



Centre for
Human Rights and
Restorative Justice

LIBERIA INTERVIEW CODING

Liberia Truth Commission

Abstract

Coding for Liberia interviews discussing the Liberia Truth Commission.

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Coding for the Liberia Interviews

The following chart breakdowns the themes and sub-themes used for coding the Liberia interviews.

Name	Description
Commission	Discussions or references to the TRC e.g., why it was made, opinions on, issues addressed, etc.
Inclusivity	References or discussions of TRC inclusivity or efforts to be inclusive.
Issues Addressed	References or discussions of issues addressed by the TRC.
Mandate	References or discussions of the TRC's mandate.
Opinion of	References or discussions of the interviewees' opinion of the TRC.
Recommendations	References or discussions of the TRC recommendations.
Relationship to	References or discussions of the interviewees' relationship to and/or involvement in the TRC.
Counselling	References or discussions of counselling.
Forgiveness	References or discussions of forgiveness or forgiving.
Justice	References or discussions of justice.
Perpetrators	References or discussions of perpetrators.
Reconciliation	References or discussions of reconciliation.
Truth	References or discussions of truth.
Victims	References or discussions of victims.
Women	References or discussions of women.

Liberia Interviews Coding References

This section contains all coding references from the Liberia interviews.

Commission

Discussions or references to the TRC e.g., why it was made, opinions on, issues addressed, etc.

<Files\\Liberia\\Joe S. Johnson> - § 17 references coded [52.22% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.18% Coverage

(Respondent): Yes. I was directly.

Reference 2 - 1.28% Coverage

(Respondent): Yes, I went there to give my story of what I went through during the course of the war. And I went there I presented myself, I presented my case, I presented an individual that carry on mayhem on me, his name, and whatever

Reference 3 - 5.89% Coverage

(Respondent): Well, at the initial stage – the truth and reconciliation process was well meaningful because calling on victims to go and explain their side of the story, the perpetrator to present themselves in an open forum; this is what I did, this is what I did, and based upon that TRC said there could be some Palava Hut meeting for the people if you come out and apologize to the people of Liberia for the atrocity you have committed against the people of Liberia. Those opportunities were given them but, only to note we went and give our testimony as victim and some warlords, one like Prince Johnson after he never even appeared, but I can remembered the man call Milton Blahyee, called Butt Naked, I think he went there, he said something to the Liberia people that indeed he sorry for what he did, but Prince Johnson demanded that we build a monument for him in Liberia because he liberated Liberia so he stand to be a Liberator. He liberated Liberia from the hands of Doe. So that also was a direct slap in the face of the victims and in fact in the slap of the TRC as well.

References 4-5 - 5.50% Coverage

(Respondent): Well, No. In the sense that TRC after completing their hearing, it was compiled and sent to the government at which time Madame Ellen Johnson Sirleaf was the President to be approved by the National Legislature for implementation of the TRC recommendation and which the Madame failed. And I will speak to today's date; TRC recommendation is in the trash can of the national legislature. They are not working, they are not doing anything towards it, on grounds that from my own believed, many of them are war lords, so it's like shooting yourself in your own legs if they sign the TRC recommendations; Madame former President will be haul into it and many of our legislators will be haul into it because they are direct perpetrators. So they decide not to do it sensitively and that continue to play on the minds of us as survivors; that the main

objectives of the TRC recommendations which mandate was established upon was not adhered to and up to today's date, it is not adhered to by our government.

References 6-7 - 3.71% Coverage

(Respondent): Yes, it was open because TRC call on people to go and give their testimony and ordeal and also given the opportunity to perpetrator to go, in which only few show-up, only few show up. But we thank God for TRC, I think they have a book called TRC report and we have all those warlords, their names listed and their crimes listed. So now that we gotten to know many of them that fail to appear to the TRC, they shy away because they never wanted to be notify, maybe by we the victim; that oh yes, these are the people who carry mayhem on us. But we thank God that TRC in their final reports, their names are listed there and their crimes committed, if it is rape; rape.

Reference 8 - 1.71% Coverage

(Respondent): Yes, it was inclusive. TRC had women and men and we the victim that went there we have women and men. Like we have one woman called Mother Yormie, she went there. She was hit from St. Peter's Lutheran Massacre; the massacre that President Doe carry there, so she gave her testimony. It was inclusive.

Reference 9 - 3.39% Coverage

(Respondent): For me the most important issue addressed by the Truth and Reconciliation report was passing the report to the central government for approval that the perpetrators should be dealt with. Justice should take its course. That's the most things TRC done for us. But, it's not that they have done anything for victims, like in times of this we will take you people to the hospital, do some if you are in school, tried to settle your school fees. No! They never did that, but all over they send to the central government through the national legislature to approve the recommendation so Justice can take its course.

Reference 10 - 0.96% Coverage

(Respondent): My thought on the report is they did well. For the long time they spend together capturing those stories, compiling them, and sending them in for implementation.

Reference 11 - 2.40% Coverage

(Respondent): Not at all. Not at all! Even the past government Madame Ellen J. Sirleaf she openly said she cannot encourage war crimes court but she preferred Palava hut. That means we should go through the Palava hut reconciliation and she only said it, it was just a shooray and nothing was done as we speak now. Even if you go to the National Human Rights Commission they will tell you that was never implemented, it was never implemented.

References 12-13 - 2.58% Coverage

(Respondent): For me it has not been achieved because apart from their submission, there were other recommendations given to them by those that established the TRC. I don't just believe it was only to collect, or to get victims and perpetrators' names, I mean and send it to the central government for approval and I mean that will be the ending part of their work. I don't think so. If that was the mandate, then it was not enough by the crafter of the TRC. It was not enough.

Reference 14 - 13.26% Coverage

(Respondent): Bring us together. Call a gathering; victims come there, you bring some lecturers. Bring some lectures that will be able to counsel us, keep talking to us, keep talking to us, at least that would be very well because I am already tempered with, I am feeling hurt because seeing those perpetrators living a luxurious life, in and around the city, in and around the country. They live the best of life, they ride the best car, they eat the best food, sleep in the best place, and they are not better than us. Nobody is more Liberian than any other person. Then you did it to me, you walking free sky, nothing is going on with you. Sometimes they get on radio like Prince Johnson get on radio sometimes and say some senseless things. The only way I will appear when Madame President appears, the former President Ellen Johnson Sirleaf and come out with some threatening remarks against those that speaking for justice to take course in Liberia. Speaking against civil society saying some words that will try to, that he think in his own mind there is a technique that he use to use those days as rebel leader that if I use this word it will calm down those that fighting for justice and it cannot calm us down. Why they should live best of life, and we cannot live best of life? Why their children should go to good schools and our children should not go to good school? Why their children should eat good food and we are not eating the food. So TRC need to see in this thing and sometimes call people, the victim, conference like the city hall we appear, bring lecturers to talk to us, that will keep holding us down at least that we can live with that until we see what will come at the end of the day through the international people, because what we talking about here needs international pressure because the government on ground using political means to sideline the voices of the civil society that are pushing for justice in this country. If you listen to what President George Weah has said: Why now should the war crimes court be established? Why can't it be now? So he thinks that since it was Ellen Johnson time it was drafted, it should have been signed during that time but why now during his government. And he once upon a time talk about this when he was opposition. He talked on this and establishing war crimes court and all those other things, then why is he going back to say why now? That also is an abusive word in our faces.

Reference 15 - 6.63% Coverage

(Respondent): That's what I have said. TRC should have just gone to work on a yearly basis the same way they can have their conferences, national conferences bringing international people. Bring the same international people and call a conference for the victim. Send for this same international people and local people and let them keep counseling us, but from the time they finished compiling that document, you cannot even know the TRC existing. The overall commissioner is in the states, the other people all, only few are in this country. They only one time meet or annually or maybe they just come out to see or government come out to say the implementation of their recommendation that's they only time they can shake, but what extra things have you done as an institution that dealt with .. They deal with us directly, because they

have gathered our stories, they know our cases. So they should have a program within the TRC, since this recommendation has not yet been sign by the central government, let us design this program on this side, that we can keep talking and talking, counseling these people and keep counseling them. That's what we need. That's what I think, I, as an individual, that TRC needed to do.

Reference 16 - 2.46% Coverage

(Respondent): They never change anything, because if you read the TRC recommendation they will start to give you information starting from 1979 rice riot, all the way to President Doe administration, coming to Taylor time, passing by that time, they give the entire story, those instances that occurred that came and we can look at and we ourselves look at and conclude that this could be one of the burning factors that brought about war in this country

Reference 17 - 2.27% Coverage

(Respondent): It's the TRC because I was a child. I was not a too grown up man. I was just an elementary student what do I know. Even the rice riot, I heard some when I was around 1990, we heard people talking about the rice riot but I read it from history and TRC also brought it out continue to explain in detail. So there was some other information that I was lacking of, but through TRC I got to know it, to admit.

<Files\\Liberia\\Mustapha Allen Nicholas> - § 15 references coded [36.15% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.31% Coverage

(Respondent): Yes. I think I was the second man.

Reference 2 - 1.30% Coverage

(Respondent): I went there as General, as the former General for NPFL. General Arab Devil and then, I went there to say the truth to the TRC, what really took place in the country that I saw, the one I see.

Reference 3 - 4.00% Coverage

(Respondent): Right now, I am thinking, like before I was thinking like it was something that was fine for us, Not only I alone, I and my friends, because we were children, we used to be SBU, small small boys behind Charles Taylor, wasting our time fighting war doing whole lots of things. When we heard about the TRC, we say okay we have go there and show ourselves for people know what really going on not only war, other things happen. People were small they force then to fight war. For me, because I had Mandingo background, Muslim background, they were killing my people, so I had no other option but just to join to free my people.

Reference 4 - 0.33% Coverage

(Respondent): No, it not. It never went fine with me.

Reference 5 - 6.25% Coverage

(Respondent): Yes, because I thought since our people were killed and the TRC get to know and we explained to them, I thought they were going to helped us, like taking us for schooling, or something like trade something at least that we can depend on. I think you can see the country looking today, other people going all around shooting doing other things because nothing they not learn beside gun. So, I thought the TRC was going to help us through that process or even protect us. But right now we in tears, we still in tears seriously. Especially me, for me, I'm in serious threat because I was one of first man from NPFL, from Charles Taylor side. So that make me to feel very bad about the TRC, and then they promise us and lie to us whole, every day they lie to us. Sometime we go there they put us outside, they don't even want see us enter their office again, because they finished getting the truth from us. What they wanted they get it already. That is what makes feel bad about the TRC.

Reference 6 - 0.33% Coverage

(Respondent): No..., no..., It was not address by it.

Reference 7 - 2.07% Coverage

(Respondent): Yes, like I said, was thinking number one, I was thinking about the TRC helping us to recover after wasting that 14 years' war, after wasting that 14years free without learning anything, and then we were in trauma. We were thinking about them helping us, instead of them helping us, the problem got worst on us more.

Reference 8 - 1.95% Coverage

(Respondent): Yes, because like for me I went there, I did public hearing not in Camera. I went, I saw whole lots of people, Liberian were sitting there when I was talking. So I believe it included everybody because I saw Madam Sirleaf who we all were doing the same thing, she was there too, she went there too.

Reference 9 - 0.48% Coverage

(Respondent): Really, I don't think they addressed anything that I aware of.

Reference 10 - 4.67% Coverage

(Respondent): You know like I went to the TRC, we are in Africa; I went to the TRC and confessed to them, my whole heart. Everything I was using the war, that was making me so powerful that making do everything, I said it, and they never help me through the process to protect me. Like, like I told you, I told them I was using, like you can check the report, I told them how I was using four ladies mamie-watta, that I can use to go and do my fighting, so I can be free from bullets and other things. From there, serious problem came to me, because today nobody took to

me to church for deliverance, to deliver me from that thing, or nobody help me to do anything. I just doing it on my own, that is just by the grace of God you seeing me today.

Reference 11 - 2.50% Coverage

(Respondent): The only thing I heard about it that I was part of it. People telling me say, oh my man that your went to the TRC, man like your, we will get rid of your, we will do this and that, the threats I talking about, that it there. Now! Right now, some..., some places I suppose to go to get job, they will not allow it because what I have to go there..... So it is embarrassing for me too bad.

Reference 12 - 1.58% Coverage

(Respondent): I volunteer myself to go there. You know I was motivated by Butt-Naked. My enemy, somebody who they and myself was fighting against one another, he the one motivated me to go there. I was fighting against him but he motivated me to do it.

Reference 13 - 1.72% Coverage

(Respondent): Really, I can't lie to you; I got to tell you the truth as I continue saying the truth. Some days, sometimes, when I sit, I can regret why I have to go there. That is one of the main things in my life, why I have to go to the TRC? I never supposed to go there.

Reference 14 - 5.22% Coverage

(Respondent): Because, I was thinking that the TRC was going to be, they going to do their work. Oh, this guy, we will protect this man, as they told us before talking. They say, we will protect your, nobody will do nothing to your, nothing. In fact, after everything, we will carry your back, because when we told them, like me, when I told them that I was sixteen years old, I was child at that time, I never knew anything. They told me after everything, we going take care of everything. My man, you will back to school, you will be protected, nobody will do nothing to you, but it not like that..... Even some our senior staff they get money now, now those that we used to fight with, when we go around anyone of them to ask them for anything, because they will say why we have to go to the TRC to let people know what they did.

Reference 15 - 3.45% Coverage

(Respondent): Yes....I heard that they want to bring the war crime court, and the main thing that But-Naked really asked me to come so we can go to the TRC was so they can't instill the war crime court in Liberia. Because, when the TRC finished and give report, there will not be no more war crime court. But this few time, we hearing about war crime court, other people say whole lots of things. We start calling one another asking we all that went there. What we really went to do there now? Why we couldn't wait to face the war crime court one time?

<Files\\Liberia\\Peterson Sonyah> - § 14 references coded [53.02% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 1.32% Coverage

(Respondent): Yes, I know about the truth and reconciliation commission and I know almost all of the commissioners and the commissioners know me too good and I even help in their work, provided lots of information.

Reference 2 - 1.47% Coverage

(Respondent): Yes, my role at the truth and reconciliation commission, the TRC hearing at the time, were gathering victims and survivors, gathering survivors, explaining their stories to the TRC, taking them to the TRC, that was my role.

Reference 3 - 6.00% Coverage

(Respondent): Yes, you see the truth and reconciliation process that ended 2009, is just unfortunate, but sometimes, we don't blame commissioners, or we don't blame the truth and reconciliation commission because the information that was given to them, they documented all of those things. Yes that are some that were there TRC didn't cover the entire villages and towns, like many Liberian know and even the world self-know. But, what I gather from there is that people tell their story hoping that something was going to come from out of it, their safety, but they was left vulnerable. Because of God's grace and Liberian are tired with violence, this is why you see victims going around like this, but there are some serious threat on victims' life, serious threat to victims' life. Because we got those people, gather information from them, there were no security measures put into place for those people you left them all by themselves. So, it somehow frustrating.

Reference 4 - 5.28% Coverage

(Respondent): One of my concerns that was address there was when the TRC talk about it, it was one time when one Aaron, he works with immigration now, he was one of the Statement Taker at that time, and then he was told that Peterson was at the Lutheran Church, Peterson knows many of the victims, and survivors and he even forming this Lutheran Church group. So he came to me, but he said that the hearing, the story telling of the victims of the Lutheran Church should be at the Centennial Executive pavilion. Now, when I went to Chairman Verdier at the time, Massa Washington, John Steward all of those people, I told them that the massacre took place in the church, and I think the hearing should take place in the church and not going at the Executive Pavilion. So, these are one of the concerns of the victims that at least they paid attention to.

Reference 5 - 1.75% Coverage

(Respondent): Yes, I told those people that there are issues, simple issues that victims faced with. If victims cannot, security cannot be provided for victims, who know, if their story that they tell, perpetrators will go after them and there were no concern raised up to present.

Reference 6 - 4.62% Coverage

(Respondent): Everybody never went to the TRC, everybody, not all the victims went to the TRC, all like say all of the perpetrators, but it was open. I can say, it was open, Liberians went there..... and what they went through the war, people went there. I can recall we went down to my village and all we went to other places and met people. But people went there but it was not sufficient, because still had a burning issues to go at the TRC, but the time the TRC have for this statement or for this hearing was not much. I can say for sure, that yes TRC did extremely well, time that was given to them was short but at least they were able to go in some of those villages and towns get, gather those information to share with the Liberian people.

Reference 7 - 0.64% Coverage

(Respondent): Yes, men went at the TRC, women went there, but men dominated.. Men dominated at the TRC.

Reference 8 - 8.05% Coverage

(Respondent): Well, the most important issue that was addressed at the Truth and Reconciliation Commission in 2009 was that, perpetrators, And I still get the document with me, that there are categories of perpetrators which of course I see logic in it, that there are some people today we calling perpetrator, but they were victims before becoming perpetrator and TRC said that even if you was under age, and then you was force to joined the revolution to take arm, you are victim, and they will not just classified you as perpetrator because you was under age and then you was force to take arm. So, telling somebody, because you just were not even to yourself on what you were doing. But, there are lots of things and the so frustrating part is that, it is not just about the TRC, but there are people who committed crimes, and crimes against humanity, and went to the TRC telling the Liberian people, telling the TRC that they the Liberia people should erect a monument for me they should build a statute for me, for what I did in this country and none of those people went to the TRC admitting what they did to the Liberia people but they all wanted what -so that praises can be sing unto them. These are some of the frustrating things at the TRC that up to present, it has never been address.

Reference 9 - 8.57% Coverage

(Respondent): Yes. The report on some of the places that I read about this report, I feel very much fine, happy, yes I know it will take time, but I know that justice will come. And I feels very happy that those men and women were able to put those documents together, those information together and share with the Liberian people and tell them say, this is what happen in your country, this is what happen in your village. And I can tell you, I went, we had program last year where we invited law makers, national program, we got people from US, Britain, law makers, and minister people went there. Some of those ministers when I was even explaining, some massacres that took place in their towns and villages they were surprise. Some of these law makers and up to present they still behind me to see that I must gave them the report and tell them which of this villages them, when I even calling those places name, when I telling them about Big Joe town, all of those places them name, they surprise, they got shocked and they say wow. So, I think if we work too and push forward for justice in this country that will be fine. I always say this, that if you don't advocate for

justice, and if you don't get justice in this country, who knows, people will come from the back and say, it happen and nothing came from out of it, so I can go and do the same too to seek for state power.

Reference 10 - 2.03% Coverage

(Respondent): Absolutely no! When we went, the only thing Verdier was trying to do was the Palava Hut. We went Lofa, we went Grand Gedeh, and up to present it has not gone anywhere. So I can tell you say, nothing in the truth and reconciliation report recommendation, it has not been touch, it is still the same just how it was.

References 11-12 - 2.69% Coverage

(Respondent): No! The Truth and Reconciliation Commission, they only come out with this facts finding. In doing that, the Independent National Commission on Human Rights was to take withholding. I think truth and reconciliation commission was not there to say that they will prosecute, they will be doing this; they are the courtroom to do this. But they make this recommendation to the Liberian people it left with us to implement it.

Reference 13 - 3.82% Coverage

(Respondent): Not the manner of what they did it should be different from this. Because, yes again, because, I have make my survey in those towns and villages in the fifteen counties I see that time, if time sufficient time was given to the TRC, there are men and women today who are know of that kill people innocently but their names are not in the report. So, I will like when even if it was something that they say yes the commissioner should be what, come back again, to do some other work, that will be my recommendation to the TRC, that there are people who were left out, who committed crimes, greater crimes.

Reference 14 - 6.77% Coverage

Yes, yes! On a serious note, it changed my mind because before the truth and reconciliation should come; I had this mindset that, what will happen to those who kill my father, who kill my aunty, seven members of my family was killed in the Lutheran church at the back of outside the church. But I think, if I have to see any past AFL or whosoever I know some of those men they General at that time, it better I go to their houses and do the same thing to what they did to my people. So I really been thinking on it but when the TRC came and then carry on their work, I work along with them, we went to some of those towns and villages and then when I see into this thing. I say yes, it better I work for justice instead going to pay back, going to pay back after I read some other documents from South Africa from other places, I say, I think I should work for justice instead of me working or going to pay back. Because sometimes even people that we go their houses, and say yes if I was opportune to say you did this, you did this. Who knows if that is the wrong person I going to. So yes!

<Files\\Liberia\\RD1> - § 13 references coded [44.25% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 4.28% Coverage

(Respondent): We were directly involved because of our story. You know being a kid and being affected by the Lutheran Church Massacre and the Truth and Reconciliation came about, me and my family we were so eager to be part of the process because we wanted to know some of the people who were in the process of committing atrocities against their own people and also so that we were able share our story so that the world can hear and know what happen to us. That was one of the most important reasons for which we part take in the truth and reconciliation process.

References 2-3 - 6.68% Coverage

(Respondent): I think it was okay when it started, and after the process ended with those recommendations we were so happy because we knew that some of those recommendations were directly going to benefit some of us, especially giving us that kind of relief, seeing perpetrators coming saying what did, and we went there sharing our story, especially for some of us who were down hearted, because we felt that after the war nothing was going to happen but when the truth and reconciliation came about, the TRC came about, I mean we had some kind of relief. I was so happy about the process and I hope that all of those good recommendations that were put forth should be implemented fully so that we as victims will be having that free mind to live in our society, we will be able to live in peace and unity because that is most important thing so that we can move our life forward.

Reference 4 - 3.78% Coverage

(Respondent): Sure, the process was fair, it was free, it was fair, honestly but after the process, what we expected, like some of those recommendations to be implemented in time. It was not implemented. That's where, that when bad feelings started coming around because we were eager and then, know especially with TRC we felt that everything was going to be okay as recommended by the TRC and up to present some those recommendations has not been touch, so it is very, very, disheartening you know.

Reference 5 - 2.87% Coverage

(Respondent): It was inclusive and transparent, because we as victims we were given the stand, we were given the opportunity to share our story and then other things. For what I see, I think it was free and fair. It was okay, it was inclusive you have female, male, female; you have boys you have girls. So all these people were there and part of the process. I think it was okay.

Reference 6 - 1.12% Coverage

(Respondent): Oh! Yes, sure, sure. My own mother was part of the process including me, my other brothers and sisters they were part of the process.

References 7-8 - 3.86% Coverage

(Respondent): In my case, I think the issue of reparation was very, very, much important. Even though, government cannot gave or gave everything we lost, including our family members' life, our love ones or portion or parts of our body, but at least to identify to say, oh! This is what we did wrong to our people. Please, take this and move on with your life and see how you can rebuild your life. You understand, that alone can give me some kind of relief and I believe that some days things will get better.

Reference 9 - 2.53% Coverage

(Respondent): Yeah, it was okay, but for me like I said I never went in detail. You know to go to the ending, but I have been to forum where we touch some areas especially that area of reparation you know for victims, those where some of the areas some of us were able to read through we couldn't read all the way to the end honestly.

Reference 10 - 0.47% Coverage

(Respondent): No! I don't think it has been fully implemented.

Reference 11 - 7.83% Coverage

(Respondent): Like the issue of the reparation like I said, which is very dear to me you understand because, I don't want to go into the story but I think that portion of the TRC needs to be look at very fast so that at least people who are carrying hurts, are carrying pains, people who are suffering today from bullet wounds and other things because all those things are in the recommendations and all have to do with reparation, and so on, you understand. Because seeing our lives today, our lives are not improving. Since the war, there have been many years our life cannot go forward and sometimes you sit and think about these things, you sometimes almost can go astray because for me in my personal story my entire family was affected. I lost my dad, my mother still carrying bullet in her shoulder bone, so I think if government was going to paid much attention to that portion of the TRC recommendation, I think it was going to give little relief and good help to some of our people who are being affected by the civil crisis.

Reference 12 - 3.07% Coverage

(Respondent): Yes, in terms of justice, in term of reparation, and in term of uniting people, I think they need to do more in that area. We want see it going, happening faster. Because of the delay, lots of people, you know taking their minds or getting their mind off this whole TRC business. But I think if we could put speed into it, into the process, I believe that it will be okay for every one of us.

Reference 13 - 7.76% Coverage

(Respondent): Like for me, before the truth and reconciliation came about, I had this thought that the day I will see the person who did this to me, I will kill them. And I never use to like anyone that they to refer to as soldier, whether you from government, or you from rebel whoever, because that was some of the things we saw when we coming up as a kid. But the truth and reconciliation

make me understand that no matter what happen in any given situation, there must be a way or path for peace and unity. Because if you can have peace and unite your people, there is a mean for you to move forward positively, you understand. So, that is one of the things the truth and reconciliation did, that somebody must be able to say, I did this to you. They might be able to identify what they did, they must be having that boldness to speak about what they did, be true to themselves, and I think that alone can bring sorry for you to forgive your brother or your sister who did wrong to you. I think that is most important way.

<Files\\Liberia\\Rufus Kartee> - § 15 references coded [25.67% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.51% Coverage

(Respondent): Yes. I was called in the office to explain my part of the story

Reference 2 - 0.61% Coverage

(Interviewer): So, they call you as a witness to testify to the TRC?

(Respondent): Yes

References 3-4 - 5.74% Coverage

Now. Really, my thinking from 2008 – 2010 when the door was closed – If I tell you the door was closed, that means the time they close the TRC now, from that time up to now all the recommendations they have not done nothing. So they only thing I see for me like what you are doing is for other international community to come in, like what taking place. But, if it left with this people, nothing will happen. In fact, the victims are dying every day. One for me it's only by the grace of God. The problem I am going through I would not have been able to be here by this time. From 2008 up to now, nothing has been done. Like for me, I testify before Jerome Verdier.... Jerome Verdier and myself was sitting side by side on the same bench. He ordered the press to go and see me, since then, nothing happen. So to me, I take the whole TRC report to be a failure

Reference 5 - 0.53% Coverage

No oo. Right after explaining, since that time nothing has been done about me.

Reference 6 - 0.49% Coverage

Yes, no more... all the recommendation they give, nothing has been done.

Reference 7 - 1.07% Coverage

It was... I will say... It was open to victim. I will say but since then everything just died down. We expected something better to be done but since then nothing.

Reference 8 - 3.54% Coverage

Well, at our side they invited both men and women and which I was one of those. Secondly, most people did not appear. Because in my born town, many people never even appear ... people there don't know even about the TRC. Other women there who walk two foot cut to go on the farm, the lady still borning by one Kpelleh guy in the town. Even a fellow there who his hand cut, he don't know about TRC, and even where they wounded me for the second time by MODEL, in that identical town TRC never reach there. The agents never go there.

Reference 9 - 2.07% Coverage

(Respondent): Yes, I will talk about some...the one they talked about reparation. Then they talked about war crimes court, reparation and even to look after the victim.. I think that's what they call reparation. So many issue that if they were going by it some of us not here at this time or some of us working.

Reference 10 - 0.59% Coverage

So have the truth.... the TRC recommendation has it been implemented?

(Respondent): No.

Reference 11 - 0.84% Coverage

Implemented like how? TRC say they should do so..., so..., and so..., and since then nothing has been done. That's why I say no

Reference 12 - 1.57% Coverage

I talked about the reparation. To even take care of the victim they talked about war crime court. Some of the perpetrator they should not allow them to work, let me make it clear. All that one was involved but everything there finished

Reference 13 - 3.85% Coverage

(Respondent): That's what I told you. Okay, once again....the TRC they played their part. I hope you getting me because they were not the one carrying on the process but they recommended. Oh, we are going but when you leave here, your do so and so thing for the people here. The people who sick and their lives damage from the war most especially from the TRC hearing, your should do something about them. Nothing! The people who did bad..., bad..., things you should take them to court. Nothing! So for me, one way or the other, I cannot blame the TRC because they recommended it.

Reference 14 - 1.32% Coverage

Once they, the TRC not implement it. You hear me? They brought nothing on the table. Because since then they have not called people, even Palava hut nothing has been done. So they brought nothing.

Reference 15 - 2.95% Coverage

: Okay, when I hear about the TRC I was so happy that even if my life was coming to be change from this level. So when the talked about TRC, I was happy to go there and explain the story from 19... the time I start experiencing myself up to 1979, 80, and up to 90. To be in this condition. I was happy to go explain myself but since then nothing has happen. It's only by God's grace I was not going to be here because every day I dying slowly.

Inclusivity

References or discussions of TRC inclusivity or efforts to be inclusive.

<Files\\Liberia\\Joe S. Johnson> - § 2 references coded [5.40% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 3.69% Coverage

(Respondent): Yes, it was open because TRC call on people to go and give their testimony and ordeal and also given the opportunity to perpetrator to go, in which only few show-up, only few show up. But we thank God for TRC, I think they have a book called TRC report and we have all those warlords, their names listed and their crimes listed. So now that we gotten to know many of them that fail to appear to the TRC, they shy away because they never wanted to be notify, maybe by we the victim; that oh yes, these are the people who carry mayhem on us. But we thank God that TRC in their final reports, their names are listed there and their crimes committed, if it is rape; rape.

Reference 2 - 1.71% Coverage

(Respondent): Yes, it was inclusive. TRC had women and men and we the victim that went there we have women and men. Like we have one woman called Mother Yormie, she went there. She was hit from St. Peter's Lutheran Massacre; the massacre that President Doe carry there, so she gave her testimony. It was inclusive.

<Files\\Liberia\\Mustapha Allen Nicholas> - § 1 reference coded [1.95% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 1.95% Coverage

(Respondent): Yes, because like for me I went there, I did public hearing not in Camera. I went, I saw whole lots of people, Liberian were sitting there when I was talking. So I believe it included everybody because I saw Madam Sirleaf who we all were doing the same thing, she was there too, she went there too.

<Files\\Liberia\\Peterson Sonyah> - § 2 references coded [5.27% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 4.62% Coverage

(Respondent): Everybody never went to the TRC, everybody, not all the victims went to the TRC, all like say all of the perpetrators, but it was open. I can say, it was open, Liberians went there.... and what they went through the war, people went there. I can recall we went down to my village and all we went to other places and met people. But people went there but it was not sufficient, because still had a burning issues to go at the TRC, but the time the TRC have for this statement or for this hearing was not much. I can say for sure, that yes TRC did extremely well, time that was given to them was short but at least they were able to go in some of those villages and towns get, gather those information to share with the Liberian people.

Reference 2 - 0.64% Coverage

(Respondent): Yes, men went at the TRC, women went there, but men dominated.. Men dominated at the TRC.

<Files\\Liberia\\RD1> - § 2 references coded [3.99% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 2.87% Coverage

(Respondent): It was inclusive and transparent, because we as victims we were given the stand, we were given the opportunity to share our story and then other things. For what I see, I think it was free and fair. It was okay, it was inclusive you have female, male, female; you have boys you have girls. So all these people were there and part of the process. I think it was okay.

Reference 2 - 1.12% Coverage

(Respondent): Oh! Yes, sure, sure. My own mother was part of the process including me, my other brothers and sisters they were part of the process.

<Files\\Liberia\\Rufus Kartee> - § 2 references coded [4.61% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 1.07% Coverage

It was... I will say... It was open to victim. I will say but since then everything just died down. We expected something better to be done but since then nothing.

Reference 2 - 3.54% Coverage

Well, at our side they invited both men and women and which I was one of those. Secondly, most people did not appear. Because in my born town, many people never even appear ... people there don't know even about the TRC. Other women there who walk two foot cut to go on the farm, the lady still borning by one Kpelleh guy in the town. Even a fellow there who his hand cut, he don't know about TRC, and even where they wounded me for the second time by MODEL, in that identical town TRC never reach there. The agents never go there.

Issues Addressed

References or discussions of issues addressed by the TRC.

<Files\\Liberia\\Joe S. Johnson> - § 1 reference coded [3.39% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 3.39% Coverage

(Respondent): For me the most important issue addressed by the Truth and Reconciliation report was passing the report to the central government for approval that the perpetrators should be dealt with. Justice should take its course. That's the most things TRC done for us. But, it's not that they have done anything for victims, like in times of this we will take you people to the hospital, do some if you are in school, tried to settle your school fees. No! They never did that, but all over they send to the central government through the national legislature to approve the recommendation so Justice can take its course.

<Files\\Liberia\\Mustapha Allen Nicholas> - § 3 references coded [2.88% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.33% Coverage

(Respondent): No..., no..., It was not address by it.

Reference 2 - 2.07% Coverage

(Respondent): Yes, like I said, was thinking number one, I was thinking about the TRC helping us to recover after wasting that 14 years' war, after wasting that 14years free without learning anything, and then we were in trauma. We were thinking about them helping us, instead of them helping us, the problem got worst on us more.

Reference 3 - 0.48% Coverage

(Respondent): Really, I don't think they addressed anything that I aware of.

<Files\\Liberia\\Peterson Sonyah> - § 2 references coded [13.33% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 5.28% Coverage

(Respondent): One of my concerns that was address there was when the TRC talk about it, it was one time when one Aaron, he works with immigration now, he was one of the Statement Taker at that time, and then he was told that Peterson was at the Lutheran Church, Peterson knows many of the victims, and survivors and he even forming this Lutheran Church group. So he came to me, but he said that the hearing, the story telling of the victims of the Lutheran Church should be at the Centennial Executive pavilion. Now, when I went to Chairman Verdier at the time, Massa Washington, John Steward all of those people, I told them that the massacre took place in the church, and I think the hearing should take place in the church and not going at the Executive Pavilion. So, these are one of the concerns of the victims that at least they paid attention to.

Reference 2 - 8.05% Coverage

(Respondent): Well, the most important issue that was addressed at the Truth and Reconciliation Commission in 2009 was that, perpetrators, And I still get the document with me, that there are categories of perpetrators which of course I see logic in it, that there are some people today we calling perpetrator, but they were victims before becoming perpetrator and TRC said that even if you was under age, and then you was force to joined the revolution to take arm, you are victim, and they will not just classified you as perpetrator because you was under age and then you was force to take arm. So, telling somebody, because you just were not even to yourself on what you were doing. But, there are lots of things and the so frustrating part is that, it is not just about the TRC, but there are people who committed crimes, and crimes against humanity, and went to the TRC telling the Liberian people, telling the TRC that they the Liberia people should erect a monument for me they should build a statute for me, for what I did in this country and none of those people went to the TRC admitting what they did to the Liberia people but they all wanted what -so that praises can be sing unto them. These are some of the frustrating things at the TRC that up to present, it has never been address.

<Files\\Liberia\\RD1> - § 1 reference coded [3.86% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 3.86% Coverage

(Respondent): In my case, I think the issue of reparation was very, very, much important. Even though, government cannot gave or gave everything we lost, including our family members' life, our love ones or portion or parts of our body, but at least to identify to say, oh! This is what we did wrong to our people. Please, take this and move on with your life and see how you can rebuild your life. You understand, that alone can give me some kind of relief and I believe that some days things will get better.

<Files\\Liberia\\Rufus Kartee> - § 3 references coded [4.17% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.53% Coverage

No oo. Right after explaining, since that time nothing has been done about me.

Reference 2 - 2.07% Coverage

(Respondent): Yes, I will talk about some...the one they talked about reparation. Then they talked about war crimes court, reparation and even to look after the victim.. I think that's what they call reparation. So many issue that if they were going by it some of us not here at this time or some of us working.

Reference 3 - 1.57% Coverage

I talked about the reparation. To even take care of the victim they talked about war crime court. Some of the perpetrator they should not allow them to work, let me make it clear. All that one was involved but everything there finished

Mandate

References or discussions of the TRC's mandate.

<Files\\Liberia\\Peterson Sonyah> - § 1 reference coded [0.54% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.54% Coverage

No! The Truth and Reconciliation Commission, they only come out with this facts finding.

Opinion of

References or discussions of the interviewees' opinion of the TRC.

<Files\\Liberia\\Joe S. Johnson> - § 9 references coded [42.19% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 5.89% Coverage

(Respondent): Well, at the initial stage – the truth and reconciliation process was well meaningful because calling on victims to go and explain their side of the story, the perpetrator to present themselves in an open forum; this is what I did, this is what I did, and based upon that TRC said there could be some Palava Hut meeting for the people if you come out and apologize to the people of Liberia for the atrocity you have committed against the people of Liberia. Those opportunities were given them but, only to note we went and give our testimony as victim and some warlords, one like Prince Johnson after he never even appeared, but I can remember the man call Milton Blahyee, called Butt Naked, I think he went there, he said something to the Liberia people that indeed he sorry for what he did, but Prince Johnson demanded that we build a monument for him in Liberia because he liberated Liberia so he stand to be a Liberator. He liberated Liberia from the hands of Doe. So that also was a direct slap in the face of the victims and in fact in the slap of the TRC as well.

Reference 2 - 5.50% Coverage

(Respondent): Well, No. In the sense that TRC after completing their hearing, it was compiled and sent to the government at which time Madame Ellen Johnson Sirleaf was the President to be approved by the National Legislature for implementation of the TRC recommendation and which the Madame failed. And I will speak to today's date; TRC recommendation is in the trash can of the national legislature. They are not working, they are not doing anything towards it, on grounds that from my own believed, many of them are war lords, so it's like shooting yourself in your own legs if they sign the TRC recommendations; Madame former President will be haul into it and many of our legislators will be haul into it because they are direct perpetrators. So they decide not to do it sensitively and that continue to play on the minds of us as survivors; that the main objectives of the TRC recommendations which mandate was established upon was not adhered to and up to today's date, it is not adhered to by our government.

Reference 3 - 2.63% Coverage

But we thank God for TRC, I think they have a book called TRC report and we have all those warlords, their names listed and their crimes listed. So now that we gotten to know many of them that fail to appear to the TRC, they shy away because they never wanted to be notify, maybe by we the victim; that oh yes, these are the people who carry mayhem on us. But we thank God that TRC in their final reports, their names are listed there and their crimes committed, if it is rape; rape.

Reference 4 - 0.96% Coverage

(Respondent): My thought on the report is they did well. For the long time they spend together capturing those stories, compiling them, and sending them in for implementation.

Reference 5 - 2.58% Coverage

(Respondent): For me it has not been achieve because apart from their submission, there was other recommendations given to them by those that established the TRC. I don't just believed it was only to collect, or to get victims and perpetrators name, I mean and send it to the central government for approval and I mean that will be the ending part of their work. I don't think so. If that was the mandate, then it was not enough by the crafter of the TRC. It was not enough.

Reference 6 - 13.26% Coverage

(Respondent): Bring us together. Call a gathering; victims come there, you bring some lecturers. Bring some lectures that will be able to counsel us, keep talking to us, keep talking to us, atleast that would be very well because I am already tempered with, I am feeling hurt because seeing those perpetrators living luxurious life, in an around the city, in an around the country. They live the best of life, they ride the best car, they eat the best food, sleep in the best place, and they are not better than us. Nobody is more Liberian than any other person. Then you did it to me, you walking free sky, nothing is going on with you. Sometimes they get on radio like Prince Johnson get on radio sometimes and say some senseless things. the only way I will appear when Madame President appear, the former President Ellen Johnson Sirleaf and come out with some threatening remarks against those that speaking for justice to take course in Liberia. Speaking against civil society saying some words that will try to, that he think in his own mind there is a technique that he use to use those days as rebel leader that if I use this word it will calm down those that fighting for justice and it cannot calm us down. Why they should live best of life, and we cannot live best of life? Why their children should go to good schools and our children should not go to good school? Why their children should eat good food and we are not eating the food. So TRC need to see in this thing and sometimes call people, the victim, conference like the city hall we appear, bring lecturers to talk to us, that will keep holding us down atleast that we can live with that until we see what will come at the end of the day through the international people, because what we talking about here needs international pressure because the government on ground using political means to sideline the voices of the civil society that are pushing for justice in this country. If you listen to what President George Weah has said: Why now should the war crimes court be establish?

Why can't it be now? So he thinks that since it was Ellen Johnson time it was drafted, it should have been sign during that time but why now during his government. And he once upon a time talk about this when he was opposition. He talked on this and establishing war crimes court and all those other things, then why is he going back to say why now? That also is an abusive word in our faces.

Reference 7 - 6.63% Coverage

(Respondent): That's what I have said. TRC should have just gone to work on a yearly basis the same way they can have their conferences, national conferences bringing international people. Bring the same international people and call a conference for the victim. Send for this same international people and local people and let them keep counseling us, but from the time they finished compiling that document, you cannot even know the TRC existing. The overall commissioner is in the states, the other people all, only few are in this country. They only one time meet or annually or maybe they just come out to see or government come out to say the implementation of their recommendation that's they only time they can shake, but what extra things have you done as an institution that dealt with .. They deal with us directly, because they have gathered our stories, they know our cases. So they should have a program within the TRC, since this recommendation has not yet been sign by the central government, let us design this program on this side, that we can keep talking and talking, counseling these people and keep counseling them. That's what we need. That's what I think, I, as an individual, that TRC needed to do.

Reference 8 - 2.46% Coverage

(Respondent): They never change anything, because if you read the TRC recommendation they will start to give you information starting from 1979 rice riot, all the way to President Doe administration, coming to Taylor time, passing by that time, they give the entire story, those instances that occurred that came and we can look at and we ourselves look at and conclude that this could be one of the burning factors that brought about war in this country

Reference 9 - 2.27% Coverage

(Respondent): It's the TRC because I was a child. I was not a too grown up man. I was just an elementary student what do I know. Even the rice riot, I heard some when I was around 1990, we heard people talking about the rice riot but I read it from history and TRC also brought it out continue to explain in detail. So there was some other information that I was lacking of, but through TRC I got to know it, to admit.

<Files\\Liberia\\Mustapha Allen Nicholas> - § 7 references coded [24.69% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 4.00% Coverage

(Respondent): Right now, I am thinking, like before I was thinking like it was something that was fine for us, Not only I alone, I and my friends, because we were children, we used to be SBU, small small boys behind Charles Taylor, wasting our time fighting war doing whole lots of things.

When we heard about the TRC, we say okay we have go there and show ourselves for people know what really going on not only war, other things happen. People were small they force then to fight war. For me, because I had Mandingo background, Muslim background, they were killing my people, so I had no other option but just to join to free my people.

Reference 2 - 0.33% Coverage

(Respondent): No, it not. It never went fine with me.

Reference 3 - 6.25% Coverage

(Respondent): Yes, because I thought since our people were killed and the TRC get to know and we explained to them, I thought they were going to helped us, like taking us for schooling, or something like trade something at least that we can depend on. I think you can see the country looking today, other people going all around shooting doing other things because nothing they not learn beside gun. So, I thought the TRC was going to help us through that process or even protect us. But right now we in tears, we still in tears seriously. Especially me, for me, I'm in serious threat because I was one of first man from NPFL, from Charles Taylor side. So that make me to feel very bad about the TRC, and then they promise us and lie to us whole, every day they lie to us. Sometime we go there they put us outside, they don't even want see us enter their office again, because they finished getting the truth from us. What they wanted they get it already. That is what makes feel bad about the TRC.

Reference 4 - 4.67% Coverage

(Respondent): You know like I went to the TRC, we are in Africa; I went to the TRC and confessed to them, my whole heart. Everything I was using the war, that was making me so powerful that making do everything, I said it, and they never help me through the process to protect me. Like, like I told you, I told them I was using, like you can check the report, I told them how I was using four ladies mamie-watta, that I can use to go and do my fighting, so I can be free from bullets and other things. From there, serious problem came to me, because today nobody took to me to church for deliverance, to deliver me from that thing, or nobody help me to do anything. I just doing it on my own, that is just by the grace of God you seeing me today.

Reference 5 - 2.50% Coverage

(Respondent): The only thing I heard about it that I was part of it. People telling me say, oh my man that your went to the TRC, man like your, we will get rid of your, we will do this and that, the threats I talking about, that it there. Now! Right now, some.., some places I suppose to go to get job, they will not allow it because what I have to go there..... So it is embarrassing for me too bad.

Reference 6 - 1.72% Coverage

(Respondent): Really, I can't lie to you; I got to tell you the truth as I continue saying the truth. Some days, sometimes, when I sit, I can regret why I have to go there. That is one of the main things in my life, why I have to go to the TRC? I never supposed to go there.

Reference 7 - 5.22% Coverage

(Respondent): Because, I was thinking that the TRC was going to be, they going to do their work. Oh, this guy, we will protect this man, as they told us before talking. They say, we will protect your, nobody will do nothing to your, nothing. In fact, after everything, we will carry your back, because when we told them, like me, when I told them that I was sixteen years old, I was child at that time, I never knew anything. They told me after everything, we going take care of everything. My man, you will back to school, you will be protected, nobody will do nothing to you, but it not like that..... Even some our senior staff they get money now, now those that we used to fight with, when we go around anyone of them to ask them for anything, because they will say why we have to go to the TRC to let people know what they did.

<Files\\Liberia\\Peterson Sonyah> - § 5 references coded [26.90% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 6.00% Coverage

(Respondent): Yes, you see the truth and reconciliation process that ended 2009, is just unfortunate, but sometimes, we don't blame commissioners, or we don't blame the truth and reconciliation commission because the information that was given to them, they documented all of those things. Yes that are some that were there TRC didn't cover the entire villages and towns, like many Liberian know and even the world self-know. But, what I gather from there is that people tell their story hoping that something was going to come from out of it, their safety, but they was left vulnerable. Because of God's grace and Liberian are tired with violence, this is why you see victims going around like this, but there are some serious threat on victims' life, serious threat to victims' life. Because we got those people, gather information from them, there were no security measures put into place for those people you left them all by themselves. So, it somehow frustrating.

Reference 2 - 1.75% Coverage

(Respondent): Yes, I told those people that there are issues, simple issues that victims faced with. If victims cannot, security cannot be provided for victims, who know, if their story that they tell, perpetrators will go after them and there were no concern raised up to present.

Reference 3 - 8.57% Coverage

(Respondent): Yes. The report on some of the places that I read about this report, I feel very much fine, happy, yes I know it will take time, but I know that justice will come. And I feels very happy that those men and women were able to put those documents together, those information together and share with the Liberian people and tell them say, this is what happen in your country, this is what happen in your village. And I can tell you, I went, we had program last year where we invited

law makers, national program, we got people from US, Britain, law makers, and minister people went there. Some of those ministers when I was even explaining, some massacres that took place in their towns and villages they were surprise. Some of these law makers and up to present they still behind me to see that I must gave them the report and tell them which of this villages them, when I even calling those places name, when I telling them about Big Joe town, all of those places them name, they surprise, they got shocked and they say wow. So, I think if we work too and push forward for justice in this country that will be fine. I always say this, that if you don't advocate for justice, and if you don't get justice in this country, who knows, people will come from the back and say, it happen and nothing came from out of it, so I can go and do the same too to seek for state power.

Reference 4 - 3.82% Coverage

(Respondent): Not the manner of what they did it should be different from this. Because, yes again, because, I have make my survey in those towns and villages in the fifteen counties I see that time, if time sufficient time was given to the TRC, there are men and women today who are know of that kill people innocently but their names are not in the report. So, I will like when even if it was something that they say yes the commissioner should be what, come back again, to do some other work, that will be my recommendation to the TRC, that there are people who were left out, who committed crimes, greater crimes.

Reference 5 - 6.77% Coverage

Yes, yes! On a serious note, it changed my mind because before the truth and reconciliation should come; I had this mindset that, what will happen to those who kill my father, who kill my aunty, seven members of my family was killed in the Lutheran church at the back of outside the church. But I think, if I have to see any past AFL or whosoever I know some of those men they General at that time, it better I go to their houses and do the same thing to what they did to my people. So I really been thinking on it but when the TRC came and then carry on their work, I work along with them, we went to some of those towns and villages and then when I see into this thing. I say yes, it better I work for justice instead going to pay back, going to pay back after I read some other documents from South Africa from other places, I say, I think I should work for justice instead of me working or going to pay back. Because sometimes even people that we go their houses, and say yes if I was opportune to say you did this, you did this. Who knows if that is the wrong person I going to. So yes!

<Files\\Liberia\\RD1> - § 5 references coded [23.88% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 6.66% Coverage

(Respondent): I think it was okay when it started, and after the process ended with those recommendations we were so happy because we knew that some of those recommendations were directly going to benefit some of us, especially giving us that kind of relief, seeing perpetrators coming saying what did, and we went there sharing our story, especially for some of us who were down hearted, because we felt that after the war nothing was going to happen but when the truth and reconciliation came about, the TRC came about, I mean we had some kind of relief. I was so

happy about the process and I hope that all of those good recommendations that were put forth should be implemented fully so that we as victims will be having that free mind to live in our society, we will be able to live in peace and unity because that is most important thing so that we can move our life forward.

Reference 2 - 3.86% Coverage

(Respondent): In my case, I think the issue of reparation was very, very, much important. Even though, government cannot gave or gave everything we lost, including our family members' life, our love ones or portion or parts of our body, but at least to identify to say, oh! This is what we did wrong to our people. Please, take this and move on with your life and see how you can rebuild your life. You understand, that alone can give me some kind of relief and I believe that some days things will get better.

Reference 3 - 2.53% Coverage

(Respondent): Yeah, it was okay, but for me like I said I never went in detail. You know to go to the ending, but I have been to forum where we touch some areas especially that area of reparation you know for victims, those where some of the areas some of us were able to read through we couldn't read all the way to the end honestly.

Reference 4 - 3.07% Coverage

(Respondent): Yes, in terms of justice, in term of reparation, and in term of uniting people, I think they need to do more in that area. We want see it going, happening faster. Because of the delay, lots of people, you know taking their minds or getting their mind off this whole TRC business. But I think if we could put speed into it, into the process, I believe that it will be okay for every one of us.

Reference 5 - 7.76% Coverage

(Respondent): Like for me, before the truth and reconciliation came about, I had this thought that the day I will see the person who did this to me, I will kill them. And I never use to like anyone that they to refer to as soldier, whether you from government, or you from rebel whoever, because that was some of the things we saw when we coming up as a kid. But the truth and reconciliation make me understand that no matter what happen in any given situation, there must be a way or path for peace and unity. Because if you can have peace and unite your people, there is a mean for you to move forward positively, you understand. So, that is one of the things the truth and reconciliation did, that somebody must be able to say, I did this to you. They might be able to identify what they did, they must be having that boldness to speak about what they did, be true to themselves, and I think that alone can bring sorry for you to forgive your brother or your sister who did wrong to you. I think that is most important way.

<Files\\Liberia\\Rufus Kartee> - § 3 references coded [10.00% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 5.73% Coverage

Now. Really, my thinking from 2008 – 2010 when the door was closed – If I tell you the door was closed, that means the time they close the TRC now, from that time up to now all the recommendations they have not done nothing. So they only thing I see for me like what you are doing is for other international community to come in, like what taking place. But, if it left with this people, nothing will happen. In fact, the victims are dying every day. One for me it's only by the grace of God. The problem I am going through I would not have been able to be here by this time. From 2008 up to now, nothing has been done. Like for me, I testify before Jerome Verdier.... Jerome Verdier and myself was sitting side by side on the same bench. He ordered the press to go and see me, since then, nothing happen. So to me, I take the whole TRC report to be a failure

Reference 2 - 1.32% Coverage

Once they, the TRC not implement it. You hear me? They brought nothing on the table. Because since then they have not called people, even Palava hut nothing has been done. So they brought nothing.

Reference 3 - 2.95% Coverage

: Okay, when I hear about the TRC I was so happy that even if my life was coming to be change from this level. So when the talked about TRC, I was happy to go there and explain the story from 19... the time I start experiencing myself up to 1979, 80, and up to 90. To be in this condition. I was happy to go explain myself but since then nothing has happen. It's only by God's grace I was not going to be here because every day I dying slowly.

Recommendations

References or discussions of the TRC recommendations

<Files\\Liberia\\Joe S. Johnson> - § 3 references coded [10.48% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 5.50% Coverage

(Respondent): Well, No. In the sense that TRC after completing their hearing, it was compiled and sent to the government at which time Madame Ellen Johnson Sirleaf was the President to be approved by the National Legislature for implementation of the TRC recommendation and which the Madame failed. And I will speak to today's date; TRC recommendation is in the trash can of the national legislature. They are not working, they are not doing anything towards it, on grounds that from my own believed, many of them are war lords, so it's like shooting yourself in your own legs if they sign the TRC recommendations; Madame former President will be haul into it and many of our legislators will be haul into it because they are direct perpetrators. So they decide not to do it sensitively and that continue to play on the minds of us as survivors; that the main objectives of the TRC recommendations which mandate was established upon was not adhered to and up to today's date, it is not adhered to by our government.

Reference 2 - 2.40% Coverage

(Respondent): Not at all. Not at all! Even the past government Madame Ellen J. Sirleaf she openly said she cannot encourage war crimes court but she preferred Palava hut. That means we should go through the Palava hut reconciliation and she only said it, it was just a shooray and nothing was done as we speak now. Even if you go to the National Human Rights Commission they will tell you that was never implemented, it was never implemented.

Reference 3 - 2.58% Coverage

(Respondent): For me it has not been achieve because apart from their submission, there was other recommendations given to them by those that established the TRC. I don't just believed it was only to collect, or to get victims and perpetrators name, I mean and send it to the central government for approval and I mean that will be the ending part of their work. I don't think so. If that was the mandate, then it was not enough by the crafter of the TRC. It was not enough.

<Files\\Liberia\\Mustapha Allen Nicholas> - § 1 reference coded [3.45% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 3.45% Coverage

(Respondent): Yes....I heard that they want to bring the war crime court, and the main thing that But-Naked really asked me to come so we can go to the TRC was so they can't instill the war crime court in Liberia. Because, when the TRC finished and give report, there will not be no more war crime court. But this few time, we hearing about war crime court, other people say whole lots of things. We start calling one another asking we all that went there. What we really went to do there now? Why we couldn't wait to face the war crime court one time?

<Files\\Liberia\\Peterson Sonyah> - § 2 references coded [4.72% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 2.03% Coverage

(Respondent): Absolutely no! When we went, the only thing Verdier was trying to do was the Palava Hut. We went Lofa, we went Grand Gedeh, and up to present it has not gone anywhere. So I can tell you say, nothing in the truth and reconciliation report recommendation, it has not been touch, it is still the same just how it was.

Reference 2 - 2.69% Coverage

(Respondent): No! The Truth and Reconciliation Commission, they only come out with this facts finding. In doing that, the Independent National Commission on Human Rights was to take withholding. I think truth and reconciliation commission was not there to say that they will prosecute, they will be doing this; they are the courtroom to do this. But they make this recommendation to the Liberian people it left with us to implement it.

<Files\\Liberia\\RD1> - § 4 references coded [14.55% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 2.47% Coverage

I was so happy about the process and I hope that all of those good recommendations that were put forth should be implemented fully so that we as victims will be having that free mind to live in our society, we will be able to live in peace and unity because that is most important thing so that we can move our life forward.

Reference 2 - 3.78% Coverage

(Respondent): Sure, the process was fair, it was free, it was fair, honestly but after the process, what we expected, like some of those recommendations to be implemented in time. It was not implemented. That's where, that when bad feelings started coming around because we were eager and then, know especially with TRC we felt that everything was going to be okay as recommended by the TRC and up to present some those recommendations has not been touch, so it is very, very, disheartening you know.

Reference 3 - 0.47% Coverage

(Respondent): No! I don't think it has been fully implemented.

Reference 4 - 7.83% Coverage

(Respondent): Like the issue of the reparation like I said, which is very dear to me you understand because, I don't want to go into the story but I think that portion of the TRC needs to be look at very fast so that at least people who are carrying hurts, are carrying pains, people who are suffering today from bullet wounds and other things because all those things are in the recommendations and all have to do with reparation, and so on, you understand. Because seeing our lives today, our lives are not improving. Since the war, there have been many years our life cannot go forward and sometimes you sit and think about these things, you sometimes almost can go astray because for me in my personal story my entire family was affected. I lost my dad, my mother still carrying bullet in her shoulder bone, so I think if government was going to paid much attention to that portion of the TRC recommendation, I think it was going to give little relief and good help to some of our people who are being affected by the civil crisis.

<Files\\Liberia\\Rufus Kartee> - § 5 references coded [7.26% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 1.50% Coverage

Now. Really, my thinking from 2008 – 2010 when the door was closed – If I tell you the door was closed, that means the time they close the TRC now, from that time up to now all the recommendations they have not done nothing

Reference 2 - 0.49% Coverage

Yes, no more... all the recommendation they give, nothing has been done.

Reference 3 - 0.59% Coverage

So have the truth.... the TRC recommendation has it been implemented?

(Respondent): No.

Reference 4 - 0.84% Coverage

Implemented like how? TRC say they should do so..., so..., and so..., and since then nothing has been done. That's why I say no

Reference 5 - 3.85% Coverage

(Respondent): That's what I told you. Okay, once again....the TRC they played their part. I hope you getting me because they were not the one carrying on the process but they recommended. Oh, we are going but when you leave here, your do so and so thing for the people here. The people who sick and their lives damage from the war most especially from the TRC hearing, your should do something about them. Nothing! The people who did bad..., bad..., things you should take them to court. Nothing! So for me, one way or the other, I cannot blame the TRC because they recommended it.

Relationship to

References or discussions of the interviewees' relationship to and/or involvement in the TRC

<Files\\Liberia\\Joe S. Johnson> - § 2 references coded [1.46% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.18% Coverage

(Respondent): Yes. I was directly.

Reference 2 - 1.28% Coverage

(Respondent): Yes, I went there to give my story of what I went through during the course of the war. And I went there I presented myself, I presented my case, I presented an individual that carry on mayhem on me, his name, and whatever

<Files\\Liberia\\Mustapha Allen Nicholas> - § 3 references coded [3.19% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.31% Coverage

(Respondent): Yes. I think I was the second man.

Reference 2 - 1.30% Coverage

(Respondent): I went there as General, as the former General for NPFL. General Arab Devil and then, I went there to say the truth to the TRC, what really took place in the country that I saw, the one I see.

Reference 3 - 1.58% Coverage

(Respondent): I volunteer myself to go there. You know I was motivated by Butt-Naked. My enemy, somebody who they and myself was fighting against one another, he the one motivated me to go there. I was fighting against him but he motivated me to do it.

<Files\\Liberia\\Peterson Sonyah> - § 2 references coded [2.79% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 1.32% Coverage

(Respondent): Yes, I know about the truth and reconciliation commission and I know almost all of the commissioners and the commissioners know me too good and I even help in their work, provided lots of information.

Reference 2 - 1.47% Coverage

(Respondent): Yes, my role at the truth and reconciliation commission, the TRC hearing at the time, were gathering victims and survivors, gathering survivors, explaining their stories to the TRC, taking them to the TRC, that was my role.

<Files\\Liberia\\RD1> - § 1 reference coded [4.28% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 4.28% Coverage

(Respondent): We were directly involved because of our story. You know being a kid and being affected by the Lutheran Church Massacre and the Truth and Reconciliation came about, me and my family we were so eager to be part of the process because we wanted to know some of the people who were in the process of committing atrocities against their own people and also so that we were able share our story so that the world can hear and know what happen to us. That was one of the most important reasons for which we part take in the truth and reconciliation process.

<Files\\Liberia\\Rufus Kartee> - § 2 references coded [1.12% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.51% Coverage

(Respondent): Yes. I was called in the office to explain my part of the story

Reference 2 - 0.61% Coverage

(Interviewer): So, they call you as a witness to testify to the TRC?

(Respondent): Yes

Counselling

References or discussions of counselling.

<Files\\Liberia\\Joe S. Johnson> - § 1 reference coded [5.99% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 5.99% Coverage

(Respondent): What I went through during the war that I need counseling. It's just a baby pekin that got me injured, someone that in the absence of gun, I can hold him and smashed him up especially in my own village. In my own village, you do because you have gun with you, and you go sky free just move away and go. So, and I understand the tribe that there, but we are no longer preaching tribal things. That also can give me bad feelings, that when I also see his kinsmen, I can also hate the person. I will hate the person. I may not like to see the person. I will not pay back with gun, but I will not entertained myself with you, even if we are neighbor, I will not one to associate myself with you because it is your kinsmen that got me hurt; that got me wounded. Even as I speak now, I have children, I have 3 children. I told you I am a college dropout just because of responsibility, you understand. I am riding motorbike for survival. I supposed to ride motorbike, someone that gone to junior level in University study. I don't have to. I don't have to, so this is why counseling is important.

Forgiveness

References or discussions of forgiveness or forgiving.

<Files\\Liberia\\Mustapha Allen Nicholas> - § 1 reference coded [1.09% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 1.09% Coverage

(Respondent): I overheard that those that say the truth will be free, those that ask the Liberian people for forgiveness, they will be forgiven. That the only thing I heard.

Justice

References or discussions of justice.

<Files\\Liberia\\Joe S. Johnson> - § 2 references coded [4.59% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.23% Coverage

(Respondent): Yes, they brought justice.

Reference 2 - 4.37% Coverage

(Respondent): The Justice they brought is just what I just been saying because TRC was established by an act so upon their completion of the recommendation given to them, they forward their report. So TRC had no other strength to fight any other thing outside until when the central government would sign the TRC recommendations; then TRC would have some other thing to do. Like For example, when those perpetrators are call for, then TRC will have one or two persons there to listen what they said those day about them those that appear, what they said those days to TRC if they are going to change their tongue in to seeing different thing, then TRC will bring the document out and say no, this is not what you said when you appear, this is what you said. But the central government refused to do that.

<Files\\Liberia\\Mustapha Allen Nicholas> - § 1 reference coded [6.24% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 6.24% Coverage

(Respondent): One way and the other, no. It never brought justice to victims, because if even I was a perpetrator, and then, I was forced to become a perpetrator, and I am telling you, explaining it to you that, oh yes, this thing, I did it, but I did it out of my mind. Maybe, you suppose to counsel me, but you did not do anything, and also I was perpetrator although I was doing bad, I never knew. Later, I get to know that I was doing bad that what I want to testify for. Are you getting me? And because I from a Muslim background but I got converted to Christianity, just for the TRC to go and give testimony, you getting me but when I went there, the TRC let me down. The way I was thinking, the first question, the question you asked me, the way I was thinking about them they let me down. They never do anything correct in my life. Because right now, as I telling now..., now, as I sitting, certain group I can't go among them. When they see me everybody vex, so that means I am not save.

<Files\\Liberia\\Peterson Sonyah> - § 6 references coded [12.63% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 2.50% Coverage

Even though we know that there will be justice, equally so, somebody must take the blame on what happen here, take the lead, have open apology to the Liberian people, it never happen like that up to present. We have not seen it from even the current government, all that people are saying is that let us forget, bargon should be bargon. No! People should be punished; they should pay for what they did.

Reference 2 - 1.80% Coverage

My final take on it is that people should be brought to justice. No sin, no crime that those guys and women committed in this country should go unpunished. They should be brought to justice; if one is guilty they should bear the consequence, the same pain that Liberian people going through.

Reference 3 - 1.11% Coverage

(Respondent): Yes. The report on some of the places that I read about this report, I feel very much fine, happy, yes I know it will take time, but I know that justice will come.

Reference 4 - 2.14% Coverage

So, I think if we work too and push forward for justice in this country that will be fine. I always say this, that if you don't advocate for justice, and if you don't get justice in this country, who knows, people will come from the back and say, it happen and nothing came from out of it, so I can go and do the same too to seek for state power.

Reference 5 - 2.41% Coverage

(Respondent): It shows justice, but it never brought justice. In a sense that, if I bring justice yes, this justice we can discuss this justice, but it shows that this is justice but now who are those who people who supposed to push justice, they are all what, holding key positions in government. So it shows us justice that we should go this way, but people don't want to go that route.

Reference 6 - 2.67% Coverage

So I really been thinking on it but when the TRC came and then carry on their work, I work along with them, we went to some of those towns and villages and then when I see into this thing. I say yes, it better I work for justice instead going to pay back, going to pay back after I read some other documents from South Africa from other places, I say, I think I should work for justice instead of me working or going to pay back.

<Files\\Liberia\\RD1> - § 1 reference coded [9.02% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 9.02% Coverage

(Respondent): For now, not yet, you understand, it haven't brought justice yet, because we having seen any of those cases being tried since the TRC recommendations except out of Liberia some people who were arrested internationally, but internally we haven't any of these things happening yet. But I believe with the recommendations, if government can gave, you know credence to some those recommendations, to be able to implement, I think there will be justice. But personally, you know over the years, I have been thinking, even if we have justice, there will still be a room for common ground because in order for us move forward we have to unite. In order for us to achieve

peace, we must be able to forgive and forget. Probably, some people might forget, but some will not easily forget because of what they went through, you understand. But personally you know, I have been one person that wanted justice, you understand but we can't get justice, we can't get reparation. Even if we can get reparation, I believe we can have justice, and in some ways we might be able forgive some of our brothers and sisters who were in the act of committing atrocity against our people and our country.

<Files\\Liberia\\Rufus Kartee> - § 2 references coded [5.87% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 3.85% Coverage

(Respondent): That's what I told you. Okay, once again....the TRC they played their part. I hope you getting me because they were not the one carrying on the process but they recommended. Oh, we are going but when you leave here, your do so and so thing for the people here. The people who sick and their lives damage from the war most especially from the TRC hearing, your should do something about them. Nothing! The people who did bad..., bad...., things you should take them to court. Nothing! So for me, one way or the other, I cannot blame the TRC because they recommended it.

Reference 2 - 2.02% Coverage

No. They are going free, they talking pay. Some of them still in their normal body and still working...like some of the police, AFL at that time. I'm not pointing at particular time some of them and in fact they holding top position while we are here dying slowing and victims are dying on a daily basis.

Perpetrators

References or discussions of perpetrators.

<Files\\Liberia\\Joe S. Johnson> - § 6 references coded [23.54% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 2.82% Coverage

some warlords, one like Prince Johnson after he never even appeared, but I can remember the man call Milton Blahyee, called Butt Naked, I think he went there, he said something to the Liberia people that indeed he sorry for what he did, but Prince Johnson demanded that we build a monument for him in Liberia because he liberated Liberia so he stand to be a Liberator. He liberated Liberia from the hands of Doe. So that also was a direct slap in the face of the victims and in fact in the slap of the TRC as well.

Reference 2 - 1.87% Coverage

They are not working, they are not doing anything towards it, on grounds that from my own believed, many of them are war lords, so it's like shooting yourself in your own legs if they sign the TRC recommendations; Madame former President will be haul into it and many of our legislators will be haul into it because they are direct perpetrators.

Reference 3 - 2.50% Coverage

ordeal and also given the opportunity to perpetrator to go, in which only few show-up, only few show up. But we thank God for TRC, I think they have a book called TRC report and we have all those warlords, their names listed and their crimes listed. So now that we gotten to know many of them that fail to appear to the TRC, they shy away because they never wanted to be notify, maybe by we the victim; that oh yes, these are the people who carry mayhem on us.

Reference 4 - 1.01% Coverage

For me the most important issue addressed by the Truth and Reconciliation report was passing the report to the central government for approval that the perpetrators should be dealt with.

Reference 5 - 2.08% Coverage

Like For example, when those perpetrators are call for, then TRC will have one or two persons there to listen what they said those day about them those that appear, what they said those days to TRC if they are going to change their tongue in to seeing different thing, then TRC will bring the document out and say no, this is not what you said when you appear, this is what you said.

Reference 6 - 13.26% Coverage

(Respondent): Bring us together. Call a gathering; victims come there, you bring some lecturers. Bring some lectures that will be able to counsel us, keep talking to us, keep talking to us, atleast that would be very well because I am already tempered with, I am feeling hurt because seeing

those perpetrators living luxurious life, in an around the city, in an around the country. They live the best of life, they ride the best car, they eat the best food, sleep in the best place, and they are not better than us. Nobody is more Liberian than any other person. Then you did it to me, you walking free sky, nothing is going on with you. Sometimes they get on radio like Prince Johnson get on radio sometimes and say some senseless things. the only way I will appear when Madame President appear, the former President Ellen Johnson Sirleaf and come out with some threatening remarks against those that speaking for justice to take course in Liberia. Speaking against civil society saying some words that will try to, that he think in his own mind there is a technique that he use to use those days as rebel leader that if I use this word it will calm down those that fighting for justice and it cannot calm us down. Why they should live best of life, and we cannot live best of life? Why their children should go to good schools and our children should not go to good school? Why their children should eat good food and we are not eating the food. So TRC need to see in this thing and sometimes call people, the victim, conference like the city hall we appear, bring lecturers to talk to us, that will keep holding us down atleast that we can live with that until we see what will come at the end of the day through the international people, because what we talking about here needs international pressure because the government on ground using political means to sideline the voices of the civil society that are pushing for justice in this country. If you listen to what President George Weah has said: Why now should the war crimes court be establish? Why can't it be now? So he thinks that since it was Ellen Johnson time it was drafted, it should have been sign during that time but why now during his government. And he once upon a time talk about this when he was opposition. He talked on this and establishing war crimes court and all those other things, then why is he going back to say why now? That also is an abusive word in our faces.

<Files\\Liberia\\Mustapha Allen Nicholas> - § 3 references coded [5.70% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.31% Coverage

(Respondent): Perpetrator and also child soldier.

Reference 2 - 2.50% Coverage

(Respondent): One way and the other, no. It never brought justice to victims, because if even I was a perpetrator, and then, I was forced to become a perpetrator, and I am telling you, explaining it to you that, oh yes, this thing, I did it, but I did it out of my mind. Maybe, you suppose to counsel me, but you did not do anything, and also I was perpetrator although I was doing bad, I never knew.

Reference 3 - 2.89% Coverage

(Respondent): I want them to be like that... Like you know very well, okay, you know that old man used me to do something; I am not responsible for it, so I not supposed to be taking the blame by now. But right now, we are taking the blame, all of us. In fact, Charles Taylor is in jail but he enjoying more them us because; we are right here in our own country, seeing other people we used to beat, do other things to. So, really, I am not seeing anything.... Yes.

<Files\\Liberia\\Peterson Sonyah> - § 2 references coded [9.81% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 1.75% Coverage

(Respondent): Yes, I told those people that there are issues, simple issues that victims faced with. If victims cannot, security cannot be provided for victims, who know, if their story that they tell, perpetrators will go after them and there were no concern raised up to present.

Reference 2 - 8.05% Coverage

(Respondent): Well, the most important issue that was addressed at the Truth and Reconciliation Commission in 2009 was that, perpetrators, And I still get the document with me, that there are categories of perpetrators which of course I see logic in it, that there are some people today we calling perpetrator, but they were victims before becoming perpetrator and TRC said that even if you was under age, and then you was force to joined the revolution to take arm, you are victim, and they will not just classified you as perpetrator because you was under age and then you was force to take arm. So, telling somebody, because you just were not even to yourself on what you were doing. But, there are lots of things and the so frustrating part is that, it is not just about the TRC, but there are people who committed crimes, and crimes against humanity, and went to the TRC telling the Liberian people, telling the TRC that they the Liberia people should erect a monument for me they should build a statute for me, for what I did in this country and none of those people went to the TRC admitting what they did to the Liberia people but they all wanted what -so that praises can be sing unto them. These are some of the frustrating things at the TRC that up to present, it has never been address.

Reconciliation

References or discussions of reconciliation.

<Files\\Liberia\\Joe S. Johnson> - § 3 references coded [21.13% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 5.29% Coverage

(Respondent): Truth and Reconciliation, in my mind, and I stand to be corrected, I never heard one day that the TRC has called a forum somewhere that they need the victim and sometimes try to counsel them for what they went through, keep counseling them, working with them until when the TRC recommendation is signed, then they picked up from there, but it is not to my knowledge that the TRC has ever call for a forum for victim. Because we are feeling hurt, we need people to talk to us but no one call people to talk to us nothing even the Independent Human Rights Commission. I work with LIMASA one day. The only took us to a trip, I think it was on Decoration Day, I think I went with Carter Camp with them, I went to Duport Road Massacre Site, I went to Caldwell where our late President Samuel Doe was buried; I went there with TRC. But to call a special day where to say victim come, or bring out some victims program, that victim will go there to talk to them, no.

Reference 2 - 2.58% Coverage

(Respondent): For me it has not been achieve because apart from their submission, there was other recommendations given to them by those that established the TRC. I don't just believed it was only to collect, or to get victims and perpetrators name, I mean and send it to the central government for approval and I mean that will be the ending part of their work. I don't think so. If that was the mandate, then it was not enough by the crafter of the TRC. It was not enough.

Reference 3 - 13.26% Coverage

(Respondent): Bring us together. Call a gathering; victims come there, you bring some lecturers. Bring some lectures that will be able to counsel us, keep talking to us, keep talking to us, atleast that would be very well because I am already tempered with, I am feeling hurt because seeing those perpetrators living luxurious life, in an around the city, in an around the country. They live the best of life, they ride the best car, they eat the best food, sleep in the best place, and they are not better than us. Nobody is more Liberian than any other person. Then you did it to me, you walking free sky, nothing is going on with you. Sometimes they get on radio like Prince Johnson get on radio sometimes and say some senseless things. the only way I will appear when Madame President appear, the former President Ellen Johnson Sirleaf and come out with some threatening remarks against those that speaking for justice to take course in Liberia. Speaking against civil society saying some words that will try to, that he think in his own mind there is a technique that he use to use those days as rebel leader that if I use this word it will calm down those that fighting for justice and it cannot calm us down. Why they should live best of life, and we cannot live best of life? Why their children should go to good schools and our children should not go to good school? Why their children should eat good food and we are not eating the food. So TRC need to see in this thing and sometimes call people, the victim, conference like the city hall we appear, bring lecturers to talk to us, that will keep holding us down atleast that we can live with that until

we see what will come at the end of the day through the international people, because what we talking about here needs international pressure because the government on ground using political means to sideline the voices of the civil society that are pushing for justice in this country. If you listen to what President George Weah has said: Why now should the war crimes court be establish? Why can't it be now? So he thinks that since it was Ellen Johnson time it was drafted, it should have been sign during that time but why now during his government. And he once upon a time talk about this when he was opposition. He talked on this and establishing war crimes court and all those other things, then why is he going back to say why now? That also is an abusive word in our faces.

<Files\\Liberia\\Mustapha Allen Nicholas> - § 4 references coded [8.91% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.14% Coverage

(Respondent): No. No.

Reference 2 - 5.05% Coverage

(Respondent): Because sometimes, those that knew us, went we passing anywhere they people putting hands behind us saying, eh that the wicked, wicked men them this. That these men that were fighting, these men used to be bad oo. My man, don't like that man come around you, this man that old rebel oo. I say, I thought the TRC told us that after this nobody will call us rebel again? Anybody call us rebel they will do so so., so., but instead of that since that day, they have never even call me yet, one day, to asked me one question to me how you feeling. Like Pear-Bull, like the late Kafamah Konneh, like Verdier them. One of them never call me one day, one of the eleven judges never call me, one day to ask me, or even to know my wellbeing to, one, they don't even know whether I am still existing.

Reference 3 - 0.83% Coverage

(Respondent): Yes... The only thing is like I wanted them to be like how they are. I don't how..., they say, peace and reconciliation?

Reference 4 - 2.89% Coverage

(Respondent): I want them to be like that... Like you know very well, okay, you know that old man used me to do something; I am not responsible for it, so I not supposed to be taking the blame by now. But right now, we are taking the blame, all of us. In fact, Charles Taylor is in jail but he enjoying more them us because; we are right here in our own country, seeing other people we used to beat, do other things to. So, really, I am not seeing anything.... Yes.

<Files\\Liberia\\Peterson Sonyah> - § 2 references coded [9.95% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 3.21% Coverage

Madam Sirleaf came 12 years, she didn't reconcile the country, and she never reconciled victims and perpetrators. Even though we know that there will be justice, equally so, somebody must take the blame on what happen here, take the lead, have open apology to the Liberian people, it never happen like that up to present. We have not seen it from even the current government, all that people are saying is that let us forget, bargain should be bargain. No! People should be punished; they should pay for what they did.

Reference 2 - 6.75% Coverage

(Respondent): It never brought peace and reconciliation! I can tell you this, we have not implemented it but Liberian fed-up with war this is why we call this fragile peace and things that we are doing. But TRC try their best, but the implementers they are not doing nothing about it. Even I can tell you for sure, some of the Commissioners them had mix understanding between their very self. There some Commissioners signed to this document and some did not sign. But some who did not sign, today they are regretting, I can tell you for sure. I have met with two of these Commissioners and asked them their reasons why they did not sign this document, and there was no concrete reason given. Because my brother Moses was part war, and he do this, he do this, so because of Moses business, I must allow thousands people or my baby little brother Bility because he was part of it, or my son Nathaniel, so I must allow thousands of people to suffer? Things that international donor, Liberians tax payer money was used, so it should just go under the carpet, because of my brother? You see it?

<Files\\Liberia\\RD1> - § 3 references coded [13.51% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 2.72% Coverage

(Respondent): I think yes. By coming out with all those great recommendations, I think it was the path for promoting peace and reconciliation and all that. But whether we are in line with what those recommendations said, or what they recommended in those documents that we can go about doing our government and people you know..... Can you do that question over?

Reference 2 - 3.03% Coverage

(Respondent): I think by starting.., I think by starting the process, is another way of fostering peace in my own view. Okay. Because had it not being the truth and reconciliation commission, where we were going to be today? Are we going to be talking about reparation, justice and peace and all that? No! Because they started the process, I think it is a path for promoting peace and reconciliation.

Reference 3 - 7.76% Coverage

(Respondent): Like for me, before the truth and reconciliation came about, I had this thought that the day I will see the person who did this to me, I will kill them. And I never use to like anyone that they to refer to as soldier, whether you from government, or you from rebel whoever, because that was some of the things we saw when we coming up as a kid. But the truth and reconciliation make me understand that no matter what happen in any given situation, there must be a way or

path for peace and unity. Because if you can have peace and unite your people, there is a mean for you to move forward positively, you understand. So, that is one of the things the truth and reconciliation did, that somebody must be able to say, I did this to you. They might be able to identify what they did, they must be having that boldness to speak about what they did, be true to themselves, and I think that alone can bring sorry for you to forgive your brother or your sister who did wrong to you. I think that is most important way.

<Files\\Liberia\\Rufus Kartee> - § 1 reference coded [0.37% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.37% Coverage

Yes, no peace no reconciliation has happened in my view.

Truth

References or discussions of truth.

<Files\\Liberia\\Mustapha Allen Nicholas> - § 2 references coded [2.80% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 1.72% Coverage

(Respondent): Really, I can't lie to you; I got to tell you the truth as I continue saying the truth. Some days, sometimes, when I sit, I can regret why I have to go there. That is one of the main things in my life, why I have to go to the TRC? I never supposed to go there.

Reference 2 - 1.09% Coverage

(Respondent): I overheard that those that say the truth will be free, those that ask the Liberian people for forgiveness, they will be forgiven. That the only thing I heard.

Victims

References or discussions of victims.

<Files\\Liberia\\Joe S. Johnson> - § 6 references coded [26.96% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 3.06% Coverage

(Respondent): Well, at the initial stage – the truth and reconciliation process was well meaningful because calling on victims to go and explain their side of the story, the perpetrator to present themselves in an open forum; this is what I did, this is what I did, and based upon that TRC said there could be some Palava Hut meeting for the people if you come out and apologize to the people of Liberia for the atrocity you have committed against the people of Liberia. Those opportunities were given them but, only to note we went and give our testimony as victim

Reference 2 - 2.50% Coverage

ordeal and also given the opportunity to perpetrator to go, in which only few show-up, only few show up. But we thank God for TRC, I think they have a book called TRC report and we have all those warlords, their names listed and their crimes listed. So now that we gotten to know many of them that fail to appear to the TRC, they shy away because they never wanted to be notify, maybe by we the victim; that oh yes, these are the people who carry mayhem on us.

Reference 3 - 0.42% Coverage

TRC had women and men and we the victim that went there we have women and men.

Reference 4 - 5.20% Coverage

Truth and Reconciliation, in my mind, and I stand to be corrected, I never heard one day that the TRC has called a forum somewhere that they need the victim and sometimes try to counsel them for what they went through, keep counseling them, working with them until when the TRC recommendation is signed, then they picked up from there, but it is not to my knowledge that the TRC has ever call for a forum for victim. Because we are feeling hurt, we need people to talk to us but no one call people to talk to us nothing even the Independent Human Rights Commission. I work with LIMASA one day. The only took us to a trip, I think it was on Decoration Day, I think I went with Carter Camp with them, I went to Duport Road Massacre Site, I went to Caldwell where our late President Samuel Doe was buried; I went there with TRC. But to call a special day where to say victim come, or bring out some victims program, that victim will go there to talk to them, no.

Reference 5 - 13.26% Coverage

(Respondent): Bring us together. Call a gathering; victims come there, you bring some lecturers. Bring some lectures that will be able to counsel us, keep talking to us, keep talking to us, atleast that would be very well because I am already tempered with, I am feeling hurt because seeing those perpetrators living luxurious life, in an around the city, in an around the country. They live

the best of life, they ride the best car, they eat the best food, sleep in the best place, and they are not better than us. Nobody is more Liberian than any other person. Then you did it to me, you walking free sky, nothing is going on with you. Sometimes they get on radio like Prince Johnson get on radio sometimes and say some senseless things. the only way I will appear when Madame President appear, the former President Ellen Johnson Sirleaf and come out with some threatening remarks against those that speaking for justice to take course in Liberia. Speaking against civil society saying some words that will try to, that he think in his own mind there is a technique that he use to use those days as rebel leader that if I use this word it will calm down those that fighting for justice and it cannot calm us down. Why they should live best of life, and we cannot live best of life? Why their children should go to good schools and our children should not go to good school? Why their children should eat good food and we are not eating the food. So TRC need to see in this thing and sometimes call people, the victim, conference like the city hall we appear, bring lecturers to talk to us, that will keep holding us down atleast that we can live with that until we see what will come at the end of the day through the international people, because what we talking about here needs international pressure because the government on ground using political means to sideline the voices of the civil society that are pushing for justice in this country. If you listen to what President George Weah has said: Why now should the war crimes court be establish? Why can't it be now? So he thinks that since it was Ellen Johnson time it was drafted, it should have been sign during that time but why now during his government. And he once upon a time talk about this when he was opposition. He talked on this and establishing war crimes court and all those other things, then why is he going back to say why now? That also is an abusive word in our faces.

Reference 6 - 2.51% Coverage

(Respondent): Yes. Because for example like this this government everyday demonstration, so in case we the victim gathered one day and say we standing against the government. We are going to stand against government. We lock the house of parliament gate that no one is getting in there, so President Weah will also come with the hot water tank and waste it on we the victim as he did during Costa days. You see it and it is our right that we need to be look out.

<Files\\Liberia\\Mustapha Allen Nicholas> - § 1 reference coded [2.50% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 2.50% Coverage

(Respondent): One way and the other, no. It never brought justice to victims, because if even I was a perpetrator, and then, I was forced to become a perpetrator, and I am telling you, explaining it to you that, oh yes, this thing, I did it, but I did it out of my mind. Maybe, you suppose to counsel me, but you did not do anything, and also I was perpetrator although I was doing bad, I never knew.

<Files\\Liberia\\Peterson Sonyah> - § 4 references coded [12.63% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 2.19% Coverage

Because of God's grace and Liberians are tired with violence, this is why you see victims going around like this, but there are some serious threat on victims' life, serious threat to victims' life. Because we got those people, gather information from them, there were no security measures put into place for those people you left them all by themselves.

Reference 2 - 5.28% Coverage

(Respondent): One of my concerns that was address there was when the TRC talk about it, it was one time when one Aaron, he works with immigration now, he was one of the Statement Taker at that time, and then he was told that Peterson was at the Lutheran Church, Peterson knows many of the victims, and survivors and he even forming this Lutheran Church group. So he came to me, but he said that the hearing, the story telling of the victims of the Lutheran Church should be at the Centennial Executive pavilion. Now, when I went to Chairman Verdier at the time, Massa Washington, John Steward all of those people, I told them that the massacre took place in the church, and I think the hearing should take place in the church and not going at the Executive Pavilion. So, these are one of the concerns of the victims that at least they paid attention to.

Reference 3 - 1.75% Coverage

(Respondent): Yes, I told those people that there are issues, simple issues that victims faced with. If victims cannot, security cannot be provided for victims, who know, if their story that they tell, perpetrators will go after them and there were no concern raised up to present.

Reference 4 - 3.42% Coverage

And I still get the document with me, that there are categories of perpetrators which of course I see logic in it, that there are some people today we calling perpetrator, but they were victims before becoming perpetrator and TRC said that even if you was under age, and then you was force to joined the revolution to take arm, you are victim, and they will not just classified you as perpetrator because you was under age and then you was force to take arm. So, telling somebody, because you just were not even to yourself on what you were doing. But

<Files\\Liberia\\RD1> - § 1 reference coded [2.47% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 2.47% Coverage

I was so happy about the process and I hope that all of those good recommendations that were put forth should be implemented fully so that we as victims will be having that free mind to live in our society, we will be able to live in peace and unity because that is most important thing so that we can move our life forward.

<Files\\Liberia\\Rufus Kartee> - § 3 references coded [31.98% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 2.02% Coverage

No. They are going free, they talking pay. Some of them still in their normal body and still working...like some of the police, AFL at that time. I'm not pointing at particular time some of them and in fact they holding top position while we are here dying slowing and victims are dying on a daily basis.

Reference 2 - 8.15% Coverage

The thing it happened this way - I won't explain from 1980 – 1985 up to 1990. Sitting before you again, I am Rufus Kartee. My people send me here way back to live with congau people to go to school. So while we was here, I was living on 10th street until 198 - you heard about the coup. I hope you getting me. 1980 coup - the time Samuel Doe came to power, that time I was in Monrovia. That time I was young, we went to the barrack and saw the execution that took place besides the other massacre that used to be in street, bursting people stores, and breaking houses. I saw the people they tied on the poles on that beach that day. So after 1980, where will we go next? The school business go one side and we were looking for living now. You know as a young boy and you do not have any restriction; you can do anything to survive. I started working for Lebanese people – cleaning their stores and starting going to night school. Go..., go..., go..., 1985, soon that morning we heard of demonstration - 1985 coup. We heard of Quiiwonkpa, the Quiiwonkpa coup. Soon Quiiwonkpa passed to Grand Cape Mount; the AFL went Nimba to go revenge. They did something's there. They killed in that place. But for in town here what I saw....

Reference 3 - 21.80% Coverage

So that's the point I was coming to talk about from 1985 to 1990. From 1985 we saw human being pieces in soldier hands in the street, licking fresh blood, human spare part because I was living Yekepa at that time. Go..., go..., go..., until we got to 1990 the tribe business came about if you for this tribe they take your job but me I was not working from government. But 1990 I was here, that time we was in town here again just like real people who not in their own home again. Some of us who came here and knew nothing about Nimba County just in 1980 – 1990 were also affected because once they say you are from this tribe, they will harm you. Go..., go..., from January to June, the town was hot where we was leaving. At that time I was having girlfriend and married with two children but my wife could speak Kpelleh, Mandingo, Gio, and clear English. But for besides Gio, I can't speak any dialect. Where we was living on the old road, when we look one morning we heard they invaded UN compound, we went there, we were young at the time and we saw dead bodies in the UN compound somewhere pass Lonestar office. We went there and saw it for our sel. So I told my wife, let me here I can't speak any dialect beside Gio, somebody advised me to go to find safe area for me in the Lutheran compound for my safety. People are going to the Lutheran compound for safety. So that night, I told my wife and she said if these people can be brave to enter UN Compound, we been listening to radio, we never hear soldier enter UN compound, but these people was the very first soldier to be brave to enter UN compound, then what about Lutheran compound? So for me, I will not go there. But they were arresting and killing Gio people everywhere, even where I was living on the Old Road, they were collecting people, carrying them and executing them. So I was behind my wife and she told me that I care for you too and I don't want you to go but our being together will be so embarrassing for me and the children. What I explained to Jerome Verdier that what I explaining to you here. If you go on my record, written record or oral you will see this thing I just explained. She gave me the go ahead.

She said me I can carry the children anywhere but for you, it will be too embarrassing and we short of food. Secondly, I had one little boy, about 3 years old child that I borne by another woman. But this boy here, his mother brought him, that Bassa woman they themselves too they were moving she said. Here is your son here, we going find place for our self, when the war finish we will see. My wife said, this boy here he is not used to me. This boy anywhere we go he can cry whole night. So you and him can go. I listened to her advice that how I accepted and me and him ended to the Lutheran. You getting me? But, If I had known, or If I was going to listen to my wife maybe I was not going to be like this because she really never wanted me to go. But the condition of the time it was very bad. So When I got to Lutheran, I saw so many people who was there to survive, that is the sorrowful part. We were worrying about family and your life. That's how this massacre business came there and I was involved in it. My son today.. today I never lay eyes on him. He left in it.

Women

References or discussions of women.

<Files\\Liberia\\Joe S. Johnson> - § 1 reference coded [1.71% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 1.71% Coverage

(Respondent): Yes, it was inclusive. TRC had women and men and we the victim that went there we have women and men. Like we have one woman called Mother Yormie, she went there. She was hit from St. Peter's Lutheran Massacre; the massacre that President Doe carry there, so she gave her testimony. It was inclusive.

<Files\\Liberia\\Mustapha Allen Nicholas> - § 3 references coded [3.74% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 1.95% Coverage

(Respondent): Yes, because like for me I went there, I did public hearing not in Camera. I went, I saw whole lots of people, Liberian were sitting there when I was talking. So I believe it included everybody because I saw Madam Sirleaf who we all were doing the same thing, she was there too, she went there too.

Reference 2 - 0.41% Coverage

(Respondent): No, it was men. The men dem go more than the women.

Reference 3 - 1.38% Coverage

Like, like I told you, I told them I was using, like you can check the report, I told them how I was using four ladies mamie-watta, that I can use to go and do my fighting, so I can be free from bullets and other things.

<Files\\Liberia\\Peterson Sonyah> - § 1 reference coded [0.64% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.64% Coverage

(Respondent): Yes, men went at the TRC, women went there, but men dominated.. Men dominated at the TRC.

<Files\\Liberia\\RD1> - § 1 reference coded [1.12% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 1.12% Coverage

(Respondent): Oh! Yes, sure, sure. My own mother was part of the process including me, my other brothers and sisters they were part of the process.

<Files\\Liberia\\Rufus Kartee> - § 1 reference coded [1.42% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 1.42% Coverage

Because in my born town, many people never even appear ... people there don't know even about the TRC. Other women there who walk two foot cut to go on the farm, the lady still borning by one Kpelleh guy in the town