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4		ECONCILIATION COMMISSION					
5	DIASPORA PROJECT						
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8	PUBLIC HEARING June 13, 2008						
9	St. Paul, Minnesota						
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11	TESTIMONY OF ALI SYLLA						
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14	TRC Commissioners:	Chairman Jerome Verdier					
15		Vice Chairperson Dede Dolopei Oumu Syllah					
16		Sheikh Kafumba Konneh Pearl Brown Bull					
17		Rev. Gerald Coleman John H.T. Stewart					
18		Massa Washington					
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21	Court Reporter:	JoAnn Wahl					
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1 HEARING OFFICER TEAYAH: Please stand for the oath. 2 ALI SYLLA 3 [being first duly sworn/duly affirming to tell the truth], 4 testified as follows: 5 TESTIMONY OF ALI SYLLA 6 7 VICE CHAIR DEDE DOLOPEI: Be seated, please. 8 CHAIRMAN JEROME VERDIER: Okay. Commissioner Oumu 9 Syllah will recuse herself because the witness is her 10 brother. Shall we rise, please. 11 (Commissioner Oumu Syllah exits the room.) 12 Is the witness's mike on? 13 THE WITNESS: Thank you. 14 CHAIRMAN JEROME VERDIER: We are very pleased that 15 you would take time off to come and share your experience 16 with the TROC and the people of Liberia as part of your 17 efforts and support to the peace and reconciliation process 18 of our country. 19 THE WITNESS: Right. 20 CHAIRMAN JEROME VERDIER: I will use this time to 21 introduce the commissioners --22 THE WITNESS: Okay. 23 CHAIRMAN JEROME VERDIER: -- and following which 24 you'll present your statement. 25 At your right is Sheikh Kafumba Konneh, Pearl

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    Brown Bull, Gerald Coleman, Dede Dolopei, Massa Washington,
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     John Stewart, and I'm Jerome Verdier.
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                Can you kindly repeat your name?
                THE WITNESS: My name is Ali Sylla, spelled A-L-I
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 5
    S-Y-L-L-A.
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                CHAIRMAN JEROME VERDIER: H?
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                THE WITNESS: There's no H. S-Y-L-L-A.
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                CHAIRMAN JEROME VERDIER: I'll ask you for your
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     age.
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                THE WITNESS: My age, I'm 35 years old.
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                CHAIRMAN JEROME VERDIER: Huh?
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                THE WITNESS: Thirty-five years old.
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                CHAIRMAN JEROME VERDIER: Thirty-five?
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                THE WITNESS: Yeah.
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                CHAIRMAN JEROME VERDIER: Where do you reside
     currently in the U.S.?
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                THE WITNESS: Oh, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.
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                CHAIRMAN JEROME VERDIER: What do you do?
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                THE WITNESS: I'm a clinician.
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                (UNIDENTIFIED COMMISSIONER VOICE 1:) Clinician?
2.1
                (UNIDENTIFIED COMMISSIONER VOICE 2:) Clinician.
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                CHAIRMAN JEROME VERDIER: Clinician. When did you
23
    migrate to the U.S.?
                THE WITNESS: 199 -- June 7 of 1996.
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                CHAIRMAN JEROME VERDIER: Okay. Thank you. You
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1 | may proceed with your testimony.

THE WITNESS: Thank you. Thanks, Commissioners, for having the public hearing in the United States. As I said, my name is Ali Sylla. I live in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. I came to the States in 1996, of June 7, but I left Liberia in 1994, of December of 1994.

So my testimony, probably I have to do a little bit of introduction of my father. My father's name is Alhaji Souleymane Syllah, the late. He was a businessman, entreprenure. He's owned the Syllah Brothers Corporation. And the Syllah Brothers Corporation, in the '80s, we used to sell rice, and then -- in the '70s we used to sell rice before the Rice Riot. And then in the '80s my father, little bit, start selling cocoa and coffee to L -- to LPMC. So he was one of the southeastern agents of the LPMC, the Liberian Produce Marketing Corporation. He was doing that for -- for quite a while.

And also he was a founding member of the Muslim Congress and the Muslim Council of Liberia. He was the financial treasurer of the Muslim Congress High School. He was part of the — the Muslim Council was part of the interfaith mediation committee that was set up, I think, sometime in the '90s, and he was one of the first member that was going to go to Sierra Leone for the first peace accord, in Sierra Leone, of 1990. All right.

So my story start from 1990. 1990, as you well know, the war started, the war start of '89. And in 1990, at that time my experience started. I was in Monrovia at the time. I was attending Muslim Congress High School, which was located on Mechlin Street, but now it's burned down.

rumors that the NPFL rebels were targeting Mandingos. During actual truth to end this — any one of the stories that was coming out, why were they targeting Mandingos, I really couldn't put my hands on it. So a lot of people were saying that the Mandingos were associated with the Doe administration which, of course, I would have said it was false, because if I said it was false, in 1988, my father was selling produce at the time and under the Doe administration LPMC at the time was Aletha Johnson. She was the managing director of LPMC. They came to our home and forcefully took about \$200,000, worth — 200,000 U.S. dollar worth of cocoa and coffee, forcefully took it from our home. So when people say that Mandingos were siding with the Doe administration, you deal with judgment on that. So that goes to my story.

July 26 of 1990, that's the day that changed my life. The INPFL rebel capture the Bushrod Island, coming towards the Mamba Point area. That day was a Friday, so my father went to the Juma'h prayer, and my father was one of the Mandingo community leaders and Islamic council leaders.

So he was, you know, pretty much, like every Friday, they would go to the mosque'gee and have people to -- assemble people and just, you know, participate in their daily practices.

So while he was there, the rebel capture our area, so they came to our home and ask everybody to leave. But before that we pretty much lived in constant fear because of the -- the -- the rumors that Mandingos were being killed. And I heard of so many Mandingos were being killed and targeted and harassed and humiliated. So we're living in constant fear, pretty much.

But every day, as the day go by, my anxiety level would just go back -- go up because of the -- the -- the news about Mandingos being killed.

So on July 26th, 1990, when they capture our area, we were told to leave the area because we heard that the Doe soldiers, the AFS soldiers, were coming down to the area to try to capture the area. So N -- NDPL -- ah, no, INPFL rebels, which of course are -- I never knew there were INPF at the time, and all I thought, they were NPFL, because Prince Johnson at the time they were in NASDA, it was INPFL. So they said we should move, everybody should leave the area. So we kind of left the area to go to another of our home down on -- on Johanson. I think around 2 o'clock p.m, on July 26th, if I can vividly remember, we're told to go across

the bridge because at that time Prince Johnson rebel pretty much capture the whole of Bushrod Island and some part of Gardnersville area.

know. So we all just went to the old bridge area because from Johanson to the old bridge, it's a short distance. So we just crossed the bridge, and while we were walking, me and my siblings, it was about 16 of us, while we're walking — and also let me mention that I was 16 years old then. So while we're walking across the bridge, I saw a friend of mine. This friend, his name was Philip Toe. We were confused. Nobody go because we didn't know anybody across the bridge. So — and when he spotted us, he said, "Where you guys going?" So I said, well, we really don't know where we're going. But he kind of, you know, got us to his folks' house. So we went to Gardnersville right up to the cow factory area. I really don't know that particular section of Gardnersville in there.

So we went to that area. We stay at his house, not knowing that this fellow, father was a Krahn, and he was a deputy GSA director at the time. I can remember his last name, used to call him Mr. Cooper. So we went to his house. He has this big house. So one day, tried to stay there at night. The rebel came and they tried to burn down the house. So we jump from the back, all of us. We kind of jump from

the back, went to this -- in the Gardnersville area, there's this swamp. So we jumped into the swamp, the swampy area. So while we are in the swampy area, daylight came. They didn't burn the house at that night. I think, somewhat convinced them that -- Mr. Cooper wasn't no Krahn man, so they left. And then once they left, early in the morning, the same Philip Toe took us to his -- his -- another relative of his, in the Logan Town area, behind the rice store, all the way in Logan Town area.

So we stay in the Logan Town area for X amount of days. I really can't count the number of days, probably like four or five days. So while we were there, there were rumors going around in the area that the folks' house that we're staying in, that he was harvesting Mandingos. So — so, I mean, when I heard the news, he was even struggling to come and tell us because we kinda find his place to kinda be, like I said, hidden at the time.

So he told us he was struggling. He told us that, you know, there's news around the area, and the rebels find out that he was keeping Mandingos. And this is in Logan Town, I mean, Prince Johnson rebels were pretty much — that's one of their stronghold at the time. So we pretty much were confused. We didn't know where to go. We couldn't go right to the city because there was heavy fighting between the AFS soldiers and the NPFL soldiers at the time.

So we really couldn't go back to town, and also, we didn't know my folks' whereabout, my parents' whereabout. So every night, when I was in Logan Town, every evening we tried to go across the bridge, walk to Vai Town area, try to go across the bridge to find out what's going on with my folks. But, unfortunately, I wasn't able to go across the bridge. So when he told us to leave, we pretty much -- I just made a decision, and I heard some rumors that the Voice of America compound, I really don't know the area name, but the Voice of America compound, people were going there to seek refuge.

So I -- I told my siblings that's -- you know, we need to go there. So it was -- it was a very impulsive kind of decision. It was just, you know, something that you just have to do with the constant fear, so we kind of walked there. While walking, we witnessed so much abuse from the soldiers; people were getting shot at, pretty much killed. People were forced to bury people. You can't look onto a dead body on the street. If you look at dead body, you most likely to either bury the dead body or you get killed yourself because everybody is suspicious. I mean, the rebels were suspicious of the civilians, and the civilians were also suspicious of the rebels. So we head to Voice of America compound.

So while we're at the Voice of America compound,

at night they will put their lights on, so it's a kind of safe haven for the rebel. The rebels will not come because the Americans were staying in the voice -- the Voice of America compound.

So we're there for X amount of days. I think it was five days. Then the Americans got evacuated. I mean, when the Americans got evacuated, the next minute the rebels were in the area; they came to the compound. And they started calling people to — to give up their names. As you know, my name is a Mandingo name anywhere: Ali Sylla.

There's no — you know, how can you give that kind of name at that time? So the confusion was — and anxiety and fear, was all, you know, building up bit by bit. So I — we just decided to go to Sierra Leone because we couldn't give our name. We didn't come up with any other name. I mean, pretty much that our name. So we're pretty much targeted because of our identity and because of our ethnicity, to make a long story short.

So we started walk in the jungle to head to Sierra Leone. We're going to Sierra Leone; we came across Gba. Gba is a town in Bomi County. There was a commander there, a radical named Bai Ray. This guy was so vicious. He was harassing women, so much psychological abuse the way he was talking to people, the way he was shooting people, just take you out of the line. Because if you approach the checkpoint,

you get interrogated. And once you get interrogated, I mean viciously, you get a thorough interrogation. After that, you either be associated -- I mean, few things they have to look at. They have to look at your feet, whether your foot was kind of tied from the -- the soldiers, unit soldiers wear those military boot, and the way they tie, it leave kind of scar on their -- on their feet; whether you was a soldier and they look for I.D., you know, if you have any kind of I.D. with your name on it, you're most likely to get killed. And also you less likely to -- to go over the checkpoint.

So why we reached the Bai, I don't know how we get over, but we —— we managed to cross the checkpoint. So while we managed to cross the checkpoint, because people were investigating names and so on and so forth, so I decided to change my name to Alex Freeman. Alex Freeman just came to my mind; very impulsive thought at the time. I decided to change my name to Alex Freeman because I thought that Alex Freeman was close to an Americo-Liberian name. So when I changed my name to Alex Freeman, it was an easy way out to kind of cope with some of the —— some of the target. So I changed my name to Alex Freeman. So that —— that —— that really actually allow me to kind of succeed in my —— in my flight to Sierra Leone.

So after Bai, we were walking in the jungle; went to a town called Bobojah. So Bobojah, I think, is the -- is

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the Lofa River between Bomi and Cape Mount County, if I'm -if I'm not mistaken. So we cross the river, but those who were crossing the river were -- were the rebels. So pretty much we -- you can't really look at the rebels in the eyes. You really can't look at them. So we're tormented in every shape or form. So after we crossed the river, we went to -actually Robertsport was on this side, so we tried to come up to the Main Street, because Robertsport is on the -- the left side. And I would walk ahead of the group of my siblings. And when I walked ahead, I would make sure there ain't no -no rebel ahead of us. Then I would come back, and then I would walk along with my siblings. So every time I will do that, you know, every maybe like a mile, or mile and a half I would walk, and then walk back, and make sure for their own safety. So I continued to do that. At one point I kind of walk ahead, and then when I came back, my siblings weren't there. (Pausing.) Ah, my siblings weren't there (crying). That's good; that's good; yeah, all right. Thank you. Yeah, when I walk back, my siblings weren't there. So I -- I stay at that area, but I slept in the jungle and -so I slept there that night because at 6 o'clock you really can't walk because of the curfew in the area. So I stayed there, and then the next day I kind a -- I was just confused. I said, well, let me just go ahead because you really can't go back because you give -- you know, you give another -- you

1 already give a fake identity, so you really can't go back. 2 If you go back, you're most likely to be charged with either 3 some other crime -- a spy. There was a terminology that they 4 use. CHAIRMAN JEROME VERDIER: 5 TI? THE WITNESS: What? 6 7 UNIDENTIFIED COMMISSIONER VOICE: Reconnaissance? 8 THE WITNESS: Reconnaissance, yeah, yeah, absolutely. And that term, you know, pretty much, if you get 9 10 caught for that terminology, you're done. So I didn't go 11 back. So I just continued. So I continued. I went to -- I 12 went to Tienie. That's another big town. You know, at 13 Tienie, I was there, this guy came up, there's a rebel guy 14 that asked me for my name. I mean, this name was just -- was 15 just a made-up name, you know, so I was really not used to 16 the name very well. Once I reached there, I would kind of mentally 17 prepare myself to give that name. So I just -- here I think 18 19 I was a little bit tired and confused and -- and stressed out 20 from the stress. So I kind -- when he asked me for my name, 21 I kind of -- it was a delayed pattern between giving up my 22 name and the question, so it took me a while. So after I 23 catch up, and then I said, oh, Al -- Alex Freeman. So by the 24 time I said "Alex Freeman," he put a gun to me and he tried

to kill me. Because the first thing he said, oh, I'm a

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Mandingo man. I don't know my name, and so on and so forth. But it was a bunch of people that were there, some good Samaritan kind of, you know, talk him out of it. If he says his name is not — his name is Alex Freeman, that's what he is. He's not Mandingo. I think the thing that really make me to succeed there, because of my — you know, because I could speak a little bit better English, so that was my advantage. But if I couldn't speak no English, I was, you know, done.

So when he put a gun to me and everybody came to my plea. So he -- later on, they talk him -- they talk him -- pretty much talk him out of it. So I went to Bo. is a big town between Cape Mount and Sierra Leone. So I went to Bo. They were doing some investigation and interrogation in the desert huts. When you go in there, you most likely not to come out. So I say I'm not going to take that chance. I mean, I just had those thoughts. I said, I'm not going there. What I'm going to do is I'm going to sit here and wait for the group that come out, and then -- then -- then they ask for single file. The group that come out into a single file, then I can probably try to slip my way through there. And then, once you in that single file, you really don't have to go back through interrogation. So I tried to do that the first time. Then people were looking, so I went back. So I tried the second time. People were looking; I

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went back. So the third time when I tried, no one was looking, so I joined the single-file line. So that's how I crossed to Sierra Leone. So at Sierra Leone, Bowaterside in Sierra Leone, I stay there for ten days. No money. I was in one clothes. No food. I was hungry. So I just stood there. There's nowhere I could go because I didn't have no transportation to cross over to whatsoever I needed to go -to go to Kenema or Bo or Freetown. So I stay at Bo, and also with the thought of maybe my folks, my -- my siblings will join me later on. But, unfortunately, that didn't happen. So I stayed there ten days. I was sleeping on market tab -market tables, and you know, when it rain at night, you have to get up and wait for the rain to stop. You name it. You name it. So the basic necessity weren't there. Shower was out of the question. You don't have no food so -- so the basic necessities weren't there. So I stayed there ten days. Fortunately, for me, I saw -- because of my father's status and I was always around my dad, so I pretty much knew most of his friends and his associates and some of his business partner. So I -- I kind of spotted one of his associate, but he didn't really know me. So I walk up to I said, "I know you don't really know me, but my father name is..." this and that. And he called -- and then he said -- and then he said at that time I already knew that my father -- before I get to that, that my father was killed on

July -- July 26th. He was captured on that day, when he came from the mosque to the house, and he was killed by NPFL rebel on that day. So when I get there, and -- and he ask me, "Where is your dad?" And I said to him, you know, "My dad been killed." And so he offered me transportation to go to Guinea (crying). So he offered me transportation to go to Guinea. So I -- I took his -- I took that transportation and went to Guinea. I was in Guinea, confused. I knew -- I never knew my -- my folks' or my siblings' whereabout. And also I knew my father was killed, too.

So I stay in Guinea from -- this was in September, on to December I was in Guinea. The Guinea experience weren't pretty either so, I mean, no money -- I was, you know, you know, living on the refugee Camp Nzerekore, and I stay in Guinea until January of '91. Then I heard interim government at the time with emissary was sending people to Liberia, transporting people from Guinea to Monrovia, so I -- I shoot to -- oh, before that, before that, I was in Nzerekore. That's a radio I used to listen to about the news in Monrovia because I really wanted to go back to Monrovia. And there was an announcement on the radio station, and the announcement came from -- that -- actually, I think the announcement came up that my siblings were in Monrovia because of my father's status. So once I immediately heard that news, I kind of went straight to Conakry, and I heard

Monrovia. So I went to Conakry. I got on the ship. I think it's the Amville ship, and I went to Monrovia. Immediately I got to Monrovia, at the port were the NPFL rebel at the port with ECOMOG. So they were harassing people, who you are, this and that, so I give the guy the same Alex Freeman name. You know, I didn't have no ID, you know; definitely, I didn't have no ID. So he cannot let me go. So I went to town. Fortunately, I went home, and then I spotted my siblings at home.

So in Monrovia we -- we were just living in fear, you know, and you know, constant fear, constant harassment. We have NPFL soldiers in our homes -- my father had, you know, extended properties; rebels in our home not paying rent. We couldn't take them out. There's a fear. If you go there, most likely if anything happen, you gonna get killed. So properties were destroyed from us. In my father home, a hundred thousand U.S. dollar was taken, 8 kilos of golds and diamond were taken. I mean, legitimate papers were destroyed: Bank account, court documents, I mean, bank statement, bank book. So most of my father's assets were -- we didn't really retrieve them, you know. Home -- property deeds were taken. I mean, some people were having some of the deeds and saying that that is their home. So while I was in Monrovia, I was living in constant fear. So I tried to

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get back in school because, you know, I got back in school. I started going to the First Assembly of God High School on Buchanan Street. So in school there was always sentiment that, oh, if anything happen, you're Mandingo people, we're gonna kill ya. You know, I have friends of mine who would always threaten me. Some of them I don't even know their name, but I know their nickname. There's a guy down there that I grew up with, is name was Tiey; always threaten me. If anything happen, he gonna kill me. And in some part of Monrovia at the time, we couldn't go there because of your ethnicity. The Caldwell area, some part of Logan Town, I couldn't really go there because of my ethnicity. Some part of Paynesville, I couldn't really go there because of my ethnicity. So I was very much barricaded into central Monrovia. And then some part of central Monrovia, on Carey Street, you know. At some time I used to go around Carey Street to go where I have to go, you know, because the NPFL rebels and the INPFL rebels will come to town. And you really don't want to be identified as a Mandingo person at that time. And then the status of my father, is easy, is much, much easier to -- to be identified. So I always have constant fear. I was always in constant fear. So I stay in Monrovia off and on. There was war. Then all the wars came, you know, constant fear. A lot of people came to central Monrovia, so central Monrovia was packed to capacity.

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later on, I graduated from high school. And in 1994, I like, I got to get out of here because, you know, there was no room for me to be in Monrovia, or so on and so forth. So I just told my people that I have to leave. So, fortunately, they have some money, so I got some visa. I went to Egypt. went to try to go to the university, American University in Cairo. So while there, the -- I stay with the ambassador, Ambassador Dr. Kaba, at his house, Abraham D. Kaba, because he was part of the Muslim Congress and the Muslim Council, so good, you know, associate with my father. So I stay with him for a little bit. Then Octopus came around -- no, not Octopus, April 6th war came around. I had no contact with my folks in Monrovia so -- and then he was called back. I think he was called as a deputy foreign minister at the time. So he obtain me a visa to come to America, so I came to America. My American experience, I went to go get asylum. I was first denied by the immigration officer. I don't know why, because I'm sitting here giving the same story, and their views and the -- the agony that I went through. He denied me the first Then I went to court. I had a lawyer; I went to time. court. And the judge saw my credibility and he approved my asylum, and I got asylum. And later on I kind of adjusted my status. I went back to school, got my bachelor's degree. I went back again. I got my master's. I just have my master's this May. So that's pretty much my experience. But if

anything come up, maybe I can probably come back to that, say thanks.

CHAIRMAN JEROME VERDIER: Thank you. Thank you for taking up your time to share your experience with us and your experience here in the diaspora. There's evidence of the progressive nature in which you've conducted yourself. I want to use this time to express our sympathy to you for the death of your father. The rest of your siblings, you didn't introduce enough your siblings?

THE WITNESS: I didn't hear you.

CHAIRMAN JEROME VERDIER: Your siblings.

THE WITNESS: My statement?

CHAIRMAN JEROME VERDIER: Siblings: Your brothers and sisters.

THE WITNESS: Yes, oh, my siblings.

CHAIRMAN JEROME VERDIER: They are all alive?

THE WITNESS: One of my brother got killed with my father. His name is Lafayette Syllah; name is Lafayette, L-A-F-A-Y-E-T-T-E, Lafayette Syllah. And another brother of mine, too, got killed. He joined the AFL to try to protect the family. His name was Bangaly Syllah. Just imagine, he joined the AFL with not even a Bangaly name. He enter, I think, Bob -- I can't even remember his last name, that he enter the AFL with, not with a Mandingo name, but Bob. So -- and I guess, because he tried to, you know, hide his identity

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     because maybe he was thinking about what was really
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    happening. Some of my siblings back --
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                CHAIRMAN JEROME VERDIER: Okay.
                THE WITNESS: -- in Monrovia.
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                CHAIRMAN JEROME VERDIER: Thank you. Like to say
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     sorry that it happened.
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                THE WITNESS: Yeah. Can you speak up a little
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    bit?
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                CHAIRMAN JEROME VERDIER: We are sorry that all of
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     that happened, and we are glad that you have come to testify.
                THE WITNESS: Uh-huh.
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                CHAIRMAN JEROME VERDIER: Commissioners will ask
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    you a couple of questions.
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                THE WITNESS: Sure.
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                CHAIRMAN JEROME VERDIER:
                                          Sheikh.
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                COMMISSIONER GERALD COLEMAN:
                                              Thank you for the
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     sharing of this story.
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                THE WITNESS: Okay.
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                COMMISSIONER GERALD COLEMAN: You know, one of the
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     things of the war is how do we deal with people's reparation
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     for those who have suffered great losses. So I'm just
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     wondering in your -- since the war time, have you and your
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     family ever made any effort with regards to reclaiming the
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    property that you said you lost? Has there been a problem
    with that?
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1 THE WITNESS: Yeah. We had -- we had some problem 2 obtaining some of the deeds from some people. I was in 3 America, but I was in constant contact with my sisters, my siblings back home. They had some serious problem with the 4 Lands and Mines, some of the deeds because, you know, the 5 6 properties were obtained prior to the war. So I think the 7 Mother Deeds in Lands and Mines, you know, some of the deeds 8 were there, but some of the other original deed, the original 9 deeds were taken and destroyed. So I -- I think it took 10 awhile for them to get of those deed around, but it's pretty 11 much the duplicates. 12 COMMISSIONER GERALD COLEMAN: Then you mentioned 13 only two brothers that passed away. How about your mother? 14 How did she fare during this time? 15 THE WITNESS: You know, thanks for asking that, 16 but when my father got killed, she -- she told me that --17 because my mom kind of speak pretty much like a lot of 18 different local languages. I guess she hid her identity 19 speaking Mano. She said a gun was put to her head. She was 20 talked to like trash. I really don't want to get into my 2.1 mother's stuff. 22 COMMISSIONER GERALD COLEMAN: I understand. Okay. 23 Thank you very much. 24 THE WITNESS: All right. 25 COMMISSIONER MASSA WASHINGTON: Mr. Witness --

1 THE WITNESS: Yep. 2 COMMISSIONER MASSA WASHINGTON: -- thank you, 3 again, for coming and for muster -- mustering the courage to 4 tell your story which is extremely heartbreaking. 5 THE WITNESS: Uh-huh. 6 COMMISSIONER MASSA WASHINGTON: Thank God you are 7 alive, and other members of your family as well, and sorry 8 for the death of your father and brothers. I have one or two 9 questions. 10 THE WITNESS: Sure. 11 COMMISSIONER MASSA WASHINGTON: If for any reason, 12 if you feel you don't have to answer any of the questions --13 THE WITNESS: Okay. 14 COMMISSIONER MASSA WASHINGTON: -- it's your 15 prerogative; you don't have to. 16 THE WITNESS: Sure. 17 COMMISSIONER MASSA WASHINGTON: We just want to 18 understand, for the sake of the record, how some of these 19 things could have happened. 20 THE WITNESS: Can you speak up a little bit 2.1 louder? 22 COMMISSIONER MASSA WASHINGTON: Sure. 23 Can you -- do you have any information at all 24 about those who are responsible for killing your father and 25 your brother?

THE WITNESS: And I've been struggling with that
for quite a while. I've been struggling with that because
the same people that kill my father, they in power right now.
So and the reason why I been struggling with that is
because my siblings in Monrovia. And I'm not trying to put
them in any harm's way. But also because I've been
struggling with that, it allows me to be stagnated, you know.
I mean, this is a very but the thing that I must say, I
think my father would probably say something like, you know,
forgive, but forgiveness is a hard thing, you know. Because
you are so religious, you just say, Mandingo, you talk to
Allah ma. That mean, you know, just leave it with God.
And also, too, there's this there's a old
saying that, you know, every son, you know, wishes to live up
to his father expectations, or to either better themself from
their father mistakes. But I would say the people that they
kill my father is Adolphus Dolo.
COMMISSIONER MASSA WASHINGTON: Okay. Before I go
to my next question, just very briefly, you stated that your
father would have probably would have said
THE WITNESS: I can't hear you. Speak up some.
COMMISSIONER MASSA WASHINGTON: You stated that
your father would have said just leave it alone
THE WITNESS: Uh-huh which is a good thing.
But then also the TROC has a mandate under the Act to address

1 the culture of impunity that is -- has existed in our 2 community for so long. 3 THE WITNESS: Uh-huh. COMMISSIONER MASSA WASHINGTON: And now someone 4 rightly stated the other day that people oftentimes like to 5 6 confuse impunity with reconciliation --7 THE WITNESS: Uh-huh. 8 COMMISSIONER MASSA WASHINGTON: -- and we, on the 9 TROC, want to make sure that in pushing and pushing 10 reconciliation and ensuring that we can reconcile our people, 11 that we'll also address the culture of impunity. So please 12 bear with me if I ask certain questions intended to look at 13 those very issues of justice and impunity. 14 THE WITNESS: Sure. 15 COMMISSIONER MASSA WASHINGTON: Okay. Again, this 16 is another difficult question. You don't have to answer it. 17 THE WITNESS: Okay. 18 COMMISSIONER MASSA WASHINGTON: Did you receive 19 any information concerning how your father was killed? 20 THE WITNESS: Did I receive any information how my 2.1 father were killed? You know, there's a good friend of ours. 22 I don't know whether he's alive or -- or dead, and I really -- he was a friend of my -- my -- one of my oldest 23 24 brother, because I think they were going to Saint Patrick's together. He told us that he saw my father buried at Mechlin 25

1 Street, down in the Waterside area, along with my brother. 2 So it seems like that he was taken away from home, but he 3 really didn't make it to the base and he got killed at the Waterside area. So that's -- that's pretty much. But the 4 reason why I call his name was like, you know, in the area. 5 6 We had neighbors that, you know, seven guys came to the 7 property and tried to get my father. And my brother Lafayette kind of joined my father because he says that if my 8 9 father is gonna go, he has to go along with my father so --10 and I guess any son would do that, you know. 11 COMMISSIONER MASSA WASHINGTON: So the same person 12 also is responsible for the killing of your brother? THE WITNESS: Absolutely. 13 14 COMMISSIONER MASSA WASHINGTON: Would this be the 15 same person or group of people who looted your -- your 16 father's property and took away --17 THE WITNESS: Absolutely. I think they came back 18 to the property and looted the house. And there was --19 actually we have another property down in Johanson area. 20 of the -- even one of the -- the guys that did the --21 occupied the property, when I went back to Monrovia, and he 22 wouldn't leave the property. We had to get ECOMOG involved 23 and they came there for him to leave the property. 24 COMMISSIONER MASSA WASHINGTON: Do you want to share that second name with us? 25

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                THE WITNESS: I really don't know his name.
 2
     always had some kind of nickname, but I really don't know his
 3
     name.
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                COMMISSIONER MASSA WASHINGTON: Okay. My last
     question. You just painted a very extremely grim picture of
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 6
     tribalism in Liberia and how people were just simply targeted
 7
    because of their ethnicity --
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                THE WITNESS: Uh-huh.
 9
                COMMISSIONER MASSA WASHINGTON: -- which is
10
     absolutely so wrong. Based on your experience --
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                THE WITNESS: Uh-huh.
12
                COMMISSIONER MASSA WASHINGTON: -- as a Mandingo
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     who was targeted, and only to the fact that now we out of
14
     war; we're not fighting war anymore --
15
                THE WITNESS: Uh-huh.
16
                COMMISSIONER MASSA WASHINGTON: -- how do you feel
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     right now? Do you still feel that your -- your -- your
18
     ethnic group is targeted, marginalized, or how do you feel
19
     right now? Do you feel hopeful at all?
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                THE WITNESS: You know, there's always hope, you
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            But I think, you know, if you look at 1990, you know,
22
     it's like, you know, it's just something to start this stuff.
23
     I think the Mandingo sentiment start as long time ago. I
24
     think it's something that I would classify as call
25
    transgenerational cell. When I say transgenerational cell,
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Mandingo people in Liberia in the first place. Then, you know, after my father, there was always sentiment of Mandingo, you know; we were just marginalized. And then in 1990, you know, we're targeted, you know, either based on, you know, hate, either jealousy. You know, we were not affiliated with any kind of political party. Maybe some, but majority of the Mandingos were just entrepreneur. You know, they were self-sufficient in local businesses, transportation, rice, cocoa and coffee.

Do I have hope? Of course, I do. There's always hope. There's always hope. But I think -- I think with -- with the -- with, you know, the TROC, the establishment of TROC, I think I probably go back to not put emphasis on retributive justice, but restorative justice. I think I put a lot of emphasis on restorative justice, because at least we can have an opportunity to have conference mediation between victim and offenders. And also -- and that -- that would allow us to have a win/win situation. We understand the other person's perspective. I think we, as Liberian people, really don't respect one another. I really feel like that. I think we really don't respect one another. We don't respect one another ethnicity or even religion. Or we don't even care to find out. I think where there's, you know, where there's no respect, there's almost tremendous human

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right violation, you know. So this violation of 1990, and I'm glad — it's from 1979, but this violation should go back to that trans transgenerational cells that I'm talking about, just going back to that, you know to, you know, addressing some of those core principles of what does it mean to violate someone human right, you know.

You know, it's funny that you ask me that, because when I came to the States, you know, I had that sense of detachment to Liberia because atrocities done to me, you know, there's a big sense of detachment. Why would do -- why do really -- why would I want to go back to Liberia when I've been prosecuted because of my ethnicity, you know. But I really don't feel like that. I think with education, with self-acceptance, with -- I think self-acceptance is you have to accept that we have a problem. And then once we accept that, it's easy to face the challenge of our ordeals, you know. So I don't think we, as Liberians, ever accept that we have a problem. We never did. So -- for generation we never So the sentiments are still there. They are there. did. mean, you can go back to history, no? I can go back -- I mean I'm not a -- I mean, I'm 35 years old, but I can vividly remember some of the things that happened. You know, go back to Guinea; Mandingo dog. You don't belong here. So that pretty much tarnished some of our self-esteem, you know. mean, I was going to Muslim Congress. I really didn't want

1 to go to Muslim Congress because some of the sentiments 2 associated with Muslim Congress, you know, and that's a shame. And I wanted to go to other schools so I can have a 3 sense of belonging, you know. So that's -- do you qualify 4 that as a human rights violation? Of course. That's a basic 5 6 human right violation. So where do we start? I think that's 7 the question. 8 CHAIRMAN JEROME VERDIER: Mr. Witness, I -- I would like to admonish you to be as brief as possible. 9 10 THE WITNESS: Okay. 11 CHAIRMAN JEROME VERDIER: I just got a notice that 12 you should be catching a flight --13 THE WITNESS: Yep. 14 CHAIRMAN JEROME VERDIER: -- in maybe ten minutes. 15 THE WITNESS: Yep. COMMISSIONER JOHN STEWART: Well, in that case I 16 17 just would like to ask one question --18 THE WITNESS: Uh-huh. 19 COMMISSIONER STEWART: -- based on the issue you 20 raised about victim/offender coming face to face and confront 21 each other. I'd like to ask you whether you have since made 22 any contact with Mr. Adolphus Dolo, as you call his name whether there has been any response -- if you did, whether 23 24 there has been any response from him, and whether you would have the interest in coming face to face with him. 25

1 THE WITNESS: That probably would be a good idea. 2 But am I prepared for that? That's the \$64,000 question, you know. You know, am I prepared for that, to facing Mr. Dolo. 3 I think I've grown. I think I've understand what does it 4 mean to violate someone human rights. I think I have become 5 a spiritual person in my -- in my higher power which, of 6 7 course, I call Allah. 8 There's an interesting thing that I was reading 9 the other day about the ten commandments and one of the thing the ten commandment said, "Thou shalt not kill." And I said 10 to myself, being a Muslim, would I want Adolphus Dolo to be 11 12 killed. So I -- pretty much I'm basing my decision on my --13 on my anguish, you know. I'm not basing my decision on my spiritual well-being. So I would love to face him to kind of 14 hear what he says about his story, but -- you know. 15 16 COMMISSIONER JOHN STEWART: Would you want to see 17 him face justice? 18 THE WITNESS: Say that one more time --19 COMMISSIONER STEWART: Would you want to see him 20 face justice? 21 THE WITNESS: -- do I want him to face justice? 22 Well, you know, Liberia is an interesting case. It's a big case that if -- if you want to go ahead and prosecute some 23 24 leaders, the Liberia people who committed some atrocity done, especially like mass murder, you pretty much going to 25

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     prosecute everybody. So I think what we need to do is
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    probably facing people in just the healing process and try to
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     find out what some of the issues they have, so we're not --
     that go back to my question to, you know, that
 4
     transgenerational cell, you know. My father was just killed
 5
 6
     because he Mandingo, period. No association to Doe.
 7
    Nothing. Mandingo and a Muslim leader. That's it. So how
 8
     can I justify that?
 9
               He never took political office. He wasn't
10
     educated. He was a very smart and a brilliant person, you
11
     know. So -- so how can you -- you know what I mean?
12
               What kind of justice? I probably prefer
13
     restorative justice, because retribution will probably
14
    bring -- you know, lots of people are going to be locked up
15
     for no reason -- for a reason that we all created. So I
16
    prefer, you know, restorative justice.
17
                COMMISSIONER JOHN STEWART: Thank you very much.
18
               THE WITNESS: No problem.
19
                CHAIRMAN JEROME VERDIER: I just heard you saying
20
     Adolphus Dolo.
21
                THE WITNESS: Uh-huh.
22
               CHAIRMAN JEROME VERDIER: Have you seen this
23
    Adolphus Dolo?
24
                THE WITNESS: Have I seen him? I saw him after
25
     the war, like after 1991. I saw him on Carey Street when he
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1
    has North Star Security, I think, securities.
 2
               CHAIRMAN JEROME VERDIER: Yeah.
 3
               THE WITNESS: Yeah. Right there on -- between
 4
    Gurley --
 5
               CHAIRMAN JEROME VERDIER: And Carey Street?
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                THE WITNESS: -- and Carey Street; that's correct.
 7
               CHAIRMAN JEROME VERDIER: Do you know where he is
 8
    now?
 9
               THE WITNESS: I heard that he's a junior senator.
10
               CHAIRMAN JEROME VERDIER: In Liberia?
11
               THE WITNESS: Junior senator, Republic of Liberia,
12
    yeah.
               CHAIRMAN JEROME VERDIER: Okay. I stop right
13
14
    here.
15
               VICE CHAIR DEDE DOLOPEI: Excuse me --
16
               THE WITNESS: Yeah.
17
               COMMISSIONER DOLOPEI: -- can you please repeat
18
     when your father was killed, the date?
19
               THE WITNESS: July 26, 1990.
20
               COMMISSIONER DOLOPEI: And by whom?
21
               THE WITNESS: Say that one more time.
22
               COMMISSIONER DOLOPEI: By whom; which one of the
23
    groups?
24
               THE WITNESS: You know what, that's later on I
25
    find it was INPFL was during for NPFL, you know. I think
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     it's NPFL --INPFL.
 2
                COMMISSIONER JOHN STEWART:
 3
                THE WITNESS: INPFL.
                COMMISSIONER DOLOPEI: INPFL?
 4
                THE WITNESS: Yeah.
 5
 6
                VICE CHAIR DEDE DOLOPEI: Okay. Thank you very
 7
    much.
 8
                THE WITNESS: No problem.
 9
                CHAIRMAN JEROME VERDIER: Okay. You've just come
10
     to the end of your testimony, and we want to thank you very
11
           Is there anything else you want to say before you
12
     leave? Even though you said a lot about the foward-looking
13
    processes, is there anything else?
14
                THE WITNESS: I think I just do what my father
     would do, you know. My father would just say talk to Allah,
15
16
           I mean, forgiving. And I forgive Adolphus Dolo.
    you talk about conference mediation, I forgive him. And I
17
18
     think I speak on behalf of my siblings here today; that I
19
     forgive those who committed atrocities done to my family.
20
     And I'll be glad that they -- they come up and state, you
2.1
    know, the things that they did to other folks. So that's it.
22
                CHAIRMAN JEROME VERDIER:
                                          Thank you very much.
23
                MR. SYLLAH:
                              No problem.
24
                CHAIRMAN JEROME VERDIER:
                                          Okav.
                Thank you, ladies and gentlemen. We will take a
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1	one-hour	break	and	resume	e after	lund	ch.	Thank	you	very	much.
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1 2 REPORTER'S CERTIFICATE 3 I, JoAnn Wahl, Official Court Reporter, do hereby 4 certify that the foregoing pages of typewritten material 5 6 constitute an accurate verbatim stenographic record taken by 7 me of the proceedings aforementioned before the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Liberia, on the 13th day of 8 9 June, 2008, at the time and place specified. 10 11 12 13 DATED: July 30, 2008. 14 15 JoAnn Wahl, RPR, CRR, AE 16 Official Court Reporter 17 Dakota County Government Center 1560 West Highway 55 Hastings, Minnesota 55033 18 Tele.: (651) 438-8187 E-mail: joann.wahl@courts.state.mn.us 19 20 2.1 22 23 24 25