UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT FOR THE DISTRICT OF MASSACHUSETTS

``

DAVID BONIFACE, NISSAGE MARTYR, AND JUDERS YSEMÉ,)))
Plaintiffs,) Civil Action) No. 17-10477-ADB
V.)
JEAN MOROSE VILIENA, a.k.a. JEAN MOROSE VILLIENA,))
Defendant.)))

BEFORE THE HONORABLE ALLISON D. BURROUGHS UNITED STATES DISTRICT JUDGE

JURY TRIAL DAY ONE

March 13, 2013 11:16 a.m.

John J. Moakley United States Courthouse Courtroom No. 17 One Courthouse Way Boston, Massachusetts 02210

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1 (Resumed, 11:11 a.m.) 2 3 (Jury enters the courtroom.) THE COURT: When you're ready. 4 5 MS. LAU: I am ready, Your Honor. 6 THE COURT: Go ahead. 7 MS. LAU: Thank you. 8 Good morning, members of the jury. 9 This case is about murder, torture, arson, and the 10 abuse of power. The man who abused his power is the defendant, 11 Jean Morose Viliena. He was a mayor of a small town in Haiti called Les Irois. And during this trial we will focus on three 12 times when defendant abused that power and, together with his 13 14 associates, violently attacked the plaintiffs. First, on July 27, 2007, defendant and his associates 15 retaliated against plaintiff David Boniface. They extracted 16 their revenge on his younger brother, Eclesiaste Boniface. You 17 will hear that they lured him out onto the street, shot him 18 19 point blank, and then smashed his head with a large rock. They 20 left his dead body out on the middle of the street all night to 21 send a message to anyone who would dare speak out against the 22 defendant. Second, on April 8, 2008, defendant led his 23 24 associates, he armed them with guns, machetes, ice picks and 25 clubs, and they attacked a local radio station. The defendant

1 feared this radio station because he thought it was going to 2 give voice to the political opposition.

During the attack, defendant himself viciously beat and pistol-whipped Nissage Martyr while his associates vandalized the radio station and stole all of its equipment. Defendant then savagely beat Juders Ysemé all across the face and the body. Then defendant instructed his associate Villeme Declona to shoot them at close range with a .12 gauge shotgun. Nissage lost his leg and Juders lost his eye.

Third, on October 29, 2009, defendant directed and his associates carried out a mass arson of 36 homes in a single night, all set ablaze in that one night, all in Les Irois, and all belonging to supporters of the Struggling People's Party, the defendant's political opponents. The homes of each of the plaintiffs was burned down in that mass arson, and they lost everything in that arson spree the defendant orchestrated.

17 So this trial now is the culmination of plaintiffs' 18 decades-long pursuit of justice. And at the conclusion of this 19 trial we are going to ask that you finally hold defendant 20 accountable for his role in these atrocities.

My name is Bonnie Lau, and together with my team, it is my privilege to represent the plaintiffs here, David Boniface, Juders Ysemé and Nissanderé Martyr. I'd also like to introduce my team members. This is Daniel McLaughlin, Ella Mathews, Christina Ademola, Sarah Vandervalk and Phil

O'Connell. Thank you for your attention. I really appreciate
 your service.

Our plaintiffs have been waiting for 15 years for this day in court, and you have made it possible today by your willingness to serve as jurors, so I thank you for your time and attention and for your willingness to listen carefully when we go through what are going to be some challenging events.

8 Okay. So I want to take you back to a different time 9 and place. Actually, before I do that -- before I go on, you 10 might be wondering, why are we here 15 years after the fact? 11 Or, why are we here trying this case in U.S. Federal Court 12 instead of in Haiti? And the answer is we're here because the defendant lives here. He lives in Malden. And as the court 13 14 just instructed you, this case is brought under the Torture 15 Victim Protection Act. And what it says is that plaintiffs may file suit in the U.S. against human rights abusers if they are 16 here in the U.S. And so because Defendant Viliena has lived 17 here in Malden since 2009, that's why he's rightly being tried 18 19 here in Boston Federal Court.

20 Any other screens that need to come out? We can take 21 a minute.

THE COURT: Let me just explain to the jury, the ones in the front row, you have the screen right in front of you. The ones in the back, they're in your armrest. So let us know. She's going to put the first demonstrative out, and we'll make

1 sure you can all see them before she goes on. 2 MS. LAU: I can put that up now, Your Honor. 3 THE COURT: Can everyone see that, what's on her screen? 4 5 MS. LAU: Okay. 6 Now let me take you back to a different time and 7 So I'm taking you to the town of Les Irois. It's a place. 8 very small town in Haiti. You can see it's very coastal and 9 remote on the isolated southwestern tip of Haiti, far removed 10 from Haiti's bustling capital of Port-au-Prince. 11 Most of the people in Les Irois live modest lives. They fish, they trade, they farm. And what you'll hear is that 12 13 before 2006, Les Irois was safe. It was a pretty idyllic place 14 to live. Generally neighbors got along without incident, and 15 there wasn't even a police station. But in 2006, Mayor Viliena became the mayor of Les Irois and everything changed. 16 The defendant ran as a candidate for the MODEREH political party, 17 18 MODEREH, and he was supported by an armed group called KOREGA. 19 So we're going to hear from Professor Robert Maguire. 20 He's one of the country's foremost experts on Haiti, and he's 21 going to explain to you that Haiti's political system is pretty 22 different from the U.S. So in Haiti, many political parties 23 are actually supported by these community-based armed groups. 24 They're basically violent supporters, like KOREGA. And what 25 they do is they use that violence to get and to keep political

1 control.

2	Now, Professor Maguire will explain that
3	politicians woops, excuse me. Professor Maguire will
4	explain that politicians like Defendant Viliena, they reward
5	their associates for their loyalty, for their violent support
6	by giving them jobs, money, weapons, motorcycles and even
7	government posts. And so in this case you're going to hear
8	that those KOREGA associates who violently attacked the
9	plaintiffs, some of them actually worked in the mayor's office
10	under Defendant Viliena.
11	Now, once mayor in 2006, Defendant Viliena and his
12	KOREGA associates unleashed a campaign of armed violence, the
13	likes of which Les Irois just had never seen, and he
14	specifically targeted those he thought were his political
15	opponents, the supporters and members of the Struggling
16	People's Party, like the plaintiffs.
17	So now let's turn to the three times that the
18	defendant violently attacked the plaintiffs and abused his
19	power, the killing of Eclesiaste, the attack on the radio
20	station, Nissage and Juders, and the mass arson.
21	So Plaintiff David Boniface, he's well-educated,
22	speaks multiple Romance languages. He used to be a school
23	teacher, and he is a certified human rights advocate. David
24	has always been a well-respected member of the Les Irois
25	community, and he supported political causes like the

1 Struggling People's Party. Now at age 42, he's a loving husband and a caring father of two young children. 2 So on the morning of July 27, 2007, Defendant Viliena 3 4 was supervising a street-cleaning crew, and he got into a 5 dispute with a neighbor over where the trash should be dumped. 6 When the neighbor protested, Defendant Viliena slapped her hard 7 across the face. And so she went to a local judge's house to 8 complain about it, and the defendant and his associates, they followed her. 9 10 Now, David, because of his human rights training, he 11 also attended this, right, to monitor the proceedings at the judge's house. And David, at that hearing, was brave enough to 12 speak out against Defendant Viliena's conduct and to criticize 13 14 the defendant. So when David turned and tried to leave, defendant and his associates confronted him. They surrounded 15 They threatened him. They tried to hit and push him. 16 him. Luckily, there was another group of bystanders there, and so 17 18 they surrounded David and protected him and tried to escort him 19 to safety. Now, the defendant and his associates still tried to 20 21 follow, still threatening, still trying to push David, but 22 eventually the defendant instructed his associates, Let him go, 23 threatening, we will come for him later. 24 So later that night, 5:30 p.m., David goes to church

with his mother. His younger brother, Eclesiaste Boniface, he

25

stays behind in the family home. Later at 6:00 p.m., defendant and his associates, armed, come to David's house. They're calling for David. David is not there. He went to church. He's not home anymore. And his brother Eclesiaste unsuspectingly opens the door.

Two eyewitnesses at trial are going to testify to what happened next. They could see and hear defendant and his associates as they lured Eclesiaste out onto the street. Eclesiaste was totally unarmed, he hadn't done anything wrong, and defendant and his associates, they were armed with guns and machetes and sticks.

12 Defendant led the pack with his right-hand man, Hautefort Bajon, who also worked in the mayor's office. 13 14 Eclesiaste was shot, and his body fell to the ground, and another associate of defendant grabbed a large rock and smashed 15 his head. Eclesiaste's dead body was left out on the street 16 the entire night. It was a message about defendant's political 17 18 power and how he could act with impunity and a warning to 19 everyone else in Les Irois that might try to speak out or criticize his behavior. That is a violation of human rights 20 and U.S. law, and that's one of the reasons that we're trying 21 22 this case.

The next event, April 8, 2008, the second attack was on the radio station. Stepping back, this was the first radio station ever in Les Irois, so it was a source of great pride and excitement amongst the community. It had been financed and supported by two politicians from the Struggling People's Party. But because of that, the defendant viewed it as a threat to his power as mayor.

5 The radio station was located in the home of Nissage 6 Martyr. Nissage was a farmer who supported his large extended 7 family and hosted the radio station in just half of his house. 8 Now, you're going to learn that Nissage died just days after 9 this lawsuit was filed and so he is going to be represented in 10 this case by his son, Nissanderé Martyr.

Our other plaintiff is Juders Ysemé. He was only 21 at the time of the attack, still a student. He was a bright and ambitious young man, and he spent nearly every free afternoon at the radio station because he loved it. He was so excited about it. And now he's 36. He also has a wife and two beautiful children.

So you're going to hear that the defendant opposed this radio station from the very beginning. In fact, he said live on-air that he wanted to shut the radio station down. So everyone in Les Irois heard him say that. He even tried to use a government agency to shut down the radio station, but those officers refused, and attempts to mediate the dispute failed.

So on the afternoon of April 8, 2008, defendant
organized and provided guns to each of his KOREGA associates.
Some also brought machetes, ice picks and gloves. Defendant

himself, you'll learn that he was armed with a 9 millimeter handgun, and he gave to his associate Villeme Duclona a 12 gauge shotgun.

Around 1:00 p.m., they headed towards the radio 4 5 station, chanting and firing shots into the air as they walked. 6 Nissage Martyr and his family and Juders Ysemé, because he was 7 always at the radio station, they were at the house. They were 8 sitting together on the front porch, and they could see this 9 crowd of armed men coming towards them. But as soon as they 10 heard the gunshots, they ran inside for safety. Juders hid in 11 the very, very back of the house.

12 When defendant and associates got to Nissage's house, 13 they immediately broke down the door. Now, because Nissage has 14 died, he's unable to testify, and so you won't get to hear from 15 his personal perspective how defendant grabbed him, beat him all over his body and pistol-whipped him in the face. All the 16 while, the other KOREGA associates were vandalizing the radio 17 18 station and stealing its equipment and carrying it out the 19 front door.

Instead we will hear what happened to Nissage from the perspective of Juders, who was hiding in the very back of the house. But he could hear this vicious beating of Nissage. He was only feet away, and he could hear Nissage screaming and crying out in pain to the mayor. The defendant paused his beating of Nissage, started searching around the house, and he found Juders in the back of the home, and he grabs him by the lapel, and he starts punching and striking him and then drags him all the way up to the front of the hallway, and he tells one of his associates, Restrain Juders, and he does. And he says, We're going to take Juders and hang him in the public park.

7 Now, remember I mentioned these other associates, 8 they're still stealing the radio equipment, and they have to carry it out the front door. So Nissage and Juders, they seize 9 10 this momentary opening and they make a run for it, they make a 11 break for the street outside of Nissage's house. The defendant 12 saw them trying to escape and he orders Villeme Duclona, Shoot 13 at Juders and Nissage. And so Duclona does. He raises his 14 shotgun. He opens fire. Shotgun pellets spray out, striking Juders all over the right side of his face and body, striking 15 Nissage in the right leg. Defendant and his associates then 16 seize the rest of the radio equipment, and they fled the scene. 17

The attack on these two men was incredibly brutal.
But it was about more than just harming these two individuals.
It was about silencing an entire community.

Now, miraculously, Juders and Nissage actually survived this shooting. And this is them now, permanently maimed and disfigured. Nissage's beating and gunshot wounds were so severe that he was hospitalized for months. They had to amputate his leg, his right leg above the knee. And Juders was permanently blinded in his right eye. He required multiple surgeries to remove each of those individual pellets from his body and his face. Some of them, they were too sensitive, they actually couldn't remove them. They're still in his body now, and they cause him severe pain and dizziness and blinding headaches.

7 So let's talk next about the mass arson. In and 8 around October 2009, shortly before the arson, Hautefort Bajon, 9 who is the mayor's secretary general, he had fallen ill, and 10 for some reason the supporters of Defendant Viliena thought 11 that the Struggling People's Party members had done something to make him ill. So in the days right before the arson, 12 defendant's associates marched through the streets of Les 13 14 Irois, threatening to kill people and burn down houses if Hautefort died. He died of illness on October 29, 2009. 15

16 So that same day, defendant's associates announced the 17 death in the middle of the Les Irois market. They were 18 throwing vendor merchandise from the stalls. They were 19 shouting at people to go home, and they were threatening 20 trouble was coming.

And later that same night, defendant's associates went on an arson rampage, targeting dozens of homes to avenge the death of Hautefort Bajon. Witnesses saw defendant's associates setting fire intentionally to residential homes in Les Irois. Although defendant was not physically present, witnesses will

testify that they could hear defendant speaking on a cell phone speakerphone with his associates, directing them which houses to burn down and soliciting updates on the progress of the mass arson.

5 And the homes of all of the plaintiffs, David 6 Boniface, Nissage Martyr, and Juders Ysemé, they were all 7 burned down in this arson spree the defendant directed and his 8 associates carried out. All of the plaintiffs' personal and 9 priceless possessions in those homes, those all went up in 10 flames that night.

In all, defendant's associates burned down 36 homes in Les Irois, all Struggling People's Party supporters, leaving 40 families and hundreds of individuals homeless. But the homes of defendant and his associates, all of them were spared. None of them were burned down that night.

So over the course of this trial, we are going to 16 introduce evidence of each of the things that I've described 17 18 for you this morning. You will hear testimony from each of the 19 plaintiffs as well as numerous eyewitnesses about all three 20 attacks. Most of them will testify live, and a few of them are 21 going to testify by their prior videotaped deposition. And 22 what that means is they gave sworn testimony under oath prior to trial in this case. 23

You're also going to see a few exhibits and some photographs, but because of the nature of this case and the

passage of time, including documents that were lost because of the mass arson, there are some things that you won't see.

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So, for example, we don't have evidence that you might 3 think we might have had there been a proper thorough 4 5 investigation back in 2007, right. So there was no autopsy 6 conducted of Eclesiaste's body, certainly no forensic 7 investigation. So, like the judge said, this isn't going to be 8 like television. You won't see those scientific techniques or 9 evidence that you might have seen in your favorite episode of 10 Law and Order, so I'll just ask you to keep that in mind as we 11 go through the trial.

And similarly, because of the passage of time, some of 12 the witnesses may have differing recollections of the precise 13 14 events. Most of the differences are small and some are not. 15 As the judge will instruct you later and as you know from real life and common sense, two people can see and hear the same 16 event and have slightly different recollections of what 17 18 happened, especially when the event is really chaotic. So you 19 can use the same tools here as you use in your regular life to determine the facts. 20

When we have shown you all of this evidence and eyewitness testimony, I think you'll see it's overwhelming that these three attacks occurred. You will see that the defendant is responsible for this killing, torture, and arson. Defendant either directly participated in the attacks or he directed,

1 ordered, solicited, aided and abetted, or conspired with his 2 associates in order to commit each of these attacks. 3 And as the judge noted, at the very end of this case, she's going to give you instructions, detailed ones, about the 4 5 law that governs this case. And at that time she's going to 6 explain to you what each of those terms means. But she 7 generally will explain that the law holds the defendant equally 8 accountable if he did it himself or if he directed, solicited, or conspired with others to kill, torture, and commit arson. 9 10 So now, what is the defendant's response? Essentially 11 implausible denials. We don't know yet what Defendant Viliena 12 is going to say to you at trial, but when he gave prior sworn 13 testimony in this case, he claimed he didn't do any of it. He 14 had nothing to do with the murder of Eclesiaste. He had nothing to do with the radio station attack where Nissage and 15 Juders were brutalized and shot. He had nothing to do with the 16 mass arson. In fact, he testified that he didn't go to the 17 radio station that entire day, even though he is the mayor of 18 19 this town where this vicious attack occurred. 20 But at trial, you will hear eyewitness testimony from 21 five different witnesses, plus the three plaintiffs, the 22 defendant actively participated in each of these attacks. And in contrast, you will not see a single person take the stand on 23

24 defendant's behalf to corroborate any of his denials.

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Now, plaintiffs, before coming to this court, they

worked very diligently in Haiti to try to seek justice for these vicious crimes. They tried for more than a decade, but ultimately their efforts proved futile, and the Haitian courts failed them. Now, that's not disputed in this case, but it's important because it helps us understand why we're here now in a Federal Court in Boston.

7 So because of plaintiffs' efforts to seek justice, 8 Haiti launched a criminal investigation into the killing of Eclesiaste and the radio station attack. Defendant Viliena was 9 10 actually briefly jailed, but when he got out, he fled Haiti and 11 came here to Malden to avoid the Haitian proceedings. Now, I want you to know that while he lived here in Malden he was 12 13 still the mayor of Les Irois and he continued to go back and 14 forth to Haiti with impunity despite these criminal proceedings 15 that were pending against him. So even when Defendant Viliena was not physically present when he might have been here in 16 America, he was still maintaining that grip on power in Les 17 Irois. He was still directing his KOREGA associates to 18 19 threaten, harm, and follow the plaintiffs any time, in 20 particular, when they sought justice in the Haitian 21 proceedings.

You'll hear some of our witnesses testify about these threats and retribution at trial. So for example, one witness tried to testify against the defendant in a Haitian proceeding. The KOREGA associates blocked the road, barricaded the road to the courthouse, and they threw rocks at him, and even gunmen on motorcycles shot at him. And you'll hear about our three plaintiffs. They have been so badly and repeatedly threatened and harassed that they have lived in hiding for more than 15 years while they have patiently waited for their moment in this court.

You'll hear from our expert, Brian Concannon. Brian
is an expert on the Haitian court system. And he's going to
explain to you how retributive violence is often used to
silence and deter those who would try to seek justice in Haiti,
especially for human rights and political crimes.

So you, our members of the jury, you're going to have the powerful responsibility of deciding whether to hold defendant legally accountable for these atrocities, and you'll have the opportunity to finally give plaintiffs some measure of justice.

At the end of this case, after you've heard all of the evidence, I'm going to come back and stand in front of you, and I'm going to ask you to return a verdict in favor of plaintiffs for the killing of Eclesiaste, for the torture and the attempted killing of Nissage and Juders, and for the arson of plaintiffs' homes as part of a mass arson in Les Irois.

I'm going to ask you to compensate the plaintiffs for the terrible injuries and suffering the defendant has caused and ask you to send a message that defendant's abuse of power, his shocking conduct, it is unacceptable. And after the 15 years that plaintiffs have been waiting for justice, I'm going to ask you to finally hold the defendant, Jean Morose Viliena, accountable for his role in these atrocities. Thank you. THE COURT: Mr. Haley.

6 MR. HALEY: Thank you. My name is Peter Haley. I 7 represent John Viliena. John was born in Les Irois in Haiti. 8 His father was a farmer. They lived outside of town, in the 9 outskirts of town, and there was a little bit of a pejorative 10 outsiderness to that. It was more highly valued to live in the 11 center.

12 When John was born in Les Irois, there was no 13 electricity, no running water, no paved roads, no police, no 14 hospitals, sewage, no system for the removal of sewage, of 15 human waste, which was otherwise just brushed into the ocean.

But John was a smart person and a very hard worker. He graduated from the high school. He left town and went on to get a college level degree in economics. And he came back to town and became the vice principal of the high school in town at age 30.

But not much had changed in Les Irois. It remained a place where there was little infrastructure at all, no hospital, no police, no paved roads, no system for the removal of trash or sewage or human waste. It was lacking a lot. And John thought that maybe he could help his neighbors build that 1 infrastructure in the town they lived in. So he decided to run 2 for mayor.

He ran for mayor first in 2006, and in December 2006, 3 there was a mob that destroyed the ballots. There was a 4 5 re-vote in the spring of 2007. And Jean was not a popular 6 candidate with everybody. He was only 35 years old. He was 7 from the outskirts of town. The primary opponent, William 8 Lebon, who was associated with the Struggling People's Party, 9 was older. He was a pastor. He was well-respected in town. 10 And there were people who didn't want the change that Jean 11 wanted.

12 But in the spring of 2007 it turned out that more 13 people agreed with Jean than supported William Lebon and the 14 Struggling People's Party. More people had an earnest desire for change and improvement for the infrastructure of their 15 town, so Jean became mayor. And a lot of the things that he 16 wanted to do, he accomplished. He paved more roads. 17 He 18 brought a medical clinic to town. He improved the schools. He 19 built up the infrastructure, he removed the trash from the 20 streets. Violence -- and Les Irois had always had a reputation 21 for violence in the community -- remained a problem. He was 22 never able to build the police force or get the police to come 23 to Les Irois. And the opposition to Jean did not go away on 24 his election. Many people remained opposed to his tenure of 25 mayor, and there were violent outbreaks as a result, but he

1 continued to work hard at it.

2	While he was mayor, he came twice to the United States
3	to attend conferences of mayors around the country. And while
4	he was here, he developed an earnest desire to move to the
5	United States, and so he worked to do that. In 2009, 2010, he
6	moved to Malden, Massachusetts. He got his green card. He's
7	got a job as a truck driver up in Lynn, and he remains a very
8	productive member now of our community where he works hard to
9	support himself in his new community of Malden.
10	This lawsuit was started against him in 2017. And as
11	you've heard counsel say, it concerns events that took place in
12	2007, 2008, and 2009, 14, 15 and 16 years ago. The lawsuit is
13	led by Jean's cousin, David Boniface. David's mother is the
14	sister of Jean's father. David is a member of the opposition
15	political party, the Struggling People's Party. And he
16	describes himself as a human rights worker. And he's been the
17	force in terms of prosecuting these claims against Jean.
18	When I try cases, I always go back and look at my
19	notes from the last cases to see what I can do better. And
20	there's always a lot to work with. And in looking at what one
21	should do when you giving an opening statement, what you see
22	from people writing these things is you should give the jury a
23	story, a narrative that they can believe in. And I think that
24	works a lot of time. People like stories. It provides a frame
25	of reference. It sometimes can make us feel a little bit

1 better about ourselves.

2	But I've come to distrust that a little bit because
3	human experience tells us that not everything fits into a
4	narrative or a story. And when you're working to fill in that
5	narrative or story, you can tend to take every fact you find
6	and twist it and place it into the narrative. And in this case
7	there is a good story. I mean, the story of the Struggling
8	People's Party. Who of us cannot identify with struggling
9	people?
10	There was a judge in New York. His name was Learned
11	Hand. Great name. He was a judge on the federal bench in New
12	York in the 1930's and 1940s. He gave a speech in Central Park
13	in 1944. And he said, "The spirit of liberty is the spirit
14	that is not quite so sure that it is right." I think the
15	spirit of justice is the spirit that has the humility to
16	recognize that not all of the events of the world fit into a
17	narrative or a story and that our job in the courtroom is not
18	to vote on which story we like best but to decide whether or
19	not the facts that we hear about these events that took place
20	14, 15 and 16 years ago in a town we've never been to and in a
21	place we could hardly imagine have been demonstrated and
22	established to the point of proof.
23	When I come back at the end of the case, I'll ask you
24	to find that they have not met that burden of proof, and I'll

25 ask you to allow Jean Viliena to be free, to resume his life as

1 a productive member of our community without the burden of 2 these claims against him. Thank you. 3 THE COURT: All right, it's five of 12:00. Their lunch is being delivered at 12:00. Would you like me to read 4 5 the stipulations before I release them for lunch? Okay. 6 All right. So you've just heard opening statements. 7 We have some joint stipulated facts. These are facts that the 8 parties agree are true, so you can accept them as proven, and 9 then you can give them whatever weight you think they merit. 10 So you decide how important these facts are, but you accept the 11 facts as true. I'm going to read them to you. You'll have a 12 written copy in the jury room with you as well. The joint stipulated facts, the parties have agreed 13 14 certain facts are true. You must treat the following facts as 15 proved for this case: One. Plaintiffs David Boniface, Juders Ysemé, and 16 Nissandére Martyr are citizens of Haiti. 17 18 Original Plaintiff, Nissage Martyr, now deceased, was 19 a citizen of Haiti. 20 Plaintiff Nissandére Martyr is the son of Nissage 21 Martyr and was substituted as a plaintiff by the Court in this 22 action following Nissage's death. 23 Defendant John Morose Viliena, the defendant, is a 24 citizen of Haiti and a legal permanent resident of the United 25 States since July 14, 2008, residing in Malden, Massachusetts.

1 Defendant's father is Lissage Viliena. Gilnor Niclas is defendant's brother-in-law. 2 Hautefort Bajon worked in the mayor's office as 3 4 general secretary. 5 Meritus Beaublanc worked in the mayor's office. 6 The following people are known to defendant: Villeme 7 Duclona, Pierrot Boileau, Meritus Beaublanc, Leonel Livert, Lifaite Livert, Mones Dorcenat, Louines Charles Keleman, 8 Guerson Pierre, France Isme, Cedernier Fleurine, and George 9 Simon. 10 11 There was an election for mayor of Les Irois in December 2006. 12 From the period of June 2007 through February 2010, 13 14 defendant held the elected position of mayor of the town of Les Trois. 15 One of defendant's opponents in the mayoral election 16 was the candidate of the Struggling People's Party, William 17 Lebon. 18 19 As mayor, Viliena's duty was to administer and manage the city of Les Irois. 20 21 As mayor, defendant did not have a boss and had 22 authority to issue warning letters and to send letters to the Ministry of Interior such as for enforcement or disciplinary 23 24 actions for mayoral staff. 25 Defendant was present in Les Irois, Haiti on July 27,

1 2007 and July 28, 2007.

On July 27, 2007, Eclesiaste Boniface, brother of 2 3 plaintiff Boniface, died in Les Irois. In or around March of 2008, a new radio station, New 4 5 Vision Radio, was established in Les Irois. 6 On April 8, 2008, defendant was present in Haiti. 7 On April 8, 2008, during the attack on the radio station, Plaintiff Ysemé and original Plaintiff Nissage Martyr 8 9 sustained injuries. 10 On September 16, 2008, defendant returned to Haiti. 11 On October 29, 2009, Hautefort Bajon died. Defendant left Haiti for the United States on November 12 27, 2009 and did not return to Haiti until 2012. 13 14 From the period of August 27, 2012 to around October 2015, defendant held the appointed position of Interim 15 Executive Agent for Les Irois. 16 In August 2019, defendant traveled to Haiti and was 17 18 present in Les Irois. 19 The plaintiffs are each Haitian citizens who reside in Haiti. 20 21 The plaintiffs had never had direct communications 22 with defendant while he was in the United States. 23 A meter is equal to 3.2 feet. 24 1,000 Haitian gourdes is approximately 7 U.S. dollars 25 and, in 2009, was equal to approximately 26 U.S. dollars.

That I think takes us to the lunch break. 1 We ordered it for 12:00. It's probably up there. I 2 3 know you guys -- normally we sit from 10:00 to 4:00, but I know you got here super early today, so I want to try and shorten 4 5 the end of the day so you're not here for quite so long. 6 So would you like a half hour for lunch or would you 7 like 45 minutes? Does anyone want 45 minutes? Half hour is 8 enough for lunch? Okay. Is half hour enough for everybody 9 here? 10 So Karen is going to walk up and make sure lunch is 11 there. If not, we'll give you an extra 15 minutes, but it should be there. 12 13 (Jury exits the courtroom.) 14 THE COURT: I'm going to assume their lunch is here. 12:30. Okay. 15 (Recess, 11:55 a.m. - 12:32 p.m.) 16 THE COURT: Call your first witness, please. 17 MS. MATTHEWS: Plaintiffs call their first witness, 18 19 Professor Robert Maguire. 20 ROBERT MAGUIRE, Sworn 21 THE CLERK: Can you please state your name and spell 22 your last name for the record. 23 THE WITNESS: Right. My name is Robert Earl Maguire. 24 That's M-a-q-u-i-r-e. 25 THE COURT: So that whole thing, the whole thing can

1 pull towards you.

T	pull towards you.
2	THE WITNESS: Is that better?
3	THE COURT: That's good.
4	When you're ready.
5	DIRECT EXAMINATION BY MS. MATTHEWS:
6	Q. Professor Maguire, where do you currently work?
7	A. At the current time is that too loud? No?
8	THE COURT: It's okay for me.
9	A. At the current time I am an adjunct professor at George
10	Washington University. It's Elliot School of International
11	Affairs. I've had that position since I retired from the
12	full-time faculty in 2017.
13	I also work as an expert advisor on Haiti for the National
14	Intelligence Council of the U.S. government, and I have a small
15	consulting firm that I manage.
16	Q. Can you briefly describe your prior academic experience
17	for the jury.
18	A. Sure. In addition to working at George Washington
19	University, I worked prior to that at Trinity Washington
20	University in D.C., and I've also taught at Johns Hopkins
21	University in Baltimore, New York University and Georgetown
22	University. And at Georgetown University, that's when I
23	created and directed the Georgetown University Haiti program.
24	Q. And at George Washington University, what did you teach?
25	A. At George Washington, I taught in the international

1	development studies programs, and I taught a course on Haiti
2	after the earthquake.
3	Q. Can you tell the jury briefly about the Haiti program at
4	GW sorry at Georgetown?
5	A. Yes. Well, the Haiti program at Georgetown has actually
6	followed me because I also directed that, created that and
7	directed that at George Washington University. And what it
8	does essentially is it provides a forum to give information and
9	analysis to U.S. policymakers and practitioners, mostly in
10	Washington, D.C., and to bring voices from Haiti to enable them
11	to inform the D.C. community about what's going on in Haiti.
12	It also has occasional publications.
13	Q. Can you tell the jury about your work experience outside
14	of academia?
15	A. Sure. Outside of academia, before I was a professor, I
16	had a career in the U.S. government. I worked for 20 years
17	with an organization agency called the Inter-American
18	Foundation, which supports grassroot, bottom-up development in
19	Latin America and the Caribbean. I was its representative for
20	its Haiti programs.
21	I spent one year, the last year of my government career,
22	detailed to the State Department where I assisted the
23	administration as the Haiti expert on the State Department
24	staff at that time.
25	And I've also, concurrently, I chaired for almost 25 years

1	the advanced area studies program on Haiti at the State
2	Department's Foreign Service Institute, and it's called the
3	FSI. And at the FSI, that's where they train diplomats before
4	they go to their post for their two- or three-year assignments,
5	and I was training them on conditions in Haiti.
6	Q. Have you ever been asked to advise the U.S. government on
7	Haiti?
8	A. Oh, on many occasions, yes. And I've always been happy to
9	do that. I think one thing that's striking for me is the times
10	the Defense Department had asked me to advise them, the 82nd
11	Airborne. And one time in particular, the Joint Chiefs of
12	Staff, they brought me out to Quantico where they sat me down
13	in front of a video camera for about eight, nine hours and
14	peppered me with lots of questions about Haiti because they
15	were preparing the intervention in Haiti in 1994.
16	And they told me later that they gave that videotape to
17	all of the commanding officers for the intervention force. So
18	that was pretty interesting stuff.
19	Q. Professor Maguire, have you spent time in Haiti?
20	A. Yes. I've spent a fair amount of time in Haiti. I first
21	went to Haiti 49 years ago, just a young man, and that was in
22	1974.
23	From 1977 to 2000, while I was working full time with the
24	Inter-American Foundation and State Department, I went to Haiti
25	an average of four, five, six times a year to do my work, and I

1	would go from ten days to three weeks at a time. I stopped
2	counting my visits when they reached 125, so I think that was
3	quite a few visits.
4	Once I left government in 2000 and went to the university
5	full time, I continued to go to Haiti as a researcher, going
6	generally twice a year.
7	THE COURT: Can you push that two inches further away
8	from you. It's a little loud.
9	THE WITNESS: How is that, better?
10	THE COURT: It's probably better.
11	THE WITNESS: Okay.
12	THE COURT: Try that.
13	Q. Professor Maguire, do you speak Haitian Creole?
14	A. (Answer in Haitian Creole) Yes, I speak Haitian Creole.
15	Q. Have you ever testified before Congress?
16	A. Yes, I have. I testified twice before Congress. One time
17	the House of Representatives invited me as a witness on the
18	conditions of political turmoil in Haiti in the mid 1990s.
19	Another time the Senate invited me as an expert witness to
20	discuss opportunities and needs and possibilities for
21	rebuilding Haiti after its earthquake in 2010.
22	Q. Have you ever spoken with the media on Haiti?
23	A. Yes, many times. In fact, about a week ago I was
24	contacted by the New York Times for analysis on what's going on
25	in Haiti today. In the past, I've been on with Dan Rather and

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1	Peter Jennings, the PBS News Hour and NPR Radio quite
2	frequently as well and other outlets also.
3	Q. Have you published any works relating to Haiti?
4	A. Yes. I have a fairly long list of publications on Haiti,
5	ranging from letters to books, and most recently my most recent
6	publication is a book published by the University Press of
7	Florida called, Who owns Haiti? With a question mark.
8	Subtitle is People, Power and Sovereignty. And it's a study to
9	try to analyze the kind of struggle between international
10	organizations and Haitian entities to kind of claim control of
11	the sovereignty of the nation.
12	I published, also I think I mention because it's highly
13	relevant here, I published an article called State Terror in
14	Mufti. That's about Haiti. Mufti is not a common U.S. term,
15	but it's a British term, and it means essentially people who
16	don't wear uniforms but who engage in kind of military,
17	paramilitary acts. And that's when I analyzed the paramilitary
18	organizations in Haiti in the late '90s.
19	Q. Are any of these works peer-reviewed, Professor Maguire?
20	A. Yes, some of them are peer-reviewed. Whenever you publish
21	a book at University Press, it's heavily peer-reviewed.
22	Q. Have you previously served as an expert witness?
23	A. Yes, on a couple of occasions I served as an expert
24	witness. I served as an expert witness about 14 years ago in a
25	trial somewhat similar to this one. It was called Doe v.

1	Constant. And it was about a paramilitary group in Haiti that
2	had meted out a lot of violence, including surrogate violence,
3	on three women, Jane Doe plaintiffs, who were seeking damages.
4	I've also testified on several occasions for immigration
5	cases, removal cases.
6	Q. And were you asked to serve as an expert witness in
7	connection with this trial?
8	A. Yes, I was.
9	Q. What subject were you asked to opine on?
10	A. I've been asked to opine on the conditions of political
11	violence in Haiti and particularly organizations that are
12	characterized as community-based armed gangs, armed groups.
13	Q. Have you submitted an expert report in this case
14	reflecting the opinions you expect to offer today?
15	A. Yes, I have.
16	Q. Could you please tell the court about your specific
17	conclusion in this case.
18	A. Sure. My specific or main conclusion is that there's this
19	organization called KOREGA, which is active in the Grand'Anse
20	department of Haiti. And this organization bears all the
21	trademarks and characteristics of community-based armed groups
22	that I've studied and experienced in the past.
23	Q. What other opinions did you reach in coming to that
24	conclusion?
25	A. Well, I would say three main opinions, I think. One is

that Haiti is a country that is suffering under many challenges, and primary among them would be extreme poverty, dysfunctional or weak organizations, particularly in rule of law, and as well it would be -- the use of unrestrained violence in politics is another very common trait in Haiti. That's number one.

Number two is that these community-based armed groups that I mentioned, that they have what I would call a symbiotic relationship with a patron, or patron, usually a politician who they serve. And when they serve this politician, they receive benefits in return, material and financial benefits and access to power.

And the third one, sorry. The third one is that these groups, these community-based armed groups, given their relationship with the political sponsor, they can function in their communities with impunity, or, in other words, they function above the arm of the law.

18 Q. What sources did you rely on in reaching these opinions or 19 conclusions?

A. A multitude of sources. I consulted many international reports, U.N. and U.S. government, the reports of NGOs and humanitarian organizations that work on the ground in Haiti. Of course my own experience of working for 40 years in Haiti comes in handy when you kind of want to analyze the situation. I've read a lot of contemporary reports, including newspaper

1	articles about Haiti and the situation. I've consulted with
2	members of my well-established contact of sources in Haiti
3	also.
4	Q. Before I move on, I would invite the jury now to take out
5	their screens so you can see Professor Maguire's slides.
6	A. And speaking of that, I apologize for the long hair. This
7	was kind of a retirement move on my part, compared with the
8	photograph you saw earlier when I was working full time. I
9	went kind of long-haired.
10	Q. Before we get into your opinions, Profess Maguire, could
11	you help us situate the jury. Could you tell the jury what
12	we're seeing on this map?
13	A. Sure. This is a physical map of Haiti. It's a little
14	interesting and maybe deceptive because it shows Haiti as an
15	island, but as you know, Haiti is not an island. It's the
16	western one-third of the larger island called Hispaniola. So
17	on the east or right side of this would be the Dominican
18	Republic.
19	Q. Where is the island of Hispaniola and Haiti located?
20	A. Well, it's located in the northern part of the Caribbean,
21	not too far from the U.S., actually.
22	Q. And where is the Grand'Anse department located within
23	Haiti?
24	A. The Grand'Anse department is located at the far western
25	end or left-hand side of what they call in Haiti the southern

1	peninsula. You can see it there at the tip of that southern
2	peninsula on the northern part of it.
3	Q. What else can you tell us about the makeup of the
4	Grand'Anse?
5	A. As you can see, it indicates Port-au-Prince on the map,
6	and it indicates the community of Les Irois. And we may think
7	of Haiti as a small country, but it's a long distance from
8	Port-Au-Prince to Les Irois. Maybe not the way the crow flies.
9	It might 190 miles. But if you're traveling overland or by
10	boat, it takes a long time to get this because this is a very
11	isolated part of Haiti.
12	Google Maps tells you it takes about nine hours. I think
13	Google Maps is optimistic. The conditions of the roads are
14	very bad. And so it's therefore a rather isolated part of
15	Haiti. It's not easy to get to, and it's often out of the
16	beaten path, we can say.
17	Q. How big is the Grand'Anse, just for context?
18	A. Okay. Well, it's actually about half the size of the
19	state of Rhode Island.
20	Q. And is the population of the Grand'Anse mostly rural or
21	urban?
22	A. It's a mix. There are, along the coast in particular,
23	there are a number of settlements. There's a major city called
24	Jérémie which is the capital city. And then there are these
25	smaller communities along the coast principally, but the

1	population is rather scattered really throughout the
2	department, both in small towns, villages and into rural areas.
3	Q. Have you ever traveled to the Grand'Anse?
4	A. Yes, I have on a number of occasions. I've been to
5	Jérémie arriving by boat, air and overland. And I've been to,
6	you see on the map a place called Anse d'Hainault. I've been
7	to Anse d'Hainault as well.
8	Q. What can you tell us, other than the remoteness which we
9	discussed, what can you tell us about the unique challenges of
10	the Grand'Anse?
11	A. Well, the unique challenges, essentially a lot of it boils
12	down to the poverty of the region. So there's a very little
13	investment in public infrastructure, schools, roads, hospitals,
14	that sort of thing.
15	The population, being isolated, lives a pretty basic
16	existence. Many of the people work on a daily basis just to
17	meet the daily needs of them and their family. Many of the
18	people who live in these communities might work as fisher folk
19	if they're on the coast, or they might work as small farmers.
20	Many of the women tend to be involved in commerce. They do
21	buying and selling generally on a very small scale.
22	Q. And where does Les Irois fit within the Grand'Anse?
23	A. Oh, as you can see, Les Irois is in the very tip of the
24	Grand'Anse. It's interesting, it doesn't show it as much on
25	our maps, but Les Irois is actually closer to Jamaica than it

1 is to Port-au-Prince. So to the west would be a little bit of 2 Jamaica, so it's in the southwest tip of the department of the 3 Grand'Anse. And roughly how big is Les Irois? 4 Ο. 5 Α. The population of Les Irois is about 24,000 people, 6 according to the Haitian Statistics Division. And that 7 population is divided among people who live in the town itself 8 and people who live in the surrounding countryside areas. 9 Ο. Have you ever been to Les Irois? 10 Α. I have not been to Les Irois. 11 And why not? Ο. 12 Well, you know, there's two reasons basically why I Α. haven't been there. One was, when I was traveling regularly to 13 Haiti, I was visiting communities from which I had received a 14 proposal for assistance from a community-based organization, 15 doing grassroots development work. 16 So I would visit these communities to check on the 17 18 organization and its proposal to see if I could get them some 19 help. That's why, for example, I went to Anse d'Hainault. 20 There was a fishermen's group there I needed to visit. But 21 I've never received in my 20 years any communication from Les 22 Irois from an organization there seeking assistance, so I had 23 no real need to go there. 24 And as well, you know, it's a pretty isolated place. It's 25 not someplace you can drive to easily and just go there out of

1 curiosity, so I never really had the need to go there. Turning now to your first opinion, Professor Maguire, one 2 Ο. of your conclusions is that Haiti has faced several challenges. 3 Can you remind the jury what challenges you are referring to? 4 5 Α. Sure. I mean, I think the key challenges that are 6 relevant to this case that Haiti experiences is extreme 7 poverty. Its institutions are very weak, and particularly of 8 the institutions the realm of rule of law. And as well, 9 there's unrestrained political violence that is used commonly 10 in Haiti over the struggle to gain and maintain power. 11 Turning to the grinding poverty that you just noted, could Ο. you help us understand what that meant in Haiti in the 2000s? 12 Sure. I'm sure that if you've ever heard anything about 13 Α. 14 Haiti, you've probably heard that it's the quote-unquote 15 poorest country in the Western Hemisphere. A lot of Haitians say that's their country's middle name. They say that with 16 some resentment, actually. But the truth of the matter is that 17 18 Haiti's economy is extremely weak. The gross domestic product 19 is roughly \$1900 a year, which is not much. And in that 20 context, Haiti is a very uneven society in economic 21 distribution. There's a small group of elites that are very 22 wealthy, and the vast majority of Haitians have little, to the point that roughly 60 percent of Haitians live below the 23 24 poverty line if you measure that at two dollars a day. So it's 25 a tough situation economically for the country. It leads to

1 poverty and desperation.

2	Q. What are the employment rates like in Haiti?
3	A. Well, in Haiti, you know, very few people have, especially
4	outside of the capital city, very few people have a full-time
5	job. Employment is quite low. People in Haiti talk about the
6	informal community. I call it the hustle community where
7	people are out hustling to make ends meet on a daily basis
8	through commerce, through agriculture, through whatever they
9	can do.
10	So the unemployment might be set at about 40 percent. I
11	think it's higher than that, frankly, but those are the
12	statistics. So it's a difficult environment in which to
13	anyone has a full-time job.
14	Q. Can you explain what the education system is like for the
15	jury?
16	A. Sure. You know, the education, there are really good
17	schools. Most of them are in Port-au-Prince, and most of those
18	are private schools. The government has its own schools. They
19	tend to be not of a high quality, both in terms of very crowded
20	classrooms, teachers that are not well prepared for teaching,
21	inadequate materials. And so the opportunities for education
22	for most Haitians are constrained and limited.
23	Q. What are the literacy rates like in Haiti?
24	A. The illiteracy rate, when I first started working in
25	Haiti, it was said that Haitians were 80 percent illiterate.

Now they say it's about 40 percent. And some of that increase
 is because of the fact that there's more written Creole now
 than there used to be.

So French is normally viewed as the official language of 4 5 Haiti, and it's used in the courts and in the government very 6 commonly, but only about 5 to 10 percent of the people speak 7 French, and everybody speaks Creole. So there's greater 8 literacy now than there used to be, but still 40 percent of the population illiterate. This leads to a situation where you 9 10 have a very limited recordkeeping, you know, on paper and so 11 on. And most information is passed by word of mouth, or radio 12 is extremely important in Haiti for passing information and 13 getting news.

14 Q. You stated that violent power struggles is another 15 challenge that Haiti faces. Could you tell the jury a little 16 bit more about that?

Sure. You know, in a society where there are limited 17 Α. 18 opportunities, getting access to the resources that power 19 brings is very, very important. And the struggle for that can be a very hard-edged one. So there's a lot of competition over 20 21 gaining access to political posts, and this leads there to be 22 kind of extremes and abuses of power that can occur. 23 During the last 50 years has Haiti experienced a Ο. 24 democratic government?

25 A. Not really. What Haiti has experienced in terms of

governance over the last 50 years, first you started out and you had the Duvalier dictatorship, which lasted 29 years but ended about four years ago. And then you've had periods of governance by military strongmen. You've had periods of governance by autocratic leaders. These are kind of leaders that get in power and become like the central figure in the government.

8 Q. What has been the impact of these military dictatorships9 and autocracies in Haiti?

10 Α. Sure. When you have a military dictatorship and an 11 autocracy or one-man rule or military rule, one thing they do 12 not want to have is well-developed institutions that can perform checks and balances on them. So one result of this 13 14 kind of governance is the fact that institutions in Haiti are extremely weak. Another kind of impact of that is that this 15 severe competition over access to power has led there to be a 16 proliferation of the use of violence, unrestrained violence, to 17 18 try to make sure the people get in power and they retain power 19 in their exercise of power.

20 Q. How have military dictators an autocrats sought to enforce 21 that rule historically in Haiti?

A. Yeah. Well, so there's a tradition in Haiti of the creation of community-based armed groups that work for and with and kind of maintain the interest of their patron, or patron, who they work for. So probably the most well-known of these groups that existed in Haiti was something under the Duvaliers called the Tonton Makouts, and these were men, there were estimated to be at least 70,000 of them who were loyal specifically to the dictator and did what the dictator needed to maintain power so they would maintain their favor with the dictator.

7 And over time, when the dictatorship collapsed, these 8 individuals were still there, and a number of them had been 9 affiliated with something in the rural communities called the 10 section chief system. The section chief was an individual 11 appointed by the Army who was in charge of a section or rural 12 area of the country. And these section chiefs often recruited 13 these kind of vigilantes to work with them as their enforcers 14 to protect their interests. So that system itself collapsed in 1995. But the thing is, all these people remained on the 15 ground. 16

And these men, mostly who had access to this kind of 17 18 access to power without any rule checks on it, they were still 19 there. They were in their communities, and they were, you 20 know, essentially ready to do the next job that would come 21 along. So you had the resurgence of various types of gangs 22 since the late 1990s in Haiti, and it continues to this day. And historically, what were some of the methods used by 23 Ο. 24 these community-based armed groups like the Tonton Makouts? 25 Α. Yes, I know these very well because some of the

1 organizations that I funded who were doing the grassroots, bottom-up development fell victim to these acts. There were 2 3 such things as, you know, it was essentially abuse of power and intimidation of people, and that could occur in a number of 4 5 different ways. If the people had weapons, they could use 6 them. There were kidnappings. There were disappearances. 7 People were beaten up if they didn't agree with the status quo. 8 And it gave rise to something where, there's an expression in 9 Creole that I heard very commonly, the expression in Creole is 10 pran rak which means to have to go underground. 11 So in many instances the citizens of Haiti who felt 12 threatened by this unrestrained violence would go underground and disappear or find safe havens to wait it out. 13 14 Ο. Were there any other methods that these groups specifically used? 15 Sure. There were, in addition to what I've just 16 Α. described, you would find examples of surrogate killings. 17 You 18 would find examples of rape as a weapon against women. And in 19 this in particular was practiced by this group that in my 20 earlier testimony in the trial 14 years ago, this group used a 21 lot of these same methods. Particularly the surrogate violence 22 was one where, if they were looking for someone and that person 23 had gone underground or gone into hiding, they would take out 24 -- to send a message, they would take out the violence on a 25 family member or a friend.

Q. You also noted that Haiti suffers from weak institutions.
 Could you explain how all this relates to the weak institutions
 you noted?

Sure. Well, you know, when there's no police or judiciary 4 Α. 5 to keep you in check, you feel that you can function as you 6 wish. So with weak institutions or even no institutions or 7 dysfunctional institutions, institutional officials who are 8 prone or susceptible to bribes or something, this kind of opens 9 the terrain to this kind of abuse of power that local officials 10 and community-based armed groups did working hand in hand. 11 What has been the outcome of these challenges, the Ο. grinding poverty, the weak institutions and unrestrained 12 political violence in Haiti? 13

A. Well, I mean, you see the outcome on a number of different levels. One of them would be that the average citizen is fearful and fears at risk to this unrestrained violence. You know, people walk around looking over their shoulder. People, when they hear there's something going on, they're sometimes afraid to go outside. So it affects everyone in the country, this kind of violence.

Q. You've described the development of community-based armed groups. Would you say that these challenges have impacted that?

A. The challenges of poverty, oh, yeah, absolutely,absolutely. I mean, there's a level of desperation. So if a

community-based armed group gets certain favors, it becomes an attractive magnet for particularly young men who are often bereft and without good opportunities for work and access to resources, so most definitely.

5 Ο. Let's move on to your second opinion. You stated that 6 those seeking power and community-based armed groups have 7 strong symbiotic relationships. Could you explain what you mean by a symbiotic relationship in the context of Haiti? 8 9 Sure. You know, I use this image (gesturing) for Α. 10 symbiotic relationships. But you could say it's kind of like 11 you scratch my back and I'll scratch yours. So these 12 relationships that evolved, each side is rendering a service to 13 the other. So the community-based groups are rendering a 14 service to their patron, the person who sponsors them; and in 15 return, they're going to expect something.

So what these community-based groups can get is they can get access to jobs, patronage jobs or other kind of jobs. They can get access to material resources, and that can include things like motorbikes. It can also include basic things like rum or food. It can include, the worst example, weapons. They can get access to those kind of resources.

And by aligning themselves with the patron, they get access to the reins of power. So they get access to the local organizations, institutions, and whatever goodies they can get from having that kind of access.

1 Q. What repercussions have state actors faced in Haiti for supporting community-based armed groups? 2 3 Well, given the weak institutions that I've described, Α. generally there are very few, if any, repercussions. Sometime 4 5 the International Committee will intercede and insist that 6 something would happen. But within the context of Haiti, the 7 repercussions might be a slap on the wrist, might be removal 8 from your position for a certain period of time, but it's 9 really nothing ever much more serious than that. 10 And you noted that community-based armed groups provide Ο. 11 services to the politicians they serve. Could you explain how 12 they provide those services, what those services are? The groups aligned with a political patron, there's 13 Α. Sure. 14 a package of services they can provide. One of them 15 essentially is to engage in the electoral process and try to get people to vote for their candidate. On the other side of 16 that, they may discourage, find ways of discouraging people 17 from voting against their candidate. This could be through 18 19 means of intimidation or threats. 20 These groups are known to engage in kind of vandalism at 21 ballot stations. They can either stuff ballot boxes or perhaps

even destroy ballot boxes depending on what serves their interests. They also can use threats of violence and violence 23 24 itself against voters. And even election officials are 25 sometimes threatened by these gangs to try to get the way of

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1 their patron.

	-
2	Q. Once the patron wins the election, do the community-based
3	armed groups continue to support the candidate?
4	A. Yes. I mean, once the patron wins, the groups do not
5	stand down. They stay with him, and they're going to serve his
6	interest because it serves their interest as well. It's a
7	symbiotic relationship. So they want to maintain access to
8	power and control over the limited resources, so they will
9	continue to serve that master as he retains power and as he
10	continues to extend his power.
11	Q. Could you summarize for the jury the benefits the
12	political patrons provide to the members of the community-based
13	armed groups and vice versa?
14	A. Sure. Well, in summary, the one with the power, the
15	political patron, he can provide access to resources, such as
16	to jobs or material resources. He can assist these individuals
17	function with a sense of impunity or being above the law, and
18	these individuals and their groups, we could think of them as
19	community-based armed groups, kind of vigilante groups, they
20	are the muscle that helps to keep this person in the position
21	that he is in.
22	Q. Let's move on to your third opinion. Can you explain what
23	you mean, and you just mentioned it, that community-based armed
24	groups function with impunity.
25	A. Right. I mean, "impunity" means that you view yourself as

being above the law because you have the power, and the law is beneath you, and it's not going to touch you. So you can do whatever it is you want. And there's going to be no repercussions for you.

5 So you can beat people. You can threaten people. You can 6 intimidate people. And in the worst instances you can get away 7 -- literally get away with murder.

8 Q. And how did the rise in unchecked violence by these 9 community-based armed groups impact life in local communities 10 in Haiti in the 2000s?

11 Okay. Well, I mentioned earlier that people tend to live Α. 12 in fear of these groups with a great deal of insecurity. It's a phrase that I've heard in Haiti so many times, people talking 13 14 about insecurity, and fear as well. And this thing, what I mentioned earlier, pran rak you know, to go underground and go 15 into hiding. So people are fearful of this. It limits their 16 protection of their interest. It limits their expression of 17 18 their participation in the society.

And here is an example of how it can work. I mean, there was an earthquake in Haiti in 2021, and international organizations came in with humanitarian supplies. This earthquake incidentally was in the Grand'Anse, the area we're talking about. And one of the repercussions of having these gangs being so powerful was the fact that international organizations were having a very difficult time delivering the

1 supplies that would assist the people who were the victims of the earthquake. So, you know, people lived -- the 2 repercussions for the average citizen of this kind of 3 unrestrained political violence can be very real and it can be 4 5 very severe. 6 Ο. Do community-based armed groups face any consequences for 7 the actions they take in support of that political patrons? 8 As a rule, as long as they maintain a good standing with Α. 9 their political patron and their political patron remains in 10 power, as a rule there would be no real repercussions to them. 11 So let's turn to your specific conclusion in this case. Ο. 12 Could you share your specific conclusion. Sure. As I mentioned earlier, there's this organization 13 Α. 14 active in the Grand'Anse department of Haiti called KOREGA, and I conclude that KOREGA, the way it goes about what it does is 15 very consistent with traditionally what I understand and have 16 witnessed as the way community-based armed groups conduct 17 themselves in Haiti. 18 19 Ο. What does KOREGA stand for? 20 Α. It stands for, as I recall, it's a Creole acronym, and it 21 stands for the regional coordination in the Grand'Anse. 22 Ο. And what is KOREGA? 23 KOREGA is essentially what I've been describing as a Α. 24 community-based armed group. It has interest in supporting 25 politicians to defend the interests of its own members and to

1	get access to and control over various resources.
2	Q. You mentioned that they were active in the Grand'Anse.
3	Where in the Grand'Anse did KOREGA operate in the 2007 to 2009
4	period?
5	A. KOREGA was active extensively throughout the Grand'Anse,
6	including in the community at issue here, Les Irois.
7	Q. Could you tell the jury a little bit about the origins of
8	KOREGA.
9	A. Certainly. KOREGA came about in the 1980s. It was
10	established by a group of individuals from the Grand'Anse as a
11	kind of clandestine resistance group to the Duvalier
12	dictatorship.
13	My understanding is several members of the organization
14	were sent to Cuba for some training, and they formed the basis
15	of a paramilitary unit that KOREGA had. And then when the
16	Duvalier dictatorship collapsed, KOREGA was free to rise out of
17	being clandestine and started affiliating itself with political
18	groups and providing them with the muscle they needed to make
19	sure they would get power and get in office.
20	So since that time KOREGA has affiliated itself with a
21	number of different political groups as the political terrain
22	in Haiti has evolved and as groups have come and as groups have
23	gone.
24	Q. And do you know who founded KOREGA?
25	A. Yes. It was founded by principally by two men. One is a

1	fellow named Maxine Roumer who later became a senator in Haiti,
2	and another one is a fellow named Laurent Batista.
3	Q. And what role has the KOREGA played in the Grand'Anse
4	broadly?
5	A. Well, I mean, broadly KOREGA has been at the beck and call
6	of political leaders or want-to-be political leaders who it
7	supports and who want to work with it. So KOREGA has put its
8	resources of muscle at the behest of political leaders. So
9	this is where this kind of symbiotic relationship can be
10	established.
11	Q. How did KOREGA provide that muscle to political leaders in
12	the Grand'Anse?
13	A. Well, we've seen instances of that muscle being provided
14	by the same kind of services that other community-based groups
15	have provided that I mentioned earlier in terms of voter
16	intimidation, vandalism, threats at the ballot box, threats to
17	opponents and in extreme cases the actual use of violence.
18	We've seen at different instances, particularly in 1999,
19	U.N. reports that indicated that KOREGA was trying to block the
20	elections in 1997 by destroying election machinery in the
21	capital city and by intimidating election officials, for
22	example.
23	Q. Were there other political actors operating in the
24	Grand'Anse and in Les Irois during the late 2000s?
25	A. Yes. In the late 2000s, Haiti has had a number of

political parties, and in the late 2000s there were two major political groups or parties in the Grand'Anse. One was a regional party. That was called MODEREH, and that stands for the Movement for the Reform of Haiti, Democratic Reform of Haiti, I believe.

6 And that organization was the vehicle that KOREGA aligned 7 itself with in order to get access to power and support of 8 political patrons. The opposing group, the largest opposing 9 group in the Grand'Anse in this period was a national political 10 party that was called the OPL, and that's an acronym for, in 11 Creole, the Struggling People's Party. So these were the two 12 major formal political actors in the Grand'Anse at this time. And you mentioned the KOREGA was aligned with political 13 Q. 14 leaders. Which political party was KOREGA aligned with in the late 2000s? 15 MR. HALEY: Objection. 16 THE COURT: Basis? 17 18 MR. HALEY: Competency. 19 THE COURT: Lay a foundation, please. 20 Q. Professor Maguire, do you know which political party 21 KOREGA aligned itself with in the late 2000s? 22 Α. Yes, it was common knowledge throughout Haiti by political 23 observers and by myself that KOREGA was very closely aligned to MODEREH. 24 25 MR. HALEY: Objection and move to strike.

I laid the foundation. 1 MS. MATTHEWS: THE COURT: You need to lay a better foundation for 2 that. Common knowledge is not an adequate foundation. 3 Professor Maguire, do you observe politics in Haiti and 4 Ο. 5 were you observing politics in Haiti in the late 2000s? 6 Α. Yes, of course I do. Yes, that's part of, for example, 7 why I advised the National Intelligence Council. 8 And specifically in the late 2000s were you observing Q. 9 politics in the Grand'Anse region? 10 Α. I was observing politics throughout Haiti, including the 11 Grand'Anse, yes. And do you know, Professor Maguire, if any political party 12 Q. was aligned with KOREGA in the late 2000s? 13 14 Α. Yes, I do. I know this through my own information sources and through my research. 15 Could you tell us which political party KOREGA was aligned 16 Q. with in late 2000s? 17 18 MR. HALEY: Objection. 19 THE COURT: Overruled. 20 Α. KOREGA was aligned with the MODEREH party in the period in 21 question. 22 Ο. And how would you describe the relationship between KOREGA and MODEREH during the period in question? 23 24 Α. I would describe it as using a term I used earlier, was a 25 symbiotic relationship.

1 Q. What was KOREGA's role during its alliance, its affiliation with MODEREH during this period? 2 3 KOREGA filled the role of these kind of community-based Α. armed groups in providing muscle to their patron, their 4 5 political patron. 6 Ο. And what conclusions, in writing your expert report, what 7 conclusions did you draw about KOREGA's operations in Les Irois 8 in the 2007 to 2009 period? 9 Α. Right. 10 MR. HALEY: Objection. THE COURT: Basis? 11 12 MR. HALEY: Competency. THE COURT: Well, she asked what conclusions he drew. 13 14 He can give the conclusions and then we'll go back and lay the foundation for them. 15 I can go back and do that now. 16 MS. MATTHEWS: THE COURT: Okay. 17 18 Professor Maguire, did you review any materials regarding 0. 19 KOREGA's operations in Les Irois in the 2007 to 2009 time 20 period in preparing for your expert report? 21 Yes, I did. I reviewed written documents. There are very Α. 22 few written documents about KOREGA, incidentally. It began as 23 a clandestine group and it doesn't have like a daily newspaper or something. But I reviewed what documents were available. 24 25 And I consulted with my network of sources in Haiti on the

1	ground, and I had heard of KOREGA prior to this in my own
2	research, in the 2000s and 1990s, I knew of KOREGA already.
3	Q. And what conclusions did you draw about KOREGA's
4	operations in Les Irois in the 2007 through 2009 period?
5	MR. HALEY: Objection.
6	THE COURT: You need to be more specific about what
7	he's relying on.
8	Q. Professor Maguire, did you specifically what materials
9	did you review regarding KOREGA operations in Les Irois in the
10	late 2000s?
11	A. Well, I can recall reading a number of newspaper reports
12	published in Haiti on what was going on in Les Irois in that
13	period of time, and KOREGA was mentioned. One newspaper, for
14	example, that I read on a weekly basis is called Haiti en
15	Marche, and they had reports on that.
16	So I mean, I was aware, as this was evolving, what was
17	going on in that area as part of my standard practice of
18	keeping my thumb firmly on Haiti's political pulse.
19	Q. What else did you review about KOREGA's operations in Les
20	Irois in the late 2000s?
21	A. I reviewed some of the expert reports from the U.N. and
22	other organizations that mentioned KOREGA, and I've also
23	reviewed the sworn depositions of plaintiffs and their
24	witnesses who outlined what KOREGA was doing in Les Irois in
25	that period of time.

1	Q. And what conclusions, from your review of those materials,
2	what conclusions did you draw about KOREGA's operations in Les
3	Irois in the 2007 to 2009 period?
4	MR. HALEY: Objection.
5	THE COURT: Overruled.
6	A. My conclusions were essentially what I learned about
7	KOREGA and what it was doing were remarkably similar to what I
8	knew and experienced and witnessed of what other
9	community-based armed groups did in Haiti, so it was very, a
10	kind of a traditionally similar approach, using a method such
11	as arson and surrogate killings and beatings and threats and
12	intimidation.
13	MS. MATTHEWS: Thank you. I pass the witness. Thank
14	you, Professor Maguire.
15	THE COURT: Cross?
16	CROSS-EXAMINATION BY MR. HALEY:
17	Q. Mr. Maguire, you were not present in Les Irois in July
18	2007, April 2008 or October of 2009, were you?
19	A. That's correct.
20	Q. Correct, you were not present?
21	A. I was not present.
22	Q. You mentioned that you had visited Grand'Anse. When was
23	your visit to Grand'Anse?
24	A. My most recent visit to Grand'Anse was 1999.
25	Q. 1999. So 24 years ago?

1	A. That's right.
2	Q. And you've never been to Les Irois?
3	A. I have not been to Les Irois.
4	Q. And with respect to the testimony that you just gave to
5	the court and the jury about the connection between MODEREH and
6	KOREGA, that was based on things that you read in the
7	newspaper, correct?
8	A. In part, yes.
9	Q. And things that you read about that the plaintiffs in this
10	case said?
11	A. In part, yes.
12	Q. And then things that you read about in government reports?
13	A. In part, yes.
14	Q. Was there a government report about KOREGA's involvement
15	in Les Irois?
16	A. There were reports about KOREGA's involvement in the
17	Grand'Anse. Les Irois reports were more press reports within
18	Haiti. And also, I mean, I want you to remember that I've got
19	a network of trusted sources in Haiti that I've developed over
20	40 years, people who follow politics extremely carefully. And
21	since I can't be there all the time myself, I call upon these
22	trusted sources to inform me of what's going on.
23	Q. So it wasn't your personal knowledge. It was things other
24	people told you?
25	A. It was personal knowledge through research and personal

1	knowledge because, having worked in Haiti for so long, I mean,
2	40 years, I understand the place fairly well, and I can pretty
3	much tell if somebody is B.Sing me, and these people I have
4	as my trusted sources are trusted because they do not do that.
5	Q. You graduated from Trenton State College in 1969?
6	A. That's correct. It's now called the College of New
7	Jersey.
8	Q. And you received your doctoral degree in geography?
9	A. That's correct.
10	Q. And are you being paid to testify in this case?
11	A. Yes, I am a paid expert witness.
12	Q. And who pays the bill; who did you get the money from?
13	A. I believe I'm paid by the Morrison Foerster law firm.
14	Q. And how many other active matters do you have at the
15	moment in which you're receiving payment?
16	A. None.
17	Q. And Haiti is a poor country with a low standard of living;
18	is that correct?
19	A. It's the most impoverished country in the Western
20	Hemisphere. You can say that. I don't like to say "poor
21	country" because Haiti has a lot of very rich attributes among
22	its people, who are very welcoming people, genuine people, and
23	knowledgeable people. So it's an impoverished country, yes.
24	Q. I apologize. I have a very American view of poor and rich
25	which tends to revolve around money. My mistake. I'm a

1 product of my own environment, I guess.

If you could leave Haiti and move to the United States, would you agree with me that that would be a good thing to do? A. Well, I mean, look, I come from a family of immigrants who left Ireland and came here. And they left there because the conditions were bad, and they were attracted here because the were welcomed here.

8 For Haitians, it's a little different. They're not 9 welcomed when they leave Haiti. So it's a major decision. 10 It's not easily made. It does reveal somewhat the levels of 11 desperation within these communities of how people come to make 12 these decisions.

But by and large, I mean, most Haitians I know, they would prefer to stay in Haiti. What they would prefer to see is an expansion of opportunities for them to work in Haiti and create and develop themselves in Haiti.

Q. But you could understand, could you not, the desire to
move from Haiti to the United States to make a better life?
A. Yeah, I could understand it, yeah.

Q. And in your report, I believe you say that violence is a common occurrence in Haiti?

A. Violence occurs in Haiti, unfortunately, in much too ofteninstances, yes.

24 Q. Arson is a common occurrence?

25 A. Arson has been a common occurrence used by these kind of

1	paramilitary groups and politically related gangs.
2	Q. And there are many killings in Haiti; I believe in your
3	report you stated what the homicide rate was. It was quite
4	high.
5	A. I don't recall that I stated the homicide rate in Haiti.
6	But I mean, yes, there are killings in Haiti, of course.
7	Q. I think it was 936 homicides in the year or something in
8	your report.
9	A. Okay. I would have to check my report to see that.
10	Q. And do political parties in Haiti resort to violence to
11	advance their causes?
12	A. Some of them do, and some of them don't. It's a mixed
13	bag.
14	Q. And I think you wrote that armed members like to think of
15	themselves as fighters for a cause rather than opportunistic
16	criminals. Is that something that you believe to be true?
17	A. Yes. This is something that, in particular, if you see
18	the work of oh, gosh, I can't recall the name right now
19	the scholar from Yale University who studied the gangs in
20	Haiti. This is a very clear conclusion that she comes to, yes.
21	Q. And do you think political parties in Haiti would attempt
22	to advance their cause by telling lies?
23	A. Yes.
24	Q. And do you think that they would use the justice system in
25	Haiti to that, end to advance their political cause?

1	A. I'm not sure I understand the question.
2	Q. Well, my question is, would the political parties in Haiti
3	seeking to advance their interest attempt to subvert or use the
4	justice system to that end?
5	A. To the extent that the justice system could do something
6	like that, I could see that they might try to do that, but the
7	justice system in Haiti is pretty weak and dysfunctional, and
8	pliable, I would say as well.
9	Q. And with respect to the political parties attempting to
10	advance their causes by telling lies, is that something that
11	you believe to be true of KOREGA?
12	A. Well, I don't see KOREGA as a political party, per se. I
13	see it as a community-based action or community-based armed
14	group that allies itself with political groups.
15	Q. And what about OPL, the Struggling People's Party, do you
16	believe that they engage in any untoward or improper activity
17	to advance their political ends?
18	A. Yeah. I have never witnessed incidents of OPL engaged in
19	the mobilization of groups that enact politically based armed
20	violence for them. And I've asked many people in my networks
21	that I mentioned to you earlier. And the conclusion seems to
22	be that no OPL does not have a reputation for engaging in
23	politically based armed violence.
24	Q. In paragraph 47 of your expert report you said the
25	competition between KOREGA and OPL was competitive and

1 hard-edged. What do you mean by that?

T	nard-edged. What do you mean by that?
2	A. Well, what I meant was that these are the two principal
3	groups struggling to try to get elected to office. And, you
4	know, it's hard-edged because the stakes are high. If you get
5	access to power, then you get access to and control over
6	resources. If you don't, you're just left out. So that's why
7	it's hard-edged and highly competitive.
8	Q. And did you think that only one side of the hard-edged
9	competition was taking action that was improper, and the other
10	side of the hard-edged competition was just being taken
11	advantage of?
12	A. From what I have learned, that OPL was not proactively
13	engaged in violence during this period of time.
14	Q. And when you say, "What I have learned," that's from these
15	sources that aren't in court this afternoon?
16	A. Well, it's from sources. It's also from the absence of
17	reports that describe this. So, you know, when you don't have
18	any information about this when it's absent in the reports that
19	give you information on other episodes of violence, it helps
20	you to conclude that this side must not be engaging in the same
21	thing.
22	Q. Are the political events in Les Irois covered widely?
23	A. Within Haiti they're known, sure, sure.
24	Q. And are you familiar with the attack on the United States
25	Capitol that took place on January 6, 2021?

1 A. Of course I am.

2	Q. Do you regard that as political violence?
3	A. You know, I don't really want to get involved in that
4	because I don't see its relevance here. And I know that that
5	tends to be a highly politically partisan sense of analysis.
6	I'm a professor. I do impartial analysis. And it's very hard
7	to get that out of this issue.
8	Q. You've testified this afternoon about political violence
9	in Haiti, and I'm trying to put it in a context that we can
10	understand domestically. My question is, do you regard the
11	attack on the United States Capitol on January 6, 2021 as
12	political violence?
13	A. I do based upon, well, what the January 6 Committee has
14	found and helped Americans learn about.
15	Q. And in the prosecution of crimes that took place on
16	January 6, 2021, in the United States, would the fact that a
17	person was a member of the Republican Party make it more likely
18	that they committed a crime that day?
19	MS. MATTHEWS: Objection, relevance.
20	THE COURT: Sustained, sustained.
21	Q. How much time did you spend in Les Irois, Mr. Maguire?
22	A. I have not visited Les Irois.
23	Q. Ever?
24	A. Ever.
25	MR. HALEY: Nothing further, Your Honor.

1 THE COURT: Redirect? REDIRECT EXAMINATION BY MS. MATTHEWS: 2 3 Professor Maguire, do you think that OPL would attempt to Q. 4 advance that cause by telling lies? 5 Α. My experience with OPL would lead me to suspect no, it would not. 6 7 MS. MATTHEWS: Thank you. 8 THE COURT: Recross. 9 RECROSS-EXAMINATION BY MR. HALEY: 10 Ο. What is your experience with OPL? 11 My experience with OPL, one of Haiti's established Α. 12 national parties, is that I've followed it carefully over years 13 and did meet some of the people who were leading OPL. 14 Ο. And have you ever met any of the OPL members in Les Irois? No, I have not. 15 Α. MR. HALEY: Nothing further, Your Honor. 16 THE COURT: You're excused. Thank you. 17 18 So we would normally -- sorry. We would normally go 19 to 4:00 today. But since you guys had to get here so early 20 this morning, I'm going to let you go now. We'll start 21 tomorrow at 10:00, unless the Boston schools are closed. 22 I have certain instructions that I'm going to give you 23 every night. I'm going to give them to you now. The first is 24 to keep an open mind. The second is not to talk to anybody 25 about the case. And the third is not to do any extracurricular

1 research. So it's just a reminder every single night. So Karen is going to make arrangements for the phones for 2 And we'll see you back at -- we'll be back at 10:00. 3 tomorrow. You should get here early. 4 5 Karen says you also don't have to come if Boston 6 Public Schools are delayed. Delayed or canceled, we cancel 7 jury duty. I don't know if any of you guys have kids, but I 8 have kids, so we're adamant followers of the snow day 9 calculator in our family, and the snow day calculator at the 10 moment says you will all be here tomorrow. 11 So again, we'll bring you out right at 10:00. Get 12 here a little before. You'll have breakfast up there for them, right, Karen? Breakfast will be waiting for you. All right. 13 14 Thanks very much. See you tomorrow. 15 (Jury exits the courtroom.) THE COURT: Tomorrow morning I have a quick status at 16 9:00 and a quick status at 9:30. Neither one will take the 17 18 full half an hour. So do you anticipate any issues for 19 tomorrow morning? MS. LAU: At present, Your Honor, I don't believe the 20 21 parties have any issues for the court. 22 MR. HALEY: No, Your Honor. 23 THE COURT: Okay. If you change your mind, I'll be on 24 the bench from 9:15 to 9:30 and hopefully back again by quarter 25 of 10:00. So if you have anything, I'll make myself available

at that time. If it looks like it's going to be longer, let us know and we'll start earlier. MS. LAU: Thank you, Your Honor, we will do so. THE COURT: All right. I'll see everyone tomorrow. MR. HALEY: Your Honor, the boxes we can leave overnight? THE COURT: Yes. MR. HALEY: Thank you. THE COURT: Just leave the -- actually both things tomorrow are by phone, so you don't need to clear the table off. MR. HALEY: Okay. Thank you, Your Honor. MS. LAU: Thank you, Your Honor. (Recessed, 1:35 p.m.)

1	CERTIFICATE OF OFFICIAL REPORTER
2	
3	I, Kelly Mortellite, Registered Merit Reporter
4	and Certified Realtime Reporter, in and for the United States
5	District Court for the District of Massachusetts, do hereby
6	certify that the foregoing transcript is a true and correct
7	transcript of the stenographically reported proceedings held in
8	the above-entitled matter to the best of my skill and ability.
9	Dated this <u>13th day of March, 2023.</u>
10	
11	/s/ Kelly Mortellite
12	
13	Kelly Mortellite, RMR, CRR
14	Official Court Reporter
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