I was in the RCA community of refugees." (Speaks
- 23 English) And it's on page 6 of the second French interview.
- 24 And then he talks also on page, on 17 January, the second French interview,
- 25 he talks about a person concerning another person, the same person. He

- 1 says the question is: Who is he?
- 2 He says: (Interpretation) "He was a former soldier whom I knew, although
- 3 I did not know him personally." (Speaks English) I know him as an
- 4 ancient -- former military, but I don't know him personally.
- 5 But the real, this is not to conclude that he doesn't -- he's saying he knows
- 6 somebody when he don't know somebody. He says he doesn't know him
- 7 personally.
- 8 What I really want to take a look at is on the November interview, second
- 9 page, last four lines from the bottom, and that's the paragraph where the
- 10 Prosecution said that, in this statement, claimed that Kilolo introduced him
- to the very witnesses that the evidence clearly shows he assembled allegedly
- in Douala to meet Kilolo.
- Now, if you look at the language here, what it says in French, it's very clear,
- 14 there were no witnesses that Mr Arido met with Mr Kilolo. It is true if you
- look at the interview that Mr Kilolo had a Dictaphone machine with some
- 16 témoinage, testimony on it. And that is what he asked Mr Arido to listen to
- 17 after Mr Arido and he talked about the expert report.
- 18 What it says in French is (Interpretation) "The testimonies were recorded on
- 19 a Dictaphone. I did not know many of the witnesses and so on and so forth.
- 20 They were introduced to me by Maître Kilolo." (Speaks English) The "ils",
- 21 i-l-s, the antecedent to "They were shown to me," doesn't mean the witnesses
- 22 were shown to him. That's what the Prosecution would like you to believe,
- 23 that these were the witnesses assembled.
- 24 The témoinages, the testimonials on the Dictaphone is the antecedent to "ils."
- 25 I invite the Chamber to take a look at this, it's on page 2 of the November

- 1 interview, the last 7 or so lines from the bottom.
- 2 And now, I will come to our conclusion, your Honour, thank you.
- 3 We know that this is a test case for the Prosecution. We read the strategic
- 4 plan for 2016 to 2018. It's part of the testing out of the, "alternative forms of
- 5 evidence," the non-witness evidence and to see how it works. This case the
- 6 Article 70 CAR case at paragraph 148 of that document is specifically named.
- 7 So we know that's part of what this case is about.
- 8 But it's our view that this is also a test case for the CAR and the ICC's
- 9 relationship to the CAR and the continent. As I said earlier Mr Arido is the
- 10 first CAR citizen to be tried and this case will set important legal precedents
- 11 for jurisprudence and for guidelines as to how the continent will relate to the
- 12 ICC.
- We are here because we believe that the success for the fight against
- impunity for the core crimes the ICC covers and for human rights is
- 15 important. That's why we're here. That's why we do this work.
- But we also believe that it's too important to be derailed by, in our view,
- 17 legally frivolous Prosecution based on the faulty investigations in the case of
- 18 Mr Arido.
- 19 And I use these terms guardedly, and with reserve. What I mean is the
- 20 Prosecution has essentially criminalised Mr Arido's legitimate role in the
- 21 Bemba case. That's why he is here today.
- 22 Others in the room better than I can answer the question of what message
- 23 this sends. But as a counsel on the case, I want to conclude the Prosecution
- in our view has failed to meet its legal burden to prove each and every
- 25 element of the offences and modes of liability charged, and for this reason

- 1 ask that Mr Arido, our client, be acquitted.
- 2 And lastly, on behalf of the team since I was the last person to speak, I want
- 3 to speak on my behalf and Chief Taku, my friend and colleague. We want
- 4 to convey our appreciation to the Trial Chamber for your work in this case.
- 5 It's been a privilege for us to appear before you. It has been a privilege to
- 6 work with our colleagues on both sides of the aisle and appreciate the
- 7 remarks that have been made.
- 8 We also want especially to thank all the members of our team whose work
- 9 and commitment continues to contribute to the Defence of Mr Arido.
- 10 And of course, Mr Arido, it's been a pleasure to be your counsel. I
- 11 personally came to your case very late and I sincerely appreciate your
- 12 confidence in my representation of you in this case. Thank you.
- 13 PRESIDING JUDGE SCHMITT: Thank you very much.
- 14 This concludes the closing statements of the parties. But allow me before
- 15 we leave this courtroom a few concluding remarks.
- 16 The Chamber is aware that, throughout the proceedings, it has set a tight
- schedule and has continuously prompted the expeditiousness and
- 18 speediness of the trial. This included that issues regularly were discussed
- on the spot and orally at the time they arose here in the courtroom or in the
- 20 building in Voorburg. The Chamber wishes to thank the parties for their
- 21 hard work and industry to comply with the deadlines set by the Chamber
- 22 throughout the trial, and it also wishes to thank the parties for their highly
- 23 skillful professionalism in addressing matters spontaneously and
- 24 meaningfully during the courtroom sessions.
- 25 The Chamber wishes also to thank everybody in the Registry who did all

- 1 what was possible in their power to enable the flawless and smooth running
- 2 of the trial and showed great diligence in supporting the Chamber.
- 3 Another thank you goes to the interpreters who showed both great patience
- 4 and indulgence with far too quick speaking persons in the courtroom that
- 5 appeared amongst counsel and appeared amongst the Bench too, and also
- 6 for the flexibility when it was necessary. And a final thank you, especially
- 7 today, goes to let me address it this way, to the redaction team. I think they
- 8 know why. So this concludes the hearing.
- 9 THE COURT USHER: All rise.
- 10 (The hearing ends in open session at 4.06 p.m.)