

**WALTER RODNEY COMMISSION OF INQUIRY**



**CO-OPERATIVE REPUBLIC OF GUYANA**

**THE WALTER RODNEY COMMISSION OF INQUIRY**

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**VERBATIM REPORT  
OF THE PROCEEDINGS**

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**Friday 29<sup>th</sup> August, 2014**

**WALTER RODNEY COMMISSION OF INQUIRY**

**WALTER RODNEY COMMISSION OF INQUIRY**

**33<sup>rd</sup> Hearing**

**09:44hrs**

**29<sup>th</sup> August, 2014**

**Commissioners:**

Sir. Richard L. Cheltenham, K.A., Q.C., Ph.D – Chairman

Mrs. Jacqueline Samuels-Brown, Q.C.

Mr. Seenath Jairam, S.C.

**Secretary to the Commission:**

Mrs. Nicola Pierre

**Counsel to the Commission:**

Mr. Glenn Hanoman

Ms. Latchmie Rahamat

**Administrator of the Commission Secretariat**

Mr. Hugh A. Denbow

**Attorneys for the People's National Congress (PNC):**

Mr. Basil Williams

Mr. James Bond

**WALTER RODNEY COMMISSION OF INQUIRY**

**Attorneys for Working People's Alliance (WPA):**

Mr. Christopher Ram

Mr. Moses Bhagwan - (Absent)

**Attorneys for the Guyana Trades Union Congress (GTUC):**

Mr. Brian Clarke - (Absent)

Mr. Selwyn Pieters

**Attorney for Dr. Patricia Rodney, Asha Rodney, Shaka Rodney and Kanini Rodney:**

Mr. Andrew Pilgrim, Q.C.

**Attorney for Donald Rodney:**

Mr. Keith Scotland - (Absent)

Ms. Camille Warner

**Attorneys for the Ex-GDF (Guyana Defence Force) Association:**

Lt. Col. (Ret'd) Joseph Harmon - (Absent)

Mr. Leslie Sobers - (Absent)

**Attorney for Captain Gerald Gouveia:**

Mr. Devindra Kissoon - (Absent)

## WALTER RODNEY COMMISSION OF INQUIRY

### **Witness:**

Ms. Jocelyn Dow

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## WALTER RODNEY COMMISSION OF INQUIRY

### CALL TO ORDER

**Mr. Chairman [Sir Richard Cheltenham, K.A., Q.C, Ph.D]:** Good Morning, I apologise for the late start, we had a little housekeeping and I propose that we get start in about two minutes.

**Attorney for the People's National Congress (PNC) [Mr. Basil Williams]:** Mr. Chairman, before we start, I wonder if we can organise the batting order.

**Mr. Chairman:** I normally leave that to...

**Mr. Williams:** Yes, that is why to inform you of the batting order. I have been opening the batting, as you know, for the longest while, but I am going to be night watchman. We want to be last on this occasion, certainly after the Working People's Alliance (WPA)'s Lawyer, Mr. Ram, we are in full agreement, and I will come last.

**Mr. Chairman:** Among yourself, sometimes when you are batting last in the real game is that you may lose your partner.

**Mr. Chairman:** I have confidence in this batting line-up.

**Mr. Chairman:** Very well. Today is day 33 for the Commission, 29<sup>th</sup> August, 2014. Commission Counsel, are you ready?

**Commission Counsel [Mr. Glenn Hanoman]:** Yes, Sir.

**Mr. Chairman:** Mr. Ram, I am happy to see you smiling.

**Commissioner [Mr. Seenath Jairam, S.C.]:** Mr. Williams, like you bring reinforcement?

**Mr. Williams:** Yes, Sir. We always have as you know. We always have the reinforcement.

**Mr. Jairam:** Sometimes I do not see them.

**Mr. Williams:** They are very busy practitioners.

**Mr. Chairman:** Alright, Commission Counsel, let us get on. We are off to a light-hearted start, but we have serious business ahead and please address it.

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**Attorney for the People's National Congress (PNC) [Mr. James Bond]:** Mr. Commissioner, Good Morning, may introduce Ms. Renetta Sargent? She is attached to my chambers and she will be just note taking during the course of the proceeding, Sir.

**Mr. Chairman:** Well, I am happy to grant her Standing and I welcome her to her business.

**Mr. Bond:** Thank you, Sir.

**Mr. Chairman:** Thanks.

**Commissioner [Mrs. Jacqueline Samuels-Brown, Q.C]:** I was just commenting to the Chairman that Mr. Scotland seems to have started a trend.

**Mr. Jairam:** ...which I welcome.

**Mr. Chairman:** You welcome him coming back or the trend?

**Mr. Jairam:** The trend.

**Mr. Chairman:** Okay, let us get on, Commission Counsel.

**Mr. Hanoman:** Good Morning, Ms. Dow.

**Ms. Jocelyn Dow:** Good Morning, Mr. Hanoman.

**Mr. Hanoman:** Yesterday you spoke about WPA Press Release. I have with me two Press Releases that were purportedly issued by the WPA found in a Special Branch file that was already been tendered. If I were to show you these Press Releases, would you be able to recognise it from its contents, some of it?

**Ms. Dow:** I would imagine so, though recognising that I did not write them...

**Mr. Hanoman:** Could I be permitted to show the Press Release that is found in LJSB/WPA 2 at page 150; the WPA Press Release is dated the 14<sup>th</sup> June, 1980, and I wish to show this Press Release to the Witness just for her to see if she could recognise that this was the general... this was the sort of Press Release that she heard.

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**Mrs. Samuels-Brown:** I think first of all she needs to know if it is the press release she heard, not if it is general or the sort of press release and, if she cannot recognise it, whether the content accord with what was shared with her.

*[The Court Marshall took the document to the Witness]*

**Ms. Dow:** Yes, I would say so.

**Mr. Hanoman:** Is that the Press Release that was released by the WPA?

**Ms. Dow:** This was certainly one of them, yes.

**Mr. Williams:** Mr. Chairman, could I just have a glance of that?

*[The Court Marshall took the document to Mr. Williams]*

**Ms. Dow:** It would have been, I imagine, have a letter head, the master, original one.

**Mr. Hanoman:** Does it accord with your memory of the first WPA Press Release after Walter's death?

**Ms. Dow:** Yes, it does.

**Mr. Hanoman:** I would like for the Witness... It is a very short Press Release. It might be informative to be read out in full.

**Mr. Chairman:** Yes, allow us to have sight of it when Counsel has finished looking at it.

**Mr. Hanoman:** I think all the Counsel and record should have it in their file. Would you be so kind, Ms. Dow as to...?

**Ms. Dow:** ...read it?

**Mr. Hanoman:** Yes, please.

**Ms. Dow:** "WPA PRESS RELEASE; PRESS and PEOPLE; 14<sup>th</sup> June, 1980: Our talented, inspiring, committed and much loved Brother Walter Rodney, died last night at the hands of the PNC rulers. He is third WPA victim and the first of the highest level of leadership of the party to

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be murdered. He was also the fifth political murder Victim of the PNC State including Father Darke and Teekah.

At about 8 O'clock, June the 13<sup>th</sup> shortly after leaving a meeting, Bro. Rodney was travelling in a car driven by his brother Donald Rodney. The car was moving in a Northerly direction along John Street shortly after 8 O'clock when the car was between Bent and Hadfield Streets, there was a loud explosion. The roof of the car was blown off and landed several feet behind. The entire side of the car on which Rodney was sitting was mangled. A torso could be seen lying on the left front floor of the car, face downwards."

**Mrs. Samuels-Brown:** I am sorry, Counsel, I believe the document is a two-page document, is it not? If you look in LJ/SB 1, which is a two paged document...

**Mr. Chairman:** On page 151 it seems to continue there.

**Mr. Hanoman:** My apologies, I do not have this one. There is a second page of that document. Well is that the continuation of the first WPA Press Release?

**Ms. Dow:** It seems so. I would say so. "Persons on the scene who were able to observe the body closely reported that the lower half appeared to be separated from the torso.

Within a few minutes of the bombing, long before an ambulance arrived, a Colt Van appeared carrying between 10-15 members of the "Death Squad" was on the scene. The Death Squad wielded batons and forced the growing crowd from around the car. Later, groups of persons who were in the crowd were arrested by the squad. Among those, also early on the scene, were officials of the Ministry of the PNC.

WPA understands the driver of the car, Donald Rodney, was severely injured and has been hospitalised. The state of the car after the bombing, the reported nature and location of injuries received by the driver and the position and condition of Walter Rodney's body are all consistent with a bomb having exploded in the left front of the car. At 09.30hrs last night at the home of Ms. Pauline Rodney, mother of Walter Rodney, was searched for arms and ammunitions and his brother, Edward Rodney, arrested. At 11.48p.m., the home of Walter and Pat Rodney was



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searched for arms and ammunitions by a party of 17 armed men who arrived in 2 Colt vans, and a Tapir.

One of the most politically intelligent opponents of the regime has been removed. A Prophet of the “self-emancipation” of the Working People has been silenced. A partisan of the Liberation of all the people is no more.

The Working People’s Alliance, his comrades and arm, will carry on his work.”

**Mr. Hanoman:** Just for the purpose of the record, I wish to disclose that there is a second WPA Press Release found in the exact same file at page 76 dated the 17<sup>th</sup> June, 1980; this is just for the purpose of the record. I just wish to disclose, just for the purpose of the record, that there is another WPA Press Release in the Special Branch File referred to and that can be found at page 76 and it is dated 17<sup>th</sup> June, 1980.

**Mr. Chairman:** Do you not think it is useful for you to introduce that now?

**Mr. Hanoman:** It is already rendered in evidence and it is a very long Press Release that I do not want to burden this...

**Mr. Chairman:** Okay.

**Mr. Williams:** Are you tendering this?

**Mr. Hanoman:** It is all tendered already. Just by way of background, before we get into the meet of things, how did you come to know Donald Rodney?

**Ms. Dow:** Donald Rodney?

**Mr. Hanoman:** Donald Rodney.

**Ms. Dow:** I know him as a quantity surveyor.

**Mr. Hanoman:** From around when?

**Ms. Dow:** Probably around 1977/1978. I, other words, I knew him in his professional capacity.

**Mr. Hanoman:** Do you know whether or not he was a member of the WPA?

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**Ms. Dow:** To the best of my knowledge, he was not. He worked at the time, I think, with the Ministry of Works. He was not a member.

**Mr. Hanoman:** Throughout the 1970s and 1980s he was working as a surveyor in the Ministry of Works?

**Ms. Dow:** As far as I recall, but he was certainly a Quantity Surveyor and I was involved in matters of quantity surveyor, so I knew him.

*09:58hrs*

**Mr. Hanoman:** During the course of your interactions with the WPA movement in the political arena did you observe Donald Rodney to be one of the support members of the WPA?

**Ms. Dow:** No, I would not say he was a regular people around the WPA.

**Mr. Hanoman:** He was or was not?

**Ms. Dow:** He was not.

**Mr. Hanoman:** He was not one of the regular people?

**Ms. Dow:** In my experience.

**Mr. Chairman:** I hear you ask constantly about that help me with the importance of it. Does it matter whether he was or was not?

**Mr. Hanoman:** I could very well...

**Mr. Chairman:** It maybe that it is relevant but I...

**Mr. Hanoman:** I believe it is relevant because there is a reference to Walter Rodney being involved in a political matter at the time when the bomb exploded and the fact that his brother was with him who did not seem to be so involved in political matters maybe of importance, Sir.

**Mr. Chairman:** I thought that we had several people who testified to that; anyhow, you get ahead.

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**Mr. Hanoman:** Very well. I also think that there is evidence that his presence that might may have been unexpected; the presence of Donald Rodney may have been unexpected.

**Mr. Chairman:** That leads to another question. What would be the relevance to that, expected or unexpected? You get ahead.

**Mr. Hanoman:** Very well, Sir. How did you come to know Walter Rodney?

**Ms. Dow:** I met Walter Rodney largely through when Andaiye returned to Guyana.

**Mr. Hanoman:** When was that?

**Ms. Dow:** At that time she would come around my house and people would come, 1977.

**Mr. Hanoman:** Could you speak up a little bit?

**Ms. Dow:** Yes, in 1977 I was here and when she came back from abroad... That is how I met Walter.

**Mr. Hanoman:** Did you and Walter become friends?

**Ms. Dow:** Yes, we were all friends.

**Mr. Hanoman:** And you spoke with Walter Rodney on the night or the day 13<sup>th</sup> June, 1980?

**Ms. Dow:** No.

**Mr. Hanoman:** You did not have any conversation with him?

**Ms. Dow:** Not that I recall.

**Mr. Hanoman:** One moment please, Mr. Commissioner. Yesterday when we were mentioning the issue of Walter Rodney wanting bombs, I think you made a comment that you described as facetious, did you say that... Perhaps I should quote; I think you said something to the effect that everybody wanted bombs but you also categorised that response as you being facetious. Can we expand on that, please? I do not know if you ever answered the question. Are you aware that Walter Rodney wanted a bomb?

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**Ms. Dow:** No, I was not aware.

**Mr. Hanoman:** Do you know of any reason why he might want a bomb?

**Ms. Dow:** No, I do not.

**Mr. Hanoman:** What were you trying to say when you said everybody wanted...?

**Ms. Dow:** People would certainly call any one of us or stopped us on the road and say, “You know, this is what you have to do, you have to have a meeting, you have to do this.” There were always suggestions of how we should rid ourselves of what they thought was a growing aggressive dictatorship so I was just, in a sense, making a joke; a bad joke, albeit, about the way in which society would be filled with suggestions of what it was “we should do”, and often that would mean Walter. Walter was always an extraordinarily polite person and he would always take his time to listen to people and they would come up fanciful suggestions or concerns about his wellbeing and the wellbeing of others so he always took time to listen. This was in direct contrast to what appeared to be the leadership of the State was like, which you had a sense that they were above conversation and ordinary people. Whether that was true or not, that was how it appeared.

**Mrs. Samuels-Brown:** The Witness did say yesterday, and it is recorded at page 109, “Walter had never discussed with me, certainly, the question of any such thing as bombing anyone.” It is all there and then she did say persons would come up to them to discuss it...

**Mr. Chairman:** That is so.

**Ms. Dow:** ...but it was general, nothing specific. It is all there on page 109.

**Mr. Chairman:** Except for her elaboration, today, about the Personal attributes of Rodney, she had explained with she meant.

**Ms. Dow:** Yes.

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**Mr. Hanoman:** All of that is on yesterday's record.

**Mr. Hanoman:** Thank you. Just before we took the break, I asked you a question about if you were aware that it was illegal to have a walkie-talkie or radio set without licenses. You gave me an answer, but you did not directly answer that question. Are you aware of whether it was illegal to have a walkie-talkie without a license at that time?

**Ms. Dow:** Well the reason I said that I do not know if it was "on the books" illegal, but if your house was searched and anything that smacked of anything to do with communications or anything would become a matter of great interest to the Police who were searching your home. They would take stuff away, sometimes stuff you would use in your business on the grounds that this was illegal, but I cannot say that it was "on the books" illegal, but it was certainly my sense that any of those communication things that they could say were interfering with Police wavebands or whatever; they would take things away from you. I had a bush operation and they would take things away from your premises.

**Mr. Hanoman:** In light of all that you have just said, at the time would you have considered a walkie-talkie to be a good device to conceal a bomb?

**Mr. Williams:** I am not sure, Sir, that Sister Dow is setting herself up and an expert in these matters.

**Mr. Hanoman:** I do not think the answer calls for any expertise, please.

**Mr. Williams:** Why?

**Mr. Chairman:** Counsel, you are troubling me because thus far you have been except for the most recent question, I do not know if she is the most competent person to deal with that or whether her opinion matters, but you are asking the same questions you asked yesterday.

**Mr. Hanoman:** Do you wish for me not to ask the question, Sir?

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**Mr. Chairman:** No, no what I am saying is that thus far you have asked the questions except for the most recent one you asked yesterday, already.

**Mr. Hanoman:** I did ask those questions before but I am seeking to get some clearer answers to the questions please, Sir.

**Mr. Chairman:** But has she not helped you any further. That is all. I hope you have prepared yourself in such a way so as to move forward.

**Mr. Hanoman:** The question that I just asked, Sir, should I withdraw the question?

**Mr. Chairman:** No, you leave it there. I do not know, whatever answer she gives, whether that is helpful to the Commission or not. Your job is to help the Commission in adducing, helping to get the evidence.

**Mr. Hanoman:** I believe it is an important issue to be raised, Sir, and I think that I can do it through this witness.

**Mr. Chairman:** Very well, get ahead.

**Mr. Hanoman:** The question that I wish to ask is: Do you think that a walkie-talkie, at that day and time, around that time, was a good device to hide a bomb in?

**Mr. Pieters:** Again, Mr. Chairman, Selwyn Pieters for the Guyana Trades Union Congress (GTUC), as far as we know, at least from my perusal of the evidence yesterday, this Witness was not involved in any issues in respect to walkie-talkies. She was not involved in any discussions in respect to walkie-talkie and this Witness has no particular expertise to give any evidence on that matter. Anything that she says, I do not know what use the Commission could make of it. There is no use the Commission could make of any answer this witness gives in respect to the question that my friend asked.

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**Mr. Chairman:** I though you are only echoing and elaborating on a point that I have already made and Counsel has to ask himself at all times “Is this helpful, likely to be helpful?” She can say anything. It does not mean anything to us here. It is not anything that could help us. Suppose she answers “I think yes” or “I think no” it does not matter to us in terms of the Terms of Reference, but you get ahead.

**Mrs. Samuels-Brown:** My only difficulty, Mr. Chairman, if I may say so, is I do not know what size this walkie-talkie was. I do not know if the witness knows. I do not know if walkie-talkies are a standard size. I do not know what size the electronic item or the explosive referred to as a bomb is so I do not know if the question posed in that general way can yield any helpful answer.

**Mr. Chairman:** It would be for the [*Inaudible*] who is likely to come on the next occasion to tell us all about walkie-talkies and so on. I do not know if she can help us about walkie-talkies or expressing a sensible view about it, but you get ahead, Sir.

**Mr. Hanoman:** Very well. It seems as though I will not ask that question.

**Mr. Chairman:** I do not want to inhibit you. If you think it is a helpful question, you get ahead. Perhaps when I reflect on it, I may come to the conclusion that you are correct but I do not want to inhibit your discretion so you get ahead.

**Mr. Hanoman:** Do you recall the question?

**Ms. Dow:** Do I think that the walkie-talkie...

**Mr. Hanoman:** Given your answer that in those days people would be arrested for walkie-talkies and so on, do you think if you wanted to hide a bomb that a walkie-talkie would have been a good device in which to do so?

**Ms. Dow:** Well it seemed to have been in fact.

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*[Laughter]*

**Ms. Dow:** What do you want me to say?

**Mr. Hanoman:** Okay, Ms. Dow.

**Ms. Dow:** Sorry, Mr. Hanoman.

**Mr. Hanoman:** When all of this had happened, Press Releases were made and so on. Were you involved in an unofficial investigation about what had happened? Did you and the WPA do your own investigations to try and figure out what had happened?

**Ms. Dow:** Yes. I mean that is ongoing. To this day we want to know exactly what has happened. Walter was a friend, he was a young man, he was 38, he had a family and we want to know the truth about his killing and we want those responsible to be named and presumably they cannot now be punished under the terms of this inquiry, but we certainly would like all the facts surrounding his murder to be known and it has been an ongoing issue for us to find out what really happened and who was responsible.

**Mr. Hanoman:** During this investigation did you come up with any bits of information over the years that will assist us in any of the Terms of Reference, for example, did you get any information that could help us with whether this was an act of terrorism that you wish to share with us?

**Ms. Dow:** Well in my statement I said that there were several things that seem to me to be questions that were raised at the time that have never, in a sense, surfaced I think in an official investigation. I will start with what was most striking to me at the time and that was that people in the street said to us and other folks that there was a gunshot that rang out as Donald was curled and sprinting away from the car. That is all we know about that.

**Mr. Hanoman:** Tell us about what you heard of the timing of this gunshot.



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**Ms. Dow:** Well they said that he was running...

**Mr. Hanoman:** This was after the explosion?

**Ms. Dow:** Yes, after the explosion.

**Mr. Hanoman:** About how long after?

**Ms. Dow:** I mean he was running and people said they heard the shot. I was not there but this was people in the street who I think were credible and it was clearly sometime after the noise of the explosion so I think they would have been aware. I am sure Donald was not aware because I am sure that he was deafened by the explosion but people said that they were quite sure that there was a gunshot.

**Mrs. Samuels-Brown:** Counsel, you have asked the witness about whether something amounted to an act of terrorism, so that we can all be in the same page, how do you define or what you are referring to as would comprise an act of terrorism, because the witness maybe answering one thing but your question is another?

**Mr. Chairman:** It is really two questions that you asked in one.

*10:13hrs*

**Mr. Hanoman:** Yes, I will attempt to supply the Commission with a definition of terrorism not too long from now.

**Mr. Chairman:** But does the question relate to what she means by saying that it was an act of terrorism? I think she said State terrorism.

**Mr. Hanoman:** Do you subscribe to the view that such a thing as State terrorism exists?

**Ms. Dow:** Yes.

**Mr. Hanoman:** In your own...

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**Mr. Chairman:** But did she answer the earlier question you had asked, you had asked two and one I think you were pursuing, the first of the two? Did she answer that? I seem to be dishelving and interrupting you, you get ahead. I will be quiet.

**Mr. Hanoman:** I am now distracted. I am not sure where I was before I was interrupted...

**Mr. Chairman:** That too is clear, you get ahead.

**Mr. Hanoman:** Just for the record, I had blackout for the whole night and I did not get much sleep.

**Mr. Chairman:** That is what you have juniors for. If you are not feeling well and you can whisper that to me I will have a more compassionate view. I understand what is happening, if that is the reality ...

**Mr. Hanoman:** That is the reality, Sir.

**Mr. Chairman:** Yes, I am sorry to hear about that. You could have involved your junior unless she too had one. [*Laughter*].

**Mr. Hanoman:** We are not in the same area, Sir, so I do not think so. You mentioned about a gunshot as one of the things you have not heard coming out, but that is something you felt worth mentioning as of importance. Why do you think that gunshot ... what significance do you attach to the gunshot, what interpretation you have of that?

**Ms. Dow:** I think that the plot was meant to be Walter alone on the road really hence, the radio report "that headless man or damaged face" but the fact that Donald was in the car, it is my view that the area was filled with Personnel who were to ensure that he was killed, that there were people there, we were told that there was a Marksman present, whose name I do not care to mention publicly and that it was a way of dealing with Donald, the person who was running. One of the things we also heard after the explosions and the days that followed, a few hours that followed, the people told us subsequently which is not in my statement that was that "did we get the right one". There was a question raised about whether it was Walter who was running, he was the Olympic champion from a previous meeting and in fact, it was Donald who was dead.

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They looked similar except that Walter had a beard so I think in the flush of that first exercise or whatever it was in the plot, it would have been better if Donald was dead for those who arranged Walter's killing because then, we would have been and the public would have been really bewildered by what had happened had Donald not been alive. We would not have been able to patch together the things that we now knew so it seems to make perfect sense to me that a Witness would be executed at the time or an attempt would be made to get rid of any witness. I do not think from what we have gathered from the statements and over the years and at the time that Walter was supposed to have anyone with him when he went to ... so that to me makes perfect sense.

**Mr. Hanoman:** You are open to the view that perhaps that gunshot may have been a bullet intended for Donald Rodney?

**Ms. Dow:** That was my view then and it is my view now.

**Mr. Hanoman:** In your statement, you also spoke about the type of bomb and as a matter of fact, you made an amendment to the description. You have attached some significance to the type of bomb that you learnt about that exploded?

**Ms. Dow:** Yes, because of course, it was a bit mysterious that you would have a bomb that would so destroy in a sense, Walter, and yet be so ...only damaged the side of Donald adjacent to him and not the other half of him, but that is not so far removed about bombs that happened elsewhere in that period so people were full of information about similar kind of devices. You have to really understand that it was the most shocking thing that had happened to Guyana in recent history. It was quite a ... it was mind blowing for many people that this could have happened.

**Mr. Hanoman:** From your research about the bomb that you have actually contained in your statement, you touched on this alternative theory that perhaps, well there was an issued raised by Gregory Smith and other persons that perhaps this bomb was intended for the jail. Do you have thoughts on that?

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**Mrs. Samuels-Brown:** Sorry, when you say “raised by Gregory Smith”, do you mean that it is in the book or elsewhere?

**Mr. Hanoman:** In the book.

**Mrs. Samuels-Brown:** In the book, thank you because the question of the Authorship of the book has not been ...

**Mr. Hanoman:** Yes, I am guided.

**Ms. Dow:** Yes, well ...

**Mr. Hanoman:** There is a theory that the bomb that exploded that killed Walter Rodney may have been intended for the jail. You seem to have been expressing a view in your statement about that. Can you elaborate on it for us, please?

**Ms. Dow:** ...to me unimaginable that a bomb that did not destroy a whole car, did not kill the passenger next to Walter, could be possible by intended to blow up the fences or any part of the door or anything of the jail which were substantial and still are substantial steel zinc fencing and doors so that never made any sense to me. You know if I may ...

**Mr. Hanoman:** What you are saying is that that bomb that blow up Walter Rodney, you do not think it would have had any effect on the jail fence or the jail itself?

**Ms. Dow:** Maybe to blow a little hole in it.

**Mr. Hanoman:** I see.

**Mr. Chairman:** Counsel, you are putting the thesis, but what is your understanding ...

**Mr. Hanoman:** Of thesis ...

**Mr. Chairman:** ... of that thesis about the bomb intended for the jail.

**Mr. Hanoman:** ...I think there is an argument. There were WPA treason accused being held in jail and that that night Walter Rodney had planned to use that bomb to assist them to escape from jail.

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**Ms. Dow:** He by himself?

**Mr. Chairman:** Do you mean he was to blow up the whole jail or their cells were near there so that they could run out. I do not understand how that could help them escape.

**Mr. Hanoman:** That is yet to be investigated where the prisoners were housed in relation to the fence of the jail along John Street.

**Mr. Chairman:** The jail walls are what, six inches thick because why are you assuming that that bomb could blow up the jail?

**Mr. Hanoman:** I am not assuming that at all, but I am just raising it to see whether this Witness will agree that that was a plausible theory or not.

**Mr. Chairman:** I think she has rejected it.

**Mr. Hanoman:** I think so too, Sir.

**Mr. Chairman:** Alright, we go on.

**Mr. Hanoman:** Is there anything else about these investigations that you feel ought to be raised that you have discovered that we have not discovered so far or we have not brought to light so far?

**Ms. Dow:** It is important that persons who were custodians of the jail, there was never an interviewed or in any way questioned as to the same points were the treason accused there. Certainly, a lot of effort to link Walter to the treason accused at the time, unsuccessfully, but that very week, but there was never any questioning of them and then the whole question in which Gregory Smith was taken to Kwakwani ...

**Mr. Hanoman:** Before we leave that, you are saying that it seemed as though the Police also rejected that theory, the Police that were investigating the whole affair?

**Ms. Dow:** I do not really believe the Police were investigating in any passionate way immediately after his killing. That is not ....

**Mr. Hanoman:** Why do you say that?

## WALTER RODNEY COMMISSION OF INQUIRY

**Ms. Dow:** There is nothing to support it. They went to look for Gregory Smith in a pretty profoundly manner, I would say. They were not in hot pursuit of somebody named. Guyana is a relatively small place. Police have outpost in Kwakwani. Nobody in Kwakwani was alerted to go and look for Gregory Smith by the Police.

**Mr. Hanoman:** You are about to tell us about Kwakwani.

**Ms. Dow:** Yes, the fact that Gregory Smith could be taken by aircraft to Kwakwani, the only people who had the capacity to do that in the Guyana Defense Force (GDF) aircraft, is the State, the GDF itself under whose instructions I do not know, but I mean who would be carrying an aircraft to Kwakwani early in the morning and fetching anybody, only the State.

**Mr. Hanoman:** Just before I complete the testimony, do you know anything about the Ministry of National Development and where it was located?

**Ms. Dow:** It was located on Camp Street. As far as I know, it was the Ministry of National Development, and Office of Mobilisation and the Office of the General Secretary of the PNC, I think.

**Mr. Hanoman:** Could I ask you the ...

**Mr. Chairman:** Just before you go, she did drop her voice at the point where she was saying that “the only people who had the capacity to this Gregory Smith to Kwakwani” and I did not hear what she said.

**Ms. Dow:** The State.

**Mr. Chairman:** ... the State? Okay.

**Mr. Hanoman:** The State.

**Mr. Jairam:** She also made another points in her statement. Do you want to ask her about that? Check the last page.

**Mr. Hanoman:** Yes, Sir. You have spoken to us about the possible involvement of the State in moving Gregory Smith to Kwakwani. In your statement you have also made some other points.

## WALTER RODNEY COMMISSION OF INQUIRY

**Mr. Chairman:** Did she put it as possible or is she indicating that it is the likely possible? Is it possible or likely possible?

**Mr. Hanoman:** What is your view that it is likely that it was the State that was involved in having the GDF transport Gregory Smith to Kwakwani?

**Ms. Dow:** I do not separate the GDF out, but yes, I believe that it is not only likely, it is to me probable, and whichever is stronger in your view.

**Mr. Chairman:** What I am concerned is that you might have misclassified her testimony. She said “the only people who could have had the capacity, is the State” and you classify that as “possible”.

**Mr. Hanoman:** I do appreciate that.

**Mr. Chairman:** Well, I am only saying that.

**Mr. Hanoman:** Judging from what you have just said, would you like to say that it was a strong likelihood? What word would you prefer to use?

**Ms. Dow:** Let me make two points. Who knew of Gregory Smith and had the capacity on the next morning to be able to put him out of ... being questioned or in anyway. It is only the people who obviously knew what he had done and who would take him away.

**Mr. Hanoman:** And that rhetorical question ...

**Ms. Dow:** Is the State or the Army ... include the Army and the State in that they had the capacity to do it and the knowledge I would like to say.

**Mr. Chairman:** We ought not to spend too much time on that though because we have direct evidence of who took him there, when and so on ...

**Mr. Hanoman:** Yes, Sir.

**Mr. Chairman:** ... but I was only making the point that I thought that you have devalued the strength of what she was saying by describing it was possible ...

## WALTER RODNEY COMMISSION OF INQUIRY

**Ms. Dow:** Mr. Chairman, if I may ...

**Mr. Chairman:** ... I think she was putting a probable theory, not possible but get ahead.

**Mr. Hanoman:** Do you wish to correct or say something?

**Ms. Dow:** ... no I was just going to say that that is only now come to light in a definitive manner under the testimony of Mr. Gouveia. It has never been confirmed or admitted to prior to that.

**Mrs. Samuels-Brown:** Yes, but the point is that we now have it, but there are other things you have said could be explored, we do not need to go to that.

**Ms. Dow:** My statement speaks to prior to that.

**Mr. Hanoman:** You did make the point that you were unaware of any serious questioning being posed to the Prisons about that theory about blowing up the Prison. I notice in your statement that mentioned the name Edward France.

**Ms. Dow:** He was the Director of Prisons.

*10:28hrs*

**Mr. Hanoman:** Are you aware of him ever making any statement or being questioned or was he involved in any public way with these investigations?

**Ms. Dow:** Not that I am aware of.

**Mr. Hanoman:** Commissioner Jairam, I do not know if I have covered what you have pointed me to.

**Mr. Jairam:** She also said in her statement that no effort was made to bring back Gregory Smith, who was out of the territory.

**Ms. Dow:** Yes.

**Mr. Chairman:** Could she go beyond that in the question? I do not think so.



## WALTER RODNEY COMMISSION OF INQUIRY

**Mr. Hanoman:** No, I do not think so. Okay, I was about to ask you about the Ministry of National Development. You said that the PNC General Secretary's Office was there as well as the Ministry, can you tell me how many buildings ... was there one building there or more than one building?

**Ms. Dow:** I think there was one big one that belonged originally to Bookers, that is my recollection. Bookers in the old days and it became that office.

**Mr. Hanoman:** It was the Bookers building. This building was physically divided in anyway, as far as you can remember?

**Ms. Dow:** I never went inside the building. So I could not say but my recollection is that it was one building.

**Mr. Hanoman:** One building.

**Mr. Chairman:** That housed what?

**Mr. Hanoman:** Both the PNC's General Secretary's Office and the Ministry of National Development and Mobilisation. Is this the first time that you have been asked to testify in any inquiry or investigation into the death of Walter Rodney?

**Ms. Dow:** It is.

**Mr. Hanoman:** You were not invited to the Inquest hearings?

**Ms. Dow:** No, I was not.

**Mr. Chairman:** What about the International Commission of Jurists (ICJ)?

**Ms. Dow:** No, I was not.

**Mr. Hanoman:** Were you ever invited to share information with the International Commission of Jurists?

**Ms. Dow:** No.

## WALTER RODNEY COMMISSION OF INQUIRY

**Mrs. Samuels-Brown:** Before you go on, let me ask about more specifically, Ms. Dow, are you aware that the International Commission of Jurists was in Guyana in 1995 carrying out an investigation? Are you aware?

**Ms. Dow:** Yes, I was aware that the International Commission of Jurists was in Guyana.

**Mrs. Samuels-Brown:** But you were never invited to participate?

**Ms. Dow:** No, I do not remember any details about it, not at all.

**Mrs. Samuels-Brown:** Are you aware whether it was a public inquiry such as this? Did they have public hearing? As far as you are aware, just say yes or no.

**Ms. Dow:** I do not recall, it certainly has not left any indelible impression on me.

**Mrs. Samuels-Brown:** I see. Are you aware of the International Commission of Jurists' Report? Have you ever seen it?

**Ms. Dow:** Not that I can recall.

**Mrs. Samuels-Brown:** Thank you very much. Thank you, Counsel.

**Mr. Hanoman:** Is it correct to say that you consider yourself to be under surveillance or in danger during that time, 1978 to 1980?

**Ms. Dow:** I was under surveillance.

**Mr. Hanoman:** You were under surveillance. Do you know you were under surveillance by whom?

**Ms. Dow:** I presume Special Branch.

**Mr. Hanoman:** Were you ever arrested?

**Ms. Dow:** Many times.

**Mr. Chairman:** She said that many times, repeatedly yesterday.

**Mr. Hanoman:** You were ever told about the reason for your arrest?

## WALTER RODNEY COMMISSION OF INQUIRY

**Ms. Dow:** As I said before, my house was searched for arms and ammunition, I would be pulled over on the road, my car would be seized, it would be stripped down and I would be taken to Criminal Investigations Department (CID) Headquarters. I was once arrested when I was trying to leave the country, I proceeded to board the plane, but before I got to the plane, I was brought back and put under close arrest, in a bus with 28 Policemen. I was taken to CID Headquarters, my family and so on thought I had travelled, but in fact, I was locked up at CID Headquarters, where they attempted to strip search me. They locked me in a room with tools and they brought a Policewoman to search me, I was there until I was able to get word out that I was, in fact, there and Miles Fitzpatrick was my employer and he came. So, I was arrested on many occasions for many things.

**Mr. Hanoman:** Were you ever charged to appear in Court?

**Ms. Dow:** No, never charged. Maybe for picketing ... it was really very frequent, it was just par for the course to be arrested.

**Mr. Hanoman:** You remember ever going to Court to answer to any charge?

**Ms. Dow:** No, I do not remember.

**Mr. Hanoman:** Okay.

**Ms. Dow:** I mean ... there was an incident outside of Brickdam where they arrested Karen De Souza thinking she was me, so they arrested her in my name. They arrested Jocelyn Dow, but picked up Karen De Souza.

**Mrs. Samuels-Brown:** May I enquire through you, Counsel, maybe you could ask her what period we are dealing with, so we can see whether it deals with the Terms of Reference.

**Mr. Hanoman:** These arrests were during what period?

**Ms. Dow:** 1978, I would say to 1980 and after 1980. I think in 1984 or maybe 1983, my father and myself were arrested, there was a gap and then I was arrested again.

**Mr. Hanoman:** Could you try to describe for us your feelings after this explosion and so on? Did you feel a sense of terror?

## WALTER RODNEY COMMISSION OF INQUIRY

**Ms. Dow:** No, I was not afraid. I felt a sense of lost and anger and horror at what we had descended to.

**Mr. Hanoman:** Were you afraid for your own life after you hear about that?

**Ms. Dow:** No.

**Mr. Hanoman:** You were not afraid for your own life. I have no further questions.

**Mr. Chairman:** Yes, I was just about to remind you that I once heard a judge telling Counsel that he must not try making a gallon of lemonade out of two limes. Alright, thank you very much, Commission Counsel. Is that an end now to your examination-in-chief? As we say elsewhere, what is the batting order there?

**Attorney for Dr. Patricia Rodney, Asha Rodney, Shaka Rodney and Kanini Rodney [Mr. Pilgrim, Q.C.]:** Mr. Pieters indicates that he will begin, he will open.

**Attorney for the Guyana Trades Union Congress (GTUC) [Mr. Selwyn Pieters]:** Good Morning, Ms. Dow.

**Ms. Dow:** Good Morning, Mr. Pieters.

**Mr. Pieters:** I am Selywn Pieters and I represent the Guyana Trades Union Congress and I have a few questions for you. Starting off, let me ask you this, were you in any way connected ... did you have any interaction with any GDF officers who the WPA managed to bring within its ranks or must have brought within its ranks?

**Ms. Dow:** I am sorry, I do not have a list of the GDF officers that the WPA had within its ranks, but I certainly knew many persons of the GDF, myself, some who were current and some who were not.

**Mr. Pieters:** These were persons to whom the WPA managed to have brought within its ranks as supporters or sympathisers?

**Ms. Dow:** I have no idea because I was not a member of the WPA and I did not know if any of them were members.

## WALTER RODNEY COMMISSION OF INQUIRY

**Mr. Pieters:** Okay, well let us try to establish this so we start. I believe that you said yesterday when you provided your evidence to the Commission that you were one of the few females that had a car and could drive.

**Ms. Dow:** Yes, that is true.

**Mr. Pieters:** And that you were transporting WPA members from various meetings and various interactions?

**Ms. Dow:** Yes, that is true.

**Mr. Pieters:** And that on the night that Dr. Rodney was killed you had Dr. Roopnarine in your vehicle and you had Bonita Harris in your vehicle as well?

**Ms. Dow:** And Abyssinian

**Mr. Pieters:** Pardon me?

**Ms. Dow:** And Abyssinian.

**Mr. Pieters:** Right. In respect to the GDF Officers, did you at any point receive firearm training from any of those Officers?

**Ms. Dow:** No.

**Mr. Pieters:** Were you present for any discussions with the GDF Officers where there were any discussions of acquiring firearms?

**Ms. Dow:** I was never present at any meeting of the WPA with GDF Officers.

**Mr. Pieters:** You were never present at those meetings?

**Ms. Dow:** I never knew of any, either.

**Mr. Pieters:** You mentioned a few minutes ago that you knew of former and current officers of the Guyana Defense Force and that was at the material time between 1977 and 1980?

**Ms. Dow:** Yes, I had many friends who were of the GDF or had been of the GDF.

## WALTER RODNEY COMMISSION OF INQUIRY

**Mr. Pieters:** And these were persons who were associated in some way with the Working People's Alliance?

**Ms. Dow:** No, not in my knowledge, they were not associated ... the persons in the Army?

**Mr. Pieters:** Well, my question is directed to persons who would have been associated or in some way affiliated with the Working People's Alliance.

**Ms. Dow:** I do not know what affiliated ... I know of no one who was affiliated that worked with the GDF with the WPA.

**Mr. Pieters:** So, you did not know Mr. Torrington? Did you know Mr. Torrington?

**Ms. Dow:** I have met Torrington, yes.

**Mr. Pieters:** You met Mr. Torrington at the material time in question; let us say between 1977 and 1980?

**Ms. Dow:** I did.

**Mr. Pieters:** Did you know that he was a member of the Guyana Defense Force?

**Ms. Dow:** I did not.

**Mr. Pieters:** You did not? How about Lieutenant Omawale? Did you meet him at any point within that material time?

**Ms. Dow:** Lieutenant Omawale used to play the trumpet as far as I know at nightclubs and he was not in the GDF.

**Mr. Pieters:** I appreciate that he was in the Guyana National Service. My question is whether or not you met him.

**Ms. Dow:** I had certainly met him at nightclubs, Green Shrimp playing the trumpet.

**Mr. Pieters:** You had no discussions with Lieutenant Omawale?

**Ms. Dow:** Never did to this day.

## WALTER RODNEY COMMISSION OF INQUIRY

**Mr. Pieters:** Did he give you any firearms within that period of time?

**Ms. Dow:** Absolutely not.

**Mr. Pieters:** Now, let me ...

**Mrs. Samuels-Brown:** Mr. Pieters, you are going a little fast. The witness is saying that he was not in the GDF and you put to her that he was in the ...

**Mr. Pieters:** ... Guyana National Service.

**Mrs. Samuels-Brown:** Thank you. I am going to ... take your weapon of rapid fire from me. Go a little slower, so that I can get everything.

**Mr. Pieters:** Madame Commissioner, I apologise.

**Mrs. Samuels-Brown:** Okay, thank you.

**Mr. Williams:** Apparently, Madame Commissioner has had some training in weapons.  
*[Laughter]*

**Mr. Pieters:** Madame Commissioner, I should watch Commissioner Jairam's pen. *[Laughter]* I am going to make some suggestions to you and I am going to make them right off the bat so you can accept them or reject them. You were closely aligned with Dr. Roopnarine at the material time in question.

**Ms. Dow:** I was.

**Mr. Pieters:** Were you living with Dr. Roopnarine at that period of time?

**Ms. Dow:** I was not.

**Mr. Pieters:** No? Did he frequent your home at that particular period?

**Ms. Dow:** He did.

**Mr. Pieters:** He did? Did you attend meetings with Dr. Roopnarine at that particular period of time?

## WALTER RODNEY COMMISSION OF INQUIRY

**Ms. Dow:** I attended many WPA meetings, on the mall, on the streets ... I was not a member of the WPA, so I did not attend WPA meetings, to be clear.

**Mr. Pieters:** So, did you attend private meetings with Dr. Roopnarine and others?

**Ms. Dow:** I do not know what private covers for you, Mr. Pieters.

**Mr. Pieters:** Well, one on one interactions between Dr. Roopnarine and let us say anyone who he was interested in speaking with?

**Mr. Chairman:** As vague as that?

**Ms. Dow:** Well, of course, I did! He would want to borrow a car and I dropped him, so I was present, that I would presume would be classified as a meeting. He might be going to the grocery store and he would be talking to the people who were selling, that could be classified as a meeting. So of course, I was in the normal flow of things. We would be all together, some of us, from time to time.

*10:43hrs*

**Mr. Pieters:** Would Dr. Roopnarine send you to do pickups for him, as well?

**Ms. Dow:** As a matter of fact, Dr. Roopnarine got married in my home, in 1978. *[Laughter]*

**Mrs. Samuels-Brown:** That puts pave to the other interpretation of "private meetings."

*[Laughter]*

**Ms. Dow:** 08<sup>th</sup> March, 19878.

**Mr. Chairman:** I am not sure, Counsel, where you are heading, though. What is all that leading to?

**Mr. Pieters:** Yes, Mr. Chairman, I am now getting there. Did Dr. Roopnarine ask you to do pickups for him, as well?

**Ms. Dow:** What you mean pickup? We picked up each other all the time.



## WALTER RODNEY COMMISSION OF INQUIRY

**Mr. Pieters:** No, but did he ask you to....

**Mr. Chairman:** But what do you mean by that though? Put me in the know. What is this pickup that you are talking about?

**Mr. Pieters:** Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Let me make some suggestions to you; I am going to suggest to you, that you, at the material time, was aware the WPA was collecting arms, and ammunitions?

**Mr. Chairman:** What is the material time, 1978 to 1980?

**Mr. Pieters:** 1978 to 1980. Were you aware that the WPA was collecting arms and ammunition?

**Ms. Dow:** Yes.

**Mr. Pieters:** I am going to suggest to you that you were one of the persons who actually picked those firearms up, on behalf of Dr. Roopnarine?

**Ms. Dow:** I never did.

**Mr. Pieters:** I am going to suggest to you that...

**Mrs. Samuels-Brown:** Mr... thank you.

**Mr. Pieters:** I am going to suggest to you that you transported Dr. Roopnarine to meetings with arm suppliers.

**Ms. Dow:** I never did, knowingly.

**Mr. Pieters:** And that you knew that?

**Ms. Dow:** I did not.

**Mr. Pieters:** And that your house was searched for firearms because you were on the Police radar for those very reasons.

**Ms. Dow:** They never found any. So, I do not know what "being on the radar" meant.

**Mr. Pieters:** Where did you stash them?

## WALTER RODNEY COMMISSION OF INQUIRY

**Mrs. Samuels-Brown:** Mr. Pieters...

**Mr. Chairman:** Give her a chance to stop. She has rejected all the premises you put her. You are even including those same rejecting premises in going forward, but you get ahead.

**Mr. Pieters:** Mr. Chairman, I thought she rejected the fact that they did not find the firearms when they searched the house. So, my next question was: Where did you hide them? Did you know where they were stored?

**Mr. Chairman:** But she never said that she had firearms to hide.

**Mr. Pieters:** No, well, she was just transporting them on behalf of the WPA.

**Mr. Chairman:** She did not answer that affirmatively. She never agreed to it. You are not being fair to the witness now, because you are using rejected premises as the basis of further questions.

**Mr. Pieters:** Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

**Mrs. Samuels-Brown:** Mr. Pieters, I am going to beg of you; forgive my own slowness, and just go a little slower. I have to make notes, and I cannot keep up with the speed at which you are going.

**Mr. Pieters:** Madame Commissioner, I slept all day. I had jetlag the day before, I slept all day yesterday. So, I think that contributes to the energy today. I am going to take my time, I am sorry that...

**Mr. Chairman:** You are suggesting that you are suffering from a surge of energy from resting all day?

**Mr. Pieters:** Yes, Mr. Chairman. *[Laughter]*

**Mr. Chairman:** Very well.

**Mr. Pieters:** In your evidence that you provided to the Commission yesterday, you mentioned that after you saw Andaiye –am I pronouncing her name correctly?

**Ms. Dow:** Andaiye, yes.

## WALTER RODNEY COMMISSION OF INQUIRY

**Mr. Pieters:** Andaiye. Yes, after you saw her westwards to where you were....

**Ms. Dow:** Eastwards.

**Mr. Pieters:** Sorry, eastwards to where you were, she collapsed on the bonnet of the vehicle, and then she cried out, "they said it was a woman, but it was Walter. He is dead." Do you remember? Is that a clear recollection of what Andaiye said to you at that material time?

**Ms. Dow:** Yes.

**Mr. Pieters:** You also testified that Donald had a big hole in his neck?

**Ms. Dow:** A hole in his neck, yes.

**Mr. Pieters:** Can you describe that hole in his neck?

**Ms. Dow:** It was like around here.

**Mrs. Samuels-Brown:** It was like what?

**Ms. Dow:** Around here. Around this side of the neck....

**Mr. Pieters:** Maybe....

**Mrs. Samuels-Brown:** She is pointing just below the side of the chin to the neck

**Ms. Dow:** The chin, and the shoulder blade. There were stuff in it. So, you had a sense of the inner lining.

**Mr. Pieters:** That was a puncture wound?

**Ms. Dow:** Yes, it seemed so.

**Mr. Pieters:** Excuse me?

**Ms. Dow:** It seemed so, and it turned out to be so.

**Mr. Pieters:** Very well. At the point that you communicated with Donald Rodney, was he communicative? Could he communicate?

## WALTER RODNEY COMMISSION OF INQUIRY

**Ms. Dow:** Do you mean if he could speak?

**Mr. Pieters:** Yes.

**Ms. Dow:** Yes, he could have spoken. He was not speaking though.

**Mr. Pieters:** He was not speaking. So, there was no damage to his vocal chords?

**Ms. Dow:** No, in fact, what the Doctor said is one millimetre more and he would have been dead.

**Mr. Pieters:** Right. You mentioned that Donald was in shock?

**Ms. Dow:** Yes.

**Mr. Pieters:** And that at the particular point in time, you all did not press him, because you did not want his neck wound to be aggravated.

**Ms. Dow:** No, I did not say that.

**Mr. Chairman:** She was concerned that she should get attention as soon as possible. I think that was the sense of what she was saying, or what she said. I think the doctor said that he was in no state to speak, that was the evidence.

**Mr. Pieters:** I do not know if I can find it on the hard copy, so I am going to go the electronic transcripts I read this morning.

**Mr. Chairman:** There are others here to help you know, if you are in any doubt.

**Mr. Pieters:** No, no. I have it here. We can get it electronically.

**Mrs. Samuels-Brown:** We can start at page 85, “he was in shock, he did not respond. He was bleeding. His eyes were [*inaudible*]. He was clearly in shock. We were not about to probe. We were trying to make sure that none of his wounds were a danger to him, especially the one in his throat.”

**Mr. Pieters:** Right.

## WALTER RODNEY COMMISSION OF INQUIRY

**Mrs. Samuels-Brown:** Just to be clear, we were speaking about the period, etcetera. Pages 85 to 86. Then she continues to explain further that she was concerned about the shock, later on, and she referred to the Doctor, confirming their approach, that they should not speak to him.

**Mr. Pieters:** Yes, thank you, and that is page 89, and 90 of the electronic version, so there is a sort of miss-pagination. Anyway, so that was my concern, that you were concerned about aggravating that wound.

**Ms. Dow:** No, I was concerned about his state.

**Mr. Pieters:** Very well. At that point in time, you elicited no useful information on what caused the injuries to Donald and his big brother, Walter, correct?

**Ms. Dow:** I was not the only person there and I was certainly not questioning Donald.

**Mr. Pieters:** Madam, I am asking you about you.

**Ms. Dow:** No, I did not.

**Mr. Pieters:** Taking Andaiye's anxiety, together with your observation, you mentioned –and I characterised it this way- she was in panic mode. You were thinking: are the Police going to arrive here, now? Are we going to be arrested? Is something going to happen to all of us because Walter is dead? Could it mean that all of us could be in danger? Or maybe not the same thing? You said that yesterday in response to a question from Mr. Hanoman. Do you recall that?

**Ms. Dow:** Yes.

**Mrs. Samuels-Brown:** But not “manic mode” but “high security alert.”

**Mr. Pieters:** Right. So, she was in high security alert.

**Ms. Dow:** Yes.

**Mr. Pieters:** I am going to suggest to you then, that you were also panicked?

**Ms. Dow:** I was not panicked.

**Mr. Pieters:** You were not panicked?

## WALTER RODNEY COMMISSION OF INQUIRY

**Ms. Dow:** I am not easily panicked, Mr. Pieters.

**Mr. Pieters:** I appreciate that you may not be easily panicked right now; I am looking at the material time. You were not panicked then? You were very stoic and strong?

**Ms. Dow:** Mr. Pieters, there was the injured Donald, who was the primary concern; not my wellbeing. Our business was to get Donald to help.

**Mr. Chairman:** To safety.

**Ms. Dow:** We were accustomed to being in danger.

**Mr. Pieters:** That is fine. Please do not read into my questions. Mr. Hanoman asked you a question yesterday, and he said that “at that time, did you mean Walter’s killing was political?” Your answer was “Walter’s dangers were always political. Political in the sense that if you be in the State or some arm or something of the State was out to get us, that was a frequent occurrence.” That is on page 89 of the electronic version. Do you recall that evidence?

**Ms. Dow:** Yes.

**Mr. Pieters:** And you made that judgement even before you heard from Donald Rodney. You had not heard anything from Donald Rodney at the time you made that judgement.

**Ms. Dow:** Of course.

**Mr. Pieters:** Why did you rush to judgement?

**Ms. Dow:** I did not rush to judgement, I rushed to a conclusion.

**Mr. Pieters:** You were not aware of the facts as they had occurred.

**Ms. Dow:** Well, who else would be killing Walter Rodney? It would not occur to me that anybody else would kill him.

**Mr. Pieters:** Well, let me put it to you; you testified yesterday that you were not aware of whom Gregory Smith was before the event in question.

**Ms. Dow:** I was not.

## WALTER RODNEY COMMISSION OF INQUIRY

**Mr. Pieters:** You had no knowledge that Walter Rodney was meeting with Gregory Smith on the evening in question?

**Ms. Dow:** Not at all.

**Mr. Pieters:** You also testified that Dr. Roopnarine had no knowledge of who Gregory Smith was?

**Ms. Dow:** I did not testify that.

**Mr. Pieters:** Well, let us go to what you said so that...

**Ms. Dow:** I said that none of us knew who Gregory Smith was.

**Mr. Pieters:** I will go exactly to what you said.

**Mr. Chairman:** Page 88 of the Verbatim account.

**Mr. Pieters:** Thank you.

**Mr. Chairman:** But you are asking her several questions about what she said yesterday. That is not advancing. She is only confirming that she said the same thing that she is saying now today. Do you need all those references to what she said yesterday to pose the next question?

**Mr. Pieters:** Yes.

**Mrs. Samuels-Brown:** Very quickly, you are correct that she did say, "we had to ask Donald what had happened. None of us knew Gregory Smith. I did not know him. Rupert did not know him" so, having established that premise, you could move on to the question.

**Mr. Pieters:** You also know that Mr. Eusi Kwayana who was an elder within the party, he testified here in response to a question I had asked him. He said he did not know Gregory Smith, as well.

**Ms. Dow:** If you say so, yes.

**Mr. Chairman:** She accepts that. She assumed that you are accurate in recalling what he said.

## WALTER RODNEY COMMISSION OF INQUIRY

**Mr. Pieters:** I am going to suggest to you that despite what you said about your relationship with Dr. Walter Rodney, you did not know what Dr. Walter Rodney was up to.

**Ms. Dow:** I did not say I did not know what Dr. Rodney was up to.

**Mr. Pieters:** You had no knowledge of the relationship that Dr. Rodney had with Gregory Smith?

**Ms. Dow:** I said I did not know Gregory Smith, and I had never heard of him. Obviously, I did not.

**Mr. Chairman:** What is the next question, Sir? Are you finished?

**Mr. Pieters:** No, Mr. Chairman, I am not finished.

*10:58hrs*

**Mr. Chairman:** Very well. They know how to interpret the long silence.

**Mr. Pieters:** Sometimes I go through my questions because it may have been answered and I do not want to repeat a question that is answered.

**Mr. Chairman:** You may seek the indulgence of the Commission, we are happy to give you some indulgence.

**Mr. Pieters:** I appreciate that Mr. Chairman.

**Mr. Chairman:** Very well.

**Mr. Pieters:** You mentioned today that the person who gave Dr. Walter Rodney the placebo of a Walkie-Talkie that turned out to be a bomb, did not control to that fact that Donald Rodney would have been there with him.

**Ms. Dow:** That is my view.

**Mr. Pieters:** Right. But you also, you are aware that the person who purportedly gave the package that was delivered to Dr. Walter Rodney gave that package, sorry, Gregory Smith supposedly gave that package to Donald Rodney?



## WALTER RODNEY COMMISSION OF INQUIRY

**Ms. Dow:** Yes.

**Mr. Pieters:** You know that.

**Ms. Dow:** That is not inconsistent to what I think.

**Mr. Pieters:** Well, I am going to suggest to you now that if it was that no bystanders were to be present, that package would not have been given to Donald Rodney.

**Ms. Dow:** I do not agree with you.

**Mr. Chairman:** That followed logically at all?

**Mr. Pieters:** Excuse me?

**Mr. Chairman:** I do not know that follow logically or at all.

**Mr. Pieters:** Very well.

**Mr. Chairman:** But you may wish to address in it later.

**Mr. Pieters:** With respect to Andaiye's comment, I was asking you whether you were clearing your recollection that she told you that said it was a woman and it was Walter Rodney.

**Ms. Dow:** Yes.

**Mr. Pieters:** I am going to suggest to you that Andaiye knew that she was going to Walter Rodney because Donald told her that when he went to the Croal Street's residence, so she was not going to look for any woman she was directly to Dr. Walter Rodney with Karen De Souza.

**Ms. Dow:** It was my understanding that Andaiye was referring to people on the street that because Walter had been blown off below his torso, there were clearly nothing there between his torso and his legs, and people would have seen his body lying there without any *[inaudible]*.

**Mr. Pieters:** Well his face was perfectly intact.

**Ms. Dow:** That does not alter the fact that a crowd that may have only seen a body lying there could think that this was not a man that was my understanding then and now.

## WALTER RODNEY COMMISSION OF INQUIRY

**Mr. Pieters:** No, I am trying to suggest to you that Andaiye never told you that.

**Ms. Dow:** Oh, well I am sorry, but I am under oath and that is what I recall. And why would I make that up, if I may ask, so irrelevant?

**Mr. Pieters:** Andaiye and Karen De Souza were told to go and check on the welfare of Dr. Walter Rodney by his brother and that is what she knew.

**Ms. Dow:** I was not present and that is what I heard.

**Mr. Pieters:** Now, where was Karen De Souza when you arrived at Croal Street?

**Ms. Dow:** I do not recall seeing her, they have been upstairs.

**Mr. Pieters:** I think there was a discussion yesterday that I was unclear of, or unclear on reading the transcripts and so I am going to pose it to you very directly. Did Walter Rodney ever discuss with you directly a testing walkie-talkie?

**Ms. Dow:** No.

**Mr. Pieters:** Did he ever discuss with you acquiring walkie-talkies?

**Ms. Dow:** No.

**Mr. Pieters:** Did you know that prior to Dr. Walter Rodney's death, the Special Branch created a memorandum in respect to the WPA approaching Smith to deal with electronics. Were you aware of that?

**Ms. Dow:** No.

**Mrs. Samuels-Brown:** Mr. Pieters, are you able to assist us by pointing to the particular memorandum in the particular Exhibit that would be helpful, if you cannot, I would not hold you back, if you cannot do it immediately.

**Mr. Pieters:** I will have to do that another point in time, Madame Commissioner, when I step down from questioning, I am almost to the end of my questions.

**Mrs. Samuels-Brown:** Are you able to say when this memorandum was created?

## WALTER RODNEY COMMISSION OF INQUIRY

**Mr. Pieters:** Yes, it was created in April, 1980.

**Mrs. Samuels-Brown:** Thank you.

**Mr. Chairman:** What did you declare was the substance of that memorandum?

**Mr. Pieters:** The substance was that the WPA approached Smith to deal with electronics. That is the brief notes that I have in my questions.

**Mr. Chairman:** Approach Smith and did what?

**Mr. Pieters:** Excuse me?

**Mr. Chairman:** The WPA approached Smith and...

**Mr. Pieters:** To deal with electronics. I mean given what your answers were today in respect to Gregory Smith you would have to agree that you...

**Mrs. Samuels-Brown:** Sorry, I think you are talking about something at page 30? Tell me if I am correct. At SJWPA 1, I do not think I have the full designation but it is...

**Mr. Pieters:** Sorry, did you say...

**Mrs. Samuels-Brown:** LJSDWPA 1, page 30. I think that is the only reference to Gregory Smith that I have seen in the three volumes from the Special Branch that we have and it is at page 30. Do you have yours there with you?

**Mr. Pieters:** Thank you so much, Madame Commissioner.

**Mrs. Samuels-Brown:** Do you have it with you?

**Mr. Pieters:** Yes.

**Mrs. Samuels-Brown:** And it is the correct page?

**Mr. Pieters:** Yes, it is.

**Mrs. Samuels-Brown:** Thank you.

## WALTER RODNEY COMMISSION OF INQUIRY

**Mr. Pieters:** I do not know if there is any use to show the Witness, there is no utility in showing the Witness this document so I am not going to put it to her.

**Mr. Chairman:** [*Inaudible*]

**Mr. Pieters:** Excuse me.

**Mr. Chairman:** I would have thought not.

**Mr. Pieters:** No. I have two more questions for you. You would have agreed, given the fact that...

**Mr. Chairman:** [*Inaudible*]

**Mr. Pieters:** Excuse me.

**Mr. Chairman:** No more questions from you, but you are still asking. Do you mean except this last one?

**Mrs. Samuels-Brown:** Two more he said.

**Mr. Pieters:** Two more.

**Mr. Chairman:** Oh, two more, sorry.

**Mr. Pieters:** Two more or Mr. Chairman, you would agree you are out of the looping discussions and so were other in the collective leadership of the WPA in so far as Gregory Smith was concerned and Dr. Walter Rodney?

**Ms. Dow:** I could only speak for myself; I was not in the loop.

**Mr. Chairman:** She was not part of the collective leadership?

**Mr. Pieters:** I appreciate she was not, but she was tightly intertwined with the WPA.

**Mrs. Samuels-Brown:** But her answer though, "I was not in the loop" I think we got that.

## WALTER RODNEY COMMISSION OF INQUIRY

**Mr. Pieters:** Yes. Thank you. In respect to the numerous arrest and detention etcetera that you testified your experience in 1977 to 1984 and I have no doubt of your experiences. Did you ever lodge an action against the Government of Guyana seeking to redress your constitutional rights?

**Ms. Dow:** I think I filed on The Right to Travel.

**Mr. Pieters:** You did?

**Ms. Dow:** I think so.

**Mr. Pieters:** What was the disposition of that action?

**Ms. Dow:** That was the only right we were ever assured in the Courts of Guyana that would be defended, the Rights to Travel.

**Mr. Pieters:** And you learnt in action in respect to...

**Ms. Dow:** I am that clear, we filed things and they never went anywhere and you proceeded along so that was hazy in my mind because it was par for the course.

**Mr. Pieters:** Do you know what became of that action if at all?

**Ms. Dow:** There were instances where the rights to travel was granted, I am not sure, I had filed it, I did not have a passport, I could not travel at one time, but as you know that was par for the course to be dealt with it.

**Mr. Pieters:** I do not understand your answer to be quite...

**Ms. Dow:** In other words it was not an unusual to me and to other people so it is not as you know a matter... we knew that our lives were restricted and things would happen and you tried to keep safe and alive and function.

**Mr. Pieters:** Ms. Dow, this is my last question, just listen to it and answer it directly, please. You mentioned that you launched an action in respect to The Right to Travel, correct?

**Ms. Dow:** I said I am not sure.

**Mr. Pieters:** Okay, very well. Those are all my questions for this Witness.

## WALTER RODNEY COMMISSION OF INQUIRY

**Mr. Chairman:** Thank you. Who is next? Mr. Ram, you are going?

**Attorney for the Working People's Alliance (WPA) [Mr. Christopher Ram]:** Yes Sir, I will.

**Mr. Chairman:** Please Proceed Sir.

**Mr. Ram:** Ms. Dow, I, as you know I represent the interest of the Working People's Alliance. Were you associated with the Working People's Alliance prior to 13<sup>th</sup> June, 1980?

**Ms. Dow:** I was.

**Mr. Ram:** When did your association with the Working People's Alliance begin?

**Ms. Dow:** I would say around 1977/1978, Sir.

**Mr. Ram:** You said you were never a member of the Working People's Alliance.

**Ms. Dow:** That is true.

**Mr. Ram:** Would you consider yourself close to the inner circle of the Working People's Alliance, the Executive Leadership of the Working People's Alliance?

**Ms. Dow:** Yes.

**Mr. Ram:** You said yesterday, that you are a business person. Now, is that correct?

**Ms. Dow:** Yes.

**Mr. Ram:** Were you a business person then?

**Ms. Dow:** Yes.

**Mr. Ram:** Are you familiar, Ms. Dow, with the publication called recognition handbook or the Working People's Alliance?

**Ms. Dow:** Yes.

**Mr. Ram:** Mr. Chairman, I think this handbook does form part of the evidence.

**Mr. Chairman:** [*Inaudible*]

## WALTER RODNEY COMMISSION OF INQUIRY

**Mr. Ram:** Thank you Sir. Ms. Dow, there is a photograph on the description of a person Jocelyn Elizabeth Dow, female, mixed, on pages 29 and 30, would that photograph and was those details be representative of you.

**Mrs. Samuels-Brown:** Can she be shown so she can be sure that she is dealing with the same document you are dealing with?

[*Court Marshall took the document to the Witness*]

**Mr. Chairman:** Or you would suggest, Mr. Williams, with the passage of time, she might not recognise it herself.

**Mr. Williams:** I must say it is very svelte.

**Ms. Dow:** Yes, my name is misspelt, but it is me.

**Mr. Chairman:** Do you recognise yourself?

**Ms. Dow:** Well the photograph is so bad, but certainly, the description is me except for the misspelling of my name.

**Mr. Ram:** Ms. Dow, in your experience, how was this recognition handbook used to directly in relation to you?

**Ms. Dow:** I believe my phone was tapped.

**Mr. Ram:** Yes.

*11:13hrs*

**Ms. Dow:** People followed you around on motor bikes and cars when you left your house quite frequently. I was in the business of making furniture and when I tried to export on one occasion, the things were held up on the wharf and they were sawn up.

**Mrs. Samuels-Brown:** They were sawn?

**Mr. Chairman:** Stolen?

## WALTER RODNEY COMMISSION OF INQUIRY

**Ms. Dow:** Or destroyed really.

**Mrs. Samuels-Brown:** Sawn? S-A-W-N?

**Ms. Dow:** S-A-W-N, they we hatchet.

**Mrs. Samuels-Brown:** Being cut?

**Ms. Dow:** Yes, broken up. I was searched, stopped in my vehicle or any or my vehicles, there were more than one and spread across a wall once and searched by a man which was illegal, patted down in other words.

**Mr. Ram:** I missed the word, which was?

**Ms. Dow:** Illegal. A man was not supposed to be stripping, patting you down on the walls on the street or at all by Policemen, quite often not in uniform, mostly not in uniform. You used to get weird phone calls at night threatening you, are telling you someone had been killed and you had better run to Buxton or things like that. So you were frequently, I would say there are instances of being picked up and harassed by phone. My cars were ceased and sugar was put in the engines.

**Mrs. Samuels-Brown:** What?

**Ms. Dow:** Sugar was put in the engine at Brickdam Police Station.

**Mr. Chairman:** What effect that has, it sweetens it?

**Ms. Dow:** It destroys your engine if you did not know.

**Mr. Chairman:** Sugar put in the engine?

**Ms. Dow:** Yes so when you start the car up, it kind of destroys your engine.

**Mrs. Samuels-Brown:** Did you say at the Police Station?

**Ms. Dow:** It was at Brickdam Police Station.

**Mrs. Samuels-Brown:** Which Police Station?



## WALTER RODNEY COMMISSION OF INQUIRY

**Ms. Dow:** Brickdam.

**Mrs. Samuels-Brown:** Thank you.

**Ms. Dow:** More than one car.

**Mrs. Samuels-Brown:** It happened more than once?

**Ms. Dow:** Yes more than once.

**Mrs. Samuels-Brown:** At the Police Station?

**Ms. Dow:** Yes it did.

**Mrs. Samuels-Brown:** Thank you.

**Ms. Dow:** Even when the cars were not in my name, as the Holden-wagon in which Dr. Roopnarine was, it was once pushed in a trench and after it was repaired, lent it to someone else and it was burnt, destroyed completely.

**Mrs. Samuels-Brown:** When did this happen?

**Ms. Dow:** That happened at Ann's...the second time; the first time was over the river.

**Mrs. Samuels-Brown:** Was there an occasion? Was something...

**Ms. Dow:** At a public meeting and the other time it was announcing a public meeting in Ann's Grove.

**Mrs. Samuels-Brown:** The second time?

**Ms. Dow:** At Ann's Grove announcing a public meeting.

**Mrs. Samuels-Brown:** Thank you.

**Ms. Dow:** I had a vehicle that was parked in Dr. Roopnarine's...

**Mrs. Samuels-Brown:** Could somebody adjust the microphone for the Witness please?

**Ms. Dow:** Dr. Roopnarine's yard and that was ceased by the Police. I have not seen it since even though we tried to recover our vehicles for many years. So I had a lot of loss of property. But if I

## WALTER RODNEY COMMISSION OF INQUIRY

attempted to visit my brother who was Skeldon, I would be arrested often at Rosignol then New Amsterdam then Albion, then Skeldon.

**Mr. Ram:** These are all Police Stations along the...?

**Ms. Dow:** Police Stations along the way. So sometime you would be arrested five times in one trip.

**Mr. Ram:** Are you aware...

**Mr. Chairman:** That means in one day?

**Ms. Dow:** My family, my sisters were sometimes stopped on the road. My brother's house though he was factory manager at the time at Skeldon estate, was searched if I visited him. Generally, it was a sense that you were not only under surveillance, but under more direct attention.

**Mrs. Samuels-Brown:** More direct what?

**Mr. Jairam:** Attention.

**Ms. Dow:** Attention.

**Mr. Chairman:** When she mentioned that she would sometimes be searched five times, that would be in one day?

**Ms. Dow:** One, yes.

**Mr. Chairman:** One day?

**Ms. Dow:** Yes if you are trying to get from Georgetown to Skeldon, you would drive and be stopped, Rosignol where the boat was and then you would cross over, and another police would pick you up after. At Albion Police Station they would stop and pick you up again.

**Mr. Ram:** Did this suggest to you Ms. Dow that this recognition handbook was widely circulated?

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**Ms. Dow:** Yes.

**Mr. Ram:** Among whom?

**Ms. Dow:** It seemed to be among the security forces.

**Mr. Ram:** Staying on the handbook, there is a schedule of vehicles associate with WPA activities, you are aware? Do you have a copy of the handbook?

**Ms. Dow:** No. They took it back.

*[Court Marshall took copy of Recognition Handbook to Ms. Dow]*

**Ms. Dow:** Is it at the back?

**Mr. Ram:** The copy I have, it is at the front. I have seen it at the back as well.

**Ms. Dow:** I see it, it is at the front.

**Mr. Ram:** I will ask you to look at item, the first column it begins Ser. No. (Serial Number). It is really in numerical sequence, number six, PAA 2557 Volkswagen Colour Blue, Hudson Archer, J. Dow. Could you tell us the background to this because the J. Dow is written in manuscript by hand obviously subsequently to the production of this?

**Ms. Dow:** Yes, I bought that vehicle.

**Mr. Ram:** Sorry?

**Ms. Dow:** I owned that vehicle. Hudson Archer was the first owner.

**Mr. Ram:** Serial number or series number ten, M.A. Fernandes Limited?

**Ms. Dow:** Yes.

**Mr. Ram:** You had bought that vehicle as well. Would that also be true of serial number 14?

**Ms. Dow:** 14. A red Ford Cortina, yes.

**Mrs. Samuels-Brown:** Whose name is that one in, Madam?

**Ms. Dow:** Field-Ridley.

## WALTER RODNEY COMMISSION OF INQUIRY

**Mr. Ram:** It is M.A. Fernandes Limited, this would be a company incorporated under the Companies Act.

**Mrs. Samuels-Brown:** Thank you. But she had bought it from M.A. Fernandes Limited?

**Ms. Dow:** That is the Holden. The red one was from Rudy Field-Ridley or Joy Field-Ridley, I think.

**Mrs. Samuels-Brown:** The last vehicle?

**Mr. Ram:** The last vehicle...

**Ms. Dow:** Is Field-Ridley.

**Mr. Ram:** No, I am asking you, Ms. Dow, serial number 14, P 3603 Ford Cortina, cream top and red bottom and under the column name of owner, it has M.A. Fernandes Limited.

**Ms. Dow:** And it has something else written in handwriting.

**Mr. Ram:** Field-Ridley?

**Ms. Dow:** Yes.

**Mr. Ram:** And J. Dow?

**Ms. Dow:** Yes.

**Mr. Ram:** Could you explain that?

**Ms. Dow:** I bought it from Field-Ridley.

**Mrs. Samuels-Brown:** Thank you.

**Mr. Ram:** Item number 23, in fact there are two vehicles numbers and vehicles referred to GAA 2777 and PAA 2463.

**Ms. Dow:** Registered to me, yes.

**Mr. Ram:** And those were registered in your name?

**Ms. Dow:** Yes.

## WALTER RODNEY COMMISSION OF INQUIRY

**Mr. Ram:** Number 27, PAA 766, Honda Civic?

**Ms. Dow:** Yes.

**Mr. Ram:** And that was a green or white because it is...

**Ms. Dow:** White.

**Mr. Ram:** It was white.

**Mrs. Samuels-Brown:** Whose name is that registered in?

**Ms. Dow:** My name.

**Mr. Ram:** In Jocelyn Dow's.

**Mrs. Samuels-Brown:** Thank you.

**Mr. Ram:** These were all vehicles either registered in your name or bought by you from the previous owners.

**Mrs. Samuels-Brown:** Are you moving on from the vehicles? I beg your pardon?

**Mr. Ram:** I was going to yes.

**Mrs. Samuels-Brown:** I just want to ask one question.

**Mr. Ram:** Sure, Madam, sure.

**Mrs. Samuels-Brown:** In your evidence, you said that even when the car was not in your name, but you were associated with it, it was attacked and you gave a particular example which was the car that, I think, Mr. Rupert Roopnarine's house?

**Ms. Dow:** That one is not here.

**Mrs. Samuels-Brown:** Which one of the vehicles was that?

**Ms. Dow:** None of these.

**Mrs. Samuels-Brown:** None of those. In whose name was that vehicle registered, can you recall?

## WALTER RODNEY COMMISSION OF INQUIRY

**Ms. Dow:** Dr. Omawale I think. It may have changed registration but it was owned by Dr. Omawale originally.

**Mrs. Samuels-Brown:** But you would drive it from time to time?

**Ms. Dow:** No, he had left Guyana and I had bought it and it was at Rupert's house on the night that it was seized by the Police.

**Mrs. Samuels-Brown:** Thank you.

**Mr. Jairam:** Mr. Ram, may I ask a clarification, the vehicles referred to by Mr. Ram in the Recognition Handbook, were they all being used at the same time, in the same period or...

**Ms. Dow:** Around the same period, yes.

**Mr. Jairam:** And you were using them in connection with your business or private use or what?

**Ms. Dow:** Well some were my business because I was not the only person who drove.

**Mr. Jairam:** Some were what, sorry?

**Ms. Dow:** Some were the business, the van and some of the others. Our business was partly out of town so you had to be backwards and forwards.

**Mr. Jairam:** Thank you.

**Mr. Ram:** Taking it from Commissioner Jairam and his question, many of these vehicles were used simultaneously by different persons?

**Ms. Dow:** Yes.

**Mr. Ram:** And were the vehicles stopped because of their numbers, the registration numbers?

**Ms. Dow:** Yes, frequently or followed.

**Mr. Ram:** Stopped or followed. Ms. Dow...

**Mr. Chairman:** Just let me clarify something before we go on.

**Mr. Ram:** Yes Sir.

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**Mr. Chairman:** In response to fellow Commissioner, she did say that some of the vehicles were used in relation to the business and others were used in relation to what?

**Ms. Dow:** No, I mean they were private vehicles which you would use. Some were...the van for instance was capable of carrying goods and so on.

**Mr. Chairman:** Thank you.

**Mrs. Samuels-Brown:** Why do you say the vehicles were stopped because of the numbers? Are you speculating?

**Ms. Dow:** No, I mean there would be a police road block and they would stop your vehicle.

**Mrs. Samuels-Brown:** Thank you.

**Mr. Ram:** And you attribute that to their appearance in the Recognition Handbook?

**Ms. Dow:** Yes and certainly some familiarity with the numbers. I do not know where else it came from.

**Mr. Ram:** You were prominent, Ms. Dow, as a member of the Private Sector?

**Ms. Dow:** I would not say prominent, but I was a member of the Private Sector.

**Mr. Ram:** Did private sector operators support the Working People's Alliance?

**Ms. Dow:** Many that I knew, yes, even if not overtly.

**Mr. Ram:** I was about to ask to ask you whether that support was overt or privately?

**Ms. Dow:** Both.

**Mr. Ram:** Are you aware with whether any private sector operators were targeted by the state as a result of or because of their association with the WPA?

**Ms. Dow:** Yes.

**Mr. Ram:** From your personal experience?

**Ms. Dow:** Yes.

## WALTER RODNEY COMMISSION OF INQUIRY

**Mr. Ram:** Would you care to give this Commission any examples?

**Ms. Dow:** We would stay at the house, sometime if I went on the Corentyne of a rice farmer, I will give one instance number 69 village, I think it was and his house would be searched.

**Mr. Ram:** Did any private sector operator allow the use of their house for example for purposes of what you I think has been referred to as safe houses?

**Ms. Dow:** Not private sector, but you know family friends, extended and so on, aunts and uncles.

**Mrs. Samuels-Brown:** And all this evidence includes the period 1978 to 1980?

**Ms. Dow:** Yes.

**Mrs. Samuels-Brown:** Thank you.

**Mr. Ram:** Ms. Dow, you said earlier this morning that you were aware of various members of the Guyana Defense Force, you were familiar with?

**Ms. Dow:** Yes.

**Mr. Ram:** You engaged in conversations with them?

**Ms. Dow:** Yes frequently.

**Mr. Ram:** Were any of those conversations relating to assistance to the WPA?

**Ms. Dow:** The conversations I would have are why you all continuing to support this Government. I mean of that nature and we would talk about things. After the Jonestown Massacre, for instance, I talk to people in the GDF who I knew and we discussed things that were going on at the time. Some of them were called to WPA meetings. Some that I knew had been removed in 1976. Some were associated with in business and various things.

*11:28hrs*

**Mr. Ram:** For the record, Ms. Dow, the Jonestown incident/massacre, when did that take place?

**Ms. Dow:** 18<sup>th</sup> November. 1978.



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**Mr. Chairman:** Is the answer 1978?

**Ms. Dow:** Yes.

**Mr. Ram:** Yes.

**Mr. Chairman:** Thank you.

**Ms. Dow:** 18<sup>th</sup> November.

**Mr. Ram:** Your evidence suggests that you provided the Working People's Alliance with vehicles and other economic resources.

**Ms. Dow:** Yes, whenever I could.

**Mr. Ram:** Sorry, Ma'am, I did not hear you.

**Ms. Dow:** I said, "whenever I could".

**Mr. Ram:** In your view, Ms. Dow, did the Working People's Alliance have the capacity to infiltrate the top hierarchy of the Guyana Defense Force...?

**Ms. Dow:** No.

**Mr. Ram:** ...or any other branches of the Security Force?

**Mr. Chairman:** What does the question means?

**Mr. Ram:** Because the issue of infiltration has been raised at this Commission...

**Mr. Chairman:** What do you understand that to mean "infiltration"?

**Mr. Ram:** ...that perhaps the members of the Working People's Alliance had managed to infiltrate...

**Mr. Chairman:** Yes, but what is "infiltration"?

**Mr. Ram:** ...unlawful purposes?

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**Mr. Chairman:** Yes, but what does it mean, that they became friendly with, converted them to their philosophy, what does it mean?

**Mr. Ram:** My understanding, from the Witness, is that the relationship with Army Personnel was largely of a social nature and, in some cases, trying to enquire from them about their own views on relationship of the State with the citizenry. Is that correct, Ms. Dow?

**Ms. Dow:** I think the term used, if I may was, “were you trying to get them to disaffect”. It was all a bit of a joke, “would they disaffect” the people would say, but that was a joke amongst people who were my contemporaries, our colleagues, old friends. People would say to them... not that I would say to them. I always understood “infiltrate” to mean that, to be in their job and doing something else as you said, Madame Commissioner, and I did not think that they had that capacity.

**Mr. Williams:** Mr. Chairman, I think that there is already evidence on the record, which I read the last time I address this Commission, from Mr. Ogunseye who was an Executive Member and a Cell Leader of the Security Committee of the WPA. I am not sure that that question could be put to the Witness unless it is put to the Witness about the Witness’s own opinion because an Executive Member had already said that they had infiltrated not only the Army and the Police, but the other Security Forces so you need to point that out.

**Mrs. Samuels-Brown:** If I may, Mr. Chairman, while I agree with the point made by Mr. Williams, the question was raised soliciting her view as you have said. It was in your view did the WPA have the capacity to infiltrate the top hierarchy of the GDF so her answer would have to be seen in that context, her view.

**Mr. Chairman:** Interestingly enough I was concern with the questioner’s view, what he meant, he was the man asking the question about “infiltration”. [*Laughter*]

**Mr. Ram:** I thought I answered it before. It was...

**Mr. Chairman:** No, I was only going back as to what informed my question.

## WALTER RODNEY COMMISSION OF INQUIRY

**Mr. Ram:** I see, Sir. Ms. Dow, you referred to the building in Camp Street, Housing, the Office of the General Secretary and the Ministry of National Development earlier in your testimony. Is that correct?

**Ms. Dow:** Yes.

**Mr. Ram:** Do you recall the changes made to the GDF High Command following that incident?

**Ms. Dow:** I do. Would you like me to explain?

**Mr. Ram:** I think it would be helpful.

**Ms. Dow:** Ulric Pilgrim who I think was Force Commander at the time, I am not sure of his rank but he was top. He was removed and I think sent to Sanata Textiles and... Pilgrim was removed and I think Mentore left the country shortly after that, James Mentore...

**Mrs. Samuels-Brown:** Who is that, please?

**Ms. Dow:** He was Special Branch...

**Mr. Ram:** Ms. Dow, I was asking you specifically to the Guyana Defense Force.

**Ms. Dow:** Yes, and Carl Morgan ...

**Mr. Chairman:** How do you spell that?

**Mr. Ram:** Sorry, Sir?

**Mr. Chairman:** How do you spell that?

**Mr. Ram:** Which one?

**Mr. Chairman:** Mentore.

**Mr. Ram:** M-E-N-T-O-R-E.

**Ms. Dow:** He was Special Branch and Carl Morgan was removed.

**Mrs. Samuels-Brown:** Who was Carl Morgan?

## WALTER RODNEY COMMISSION OF INQUIRY

**Ms. Dow:** Pilgrim and Morgan were the two people of the GDF, I recall.

**Mrs. Samuels-Brown:** What position did he hold in the GDF, do you know?

**Ms. Dow:** They were both Senior Officers. I cannot swear to their rank, but Pilgrim, I think was presumably was next in line of Command.

**Mr. Ram:** I think the document tabled suggests that that is the case as to the rank... I think he was Commander Pilgrim.

**Mrs. Samuels-Brown:** I am saying that Senata Textiles was a civilian, civil group...

**Ms. Dow:** That was my recollection because it was quite astonishing.

**Mrs. Samuels-Brown:** So you are saying it was not part of the Armed Forces?

**Ms. Dow:** No.

**Mrs. Samuels-Brown:** Thank you.

**Mr. Chairman:** Mr. Ram you seem to be regrouping for a long innings. The usual time for the mid-morning break...

**Mr. Ram:** I can certainly do with some refreshments. I am not sure about the length of my inning. You know what the bowling is.

**Mr. Chairman:** I am not to deny you that.

**Mr. Ram:** Thank you, Sir.

**Mr. Chairman:** We propose now to take the break now and we will come back around 12:05hrs. If you need to refresh yourself you are free to do that.

**Ms. Dow:** Thank you.

**Hearing suspended at 11:35hrs**

**Hearing resumed at 12:13hrs**

## WALTER RODNEY COMMISSION OF INQUIRY

**Mr. Hanoman:** Yes, please.

**Mr. Chairman:** Mr. Pilgrim, are you at your station. You seem to be differently located at this point.

**Mr. Pilgrim:** I am looking after some electronic issues.

**Mr. Chairman:** Very well. Guide us, Commission Counsel, where are we?

**Mr. Jairam:** Mr. Ram.

**Mr. Chairman:** We are still with Mr. Ram.

**Mr. Hanoman:** Mr. Ram has the floor.

**Mr. Ram:** Thank you, Sir. Ms. Dow just to refresh, the question I asked you before we took the break was on the changes made to the GDF Command following the fire. Do you recall that?

**Ms. Dow:** Yes, I do.

**Mr. Ram:** You said the changes were...?

**Ms. Dow:** Mr. Pilgrim, I think he went to Senata; Carl Morgan, if I recall now, Marcus Munroe was somehow, I do not whether... something had happened to him that was not usual and Clarence Pryce who Head was sent to the Embassy in London, I think.

**Mr. Ram:** Senata. Could you say what part of the Military or the Security Forces...?

**Ms. Dow:** No, it was Sanata Textiles Mills. I think that was what Ulric Pilgrim when to head, as I recall.

**Mrs. Samuels-Brown:** [*Inaudible*]

**Mr. Ram:** Sorry, I did not hear the Madame Commissioner.

**Mrs. Samuels-Brown:** Senata, I am taking it, is the acronym as St. Andrews Textiles.

**Ms. Dow:** No, Senata Textile Mills is what it was.

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**Mrs. Samuels-Brown:** Okay, Senata Textile Mills? I got it wrong earlier so I am glad that you clarify it. Thank you.

**Mr. Ram:** Thank you so that was completely outside the Military.

**Ms. Dow:** Yes so was the Embassy.

**Mr. Ram:** Would you describe those moves as a purge of the High Commander of the Army?

**Ms. Dow:** I would describe it as that. I think it was popularly regarded as that as well.

**Mr. Ram:** Do you recall who assumed the Leader of the GDF following that purge?

**Ms. Dow:** Mr. McLean became Head, Chief-of-Staff.

**Mr. Ram:** Mister...

**Ms. Dow:** Norman McLean.

**Mr. Ram:** Mr. McLean said to this Commission that he found his Appointment, surprising. Did you find the appointment surprising?

*12:21hrs*

**Ms. Dow:** Yes.

**Mr. Ram:** Can you say why?

**Mr. Williams:** Mr. Chairman, on a point of order, we have covered the field in this area and it is well traversed, this evidence is already before the Commission, I thought that we were trying to move forward, but this is evidence that is already before us.

**Mr. Ram:** I was asking the Witness whether she found it surprising.

**Mr. Chairman:** And you will bear in mind that what you bring here has already been covered? But please proceed.

**Mr. Ram:** Thank you very much, Sir.

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**Mr. Chairman:** But no one had asked her that.

**Mr. Ram:** That is what I meant, Sir.

**Mr. Chairman:** Yes, that is fair.

**Mr. Ram:** Yes, Ms. Dow.

**Ms. Dow:** Yes, I did.

**Mr. Ram:** Why?

**Ms. Dow:** Well, I knew Mr. McLean and he was in the Police Force and he was a friend, my brother's friend, in particular, certainly a friend and I think that it was a surprise move for him, but I was aware of as a general sense and in a personal sense.

**Mr. Ram:** Just for the records, he had actually come out of the Guyana National Service?

**Ms. Dow:** Yes.

**Mr. Ram:** You have given evidence as to the financial and economic support you gave to the Working Peoples Alliance during that period; did you face any direct adverse economic consequences as a result?

**Ms. Dow:** Yes, I think as with most people in the private sector, who were seen to be close to or supporters of the WPA, their lives became more difficult in a general and specific sense.

**Mr. Ram:** More difficult ... could you expand on that Ms. Dow?

**Ms. Dow:** Well, I mentioned before that when I was trying to export things they were intervened on by Customs. I, myself, as I said could not travel but for many ...

**Mrs. Samuels-Brown:** Sorry, but Witness you gave us one example this morning.

**Ms. Dow:** Yes.

**Mrs. Samuels-Brown:** Were there other examples of problems with Customs which you experienced.

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**Ms. Dow:** Yes, travel for one thing ...

**Mrs. Samuels-Brown:** No, your experience with customs.

**Ms. Dow:** Yes, my ...

**Mrs. Samuels-Brown:** With customs.

**Ms. Dow:** Because customs would come about with exports.

**Mrs. Samuels-Brown:** And this is only one instance that ...

**Mrs. Samuels-Brown:** Well, that was one instance where ... the other sales would have been more internal after that, so Customs was not relevant.

**Mrs. Samuels-Brown:** Thank you.

**Ms. Dow:** But in terms of your ability to move around even in the country, it was assumed that that became a difficulty. I had a logging concession, which means that you were ... you could not go there as frequently as you wished or various things like that, but for many people of the private sector, you were dependent on licenses from the Government and there was ...

**Mr. Ram:** Can you say what kinds of licenses?

**Ms. Dow:** Well, import licenses and in some cases it would be export licenses as well. To bring in goods, there were an increasing list of items that were banned or shortlisted or subject to licenses.

**Mrs. Samuels-Brown:** I will need to clarify something else. You said you had a logging concession?

**Ms. Dow:** Yes.

**Mrs. Samuels-Brown:** That would require you, in order to maximize it to be able to travel?

**Ms. Dow:** Yes.

**Mrs. Samuels-Brown:** Throughout the country?



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**Ms. Dow:** Well, up to the Essequibo.

**Mrs. Samuels-Brown:** Up to the Essequibo ... and you said that the interferences with your travel, the searches and so on interfered with this?

**Ms. Dow:** Yes.

**Mr. Ram:** Ms. Dow, how significant a force, the Private Sector was in this period?

**Ms. Dow:** Well, there was always the big Private Sector, the one on the boards and so on but there was a period of when they were miniaturising the private sector and it was well established that the Government would say that they control 80 per cent of the Private Sector. A lot of things had been nationalised ...

**Mr. Ram:** 80 per cent of the Private Sector?

**Ms. Dow:** 80 per cent of the economy, sorry. There were a lot of things that were subject to the favor of the Government, even if they did not control it. That was a time when the State owned the commanding heights of the economy and then the other 20 per cent in a sense was subject to regulation and approval, I would say.

**Mr. Ram:** Can you tell us what were considered the commanding heights of the economy?

**Ms. Dow:** Bauxite, sugar ... rice farmers had a difficult time sometimes with claiming those days, you know, all the questions of the exports ... a lot of the things that came under the Government list of exports, a lot of what would have been commission agents in those days would have lost their businesses or could not have functioned properly if they could not get licenses. It had to do with foreign exchange ...

**Mrs. Samuels-Brown:** Sorry, the Witness is assuming that we have certain background or understands certain things and for the record, I think that we need to get it. What were the difficulties the Witness said the rice farmers would have had?

**Ms. Dow:** Well, the sale of rice, materials for planting rice, the cleaning of canals, fields ... the rice farmers I knew certainly felt that in quite of instances they were getting a raw deal, they were then ...

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**Mr. Chairman:** There has been some interruption from the back, but we have not been hearing you for the last minute or so. I think the question posed was what were the difficulties faced by rice farmers?

**Mrs. Samuels-Brown:** That was Government created.

**Ms. Dow:** Well, Guyana is a place that has to be drained and irrigated and if those things are not functioning properly, then your fields would not work properly. If you did not have the right variety of rice, if you did not have fertilizer on a timely basis ... a number of issues would have arisen to anything that you are trying to do in terms of production and since rice farmers were by and large seen as members of the opposition, whether the People's Progressive Party (PPP) or the WPA, many of them I know felt at that time that they were marginalised.

**Mrs. Samuels-Brown:** Was the Government responsible for what was referred to as irrigation and drainage?

**Ms. Dow:** In many instances, in some of the bigger schemes, they were Government schemes, so things were breaking down and things may have looked malicious and intended that may not have been, but certainly ...

**Mrs. Samuels-Brown:** I will have to ask you to pause again because ... you mentioned Commission agents, if we are moving from rice farmers ...

**Ms. Dow:** Yes.

**Mrs. Samuels-Brown:** Who are they? How were they affected by Government actions?

**Ms. Dow:** If you had to have an import license for goods that you had brought in and those goods were no longer ... you were able to get an import license or you could not get access to foreign exchange, obviously then, that would have been an issue for those people, any of whom left the country in that time.

**Mrs. Samuels-Brown:** Who are these commission agents?

**Mr. Chairman:** It is like merchants.

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**Ms. Dow:** Yes.

**Mrs. Samuels-Brown:** Thank you.

**Ms. Dow:** You know, people who had agencies for ...

**Mr. Williams:** Middle men?

**Ms. Dow:** Yes.

**Mrs. Samuels-Brown:** Thank you.

**Ms. Dow:** But people who had agencies would start agencies, whether it was for pharmaceuticals or for food or implements or whatever it was, you needed import licenses. There was something called the External Trade Bureau, I think it existed then, so you had to have and then imports were concentrated with the State corporations that brought in a lot of these things.

**Mrs. Samuels-Brown:** Thank you.

**Mr. Ram:** Were rice farmers allowed to export their produce or did they have to do that through any State agency?

**Ms. Dow:** I think it was the Guyana Rice Marketing Board that controlled the movement of supplies; I think you had to buy your fertilizers and so through the Rice Marketing Board. It was a change from a private sector run economy to a State economy.

**Mr. Ram:** Tell us, about the banking sector, did that remain private?

**Ms. Dow:** Yes, I think you had the Guyana National Bank, so it was a change. Not all the change in my view was negative, but it was certainly a big change.

**Mr. Ram:** Any of the private banks were nationalised and came into public ownership?

**Ms. Dow:** Up to 1980 ... I am not sure if it was in 1980, but we did have eventually Republic Bank, it was Royal Bank at the time and it became National Bank of Industry and Commerce, Barkley's Bank went under different ownership and for instance, there were things like the Commonwealth Development Corporation who were doing housing and the Guyana Mortgage

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Finance Bank. People could not remove their profits out of Guyana, so many of those things became very ... pulled out of Guyana or stopped expansion in housing, for instance.

**Mr. Ram:** And the insurance sector?

**Ms. Dow:** Similarly, we created the Guyana Corporative Insurance, I think GCIS was State run. So many of the things that were normally in private hands ... either State corporations had taken them over or you had State corporations to which the business would assent, and the State business would become then ... you had something called GUYSTAC, Guyana State Corporation that controlled a number of organisations, the importation of cars and so on.

**Mr. Ram:** You used the term “commanding heights of the economy”, was that a term that the WPA coined?

**Ms. Dow:** No.

**Mr. Ram:** Where did it originate?

**Ms. Dow:** Well, it did originate from the Government. These were all, as you would know, left parties, so “the commanding heights” was quite a popular term in the country. We would own the commanding heights of the economy.

**Mr. Chairman:** Remember after the war, the anti-government, the Crisp and Bevin and those boys; that was the language of that period, “commanding heights of the economy”.

**Ms. Dow:** Right.

**Mr. Ram:** Thank you, Sir.

**Mr. Williams:** Mr. Chairman, I am not sure where we are going with it in terms of the Terms of Reference, but I think that it is only fair for it to be known that what the Witness is talking about was in pursuance of a socialist ideology at the time, which all of the major players had subscribed to.

**Mrs. Samuels-Brown:** You could put that question to ...

**Mr. Ram:** I thought Mr. Williams would have the chance to say that.

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**Ms. Dow:** I did say they were all left parties, Mr. Williams.

**Mr. Chairman:** The reason why I did not think it was at all irrelevant is that it speaks to the atmosphere at the time, what was happening in the economy and in the society is part of that general atmosphere obtained, which is covered by the Terms of Reference.

**Mr. Williams:** Which one, Sir.

**Mr. Ram:** One.

**Mr. Williams:** Terms of Reference One?

**Mr. Chairman:** I do not have it before me now, but we had interpreted one area to cover the atmosphere of social, economic, political.

**Mr. Williams:** Yes, but I thought that we were coming under Terms of Reference Four with that, but One is very specific to the question of the explosive death of Dr. Rodney.

**Mr. Chairman:** That was already ...

**Mr. Williams:** But the point that I am making is that ...

**Mr. Chairman:** I thought you were talking about what was going on now.

**Mr. Williams:** Yes, that is what I am saying. How is this relevant to the Terms of Reference? If you are going to ask the Witness to talk about it, you have to put it in the context of the time, that is, a socialist ideology that was being pursued, that is why you had nationalisation and so on and taking control of the commanding heights of the economy. So, unless you put it in that context, it would be a misrepresentation of what was happening at the time.

**Mrs. Samuels-Brown:** Mr. Williams, it is funny that you have made that contribution because the thought did occur to me. I believe that it is relevant to the atmosphere at the time but also of relevance would be whether the WPA subscribed to the policy of Government ownership and I would expect that at the appropriate time you would ask the Witness, so that it would be on the record as evidence.

**Mr. Ram:** Ms. Dow, what effect did this control of the economy have on labour?

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**Ms. Dow:** Well, if 80 per cent of the economy is controlled by the State, the State was your employer for a large part of the working people and I would say that in my experience, a large part of the private sector were not willing to ... frankly, they were frightened of doing anything that would bring them into the ...

**Mr. Chairman:** ... disfavor?

**Ms. Dow:** ... hostility, yes disfavor of the Government. So, you had an atmosphere in that time which even if people were critical of what was going on, they were afraid ... many were not afraid, but would not make public their criticisms. For instance, if you went to a public meeting, they used to take down all your car numbers and they could say next day, we saw you at a WPA meeting and people would feel that they would lose their jobs. It was certainly so within my family in which people felt that if I visited my family, what happened.

*12:36hrs*

**Mr. Ram:** My question was the effects the commanding heights of the economy policy have on labour.

**Ms. Dow:** Well, I think the Trade Unions Movements, in some instances, were part of a number of demonstrations. There was one particular instance in which the Head of the CCWU, I remember, was picked up by the police.

**Mr. Ram:** And the name of that person was?

**Ms. Dow:** Gordon Todd. It was quite a famous incident. He was taken to the Ogle Airport where he was supposed to be dropped from the sky by one of the things. I mean there was fear. Even if you agreed with policies, you felt that this was not an even hand. That is how I felt and I think many persons felt.

**Mrs. Samuels-Brown:** Before the witness continues, can we have a timeline for this incident with the CCWU?

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**Ms. Dow:** Something I had thought, there used to be demonstrations around what was the Bookers in the square in Water Street. The CCWU, Gordon Todd and them would be part of the demonstrations...

**Mrs. Samuels-Brown:** Sorry, so that was in 1979? I am sorry to interrupt you.

**Ms. Dow:** I think it was 1979.

**Ms. Dow:** Where did you get your information from that he was supposed to be dropped from the sky? Can you assist us?

**Ms. Dow:** It was the public. I mean, it was said that he was picked up and gone... I happened to know the person who was supposed to drop him from the sky. Some years later he said that he just kept him there at Ogle Aerodrome.

**Mrs. Samuels-Brown:** So this person who was supposed to have done the deed told you that that was his assignment?

**Ms. Dow:** Yes. I could say that that was his understanding of the assignment...

**Mrs. Samuels-Brown:** Thank you.

**Ms. Dow:** ...from the Police but he was an Army Officer and he did not take orders from the Police.

**Mr. Ram:** But those instructions were not carried out.

**Ms. Dow:** No, not at all. If I may, Mr. Ram; I think there were instances – I was going on to say – the “bauxite town” where people had gone on strike and there were teargased in their cell. When they were locked up they teargased them in their cells. That is how you had the Guyana Sugar and Bauxite Workers...

**Mr. Ram:** “They” meaning who?

**Ms. Dow:** The activists who were picked up.

**Mr. Ram:** There were teargases in their cells by...?

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**Ms. Dow:** ...by police, though they were already in a cell. There was an atmosphere I think of fear and...

**Mrs. Samuels-Brown:** Sorry. I am very sorry I keep interjecting. You see, we are gathering evidence and I want to be sure of the source, and therefore how much weight I can put to what is being said. Did she hear about this teargasing from specific persons and from whom?

**Ms. Dow:** Yes, I mean, we know people who were in the cells.

**Mr. Ram:** Could you mention one name, two names?

**Ms. Dow:** There was a guy called Jardin. I think he was an activist. Humphrey might have been in it who was a WPA activist; he may have been. There were people who were... The WPA used to have significant meetings at Linden. They were really active workers in terms of their rights and what was going on. There was certainly an atmosphere. We would take strike-relief food up there. I, myself would drive. I am saying that these were things that were not just something I heard but I was involved in helping strike relief and so on.

**Mr. Ram:** Was any of that information publicly reported?

**Ms. Dow:** Yes. It would have been in the *Catholic Standard*, in *Day Clean*, *Contact*, I am sure.

**Mr. Ram:** Ms. Dow, when you spoke this morning before the break about terrorism you were speaking of a particular type of physical terrorism, I take it. Did you see the action in relation to Mr. Gordon Tod, a form of terrorism?

**Ms. Dow:** Yes.

**Mr. Ram:** You mentioned a name yesterday, and spoke of her courage, Ms. Pamela Beharry. Was she exceptional?

**Ms. Dow:** I think she was very exceptional.

**Mr. Ram:** Why do you think she was exceptional?

**Ms. Dow:** Because this was a person who was not, I would say, protected by any form of... She was not a member of the middle class that was protected. She was a citizen who lived in a pretty



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humble circumstance and yet she was able to do what she considered to be the right thing, not in any way, it seemed, ever mindful of any danger to herself which was exceptional.

**Mr. Ram:** Would you say, from your own experiences, that the state dealt any differently with women supporters of the WPA as they did with its male supporters?

**Ms. Dow:** I think both were great for “licks”. In fact...

**Mr. Ram:** Good for...?

**Ms. Dow:** “Licks”. The Police was just as happy to beat women, or whomever, as they were to attack the men. There were many instances in which women were attacked with batons and chased and locked up or taken down to the station. There was a particular group called Women Against Terror which was formed in order to highlight both the terror of the time and to bring about what could have happened to women. Of course, women always were, in a sense, more vulnerable since they were more vulnerable to the normal abuses that women have, and felt that you could have of rape, and so on. Those did not occur to us. It was certainly something that was ever present in your mind if you were picked up on a dark road or anything like that. I am saying that women were good for the course. They were not treated with kid gloves at all.

**Mr. Ram:** You mentioned a short while ago about demonstrations around, I think... Did you say ‘Guyana Stores’?

**Ms. Dow:** Yes.

**Mr. Ram:** What was the nature of those demonstrations?

**Ms. Dow:** They were various political things. The big one... I do not remember what it was but there was a huge crowd. It may have been about the Constitution in 78; the referendum was one big point in which many organisations came together so there were a lot of meetings on the road; “whistle-stop” meetings; demonstrations would be called around the whole question of the referendum. That was one sharp point in which there were instances. They may have been other industrial things. I think the bauxite workers were around the question of food and wages and so on; regular stuff.

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**Mr. Ram:** Food or foodstuff?

**Ms. Dow:** Foodstuff.

**Mr. Ram:** You referred in your evidence, on a number of occasions, to fear among the leadership of the WPA of which you are aware?

**Ms. Dow:** Fear?

**Mr. Ram:** Yes, I think on page 82. “No, we felt like there could have been danger. At least I felt...” and at various times you talked about fear in our society. Was there fear among the leadership of the Working People’s Alliance?

**Ms. Dow:** No, could be ‘fearless’.

**Mr. Williams:** Mr. Chairman, I am not sure... The witness testified yesterday upon the discovery that Dr. Rodney had died. They were in a state of fear...

**Ms. Dow:** I did not say that.

**Mr. Williams:** ...they did not know whether... That is why they removed from the scene and all those things you said yesterday. That was why, because they felt that they could have been arrested at any time and all those things, and if they... That was the general trust of her evidence yesterday.

**Mr. Chairman:** I did not understand fear. Fear was always resisted. There were concerns to get to points to safety because there were concerned...

**Mr. Williams:** Because of the fear that the State would be after them. Even some gunshot was mentioned for the first time in 34 years because of fear that the person – Donald Rodney – was getting away from the scene or something like that.

**Ms. Dow:** Not our fear.

**Mr. Chairman:** No. I did not understand it that way.

**Mrs. Samuels-Brown:** The witness was very careful to affirm her bravado.

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**Mr. Chairman:** They were accepting... Sorry, sorry.

**Ms. Dow:** Mr. Chairman, may I reiterate? The WPA Leadership was fearless, in my view.

**Mr. Chairman:** That was my understanding, but they were, nevertheless....

**Ms. Dow:** It still is.

**Mr. Chairman:** ...not unrealistic and naïve. They knew that they were operating in an environment where they were in danger at any time but they were nevertheless not fearful. That is my understanding. Am I misrepresenting you?

**Mr. Williams:** Well, we have the record...

**Mr. Chairman:** No, I was asking the witness whether I have misrepresented the thrust of her evidence on that issue.

**Ms. Dow:** Yes, I never said they were in fear. I said that we were concerned about new dangers or imminent danger which is different from being in fear. I mean being sensible, frankly.

**Mr. Ram:** Was there a general fear throughout the period 1978 to 1980 that the State would move to eliminate membership of the Working People's Alliance?

**Ms. Dow:** Yes, people had already... Ohene Koama was killed already...

**Mr. Chairman:** I think you are repeating a premise which you rejected already, fear, fear...

**Ms. Dow:** It is not the word 'fear'...

**Mr. Chairman:** You are going beyond the leadership, now, to rank and file?

**Mr. Ram:** No, my question to whether there were any discussion... I will rephrase it, Sir... any discussion among the leadership – the inner core – of the Working People's Alliance that the state would move to eliminate any of its members.

**Ms. Dow:** Yes, but that... what else could I tell you?

**Mr. Ram:** She was an insider.

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**Mr. Williams:** She said she was not a member of the Executive.

**Mr. Ram:** But she said she was an insider. Yes, Ms. Dow...

**Ms. Dow:** The WPA was obviously concerned. Ohene Koama had been killed; there had been an attempt on Rupert's life and it was, to us, logical, those of us who were close to them or part of them, that there was an incident with Dr. Thomas in which he thought there was an attempt to kidnap him...

**Mr. Ram:** Dr. Thomas? Could you say who Dr. Thomas was?

**Ms. Dow:** Dr. Clive Thomas.

**Mr. Ram:** And he was...?

**Ms. Dow:** He was a member of the Executive of the WPA. There was concern and a sense of real and present danger on a regular basis, on a daily basis.

**Mrs. Samuels-Brown:** And you heard members of the leadership express this concern?

**Ms. Dow:** Yes.

**Mrs. Samuels-Brown:** Thank you.

**Ms. Dow:** I mean we tried. They certainly did.

**Mr. Ram:** Yet, according to the records and, I think, your own testimony, Dr. Walter Rodney was the only member of the senior leadership of the WPA that was killed under circumstances we are now trying to determine.

**Ms. Dow:** Yes.

**Mr. Ram:** Why, in your view, Ms. Dow, did the State not move to eliminate other leaders?

**Ms. Dow:** For several things. I mean, Walter was the great charismatic leader of the WPA. He was the calling card; everybody else, in my sense, did different things but Walter was the public charismatic leader. The other thing is, of course, I think it was as stunning development for the Guyanese society and it really made a complete re-evaluation of our society for many people.

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**Mrs. Samuels-Brown:** What was a stunning development?

**Ms. Dow:** The killing of Rodney

**Mr. Ram:** Would you say that the Government itself, the State itself, might have re-evaluated its own actions in relation to the Working People's Alliance?

**Ms. Dow:** I cannot say how the State went about organising his death. I mean, if they had a meeting or something...

**Mr. Ram:** I am asking you for your...

**Ms. Dow:** I do believe that it made a big difference to the Burnham Government after he was killed, in their international posture and their national posture.

**Mr. Chairman:** May I just intervene here? You said his death and the manner of it – his killing – was a stunning development in the Guyanese society and it led to a reassessment by the society; a reassessment of what?

**Ms. Dow:** Of the Government.

**Mr. Chairman:** ...of the...?

**Ms. Dow:** The Government and the state of the country. If we had too many people that I knew how could we have descended to this- the killing of political leaders in a brazen way.

*12:51hrs*

**Mr. Ram:** A note has just been passed to me Mr. Chairman, one of the bauxite workers who were tear gassed he is here and is prepared to identify himself. Ms. Dow, can you recognise Mr. Ali Majeed in this room?

**Ms. Dow:** Yes, I can. He is here at the back in the [*inaudible*] shirt with his spectacles.

**Mr. Chairman:** Was it a reassessment so much as a questioning by the society generally as to how could we have reached that point.

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**Ms. Dow:** I think people, even people who support the Government, this was a new low, I would say, so that not only those who were opposed to the direction they were going in, but really this was a terrible...

**Mr. Chairman:** Yes, I understand that, but was the appropriateness of reassessment as supposed to questioning.

**Ms. Dow:** Yes well I see the reassessment as reevaluation, a deeper reflection of the way the society was.

**Mr. Ram:** Ms. Dow, over what period of time did you know Dr. Walter Rodney?

**Mr. Chairman:** I think we had that yesterday.

**Ms. Dow:** Yes 1977 to when he died.

**Mr. Ram:** 1977 and over that time, often based on your recollection; you would have met Dr. Rodney?

**Ms. Dow:** Frequently, as you know, I mean Walter would be around at our house, it was kind of a place where everybody was, it was central people would come there, eat there and hang out there. We played Bridge together we were there at the political meetings, drove him and drove others around so it was like on a regular basis. Pat and the children would come by sometimes and we took the kids for a drive, things like that.

**Mr. Ram:** Would you describe from your experiences with him that Dr. Rodney was of a reckless personality?

**Ms. Dow:** Not at all.

**Mr. Ram:** How would you describe him?

**Ms. Dow:** First of all he was amazing, he was the only person I know who could be in the middle of the most disorderly things and he would be writing his work - his books. He always wrote, as you know, he was doing the history of the Guyanese working people, Latchmie out of India, Kofi Badu and he always worked under all circumstances so that was one thing. Walter

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was a very serious person at one level and he was also a lot of fun, as we know he likes to dance, party a bit, he liked Bridge and he was a great father, I think, as you know, there were many instances with Ash and Kanini the young girls when he would have them on his shoulder and he was a very warm individual at that level, but a serious person about his commitment to his task of being the Historian, but also about talking to the Guyanese people about what it was. I mean if I may say, I would consider a close friend and yet when he spoke publicly, I was completely mesmerised that he was so powerful in his delivery and his clarity about where our society was heading.

**Mr. Ram:** In all of those fears in which you had an opportunity to see Dr. Rodney operate, he was not adventurous or reckless?

**Ms. Dow:** He was not reckless. But he was not a person who was afraid of taking the lead in terms of... He did not hide from the Police; he did not see that he should be in less danger than anyone of us in terms of public meetings or anything. He was prepared to be there with ordinary people who were being confronted by the security forces, but reckless, he was not.

**Mr. Ram:** You related to the Commission yesterday and today, a pattern of harassment and intimidation by the State security. Is that correct, Ma'am?

**Ms. Dow:** Pardon me?

**Mr. Ram:** A pattern of harassment and intimidation by the State security?

**Ms. Dow:** Yes, I would say that. To me, or in general?

**Mr. Ram:** General.

**Ms. Dow:** Yes.

**Mr. Ram:** Were you at any time able to recognise some of the members of the State security who carried out these exercise of harassment in intimidation?

**Ms. Dow:** Yes.

**Mr. Ram:** Would you care to name some of those?

## WALTER RODNEY COMMISSION OF INQUIRY

**Ms. Dow:** Sure. For the Death Squad there were two Pains what we used to call “the big Pain” who was a kind of red guy.

**Mr. Chairman:** Go slowly, because we are not hearing you too well and you are going very rapidly.

**Ms. Dow:** There was what we called that Death Squad, it was under Mr. “Skip” Roberts so they were... they would search your house, stopped you on the road.

**Mr. Chairman:** [*Inaudible*] we are concerned about the names.

**Ms. Dow:** Yes, well the names I recall Fanfair, Gilgheous.

**Mr. Ram:** Do you know the first names for these person first names?

**Ms. Dow:** I cannot remember all the first names. Gilgheous

**Mr. Chairman:** How do you spell that?

**Ms. Dow:** Gilgheous, I think, something like that. There was Pain.

**Mr. Williams:** [*Inaudible*]

**Ms. Dow:** No, I does not have a “y”, Mr. Williams, I do not think.

**Mr. Williams:** Do not doubt me.

**Ms. Dow:** May be the new spelling so Gilgheous, it is not an unusual name, we could get the name, he was in the police force. There was Payne, there were two Payne. One was a kind of big red guy and the other one was a smaller one who had green eyes so we used to distinguish them by saying “green eye Payne” or “Tall Payne”. There was somebody they called “Toots” whose name was Hutson.

**Mr. Chairman:** Cooks?

**Ms. Dow:** Toots that was his call name - Hutson.



## WALTER RODNEY COMMISSION OF INQUIRY

**Mr. Williams:** Mr. Chairman, could we have period within which these names are being called, the Witness is speaking to.

**Ms. Dow:** 1978 and 1979 and 1980.

**Mr. Williams:** With Toots? It cannot be.

**Ms. Dow:** Toots used to search my house.

**Mr. Williams:** Well we have to get his name.

**Mr. Chairman:** These people were from the Police Force, the Army or where?

**Ms. Dow:** The Death Squad, police. So anyhow Gilgheous, Fanfare, Payne, Angel.

**Mr. Chairman:** Angel was a man or a woman?

**Ms. Dow:** A man, there were no women in the Death Squad people as far as I know.

**Mr. Chairman:** He was called that as an angel of death?

**Ms. Dow:** His name was Angel; I think that was his last name, his real name I think. I am not sure if he is still alive.

**Mr. Chairman:** You knew Allan Gates?

**Ms. Dow:** Yes, I know Allan Gates.

**Mr. Chairman:** Do you know him as connected to the Death Squad?

**Ms. Dow:** No. I knew him as connected to the Police Force.

**Mr. Ram:** These names you have mentioned and maybe the last one and maybe you start with the last one first. How did you come to know these people?

**Ms. Dow:** Well they used to arrest you, they used to search your house, they sometimes would... if they picked you up at the airport, for instance, I would say they would say to you, "Hold your cloths and say, "Hmmm I am going to strip you...""

## WALTER RODNEY COMMISSION OF INQUIRY

**Mr. Ram:** Sorry, say that again please?

**Ms. Dow:** There would be instances when they would be up to you in close quarters, they searched your house, they would be present in public meetings, they searched my house, present at public meetings, would stop me in my car and arrest me took me down to CID Headquarters as had happened on many occasions.

**Mr. Ram:** All of these are personal experiences of yours.

**Ms. Dow:** These are all personal experiences of mind.

**Mr. Ram:** Mr. Chairman, Commissioners, I have no further questions of this Witness.

**Mr. Chairman:** Thank you very much, Sir.

**Mrs. Samuels-Brown:** Mr. Chairman, if I may, just because the witness mentioned Mr. Gates. Did you see him at public meetings, Ms. Dow?

**Ms. Dow:** Yes.

**Mrs. Samuels-Brown:** Can you say what role he was playing at those meetings; what he was doing rather?

**Ms. Dow:** Well he was "Rupert's Body Guard" I knew he emanated from the Police Force since he brandished his gun in public, so he must have had covered. He had on one occasions took out his weapon in the public and since nobody else...

**Mrs. Samuels-Brown:** He was on one occasion what? You dropped your voice.

**Ms. Dow:** Took out his firearm, in particular, I recall.

**Mrs. Samuels-Brown:** Thank you.

**Mrs. Samuels-Brown:** And if he was not in of my view somebody that was known to the Force, he would long been picked up and arrested.

**Mrs. Samuels-Brown:** Did you ever go to the WPA Headquarters - their office?

## WALTER RODNEY COMMISSION OF INQUIRY

**Ms. Dow:** Yes.

**Mrs. Samuels-Brown:** Did you ever see Mr. Gates there?

**Ms. Dow:** Yes and I saw him at Dr. Roopnarine's home

**Mrs. Samuels-Brown:** Thank you. Thank you Mr. Chairman.

**Mr. Chairman:** Who goes next?

**Attorney for Mr. Donald Rodney [Ms. Camille Warner]:** With your leave Mr. Chairman, I have a few questions for Ms. Dow.

**Mr. Chairman:** Just state your name again for the purposes of the record.

**Ms. Warner:** Camille Warner, I am associated with Mr. Keith Scotland who is representing the interest of Donald Rodney.

**Mr. Chairman:** Go ahead please.

**Ms. Warner:** Ms. Dow, in your earlier testimony you said that you are of the view that the PNC was responsible for the death or killing of Walter Rodney?

**Ms. Dow:** Yes, I mean Government was involved in the killing of Walter Rodney, yes.

**Ms. Warner:** And who was the Government at that time?

**Ms. Dow:** It was the PNC Government.

**Ms. Warner:** You also said that as far...

**Mr. Chairman:** What is the verb, "involved in" or "Responsible for"?

**Ms. Warner:** "Responsible for" and "involved in" I suppose. You also said that as far as you are aware Donald Rodney was the only witness to that incident, the incident that surrounded the death of Walter Rodney. Is that not so?

**Ms. Dow:** Well by witness, I meant he was in the car with him.

## WALTER RODNEY COMMISSION OF INQUIRY

**Ms. Warner:** Okay, and you also said in your earlier testimony that as far as you are aware no one supposed to have been in that vehicle with Dr. Walter Rodney at the time of his death. Is that not so?

**Ms. Dow:** That is my understanding and I would say hypothesis surrounding what happened around the killing and what happened afterwards in terms of the Press Release and so on, on the radio.

**Ms. Warner:** You also said earlier that no one would have known the details of what had happened that night had that information not provided by Donald Rodney?

**Ms. Dow:** Well we would not have known, I supposed other people would have known.

**Ms. Warner:** Well that is a yes, right?

**Ms. Dow:** Yes, to meaning that when I say no one; mean none of us would have known also the people who sent it.

**Ms. Warner:** So that is a yes?

**Ms. Dow:** Yes, to that meaning.

**Ms. Warner:** Okay. You are aware that in 1980 Donald Rodney was charged with position of explosives without lawful authority in connection with the incidents surrounding Dr. Rodney's death?

**Ms. Dow:** Yes.

**Ms. Warner:** Did you follow, well are you aware that he was tried and convicted of that offense?

**Ms. Dow:** Yes.

**Ms. Warner:** The PNC was the Government that was still ruling at that time?

**Ms. Dow:** Yes.

**Ms. Warner:** Did you follow that trial?

## WALTER RODNEY COMMISSION OF INQUIRY

**Ms. Dow:** I did not go to the trial, but I thought it was disgusting.

**Ms. Warner:** But did you follow it?

**Ms. Dow:** Yes, I was aware that Donald was charged and he was convicted.

**Ms. Warner:** You said you did not go because it was disgusting?

**Ms. Dow:** I thought it was disgusting to charge his brother with that.

**Ms. Warner:** Thank you. So are you of the view that he received a fair trial?

**Ms. Dow:** No, I do not think he had a fair charge.

**Ms. Warner:** And you would conclude that Donald Rodney was used as scapegoat rather by the PNC Government at the time?

**Ms. Dow:** Yes.

*13:06hrs*

**Ms. Warner:** ...more or less to pass or shift the blame from themselves to Donald Rodney?

**Ms. Dow:** Well from Gregory Smith to Donald Rodney, yes.

**Ms. Warner:** Those are my questions.

**Mr. Chairman:** Thank you. To shift blame from who?

**Ms. Dow:** From Gregory Smith.

**Mr. Pilgrim:** From Gregory Smith to Donald Rodney.

**Mrs. Samuels-Brown:** I will accept the Witness' answer that she thought it was not a fair charge because her evidence was that she did not attend the trial.

**Mr. Chairman:** I think she said, in my record, a fair trial.

**Mrs. Samuels-Brown:** No, the question was trial but she clarified...

**Ms. Dow:** I said charge and trial.

## WALTER RODNEY COMMISSION OF INQUIRY

**Mrs. Samuels-Brown:** To say charge...

**Mr. Chairman:** Charge and Trial.

**Mrs. Samuels-Brown:** But you did not attend Court at all?

**Ms. Dow:** No.

**Mrs. Samuels-Brown:** Thank you.

**Ms. Dow:** Not that I recall. Who would get justice in the courts?

**Mr. Chairman:** Who is next?

**Ms. Warner:** I do have one last question.

**Mr. Chairman:** Yes.

**Ms. Warner:** The answer to your last question was to shift blame from Gregory Smith to Donald Rodney, correct?

**Ms. Dow:** Yes.

**Ms. Warner:** In your earlier testimony you agreed with Counsel when he put it to you that that Walter Rodney's killing was a State-sponsored terrorism, is that not so?

**Ms. Dow:** Terrorist act, yes.

**Ms. Warner:** An act amounting to State-sponsored terrorism, correct?

**Ms. Dow:** Yes.

**Ms. Warner:** Okay, those are my questions.

**Mr. Pilgrim:** Mr. Chairman.

**Mr. Chairman:** I am hearing you, Sir.

**Mr. Pilgrim:** Andrew Pilgrim on behalf of the immediate family of Walter Rodney. Can you just tell us please, Ms. Dow, were you aware in the same period 1978 to 1980 of the operations of a group known as the House of Israel?

## WALTER RODNEY COMMISSION OF INQUIRY

**Ms. Dow:** Yes, I was.

**Mr. Pilgrim:** As far as you are aware was there any interaction between the House of Israel and the WPA and if so can you tell us what was the nature of that interaction?

**Ms. Dow:** Yes they used to come with long sticks to our public meetings to beat you, to pull away the wires from the speakers; they generally were disruptive and tried to always threaten the meetings in particular.

**Mr. Pilgrim:** Did they ever appear to be working in association with any other Parties other than just their own membership?

**Ms. Dow:** We assumed them to be one of the arms... I assumed them to be in cahoots with the same elements of the Police Force who would be doing the same thing, harassing you at meetings, physically and otherwise and had coverage from the State.

**Mr. Pilgrim:** Was there any other aspect of their behaviour or their deportment that lead you to believe that they were in fact associated with the State? In other words, apart from the fact that they appeared to be working along with others from the State at your meetings, was there anything else about...?

**Ms. Dow:** Well no one ever arrested them for beating us up. No one ever interfered with them. They were strutting their stuff, so to speak, quite happily in full view of the Police Force and those Policemen who seemed not to be associated with it certainly would tell you that they had no power to deal with it, on the quiet.

**Mr. Pilgrim:** Okay. In respect of Mr. Gates...

**Mrs. Samuels-Brown:** Before you move on.

**Mr. Pilgrim:** Sorry, Madam.

## WALTER RODNEY COMMISSION OF INQUIRY

**Mrs. Samuels-Brown:** I know we have had evidence from other witnesses, but to give a basis for this Witness's evidence, how does she identify people as from the House of Israel? Is she just making an assumption, is it what she has heard here or did she have a basis, evidentially, factually to come to the view that they were from the House of Israel?

**Mr. Pilgrim:** Grateful, Ma'am.

**Ms. Dow:** Some had uniforms, the green and red and black uniforms and there was a particular person a very tall gentleman who headed a lot of these charges at public meetings he was quite identifiable to us and he would come with people who were clearly... sometime they did have on their uniform; they were not hiding. They were aggressive and they were quite willing... I mean, one has been hit by them. I am not speaking abstractly; we have been hit by them so we were quite aware of them.

**Mr. Pilgrim:** Did you know the name of the tall gentleman in particular, if you can recall?

**Ms. Dow:** I have forgotten it but I used to see him on the road not too long ago.

**Mr. Pilgrim:** We had a witness in this Commission, a Mr. Joseph Hamilton. Were you aware of him at the time as being a member of the House of Israel or was that something you learnt about during the course of this Inquiry?

**Ms. Dow:** I do not recall him specifically but the person I recall very distinctly was the tall guy. He was very tall. Taller than you.

**Mrs. Samuels-Brown:** You said that this tall gentleman would come with them; he was in charge of them...

**Ms. Dow:** He would have a stick and he was kind of menacing; angular and menacing all the time.



## WALTER RODNEY COMMISSION OF INQUIRY

**Mrs. Samuels-Brown:** What I was going to ask you and it was a question. When you say he would come with them, did they...?

**Ms. Dow:** With other people.

**Mrs. Samuels-Brown:** ...come to the meetings together by a particular transportation or would they gather separately?

**Ms. Dow:** Well a lot of the meetings were on the mall which is not very far from where their headquarters were so they would be walking down.

**Mrs. Samuels-Brown:** Thank you.

**Mr. Pilgrim:** But he would appear to be the leader of...?

**Ms. Dow:** He would appear certainly to be.

**Mr. Pilgrim:** No more questions, Mr. Chairman.

**Mr. Chairman:** Thank you. Mr. Williams, has the time not come for you?

**Mr. Williams:** Thank you, Mr. Chairman, Mr. Bond will take this Witness.

**Mr. Chairman:** Mr. Bond.

**Mr. Bond:** Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

**Mr. Chairman:** We do not see you with a lot of frequency. We are happy to see you, please proceed.

**Mr. Bond:** Thank you, Sir. Ms. Dow is there a reason for you not becoming a member of the WPA?

**Ms. Dow:** Yes. I...

**Mr. Chairman:** I did not hear that question.

**Ms. Dow:** Was there a reason...?

**Mr. Bond:** Is there a reason for her not becoming a member of the WPA?

## WALTER RODNEY COMMISSION OF INQUIRY

**Mr. Chairman:** Not becoming...?

**Mr. Bond:** A member of the WPA?

**Mr. Chairman:** I think you are attempting to speak but keeping your lips closed.

**Mr. Bond:** Forgive me Sir.

**Mr. Chairman:** Notwithstanding you still have to open your mouth.

**Mr. Bond:** Thank you, Sir.

**Mr. Chairman:** Very well.

**Ms. Dow:** I am sorry. Okay. Yes there was.

**Mr. Bond:** Could you state what that reason was?

**Ms. Dow:** Because I believed that people who had resources or were of the private sector who were patriotic should be able to support a Political Party and a political movement without having the benefit of making decisions in the Party. I felt that very strongly.

**Mr. Bond:** Likewise do you have a reason for not giving the police a statement on the night 13<sup>th</sup> June, 1980?

**Ms. Dow:** I was not asked by the police to give a statement. Why would I give it?

**Mr. Bond:** Do you know whether Andaiye was asked to give a statement?

**Ms. Dow:** No, I do not know.

**Mr. Bond:** Do you know if she gave a statement to the Police?

**Ms. Dow:** No, I do not know.

**Mr. Bond:** Do you know whether the Police had asked Karen De Souza to give a statement to them?

**Ms. Dow:** No.

**Mr. Bond:** Do you know that she gave a statement to them?

## WALTER RODNEY COMMISSION OF INQUIRY

**Ms. Dow:** No. I mean that I know that she gave a statement subsequently, I think, and Andaiye but I did not know that at the time.

**Mr. Bond:** Do you know that they gave their statements; I think it was, on the very day...?

**Mr. Chairman:** Who are they that you are talking about, the ladies?

**Mr. Bond:** I am talking about both Andaiye and Karen De Souza would have given their statements to the police. Both gave their statements on the said 13<sup>th</sup> June, 1980.

**Ms. Dow:** I know that.

**Mr. Bond:** There was nothing precluding you or stopping you from actually giving a statement to the police?

**Ms. Dow:** Why would I? I was not a witness. I did not go to the car which is what Andaiye and Karen were...

**Mr. Bond:** Do you agree that you spoke with Donald that evening?

**Ms. Dow:** Yes.

**Mr. Bond:** Do you agree that you saw the condition that he was in?

**Ms. Dow:** Yes.

**Mr. Bond:** Do you agree that that information of what you saw, the puncture wounds, the bleeding, do you think that was important?

**Ms. Dow:** To whom?

**Mr. Bond:** To an investigation into how, when and why Dr. Rodney and, in particular, Donald Rodney were injured?

**Ms. Dow:** Yes.

**Mr. Bond:** And there was nothing stopping you from sharing this important information to the police?

## WALTER RODNEY COMMISSION OF INQUIRY

**Ms. Dow:** Did the police invite people to give statements?

**Mr. Bond:** They did not invite Karen De Souza and she gave a statement.

**Ms. Dow:** Karen De Souza was...

**Mr. Bond:** They did not invite Andaiye, but she gave a statement.

**Ms. Dow:** I have no idea on the circumstance under which they gave it, save and except to say they saw the car and they saw Dr. Rodney in the state he was in. I did not.

**Mr. Bond:** But you saw Donald in the state he was in.

**Ms. Dow:** Yes.

**Mr. Bond:** And you agree it was important the condition he was in? Do you agree that was the case that it was important in understanding how, when and why he got injured?

**Ms. Dow:** Mr. Bond that is too circuitous for me to answer except save and say I was not invited to give a statement. Donald Rodney gave his own statement. Subsequently, no one ever asked me to give a statement. To this date no one has ever asked me to give a statement so what can I say? The police are the investigating authority. It is there business.

**Mr. Bond:** So in your own words, you would withhold important information unless you were asked to give that information?

**Ms. Dow:** I am sorry, what was important...

**Mr. Bond:** No...

**Ms. Dow:** That they would not have gotten from Mr...

**Mr. Bond:** I am asking if it is your view or your conviction that you could withhold important information until and unless asked, is that your conviction.

**Ms. Dow:** Well we had to agree on what that information is.

## WALTER RODNEY COMMISSION OF INQUIRY

**Mr. Bond:** We agree that the injury that Donald received to his neck, that the blood you saw, that the things he spoke if at all he spoke to you or anyone around, that you hearing this pertinent information, you felt and you are convinced and convicted that you had no moral duty to say to any investigator this is what I saw, this is what I know until you are asked, is that your conviction?

**Ms. Dow:** But to whom would I have said it?

**Mr. Bond:** The same persons that Karen De Souza...

**Ms. Dow:** But I was not in their vicinity.

**Mr. Bond:** Madam, you were not in the vicinity of Karen De Souza?

**Ms. Dow:** I was not.

**Mr. Bond:** You were not in the vicinity of Andaiye?

**Ms. Dow:** I was not.

**Mr. Bond:** Did you not say you saw Andaiye that night?

**Ms. Dow:** I saw Andaiye as she ran from the scene. I collected Donald Rodney and took him for medical treatment. I then went to collect Mr. Kwayana to bring him down. I was then there and present in helping to do things.

**Mr. Bond:** May I just interject, we know what you did.

**Mr. Chairman:** Mr. Bond, I have permitted you to squeeze that lemon dry. Tell me, are you suggesting that because she did not give the police a statement that her testimony here should be disregarded or doubted?

**Mr. Bond:** No Sir.

**Mr. Chairman:** Well if you are not doing that what is the benefit of it?

## WALTER RODNEY COMMISSION OF INQUIRY

**Mr. Bond:** What I am trying to indicate, Sir, is that if a witness is going to come and say that they were not being frank in a point in time, can we expect frankness now?

**Mr. Chairman:** Did she say that she was not being frank at any point in time?

**Mr. Bond:** She says that she was prepared, Sir, to hold information until and unless asked.

**Ms. Dow:** I did not say that, Mr. Bond.

**Mr. Chairman:** I do not remember her saying it.

**Mr. Bond:** She said that the Police never asked.

**Mr. Chairman:** What is the affect? What do you want me to draw from all that you are asking her? That her testimony is to be doubted?

**Mr. Bond:** Yes Sir. That in integral aspects her testimony should be doubted please, Sir.

**Mr. Chairman:** Well you may put that directly to her.

**Mr. Bond:** Very well please, Sir. Madam, you say that you saw Andaiye running all flustered...

**Ms. Dow:** Distressed.

**Mr. Bond:** Distressed. On the said 13<sup>th</sup> June, 1980, have you ever had a chance to look at Andaiye's statement to the police? On the said 13<sup>th</sup> June, 1980... Have you ever had a chance to see her statement?

*13:21hrs*

**Ms. Dow:** I have not read it.

**Mr. Bond:** You have not read it. I think it is found on Page 28 of ...

**Mr. Chairman:** She said she has not read the statement, what next?

**Mr. Bond:** I would like to put certain things in the statement to her, Sir.

## WALTER RODNEY COMMISSION OF INQUIRY

**Mr. Chairman:** Very well.

**Mr. Bond:** Page 28 that is on Exhibit LJCIDWR 1.

**Ms. Dow:** Do you want me to read the whole statement?

**Mr. Bond:** No, please, I think it is the last Paragraph on Page 28.

**Mr. Chairman:** I think that the public will need to hear what you are putting to her. We too would like to hear.

**Mr. Bond:** Yes, please, Sir, I will read it to her.

**Mr. Chairman:** Yes, read it please.

**Mr. Bond:** “I ran back to house on Croal Street and ran up the stairs because the people in the crowd had been saying that the body in front was that of a man ...”

**Ms. Dow:** “A woman”.

**Mr. Bond:** ... “of a woman”, sorry, “I asked Donald who was in the car with you, he answered. I then asked anyone else, he said “no” then I told Donald ...”

**Ms. Dow:** He answered, Walter.

**Mr. Bond:** “He answered, Walter” ...

**Mr. Chairman:** He is reading what is there in her statement.

**Ms. Dow:** Yes, that is what is there.

**Mr. Chairman:** Okay, she left out the word.

## WALTER RODNEY COMMISSION OF INQUIRY

**Ms. Dow:** “He answered, Walter”, that is what is there.

**Mr. Bond:** It seems as though your sight is better than mine, Ms. Dow, forgive me.

**Ms. Dow:** It is age.

**Mr. Bond:** [*Laughter*].

**Mr. Chairman:** Are you sure you do not want to borrow Mr. Ram’s glasses. [*Laughter*]

**Mr. Bond:** “He answered, Walter. He then asked anyone else and he said “no” then I told Donald that the person in the car was dead, that Walter was dead”. Nowhere in this statement and this is the part where you said she was running, nowhere in her statement that she said she ran into, she encountered on her way to running back to the house, yours truly or Dr. Rupert Roopnarine.

**Mr. Chairman:** Is there anything unusual about that? Several people are eyewitnesses to the same event and they all emphasise different things. What ...

**Ms. Dow:** Maybe you should ask her now.

**Mr. Chairman:** What question are you asking her about that? That is the account she gave. She cannot be responsible for ...

**Mr. Bond:** Which is in direct contradiction to what she is saying?

**Mr. Chairman:** ... but not on anything essential. What are we to do about that, Evaluators of evidence?

**Mr. Ram:** I do not think it is in contradiction. It simply did not refer to that.



## WALTER RODNEY COMMISSION OF INQUIRY

**Mr. Chairman:** Apart from being not only a contradiction, it is not about anything essential as to whether she ran off at the time or she walked or whether she failed to mention that, but what she did say is that she was there immediately after and she is saying what happened.

**Mr. Bond:** It goes in opposite direction as to the Witness's account, please, Sir.

**Mr. Chairman:** That is your view, get ahead.

**Mr. Williams:** Mr. Chairman I think we should give him some opportunity to let us see where he is going. He is a Lawyer so he should be given the opportunity to ...

**Mr. Chairman:** I have given him but I am trying to focus him along the line is that it may be helpful the ...

**Mr. Williams:** Thank you.

**Mr. Chairman:** Go back to the parables, man and see the different accounts given so do not cast doubt on what happened. The three of us or the four of us see the same accident and we report different dimensions of it. It does not mean that it did not happen but you get ahead. I promise you to be very quiet. [*Laughter*]

**Mr. Bond:** You said that Donald was in the house. Did you speak to Donald? Did you speak to Donald Rodney on the night of the 13<sup>th</sup> June, 1980?

**Ms. Dow:** Of course.

**Mr. Bond:** Could you tell us what did he say to you in that house?

**Ms. Dow:** I did not speak to him in any house.

## WALTER RODNEY COMMISSION OF INQUIRY

**Mr. Hanoman:** I am not sure, the question is not that very fair ...

**Ms. Dow:** What house is he talking about?

**Mr. Hanoman:** ... if the house has been brought in. There was no evidence that they were in the house together.

**Mr. Bond:** 45 Croal Street, please.

**Ms. Dow:** No, I did not speak to him in that house.

**Mr. Hanoman:** There is no evidence that they were in that house together, as far as I can recall.

**Ms. Dow:** But I did not say that.

**Mr. Bond:** You stayed downstairs until they brought him down.

**Ms. Dow:** Yes.

**Mr. Bond:** Very well. Whilst you took him to the Taitt's house ...

**Ms. Dow:** Yes.

**Mr. Bond:** ... did you speak to him while he was in the car?

**Ms. Dow:** I was driving; he was in the back seat.

**Mr. Bond:** Did you speak to him?

**Ms. Dow:** No.

**Mr. Bond:** Did you hear him speak?

## WALTER RODNEY COMMISSION OF INQUIRY

**Ms. Dow:** He was in a state of shock. I have said that numerous times.

**Mr. Bond:** But you do know ...

**Mrs. Samuels-Brown:** Yes, sorry but could you just answer directly, he was in a state of shock.

**Ms. Dow:** I did not probe him as I said ...

**Mrs. Samuels-Brown:** Did he speak, that is the second ...?

**Ms. Dow:** He did not speak, he was in a state of shock, I mean, he may have been groaning or something, but there was no conversation.

**Mrs. Samuels-Brown:** Alright, thank you.

**Mr. Bond:** Do you know that that there is evidence that he actually called out to Karen and to Andaiye ...

**Ms. Dow:** That was ...

**Mr. Bond:** ... at the house, the said Lot 45?

**Ms. Dow:** I was not present.

**Mr. Bond:** I know that but do you know that he actually did that? Are you aware that he did that?

**Mr. Chairman:** You now move from the car to the house.

**Ms. Dow:** It gone backwards, before I arrived? Are you talking before I arrive?

## WALTER RODNEY COMMISSION OF INQUIRY

**Mr. Bond:** Yes, are you aware that he had spoken to Karen De Souza and Andaiye, are you aware of that?

**Ms. Dow:** Yes, you just showed me evidence to that effect.

**Mr. Bond:** Are you aware that he spoke, well I would not say extensively, even to give them instructions?

**Ms. Dow:** Mr. Bond ... what you are saying ...

**Mr. Bond:** Is whether you are aware or not aware, Ms. Dow? I do not mean to ...

**Ms. Dow:** You just give me something so I am now aware.

**Mr. Bond:** You are only now made being aware that ...

**Ms. Dow:** Obviously he spoke to Andaiye and them of course, over the years of what was aware, it was not pertinent to what I did at that evening and I collected Donald and took him for treatment. I was ...

**Mrs. Samuels-Brown:** Your answer at the time was that you were not aware?

**Ms. Dow:** ... he was upstairs with them ...

**Mrs. Samuels-Brown:** So at the time you were not aware?

**Ms. Dow:** It was not relevant.

**Mr. Bond:** You never heard Donald speak while he was at Taitt's house prior to leaving with Dr. Roopnarine to go to Buxton ...

## WALTER RODNEY COMMISSION OF INQUIRY

**Ms. Dow:** Of course, we speaking, this hurting you, are you bleeding are you feeling okay, do you feel nauseous, Doctors were questioning him, of course, he was speaking.

**Mr. Bond:** Was anyone asking the question as to how the incident occurred? Did anyone asked him that, how he got his injuries?

**Ms. Dow:** We knew how he got his injuries.

**Mr. Bond:** Did anyone ask him how he got his injuries?

**Ms. Dow:** Mr. Bond, I know it may be seem difficult to you but you have just come out, even an ordinary car accident and one would have been ...

**Mr. Bond:** It is a very simple question I am asking, Ms. Dow.

**Ms. Dow:** I do not know, Donald Rodney was speaking, I was not questioning him.

**Mr. Bond:** Did anyone ask him, it is a very simple question, is it is very, very simple question. Is it a yes or a no?

**Ms. Dow:** Of course, people wanted to know what happen.

**Mr. Bond:** It is very simple, very simple.

**Mr. Chairman:** Ms. Dow, please do not put yourself through too much trouble ...

**Ms. Dow:** Yes, sorry, yes, people were asking ...

**Mr. Chairman:** ... if he asks you if you were present, just answer "yes I was or no I was not" and let us get ahead. Do not ask him to put himself in the atmosphere that obtained at the house at the time. Just answer as best as you can and let us get on with it.

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**Ms. Dow:** Mr. Chairman, I wish he could put me in it if not himself.

**Mrs. Samuels-Brown:** I think the answer was did any one ask him how he got his injuries and I think your eventual answer was, yes or am I incorrect?

**Ms. Dow:** No, what had happened is not how he had gotten his injuries ...

**Mrs. Samuels-Brown:** So nobody asked him how he got his injuries? I just want to record that, thank you.

**Ms. Dow:** “What happened Donald”?

**Mr. Bond:** What was his answer?

**Ms. Dow:** What was his answer?

**Mr. Chairman:** Whatever the question was, did anyone asked him what happened? How did he answer?

**Ms. Dow:** Mr. Chairman and Mr. Bond you are in a room with Donald and people saying “what happened Donald”? He said “Walter is dead, the thing exploded”, we knew sufficiently, I was on the move to get Kwayana and to get firstly, the Doctor to treat him. I was not staying in the room with Donald. I took him there and I went off to get a Doctor.

**Mr. Chairman:** [*Inaudible*].

**Ms. Dow:** Yes.

**Mr. Chairman:** “Walter is dead, thing exploded” but you were focused on going out of the room trying to get help?

## WALTER RODNEY COMMISSION OF INQUIRY

**Mr. Bond:** Ms. Dow my questions are very simple, I mean they are very, very simple, there is no trick involve Ms. Dow absolutely none whatsoever.

**Ms. Dow:** [*Inaudible*].

**Mr. Bond:** Were you aware, do you know who managed the Press Unit of the WPA at the time around the same 13<sup>th</sup> June, 1980, around that time?

**Ms. Dow:** Many people in the WPA to the best of my knowledge dealt with the Press and public. That would include Eusi Kwayana, Andaiye, and Bonita Harris in particular.

**Mr. Bond:** Did the Press Unit have a message for the local audience and a differing message for the international audience or the messages is one in the same, one for the local and one for the international community?

**Mr. Ram:** Mr. Chairman, I am not sure how Ms. Dow is would know ...

**Ms. Dow:** I do not know how I would know that.

**Mr. Ram:** ... what was in the minds of the Press Committee?

**Mr. Chairman:** The question seem very simple to me.

**Ms. Dow:** No, I do not know, I mean they put a Press Release that was opened to everyone.

**Mr. Chairman:** But was there a differential release about the same incidence or subject for the local as opposed to the international?

**Ms. Dow:** Not that I am aware of.

**Mr. Bond:** Very simple questions, Ms. Dow.

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**Ms. Dow:** During this time when you in the bosom of the WPA, were you reading their Press Releases *Day Clean* whatever they put, were you reading what they put out?

**Ms. Dow:** What do you mean by the “bosom”?

**Mr. Chairman:** [*Laughter*]. I thought so. She never said that ... she said she was close to ...

**Mr. Bond:** Dr. Roopnarine was an Executive member of the WPA?

**Ms. Dow:** Yes.

**Mr. Bond:** Was he in the bosom of the WPA?

**Ms. Dow:** You would have to ask Dr. Roopnarine.

**Mr. Bond:** Would you consider an executive member being in the bosom of the WPA?

**Ms. Dow:** I do not know what you mean by a “bosom”.

**Mr. Bond:** In the hierarchy, Madam.

**Ms. Dow:** Of, course; obviously if he was a Leader he was in hierarchy ...

**Mr. Bond:** While you were rubbing shoulders with the Executives of the WPA, were you following their Press Releases, were you reading their articles they were putting out.

**Ms. Dow:** Mr. Bond, I find your annotations offensive. If you ask me if I am reading Press Releases of the WPA, obviously I was, bosom or shoulders' were irrelevant.

**Mr. Chairman:** I do not think you should personalise it. Perhaps he is not ...

**Ms. Dow:** I think it is offensive, Mr. Chairman.



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**Mr. Chairman:** ... as elegant and neutral in his question as he should but do not personalise it; I am sure he does not mean it that way.

**Ms. Dow:** I am sure he does.

**Mr. Bond:** The Witness can take it however. It is of no moments, no moment.

**Mr. Williams:** It is unfair, Mr. Chairman, Mr. Bond is being honest in his questioning. I heard Mr. Pieters asked her a question earlier that I personally thought that she would have taken issue with.

**Mr. Chairman:** That she was?

**Mr. Williams:** Taken issue with because I would have asked her if it were not for this Commission and I asked her after the Commission about it ...

**Mr. Jairam:** She became more experienced.

**Mr. Williams:** ... you see but she was just questioned by Mr. Pieters and I thought she would have taken numbers by the questioning.

**Ms. Dow:** Can I take umbrage where I see fit?

**Mr. Chairman:** Let us get it quickly. What was the question that was posed that the Witness thought offensive?

**Mrs. Samuels-Brown:** The use of the word "bosom" I think was offensive.

**Ms. Dow:** "Bosom and shoulders".

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**Mrs. Samuels-Brown:** She did eventually answer to say, "That I find the use of the word offensive but I was reading their Press Releases and *Day Clean*". She did say that.

**Mr. Bond:** Could you tell us how long after the 13<sup>th</sup> June incident that the name Gregory Smith was mentioned in the press release by the WPA?

**Ms. Dow:** No, I cannot.

**Mr. Chairman:** You cannot remember?

**Ms. Dow:** I cannot answer that.

**Mr. Chairman:** You cannot answer that?

**Mr. Bond:** If I were to tell you that there is a press release on the 13<sup>th</sup> September, 1980 which dealt with Gregory Smith, three months after the said incident ... did that jerk your memory?

**Mr. Chairman:** You are saying that was a press release from the WPA?

**Mr. Bond:** Yes, from the Foreign Affairs Unit I think it was.

**Mr. Chairman:** Was that the first one?

*13:36hrs*

**Mr. Bond:** ...which dealt primarily with the Gregory Smith...

**Mr. Chairman:** Yes, but where is the impression, given the two questions that went before, that that was the first time that a press release from the WPA dealt with Gregory Smith?

**Mr. Bond:** Well, I stand corrected by the Commission.

**Mr. Chairman:** ...given the two questions that went before.

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**Mr. Hanoman:** If I may, I had earlier alluded to a press release dated 17<sup>th</sup> June, 1980, which can be found on page 76.

**Mr. Chairman:** Who alluded to it?

**Mr. Hanoman:** The name Gregory Smith...

**Mr. Chairman:** Who alluded to it?

**Mr. Hanoman:** I...

**Mrs. Samuels-Brown:** It was put to the Witness.

**Mr. Chairman:** Yes, I am aware of that, but I am also commenting on the questions that went before, the two before and then the questions and then his mentioning the 30<sup>th</sup> June...

**Ms. Dow:** 30<sup>th</sup> September.

**Mr. Chairman:** ...of September, sorry, some three months after.

**Mr. Hanoman:** I was just seeking to establish that the record has ...

**Mr. Chairman:** No, I am aware of the evidence but thanks very much.

**Mr. Bond:** I thank my learned friend as well.

**Mrs. Samuels-Brown:** I think though that what the Commission Counsel is pointing out is that from the 17<sup>th</sup> June press release where the name "Gregory Smith" was called and it was in September for the first time, as the question being posed by Mr. Bond seems to suggest... Mr. Bond, look at page 76 and you will see that Gregory Smith's name was called four days after...

**Mr. Chairman:** Since four days after.

**Mrs. Samuels-Brown:** ...the alleged bombing.

**Mr. Chairman:** Oh! You are dealing with the WPA calling it.

**Mr. Bond:** The WPA Press Unit, Sir.

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**Mr. Chairman:** Yes, but it was a WPA Press Release four days after. That is the point, the WPA four days after, the 17<sup>th</sup>...

**Mr. Bond:** Grateful, please, Sir.

**Mr. Chairman:** Pardon?

**Mr. Bond:** I am grateful for that information, please, Sir. Are you aware that besides 13<sup>th</sup> September, there was a press release on Gregory Smith some four days after?

**Ms. Dow:** I am now aware. The WPA certainly mentioned Gregory Smith early, as did the Catholic Standard and other papers. His name was known.

**Mr. Bond:** You would agree with me that from the 13<sup>th</sup> to 17<sup>th</sup> June... You, having been around the certain Executive members of the Party, never heard of them saying that the Press Release was shut down or the Press Unit was shut down? You never heard of any talk like that “We are closing down the Press Unit between 13<sup>th</sup> to 17<sup>th</sup> June”?

**Ms. Dow:** No.

**Mr. Bond:** You also are aware that from the 13<sup>th</sup> to 17<sup>th</sup> June the Press Unit, if they had the name of Gregory Smith, would have had time and opportunity to so disclose his name?

**Ms. Dow:** Presumably.

**Mr. Bond:** You made certain assertions, Ms. Dow. One, for example, is that you went directly to get Mr. Kwayana.

**Ms. Dow:** No.

**Mr. Bond:** You went to Buxton to get Mr. Kwayana.

**Ms. Dow:** Not directly.

**Mr. Bond:** Is that the case?

**Ms. Dow:** Not directly.

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**Mr. Bond:** Did you go to get Mr. Kwayana with Dr. Roopnarine?

**Ms. Dow:** Eventually.

**Mr. Bond:** Eventually. Were you aware that Mr. Tecuma Ogunseye was the head of the Security Council of the WPA, so to speak?

**Mr. Chairman:** He was what? You have put Ogunseye as having what role?

**Mr. Bond:** Head of the Security Committee that the...

**Ms. Dow:** No.

**Mr. Bond:** Mr. Tecuma Ogunseye...

**Ms. Dow:** No, I was not aware.

**Mr. Bond:** You were not aware. Dr. Roopnarine never indicated that you should go to get Mr. Eusi Kwayana and Tecuma Ogunseye at any time?

**Ms. Dow:** No, he did not.

**Mr. Bond:** No, he did not. You also said, Ms. Dow, that the State killed Dr. Rodney and that there was a gunshot at the time of the explosion, after the explosion... Is that it?

**Ms. Dow:** I said that there were reports of.

**Mr. Bond:** Are you aware that none of the witnesses, who gave evidence to the Police, testified or said that they heard a gunshot that night?

**Ms. Dow:** I am aware.

**Mr. Bond:** Are you also aware that the State had, at the time, mobile patrols and mobile unit? Are you aware of that Ms. Dow?

**Mr. Chairman:** Where? The State always had patrols and units. Where?

**Mr. Bond:** In and around the area.

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**Mr. Chairman:** Yes, that is the important point you are making.

**Mr. Bond:** Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

**Mr. Chairman:** Where?

**Mr. Bond:** In around the Camp Street area the State would have had...

**Mr. Chairman:** "Would have had" or "had"?

**Mr. Bond:** Would have had.

**Mr. Chairman:** It is not the same thing as 'had' but that is how modern men speak, "would have had" meaning the same thing as "had"; they do not mean the same thing. Lawyers have to be precise in their language but you mean by that 'had'.

**Ms. Dow:** I am aware that there was a patrol there, yes. I have heard it in evidence here, for one thing.

**Mr. Bond:** Do you have any evidence or information as to whether or not, at the time of the explosion, there were mobile patrols in the said area?

**Ms. Dow:** I do not know what you mean by a mobile patrol, Mr. Bond.

**Mr. Bond:** Vehicles, motor cycles, policemen on foot.

**Ms. Dow:** To the best of my knowledge, there were lots of people around the jail that evening in all manner of form.

**Mrs. Samuels-Brown:** Did you go by the jail that evening?

**Ms. Dow:** No.

**Mrs. Samuels-Brown:** Thank you.

**Mr. Bond:** You said that the shot was meant for Donald.

**Ms. Dow:** I said that this is my understanding.

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**Mr. Jairam:** The hypothesis was that the shot was meant for Donald.

**Ms. Dow:** I understand, yes.

**Mr. Bond:** Could you state what your hypothesis was based on?

**Ms. Dow:** I told you and I said it at that time, he was the eyewitness and if the plot was meant not to have a live eyewitness then it would be logical, in my mind, for you to attempt to kill that eyewitness.

**Mr. Bond:** Is it not logical, therefore, that if the State wanted Donald dead by a gunshot, him running wounded from the scene would have been an easy task?

**Ms. Dow:** I would not know who the marksman was. *[Laughter]*

**Mr. Jairam:** You see, Mr. Bond, you are inviting her to speculate. I think that is more for addressing us.

**Mr. Bond:** Grateful please, Sir.

**Mr. Chairman:** Mr. Bond, just pause for a minute and do not lose your thought. Ms. Dow, where did you get the evidence of gunshot from?

**Ms. Dow:** There were some people who lived in the area, one of them was a pretty senior person who is, unfortunately, now dead and there were a number of houses along there who said that they heard. They came to us. As it turned out, one of them actually worked with Dr. Taitt so it was not public information but it was certainly information available to us.

**Mr. Chairman:** This is the first time that we are hearing about it but that does not mean that it did not happen. It simply is that this is the first time that we are hearing it. Sometimes, 12 people give an account, either having seen or receiving reports immediately after and only the 13<sup>th</sup> person mentions an aspect which is true but which was not mentioned by any before so none of that is unusual in human affairs.

**Ms. Dow:** Yes. I have always assumed it to be true, Mr. Chairman.

**Mr. Chairman:** Okay, I just thought I would check. Thank you. Mr. Bond, please continue.

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**Mr. Bond:** Yes. Did you have any knowledge after the 13<sup>th</sup> June that there was an attempt on Donald's life?

**Ms. Dow:** Subsequent to that night?

**Mr. Bond:** Yes, 13<sup>th</sup> June, 1980.

**Ms. Dow:** No.

**Mr. Bond:** Do you know whether there was an attempt to suppress him, to silence him?

**Mr. Chairman:** When, the same night or after?

**Mr. Bond:** After the night, please, Sir. I am dealing with after 13<sup>th</sup> June, 1980.

**Ms. Dow:** No, what would be the point?

**Mr. Bond:** Well, it was your hypothesis that they meant to silence him to keep him from saying what he knew.

**Ms. Dow:** But he had already said it.

**Mr. Bond:** Would you agree with me that at no time during the night of 13<sup>th</sup> June, 1980, he mentioned who may have been responsible for his brother's death?

**Mrs. Samuels-Brown:** You mean to her?

**Mr. Bond:** Yes, in her presence, Ma'am. At no time in your presence did he say who was responsible for the accident.

**Ms. Dow:** He certainly did not say who was responsible to me.

**Mr. Bond:** You also said that Donald worked for the State.

**Ms. Dow:** As far as I recall he was a quantity surveyor.

**Mr. Bond:** Do you recall when he was dismissed if at all from...

**Ms. Dow:** I have no knowledge, if he was dismissed and when or if he left.



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**Mr. Bond:** You have none. Those are my questions please.

**Mr. Chairman:** Thank you.

**Mr. Ram:** Mr. Chairman, I just wish to correct, so that we do not have to spend further time on it later on, 28 and 29 of LJ/CID/WR 1 referred to “events on the night Friday 13<sup>th</sup> June”; they were not made on the night of 13<sup>th</sup> June, these were the statements of Andaiye and Karen De Souza.

**Mr. Chairman:** Thanks.

**Mr. Ram:** I just thought that I would correct the records.

**Mr. Jairam:** Ms. Dow, Mr. Bond was asking you questions about Tecuma Ogunseye and Eusi Kwayana, I think you understand the concept because it just happened.

**Ms. Dow:** Yes.

**Mr. Jairam:** Are you aware of the reason why, after the incident, you and Dr. Roopnarine went for Eusi Kwayana as opposed to some other person within the hierarchy of the WPA?

**Ms. Dow:** Eusi was the senior figure even in the presence of Walter.

**Mr. Chairman:** He was the wise elder.

**Ms. Dow:** Well, he was certainly the senior figure and there would be no way that he would know and both Rupert and I felt obliged to be the persons to tell him. We would not have wished him to hear it on the radio or for somebody to come and knock on his door. It was only in our view proper that he should be told by us and brought down to see what had happened.

**Mr. Chairman:** I think that you had said earlier too that you all were faced with the big question of ‘what next’, how you should respond.

**Ms. Dow:** Yes, but that was secondary to the fact that we would have to properly inform him.

**Mr. Jairam:** Was it because of the fact that you all regarded him as a sort of elder statesman?

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**Ms. Dow:** Yes, he was certainly an elder person and Eusi was not driving, he did not have a phone, he was a person I used to shuttle up and down. It was the most logical and proper thing in our view, which was to tell Eusi and the others were in town who could do other things but I was driving, I had the vehicle and Rupert and I were close to Eusi, as we all were but particularly the ones who used to carry him up and down and we would wish to inform him and comfort him, really, too.

**Mr. Jairam:** Okay, thank you.

**Mr. Chairman:** Commission Counsel.

**Mr. Hanoman:** In answer to a question from Mr. Bond you were explaining why you may not have come forward to give Police information.

*13:51hrs*

**Mr. Hanoman:** Could it be that one of the reasons why you did not come forward was because you thought that Donald Rodney was better able to supply the information that you had?

**Ms. Dow:** Yes, and he was going to be questioned by the Police; going to make a statement; I did not need to speak about him. He could speak for himself when able. And the Police, may I add, were not a [*inaudible*] you were naturally drawn to if you...

**Mr. Hanoman:** I see. Do you know for sure, or not, whether there was a WPA Release prior to the 17<sup>th</sup> June, 1980, implicating Gregory Smith? Do you know for sure whether there was one?

**Ms. Dow:** No, I do not.

**Mr. Hanoman:** You do not?

**Ms. Dow:** No. I saw the one you showed me, which was the first which just spoke about the fact that Walter had been killed.

**Mr. Hanoman:** Can you think of any reason that had existed at that time that may have cause –if we assume that Gregory Smith’s name was first mentioned in the WPA Press Release, was on

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the 17<sup>th</sup> June, 1980- you awareness of any circumstances existing that may have caused that Press Release to take four days to come about?

**Ms. Dow:** In my view, one did not know who Gregory Smith was that I would think that you would want not to facilitate, as happened, flight. I did not know Gregory Smith. I do not remember all the details of what. All we wanted to know what happened. I mean, Father Morrison and them were around there very quickly after that on the Saturday.

**Mr. Hanoman:** Do I understand your answer to be that the WPA may have been afraid that if they had mentioned his name too early, that Gregory Smith may have tried to escape?

**Ms. Dow:** That is my convection, not information.

**Mr. Chairman:** You are pressing it hard, Counsel, but is it a helpful area for the Commission? Even if they did not make a statement at all, a statement at all; is that likely to be a consideration in relation to properly answering the Terms of Reference of the Inquiry?

**Mr. Hanoman:** It may prove useful at some later stage, Sir. I will move on. When you are being questioned by Mr. Ram, you mentioned that a group had been formed called “The women against terror.”

**Ms. Dow:** Yes.

**Mr. Hanoman:** Can you give us an idea about when that group was formed?

**Ms. Dow:** I think about 79, but I remember one big incident about it.

**Mr. Hanoman:** You believe it was formed in 1979? Go ahead please. You said you were going to recall an incident?

**Ms. Dow:** Yes. The whole idea is that women, in and around the WPA; pickets or anywhere, were always subjected to some kind of aggression. The idea was to highlight that. In a sense, the strategy was the more you made public and know these things the better you may be able to curtail any excesses.

**Mr. Hanoman:** I see. Who were the leaders of this group?

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**Ms. Dow:** Eusi's wife, Trico Kwayana, was really the founder of that; Denuta Ragzick; Vanda Ragzick...

**Mr. Hanoman:** We are not hearing the names.

**Ms. Dow:** Trico Kwayana...

**Mr. Hanoman:** Who is...

**Ms. Dow:** That is Eusi's Wife.

**Mr. Hanoman:** I see.

**Ms. Dow:** All of us were associated, or members of it. Denuta, and Vanda Ragzick; Andaiye; myself; Bonita; Karen DeSouza; we were all women against terror. Many other persons, but it would draw in a wider citizenry, and there was a church service to mark this, at St. Andrew's Kirk, and it was a terrible occasion because the church was filled with supporters of the Government who behaved obscenely in the church, and then there was an attempt to beat the same Doctor Ghanraj Kumar, as he left that church...

**Mr. Williams:** Mr. Chairman, this is re-examination? I am not sure where we are going. I thought the re-examination was to deal with the issues of cross-examination.

**Mr. Hanoman:** That concludes my question.

**Mr. Chairman:** You seem to may have forced the conclusion.

**Ms. Dow:** Mr. Chairman, may I say something?

**Mr. Chairman:** Certainly.

**Ms. Dow:** In respect of Mr. Bond's bosom, and shoulders –which I found offensive- I find it sexist and improper. That is what I found offensive. They would not ask men if they were in the bosom of, or shoulder to shoulder, or whatever those things... and I believe his remarks were essentially sexist, and I find that offensive. This is my explanation. Thank you.

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**Mr. Chairman:** Very well. I think that we need to thank you. Certainly, I need to do so on behalf...

**Mr. Bond:** May I respond, Mr. Chairman? With all due respect, to Ms. Dow's claims....

**Mr. Chairman:** You think you need to carry it any further?

**Mr. Williams:** He meant no disrespect that is all he wants to say.

**Mr. Chairman:** I interpreted it as meaning no disrespect. Though I understood bosom, but I think carrying it to shoulder was a bit excessive. Bosom only meant that she was close to them. In that context, I understood it.

**Mrs. Samuels-Brown:** I think bosom is closer.

**Mr. Ram:** Which is closer?

**Mr. Bond:** Sir, to claim that it is sexist, I reject it out rightly. Out rightly, Sir, from Ms. Dow. I would expect better from Ms. Dow, than to attack me as being sexist on that point, Sir.

**Mr. Chairman:** You meant no disrespect. I think that is enough. I think that is what I interpret you to be saying now. You meant no disrespect. Carrying on a quarrel in the way you are doing is not helpful. You meant no disrespect. I think the records so reflect. Thank you.

**Ms. Dow:** I accept your apology, Mr. Bond.

*[Laughter]*

**Mr. Chairman:** Yes, but I was in the process of thanking you for coming, and sharing your experiences of the night, and after, with the Commission.

**Ms. Dow:** Thank you, Mr. Chairman, and I wish you all the best in the rest of your deliberations.

**Mr. Chairman:** Thank you. We appreciate that. I think that is as far as we can go today. That brings us to the end of this session. A lot of work still awaits us, in terms of future meetings; future sessions of the Commission; public sessions. We are not meeting in September at all. It is a break period for a lot of people connected with the Inquiry, but we will resume in October 20<sup>th</sup>,

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and we will have a two week's session then. You will be reminded by some ads in the public media closer to that date. I wish all of you a happy break time, and wish all of you members of the public who have been following our work well, and we look forward to being with you on 20<sup>th</sup> October.

**Mr. Ram:** Mr. Chairman, if I may respond on behalf of my fellow Counsel, he too would like to wish the Commissioners, and indeed the members of the Secretariat, a happy break. We look forward to seeing them returning fresh and ready in October.

**Mr. Chairman:** Thank you, Sir.

**Mrs. Samuels-Brown:** Thank you.

**Mr. Jairam:** Thank you.

**Mr. Pilgrim:** You associate yourself with the remarks of Mr. Ram?

**Mr. Williams:** No, I have a difficulty associating myself with those remarks.

*[Laughter]*

**Mr. Chairman:** Even though you, yourself, is going....

**Mr. Williams:** I have difficulties associating myself with those remarks, but nonetheless, I wish you Bon Voyage.

*[Laughter]*

**Mr. Chairman:** Thank you. Thank you, Mr. Williams. I wish that you will enjoy the break, which I am sure you are going to take.

**Mr. Williams:** Sir, I am looking forward to it.

**Mr. Chairman:** I have no doubt. Thank you.

**Hearing Adjourned Accordingly at 13:59hrs.**