Case No. SCSL-2004-15-T THE PROSECUTOR OF THE SPECIAL COURT

V.

ISSA SESAY MORRIS KALLON AUGUSTINE GBAO

16 MAY 2008 9.43 A.M. TRIAL

TRIAL CHAMBER I

Bankole Thompson

Before the Judges: Benjamin Mutanga Itoe,

Presiding

Pierre Boutet

For Chambers: Ms Peace Malleni Mr Felix Nkongho

Ms Priyanka Chirimar

For the Registry: Ms Advera Kamuzora

For the Prosecution: Mr Peter Harrison
Mr Vincent Wagona
Mr Joseph Kamara

For the accused Issa Sesay: Mr Wayne Jordash

Ms Sareta Ashraph Mr Jared Kneitel Mr Paul Clark Mr Rowland Wright

For the accused Morris Kallon: Mr Charles Taku

Mr Kennedy Ogeto Ms Tanoo Mylvaganam

Ms Lois Mbafor

For the accused Augustine Gbao: Mr John Cammegh

Mr Scott Martin

SESAY ET AL
Page 2
16 MAY 2008 OPEN SESSION

	1	[RUF17APR08A-BP]
	2	Friday, 16 May 2008
	3	[Open session]
	4	[The accused present]
09:07:03	5	[Upon commencing at 9.43 a.m.]
	6	PRESIDING JUDGE: Good morning, learned counsel. Good
	7	morning, everyone. We're resuming the session and when we
take	8	adjourned yesterday, we did indicate that we were going to
Jordash,	9	the testimony of ex-President Kabbah today at 9.30. Mr
09:43:40 we	10	he is your witness. Your witness for your client. Where are
	11	this morning.
	12	MR JORDASH: Where we're at is this: Former President
	13	Kabbah is waiting in the witness waiting room. He has made a
	14	request which I would invite Your Honours to consider which is
09:44:02	15	that his personal lawyer, Mr Rowland Wright be permitted to
The	16	attend in the Chamber during the testimony of the witness.
end	17	witness has also requested that Mr Wright be permitted at the
	18	of the testimony to ask some questions if the need arose
I	19	concerning issues for clarification. That's the request, and

09:4 invite	4:47 20	put it before Your Honours. I would in addition to that,
	21	Your Honours to hear from Mr Wright, who wishes to address the
	22	Chamber on the matter. I certainly from the calling party's
	23	position, if I can put it like that, would support Mr Kabbah's
present	24	request that he be permitted at least to have his lawyer
09:4 for	5:20 25	in the Chamber. I would respectfully submit it's not unusual
	26	prominent witnesses or witnesses who require legal counsel or
present	27	belief they require legal counsel, to have their counsel
it's	28	in certainly in domestic jurisdictions and I don't think
such	29	unheard of in international jurisdictions either for figures

J		16 MAY 2008	OPEN SESSION
	1	as the former President Kabbah. S	o I would first of all urge
necessary,	2	Your Honours to accept the request	and furthermore, if
	3	to hear from Mr Wright on the subj	ect. That's my application.
I'11	4	PRESIDING JUDGE: His lawyer	being present in Court,
09:46:24	5	leave that assigned. But if he ha	s to address the Court in

SESAY ET AL

Page 3

what

- $\,$ 6 $\,$ capacity. What is his locus standi in this case to address the
 - 7 Court within the context of the Rules and the regulations that
 - 8 bind our proceedings, that regulate our proceedings.
 - 9 MR JORDASH: Well, I think Your Honours, as Your Honours
- 09:46:45 10 are aware, have an extremely wide discretion concerning how you
 - 11 regulate these proceedings in the interests of fairness and
 - 12 Your Honours could take the view, and this is the view I would
 - 13 urge upon you, that there is nothing in the Rules which would
 - 14 prohibit a witness having legal counsel present.
 - 09:47:12 15 PRESIDING JUDGE: There is nothing in the Rules either,
 - 16 would you also admit, that allows a counsel in these
 - 17 circumstances to address the Court.
- 18 MR JORDASH: Well, there's nothing in the Rules which deal
 - 19 with a huge range of subjects which we deal with on a daily
- $09:47:31\ 20$ basis, but this is one of those things which isn't in the Rules.
 - 21 But it is within Your Honour's discretion.
- 22 PRESIDING JUDGE: Do you want us to fall in the trap of the
 - 23 accusations made against judges that they legislate to fill
 - 24 certain vacuums and they assume the mantle, you know, of
- 09:47:51 25 legislators to bring in provisions that are not envisioned by the
 - 26 rulings and regulations.
 - 27 MR JORDASH: I would say less an accusation and more a
 - 28 sensible power which Your Honours use on a regular basis to
 - 29 ensure that we don't fall into that vacuum.

Page 4	16 MAY 2008	OPEN SESSION
1	JUDGE THOMPSON: But	do you agree also that Courts are
2	creatures of Statute.	
3	MR JORDASH: Of cour	se.
4	JUDGE THOMPSON: I s	ay nothing more.
09:48:24 5	MR JORDASH: And the	re is nothing in the Statute which
6 the	would suggest that the pro	posed course, if it could enhance
7	proceedings and the fairne	ss of the proceedings, should not be
8	permitted.	
9	JUDGE THOMPSON: The	powers are regulated by Statute.
09:48:41 10 and	MR JORDASH: Yes. A	nd put into practice by the Rules
11 subject	when the Rules don't appea	r to specifically deal with a
12	then it's left to the wisd	om of Your Honours.
13	JUDGE BOUTET: Mr Jo	ordash is your submission that he be
14	present in Court and addre	ss the Court? Is it your submission
09:49:01 15	that he should be allowed	now to come and address the Court on
16	some issues.	
17 my	MR JORDASH: I think	if Your Honours were not minded on
18 Court	application to allow him t	o come into Court and remain in
19	during the testimony, then	Mr Wright would like the

SESAY ET AL

Page 4

opportunity

09:49:16 his	20	to address you to fill in any gaps or ask any questions as to
	21	proposed role.
	22	PRESIDING JUDGE: If we are prepared to go that far.
	23	MR JORDASH: Exactly. But if you're not prepared if
from	24	your minded not to, then I would invite Your Honours to hear
09:49:31 better	25	Mr Wright because he may be able to explain his function
	26	than I or his proposed function better than I.
granting	27	PRESIDING JUDGE: Explaining already, you know, is
	28	him an audience here, you know, and that's the crux of the
	29	problem. If we allow him to explain anything at all it means
		SCSL - TRIAL CHAMBER I
Page 5		SESAY ET AL
		16 MAY 2008 OPEN SESSION
is	1	that we are giving him a right of audience here. The question
the	2	does he have the right of audience before this Court? That's
	3	question. That's the crucial question.
	4	MR JORDASH: Well I recall from previous hearings in the
09:50:04	5	CDF case that the attorney-general was permitted but that's
	6	PRESIDING JUDGE: Yes, the attorney-general was

permitted

- $7\,$ $\,$ here, Mr Jordash, you know that at that time Mr Kabbah was
- 8 subpoenaed when he was a sitting president of this country.
- 9 MR JORDASH: Yes but --
- 09:50:19 10 PRESIDING JUDGE: And he had an attorney-general who came
- and represented him as a sitting President of the country and he
- $\,$ 12 $\,$ came to put in an appearance for him and the Court granted this
 - 13 because Mr Kabbah was then a sitting in President.
 - 14 MR JORDASH: But --
 - 09:50:35 15 PRESIDING JUDGE: And the attorney-general was -- was
- 16 appearing for a sitting in President and of course you know that
 - 17 under the Ratification Act, and even under the Statute and the
 - 18 agreement that created this Court, the attorney-general is the
 - 19 contact between the United Nations and the government of this
 - 09:50:57 20 country. So, if in that capacity he has a role, in fact, if I
 - 21 may remind you, the agreement that instituted this Court was
- 22 signed by the United Nations, an official of the United Nations,
 - 23 and by the then attorney-general Mr Berewa on behalf of the
 - 24 Sierra Leonean government. He was a plenipotentiary of the
- 09:51:26 25 Sierra Leonean government at the time. So, you see, he had the
- 26 interest there, you know, to appear for Mr Kabbah, who was then
 - 27 the sitting in head of state.
 - MR JORDASH: Well, my point was a simple one: That it's
- $\,$ 29 $\,$ not in the Rules but Your Honours decided it was in the interests

	SESAY ET AL	
Page 6		
	16 MAY 2008	OPEN SESSION

	1	of justice. Your Honours, I put the application
that	2	PRESIDING JUDGE: Well, I just wanted to let you know
is	3	it is not in the Rules but it is in the Rules indirectly. It
Statute	4	there because the status of the AG is recognised by the
09:51:55	5	and by the Special Court Ratification Act which was enacted by
	6	the supreme Parliament, you know, of this country. So
	7	MR JORDASH: Well, Your Honours, I put the application
feel	8	before you. It's President former President Kabbah would
	9	more comfortable. His evidence would be, in my submission,
09:52:17 present	10	enhanced if he was able to feel as though his counsel was
find	11	and I leave it to Your Honours to decide whether that would
	12	favour with you.
the	13	PRESIDING JUDGE: Yes, Mr Jordash. The Chamber, within
fairness	14	context of its respect for the doctrine of fundamental
09:53:57 may	15	and justice, has deliberated and rules that Mr Rowland Wright
	16	come into the courtroom and sit in to watch and observe the
	17	proceedings and, in that process, he may communicate with you.

	18	But, but, Mr Wright has no right of audience at any stage in
	19	these proceedings. He may come in, but he has no right of
09:54:38	20	audience.
	21	MR JORDASH: Thank you, Your Honours.
	22	PRESIDING JUDGE: That's it.
that	23	MR JORDASH: Perhaps my co-counsel could communicate
	24	with him.
09:54:47	25	PRESIDING JUDGE: Yes.
that	26	MR JORDASH: Perhaps my co-counsel could communicate
and	27	to him before the President, former President is brought in
	28	then they can both come in together, with Your Honours' leave.
	29	PRESIDING JUDGE: That's fine. We are here. We are
		SCSL - TRIAL CHAMBER I
Page 7		SESAY ET AL
rage /		16 MAY 2008 OPEN SESSION
	1	waiting.
	2	MR JORDASH: I think we might need to bring in an extra
	3	chair at the back if we can, please.
to	4	PRESIDING JUDGE: Mr Jordash, is he sufficiently close

6 MR JORDASH: I think I might have to ask him. I think he

09:57:46 5 you?

7 is close enough now, thank you. PRESIDING JUDGE: Okay. 9 [The witness entered Court] 09:59:17 10 WITNESS: AHMAD TEJAN KABBAH [Sworn] 11 EXAMINED BY MR JORDASH: 12 MR JORDASH: Your Honours, this is our last Defence witness 13 who will be testifying in English and, as Your Honours are aware, 14 is the former President, Mr Kabbah. 10:00:23 15 PRESIDING JUDGE: We welcome him to the Court, and we welcome the evidence that the former President will proffer to 16 17 assist the Court in arriving at a proper and just determination of this case. You're welcome, Mr President. 18 19 THE WITNESS: Thank you. 10:00:43 20 MR JORDASH: As I'm sure as a former lawyer --21 I'm still a lawyer. 22 I beg your pardon, sorry. As a lawyer yourself, you 23 know 24 how this procedure works, but I'm going to ask some questions on 10:00:58 25 behalf of Mr Sesay. 26 PRESIDING JUDGE: He is very familiar with the judicial process and that is why I am sure the President has decided to 27 be 28 here this morning. 29 MR JORDASH:

SESAY ET AL Page 8 16 MAY 2008 OPEN SESSION Then lawyers for Mr Kallon and then Mr Gbao may ask you some questions, followed by my learned friend for the Prosecution 3 to your left. Please, could you give your full name to the Court? 10:01:26 5 Ahmad Tejan Kabbah. Α. 6 Q. When were you born? 7 16 February 1932. 8 Q. And it's right that you're a Muslim? 9 Yes. Is it also right that from 1996 --10:01:50 10 Q. PRESIDING JUDGE: Mr President, you were born where? 11 THE WITNESS: Pendembu, Sierra Leone. 12 13 MR JORDASH: And you live currently in Freetown; is that right? 14 10:02:14 15 That's correct. Α. 16 Ο. And from 1996 until 2007 you were President of the Republic 17 of Sierra Leone? 18 That's correct. 19 And were you also the head of the Commonwealth Observer Ο.

Mission for the December 2007 Kenyan election?

That's correct.

10:02:34 20

21

Α.

	22	Q.	And	also	the	head	of	the	African	Unions	Observer	Mission
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- for the March 2008 Zimbabwe election?
- 24 A. That's correct.
- $10:02:50\ 25$ Q. And as you told us, a lawyer by trade, a Bencher, is this
 - 26 right of Gray's Inn, London?
- 27 A. I'm Honorary Bencher of Gray's Inn, Inns of Court, England.
 - 28 Q. I want to take you to July 1999. Did you attend Lome?
 - 29 A. No. Yes, yes, I did. Lome.

	SESAY ET AL	
Page 9		
	16 MAY 2008	OPEN SESSION

- 1 Q. And the reason for that was?
- 2 A. Well, to discuss the peace -- peace agreement between us,
 - 3 Sierra Leone, and the RUF.
 - 4 Q. Just briefly, who else attended that meeting?
- 10:03:53 5 A. It was a crowded gathering. Almost all the heads of states
 - of the subregion, that is members of the Organisation of West
 - 7 African States, their heads of state were there, and
 - 8 representatives of the United Nations, representatives from
 - 9 friendly governments that were interested and concerned about
 - 10:04:27 10 peace in Sierra Leone.

- 11 Q. And was an agreement signed?
- 12 A. Yes.
- 13 Q. And in that agreement were certain conditions brought about
 - 14 concerning the end of the conflict?
 - 10:04:45 15 A. Yes.
- 16 Q. In relation to the RUF, it's right, isn't it, that the RUF
- 17 were party to the agreement? Were they promised anything as part
 - 18 of the agreement?
 - 19 A. Oh, yes.
- 10:05:01 20 Q. Just very briefly, in terms of governmental positions, were
 - 21 they promised some positions?
 - 22 A. Yes, they were promised some positions.
- $\,$ 23 $\,$ Q. In relation to the top positions they were promised, could
 - 24 you outline what they were to the Court, please?
- 10:05:26 25 A. Well, the leader of the RUF, Foday Sankoh, was promised to
 - 26 be chairman of the Strategic Mineral Resources Commission and
 - 27 also it was agreed that we shall offer them, that is the RUF,
 - 28 four ministerial.
 - 29 Positions.

SESAY ET AL

Page 10

16 MAY 2008

OPEN SESSION

- 1 Q. Did -- were those positions filled?
- 2 A. Yes, we offered the position of Strategic Mineral

Resources

- 3 Commission to Foday Sankoh and then we offered the four people
- 4 that he named as ministers. They were appointed as ministers.
- 10:06:29 5 In fact, they sat in my cabinet meetings.
 - 6 Q. You just mentioned that they named. Could you just
 - 7 elaborate on that, how it worked?
- 8 A. Well, Foday Sankoh had to make some recommendations to me
- 9 as to who should be appointed as ministers and I appointed those
 - 10:06:55 10 ministers.
- $\,$ 11 $\,$ Q. Can you recall whether Foday Sankoh made mention of xxxxxxx
 - 13 A. Yes, xxxxxx was one of the people that he recommended.
- $\ \ \,$ 14 $\ \ \,$ Q. Do you recall the position that Foday Sankoh recommended he
 - 10:07:13 15 take?
 - 16 A. xxxxxx was minister of trade.
 - 17 Q. After attending Lome, did you return to Freetown?
 - 18 A. Yes. Yes.
- 19 Q. Did you return to begin the process of implementing Lome?
 - 10:07:46 20 A. Yes, indeed.
- $\,$ 21 $\,$ Q. Are you able to give a brief insight into the way in which
- 22 Foday Sankoh approach the implementation of Lome after July 1999?
 - 23 A. You will have to excuse me that I -- in case there is a
 - 24 problem of details, but I've got so much to think about that I

	10:08:16 25	may omit one or two points. Foday Sankoh we signed the
we	26	agreement and we came and we were prepared to deliver on what
to	27	had agreed in Lome. And he started to stall about when he was
wit]	28 h	come back to Sierra Leone and this took quite a lot of work
	29	the governments concerned where he was and with the ECOWAS

	SESAY ET AL	
Page 11		
	16 MAY 2008	OPEN SESSION

then	1	states, and finally he arrived and so we welcomed him. And
question	2	I remember on one occasion, we sat down to discuss the
	3	of how he should perform his role as chairman of the Strategic
	4	Mineral Resources Commission. You know, in the first place I
10:09:35	5 5	must recall this, that I was responsible for well, I regard
we	6	this as my brain child, this Court, and in the agreement which
	7	discussed with Ralph Zacklin of the undersecretary of the
UN,	8	office of the undersecretary general of legal affairs in the
apply	9	a very brilliant lawyer, the agreement was that we were to
10:10:09 And	10	two laws: One international law; and second one local laws.

be	11	in the local laws I think I had to and I'm still going to
	12	taking note of the Official Secrets Act under which I was
came	13	operating. But what happened on one Saturday, Foday Sankoh
	14	to my office together with we had a meeting there, himself,
10:10:50	15	myself, the then attorney-general of Sierra Leone, and he came
his	16	with two of his own people. And he wanted to have details of
when	17	position, and we gave it to him. And the details are that
to	18	you have a commission appointed, there is a minister who has
government	19	responds who has to report to the cabinet and the
10:11:21 therefore,	20	and Parliament on issues affecting his ministry. So
Resources	21	Foday Sankoh, being chairman of the Strategic Mineral
must	22	Commission, was obliged to report through a minister, and I
going	23	say this, that he was shocked at this. He thought he was
	24	to be completely in charge everything to do with mineral
10:11:49	25	resources of the country, he was to decide on that, and nobody
agreement	26	else was to get involved. He said well: I thought the
	27	was that I should be given a position similar to that of the
says	28	vice-president, and I told him, I said: Well, if somebody
	29	you look like your mother, that doesn't mean that you are your

Page 12

16 MAY 2008 OPEN SESSION

	1	mother. So we laughed over that and then he accepted it and
we		
there	2	moved on. But I think I noticed that he was stalling from
to	3	on as if he was not as fully committed as we had expected him
	4	be.
10:12:51 of	5	Q. Were you able in the weeks and months after the signing
the	6	Lome, to observe how he was regarded by the rank and file in
	7	RUF?
	8	A. Well, I only will go by way of reports that I received,
like a	9	mainly intelligence reports, which is that he was regarded
10:13:23	10	little god as far as the rebels were concerned and so but I
	11	was not really very familiar with the day-to-day things, but I
	12	knew that they were scared of him.
a	13	PRESIDING JUDGE: Mr Witness, you say he was regarded as
	14	little god not as a god himself.
10:13:49	15	THE WITNESS: My Lord
	16	PRESIDING JUDGE: To the movement.
and	17	THE WITNESS: Well I, being somebody who is a believer
	18	I have a religion, I do not subscribe to somebody who regards
	19	himself as god to be god. So for that reason I
10:14:11	20	PRESIDING JUDGE: You prefer to be measured in the

		21	expression.
		22	THE WITNESS: That's it.
		23	PRESIDING JUDGE: Thank you.
		24	MR JORDASH:
we	10:14:25	25	Q. This initial impression of Foday Sankoh and his, shall
and	i	26	say, lack of commitment, did that stay the same in the weeks
		27	months ahead, or did it alter?
		28	A. I'm afraid so, yes. He was he and some of his main
		29	people who accompanied him to Freetown in fact, they didn't

Page 13

16 MAY 2008

OPEN SESSION

1 hide it. They held press conferences and made statements, scary 2 statements, made threats against the people and the government. Q. Did you come across a man called xxxxxx xxxxxxx? Α. Yes, I think I met him once. Once, xxxxx xxxxxx. 10:15:31 5 Yes, that's the name. Q. He was Foday Sankoh's spokesman. 7 How did he come across to you? Q. A. He was a very ambitious fellow and he -- I don't know

where

- 9 he is, but I formed the impression that he was not totally 10:15:50 10 committed to the peace process. Could I ask the same question about xxxxx xxxxx, please, 11 12 your impressions of him? 13 xxxxxx xxxxxx started off like any other RUF, but he 14 volunteered at one time to travel to Lunsar and Makeni where the 10:16:20 15 AFRC soldiers were brutalising our people and he said he was going there to see if he could talk to them to really calm 16 them 17 down, and I think he got as far as Lunsar, somewhere between Freetown and Makeni he got to the place and he found these 18 guys there and they dug a huge hole, put him there, and just left 19 his 10:16:58 20 head up and each time they went by somebody will kick his head or 21 they will excuse me -- they will urinate on his head and go by. 22 And so I felt so bad about this that a human being could be 23 treated that way, and when he came back, because he was minister of trade, there was a meeting in the United States to which we 24 10:17:30 25 had been invited. So I asked that he should go and I arranged 26 for our embassy in the United States to take him to a doctor to 27 see how -- whether there has been anything wrong with him, and came back. But he didn't quite get out of that rebel 28
 - 29 even after that visit. He still remained a rebel.

position,

SESAY ET AL

Page 14

16 MAY 2008

OPEN SESSION

- $\ensuremath{\text{\fontfamily{10}}}$ Q. When you say he still remained a rebel, what do you mean by
 - 2 that?
- 3 A. Well he was doing things that rebels usually do illegally,
 - 4 not following the rules and plotting and planning and so on.
 - 10:18:18 5 Q. So would you assess him as committed or not committed to
 - 6 the peace process?
 - 7 A. I gained the distinct impression that he was not totally
 - 8 committed to the peace process.
- $\ensuremath{\text{9}}$ Q. Was there any reaction as you were able to observe amongst
- 10:18:39 10 $\,$ the ECOWAS leaders to the lack of commitment being shown by Lamin
 - 11 and Sankoh and others close to them?
- 12 A. Yes, when we had our ECOWAS meetings, we discussed them
- 13 these issues fully and -- because they were our partners in the
 - 14 peace process.
 - 10:19:11 15 Q. Was Charles Taylor a member of ECOWAS at that time?
 - 16 A. Yes, Charles Taylor was.
- 17 Q. Can I take you forward to May of 2000, and, at that point,
 - were you in Freetown?
 - 19 A. I don't remember.
 - 10:19:51 20 Q. Perhaps I can jog your memory. May of 2000 was the time

	21	when an incident occurred between the RI	UF and UNAMSIL in the
	22	Makeni region. Do you recall where you	were at that time?
to	23	A. No. No, I was so busy moving arou	und, and I don't want
	24	mislead anybody.	
10:20:23 that	25	Q. Fair enough. Were you aware of Sa	ankoh's location at
	26	time?	
	27	A. As I said at the beginning, Sankol	n, you know, really
considerable	28 e	hesitated about coming home after Lome,	but, after
able	29	pressure in order to get the peace proce	ess moving, we were
		SCSL - TRIAL CHAMBI	ER I
Page 15		16 MAY 2008	OPEN SESSION
	1	to get him here and he came and he was	in Freetown.
	2	Q. Were you, or did you become aware	
in	3	PRESIDING JUDGE: Mr Witness, are	you saying that he was
	4	Freetown in May 2000?	
10:21:34 all	5	THE WITNESS: My Lord, the point	is, I do not want
	6	my documents and everything, they belong	g to the government, to
	7	the State, and they are in the security	in the hands of

8

security people.

- 9 PRESIDING JUDGE: We understand. We understand.
- 10:21:54 10 THE WITNESS: Now, and I did not want to say for certain
 - 11 that I was in a particular place at that particular time.
 - 12 PRESIDING JUDGE: No, I'm referring to Sankoh.
 - 13 THE WITNESS: Oh, Sankoh, yes.
 - PRESIDING JUDGE: Was he in Freetown in May 2000?
- 10:22:08 15 THE WITNESS: I think he was.
 - 16 PRESIDING JUDGE: Do you remember? As far as your
 - 17 recollection can take you.
 - 18 THE WITNESS: Yes, I think he probably was, but I'm not
 - 19 categorically.
- 10:22:26 20 MR JORDASH:
- $\,$ 21 Q. I think I can lead on this. Were you aware of Sankoh being
 - 22 arrested around that time?
 - 23 A. Oh, yes.
 - Q. Do you recall how you became aware of his arrest?
- 10:22:50 25 A. Well, there was some problem. I think, again, Sankoh and
 - others, and his followers, had created some scene around Juba
- 27 Hill area, and some people got injured or killed and he himself,
 - 28 he was arrested and detained.
 - 29 Q. And do you recall where he was detained?

16 MAY 2008 OPEN SESSION

move	1	A. Initially, he was at Pademba Road, but we decided to
that	2	him from there because I've always taken the position that
	3	Pademba Road Prisons is not a good place to keep prisoners
_	4	because of so many homes and houses around the place, and so -
10:23:59 problems,	5	and whenever there had been earlier on, when we had
break	6	the rebels would go straight to Pademba Road and attempt to
	7	open the prison and let loose the inmates, so that they can go
we	8	and commit some very serious offences. So, for this reason,
	9	decided to take Sankoh to a half-completed building around
10:24:26	10	Aberdeen and provided very good security for him there.
	11	Q. Had Foday Sankoh been held at Pademba previous to 2000?
became	12	A. Oh, yes. Much earlier, before ever, even before I
	13	President, he had committed some offences where he was
he	14	incarcerated there and, during my own time too, when he came,
10:25:14	15	was there for a short while.
when	16	Q. Do you recall where he was on 6 January 1999, the time
	17	Freetown was invaded?
I	18	A. Yes. Again, on that occasion when Freetown was invaded,
my	19	was in bed at about 2.30 a.m. and the ECOWAS generals came to
10:25:45	20	house and woke me up and said: Look, we must leave your place

	21	here. We must take you somewhere else. And so but I said:
Sankoh,	22	Well, what about Foday Sankoh? They said: Well, Foday
process,	23	they were not too sure about his sincerity to the peace
a	24	so they suggested that perhaps he should be taken and kept in
10:26:22 between	25	Nigerian warship, which was then anchored on the border
with	26	Sierra Leone and Guinea, and so I was told that I had to go
were	27	them to Government Wharf. There was a boat there which we
that	28	to join and move on, and I picked up the vice-president at
	29	time, Dr Demby, and my own children as well, and we went to

Page 17				
	rage 17		16 MAY 2008	OPEN SESSION
		1	Government Wharf, boarded this boat and	found out that it was
	boat	2	it didn't contain enough fuel. So we s	at there fuelling the
	as	3	and by somehow it seems that some Go	d was with us because,
		4	soon as we finished fuelling, as we mov	ed out, then the rebels
	10:27:38 destroying,	5	moved into Government Wharf and started	killing and

SESAY ET AL

killing people and destroying things there. So I would have 6 been dead. But then we moved on, continued, and got to this 7 warship; 8 got to this warship, and it was really an ordeal for me. 9 generals remained in the boat. I had to go upstairs in this 10:28:07 10 warship to meet Foday Sankoh. Now, there was no provision, no 11 jetty on it, so they sent a rope from the warship down for me to 12 hang on and they pulled me up, and the sea was really rough --13 very, very rough. If at all there had been any accident there, I 14 had really sort of dropped off that rope, then I would have been 10:28:33 15 squeezed by the two boats and that would have been the end of me. 16 But thank God I landed safely inside. When Sankoh saw me, he 17 said: Oh, please, please forgive me, forgive me, forgive me, forgive me. I'm sorry. I'm so ashamed. Then he whispered, 18 he 19 said: Are my boys in Freetown? And I said: Not quite. Ι 10:29:08 20 said that I had gone there to talk to him so that he and I can 21 record some message to the people of Sierra Leone, that we were 22 destroying our country; that we should do everything to end 23 this -- that violence and the very bad name that the country was 24 getting internationally. And, at that point he said to me, he 10:29:39 25 said: Well, I need some time to talk to God. So please give me 26 one hour. Let me go and talk to God." And then that meant I had 27 to go back again into the boat, that dangerous thing, and I sat

	28	in	there	, wait	ed.	Αſ	Eter	one	houi	ſ I	went	throug	sh the	same	
process															
try	29	int	to the	boat,	and	I	went	and	d so	he	said	: All	right	. We'	11
- 2															

Page 18		SESAY ET AL 16 MAY 2008 OPEN SESSION
said:	1	and do something. He said: We'll try and do something, he
the	2	But I don't have any tape-recorder here. Then the captain of
Then	3	war boat, of the warship, went and brought a tape-recorder.
write	4	Sankoh said: Well, I don't know what to say. You better
10:30:51	5	it for me so that I can read it. And I wrote this appeal, and
to	6	then we came back. He remained in the warship and I came back
	7	Freetown.
	8	PRESIDING JUDGE: When you wrote the appeal, Mr Witness,
	9	what happened? What happened to the
10:31:11	10	THE WITNESS: Well, he read it. He read it.
	11	PRESIDING JUDGE: He read it?
	12	THE WITNESS: Yes. I was going to have it broadcast.
	13	PRESIDING JUDGE: And it was recorded?
back	14	THE WITNESS: It was recorded. And then, when I came

10:31:24 control	15	to Freetown, the place had quietened down. It was under
they	16	of ECOMOG had really moved to various strategic areas, and
	17	took me to my residence, and then two foreign ministers from
the	18	ECOWAS came in to see me. The Ivorian foreign minister, and
to	19	Togolese foreign minister, they asked that please, they wanted
10:32:00 him	20	talk to Sankoh themselves. Could I please arrange to release
will	21	from the warship, so that he could go to Guinea so that they
	22	talk to him there.
was	23	PRESIDING JUDGE: Yes, Mr Witness, before you continue,
	24	this message that was recorded published?
10:32:17	25	THE WITNESS: It was on the radio.
	26	PRESIDING JUDGE: It was on the radio?
	27	THE WITNESS: Yes.
	28	PRESIDING JUDGE: Thank you.
they	29	THE WITNESS: And then we so with this, they said

	SESAY ET AL	
Page 19		
	16 MAY 2008	OPEN SESSION

 $\ensuremath{\text{1}}$ really wanted to really talk to him again, so that he will keep

2 to the peace agreement, and I agreed, and instructions were given 3 for some helicopter to pick him from the warship on to Conakry. 4 As soon as he got to Conakry he contacted one of his men, 10:33:03 Lieutenant Sam Bockarie, and told Sam Bockarie that I put him 6 under pressure to make that statement, and that statement was not 7 really -- he didn't mean it -- and Sam Bockarie went on the BBC 8 and made a -- made a statement to that effect. So we were back 9 almost on square one. But these people help prevailed and we 10:33:36 10 were able to come back together. 11 MR JORDASH: 12 Do you recall what the message said, in broad term? Yes. Well, I drafted it. I said that he was to say 13 that 14 we both met, and we have agreed that we should keep to the Lome 10:33:54 15 Peace Agreement, that we should stop all these hostilities, and 16 that we should try and bring peace back to our country. Thank you. Could I take you back for a moment to when 17 he had been in Pademba. Was he able to communicate from Pademba 18 19 Road? I'm talking about before January 1999, before you went 10:34:29 20 into the warship? Yes. Now, you asked me that question before, and I 21 22 provided an answer to you. The answer is this: That Sankoh was 23 in the military before and, while he was in the ministry, 24 military, he was in the communications section and, therefore, he

10:34:53	25	was an expert in communication and so, for example, during the	е
	26	war, he gave all these instructions to his people by radio	
	27	communication, which he installed secretly. And so, being in	
his	28	Pademba Road, didn't really prevent him from communicating to	
1115	29	people.	
		SCSL - TRIAL CHAMBER I	
		CECAV ET AI	
Page 20		SESAY ET AL	
		16 MAY 2008 OPEN SESSION	
	1	Q. And what about when, moving forward to 2000, he was	
have	2	detained in this half-completed building in Aberdeen; did he	
	3	a means by which he could communicate there?	
	4	A. That one was he had one problem with that one because	е
10:35:42 kept	5	number one, he did not know where he was staying. That was	
	6	as a top secret. There was we then had British Inspector	
police	7	General of Police Keith Bidwell and himself and our senior	
	8	officers were the ones who designed that particular thing and	
	9	he they saw for the first time that Sankoh looked a little	
10:36:06 he	10	uneasy because he couldn't make easy contact with people and	
	11	didn't know the people that were really on guard with him	

there.

them,	12	His security people there looking after him, he didn't know
	13	and he couldn't speak to them properly, so he was very are
	14	uneasy.
10:36:35	15	Q. And how long was he held in those conditions.
	16	A. Again, I'm sorry it's a question of matters of details.
	17	Q. It's a long
	18	A. Yes, I don't have my notes with me. But I know he was
Obasanjo	19	there and I know we moved him from there when Presidents
10:36:59 to	20	and Konare came with a letter following a meeting in Monrovia
	21	him to deliver to him. And so we had to he was moved
then	22	there very early on the morning of that day to Hastings and
	23	from there he was flown to Lungi and so he was kept there for
	24	so that he could meet the two visiting presidents. Even when
10:37:35	25	they came, they suggested that I should not take part in the
	26	meeting so I was in another part of the building and then they
these	27	went and spoke to him. And basically what he was what
who	28	people came to do was to hand over a letter from Issa Sesay
to	29	by then had been elected or elected by the other commanders

SESAY ET AL
Page 21
16 MAY 2008

OPEN SESSION

1 be the interim leader of the RUF. This followed a meeting that 2 took place of about five ECOWAS presidents in Monrovia itself 3 plus Charles Taylor, where they really read the riot act on these 4 people -- to these people, that if they didn't cooperate with the 10:38:38 5 peace process, one of them in particular, President Obasanjo of 6 Nigeria, said if they didn't, he would come with all the might 7 military might of Nigeria to really destroy all of them. So they 8 came to an agreement that they will have an interim leader. 9 Because these people said that ECOWAS and the Government Of 10:39:04 10 Sierra Leone, we were fed up with Sankoh. He was no longer 11 credible and nobody was going to really negotiate with him any 12 more. So because of that they wanted a temporary leader who would really -- that they can talk to and negotiate with. 13 JUDGE BOUTET: Mr Witness, who made that statement to --14 10:39:29 15 that they would not negotiate with Sankoh. 16 THE WITNESS: It was -- I was not present in the -- in my 17 Liberian meeting but it was a decision taken bu ECOWAS, the 18 Economic Community of West African States. There is 11 19 presidents in the subregion. 10:39:50 20 JUDGE BOUTET: It's that committee that made comment to. THE WITNESS: That committee was mandated to meet the 21 22 commanders in Liberia and Charles Taylor was host of both the

commanders and the presidents that arrived there.

23

the	24	JUDGE BOUTET: So based on the information you had at
10:40:08	25	time and your recollection, RUF commanders, whoever they were
	26	THE WITNESS: Yes.
	27	JUDGE BOUTET: they did attend that meeting.
	28	THE WITNESS: Yes.
	29	JUDGE BOUTET: Many of them.
		SCSL - TRIAL CHAMBER I
		SESAY ET AL
Page 22		16 MAY 2008 OPEN SESSION
	1	THE WITNESS: Yes.
thogo	2	JUDGE BOUTET: Do you have any idea as to how many of
these	3	commanders might have attended.
	4	THE WITNESS: No, I don't.
10:40:23	-	JUDGE BOUTET: You don't.
	6	THE WITNESS: No, I don't.
	7	JUDGE BOUTET: Thank you, Mr Witness.
	8	THE WITNESS: That's okay.
	9	MR JORDASH:
10:40:37	10	Q. Was there a reason why you as an ECOWAS leader did not
	11	attend that meeting?
	12	A. Well, I was a party, I mean these people who had just
	13	assisted me to bring about peace to my country and so the RUF

were	14	leaders were on one side; I was on another side. My people
10:40:56 The	15	being killed. Our limited infrastructure being destroyed.
	16	schools, hospitals, even churches and all these things and
	17	mosques and so all being burnt and destroyed. So they we
	18	wanted an impartial body to mediate in and they mediated, they
the	19	went in and they put the case very strongly across to the
10:41:32 decided	20	commanders that were present and they amongst themselves
So	21	that Issa Sesay was to be their leader temporary leader.
me	22	that was the and then they faxed a copy of that letter to
so	23	and then when I read the letter I found it I thought it was
I	24	important that Sankoh's reply should be very, very clear. So
10:42:05 hand	25	decided that I was going to draft Sankoh's reply myself and
negotiate	26	it over to the two visiting presidents so that they can
	27	it with Sankoh for him to sign it as his reply to Issa Sesay's
have	28	letter. But when they went in to see him, I think he must
_	29	come to the realisation that we were at the end of the whole -

		SES	SAY	ET	AL
Page	23				
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2 room where he was kept --3 PRESIDING JUDGE: [Indiscernible] these are the two heads of state. 10:42:54 5 THE WITNESS: Two heads of state, Obasanjo and Konare. PRESIDING JUDGE: Yes. 7 THE WITNESS: As soon as they walked in, when Sankoh saw them he started crying and said: Please, please, I've given 8 up. 9 I don't want to fight any more. And I want you people to please take me out of this place. I would like to spend the rest of 10:43:14 10 my life either in Nigeria or in Mali. Then at that point they 11 said: 12 Sorry, it's too late. We're not here for that. We want you to read Issa Sesay's letter and we want you to reply to it. And 13 the 14 draft which I had prepared which should have been Sankoh's draft, 10:43:45 15 that was given -- that draft was handed over to Sankoh. He

at the end of the road, because as soon as they walked into

1

16

17

18

sign

style

to

the

- 19 them in the language that they will understand.
- 10:44:11 20 PRESIDING JUDGE: Mr Witness, what did you say in that

looked at it. He said: Mmm. He read it. He said: If I

this, the guys will say it's not my writing. It's not my

of writing. He said: Please, leave it to me. Let me write

	21	draft which you wrote.	
tito d	22	THE WITNESS: Basically, the letter that came from Issa	
was			
	23	that they had had a meeting with the ECOWAS leaders, the	
a	24	presidents, and they had come to the conclusion that there was	
10:44:32	25	need to have a temporary leader because these people say that	
	26	ECOWAS will not have any business to do with Charles Taylor	
vacuum,	27	with Foday Sankoh again. And so instead of creating that	
,			
the	28	that he had accepted to be the interim leader. So that was	
	29	thing that was the thing and that so Issa was saying	
	SCSL - TRIAL CHAMBER I		
		SESAY ET AL	
Page 24		16 MAY 2000	
		16 MAY 2008 OPEN SESSION	

	1	explaining that to Sankoh and saying that they were willing to
bring	2	work along these lines to work with the government and to
	3	about peace.
	4	MR JORDASH:
10:45:14 reference	5	Q. And did you was it your understanding that the
	6	to the meeting with ECOWAS in that draft or in that letter
meeting?	7	from Issa Sesay was referring to a meeting, a specific

ECOWAS 9 with these heads of state to --10:45:41 10 The one that you've referred to that you didn't attend? 11 That's right. 12 Do you know what was said by the ECOWAS leaders in that 13 meeting concerning who should be the interim leader? 14 No, no. They, they -- my -- what my colleagues told me 10:46:02 15 then was that they said that these -- the commanders that were 16 there were asked to choose who should be the interim leader for them. And that what was in that letter was their own choice. 17 18 Do you know if any of the ECOWAS leaders made any proposals 19 besides that? 10:46:34 20 No. Α. So you don't know or they didn't make any proposals? 21 22 As far as I know, not. Yes. 23 Let me just take you back for a moment to Sankoh's 24 period --10:46:53 25 PRESIDING JUDGE: Mr Jordash, before you do take him back I 26 would like to take the witness back to the draft which he said he 27 gave to Sankoh and he said Sankoh said that no, if I sign this mу 28 people will know from the style, you know, from the handwriting, 29 know that I'm the one sending this letter to them. What was

Yes, it was a specific meeting. It was convened by

8

this

Α.

Page 25

16 MAY 2008 OPEN SESSION

	1	letter, Mr Witness.
	2	THE WITNESS: I think I I think said it, that when I
Sankoh.	3	these people when they met, Sesay wrote a letter to Foday
to	4	PRESIDING JUDGE: [Overlapping speakers] wrote a letter
10:47:41	5	Foday Sankoh. It was brought by the two presidents.
	6	THE WITNESS: It was brought by them.
	7	PRESIDING JUDGE: Yes.
	8	THE WITNESS: Now, there was a question of a reply.
	9	PRESIDING JUDGE: A reply, that's right.
10:47:55 view	10	THE WITNESS: Now I, I took the position I took the
	11	that
reply.	12	PRESIDING JUDGE: Who was to reply. Sankoh was to
	13	THE WITNESS: Sankoh was to reply.
	14	PRESIDING JUDGE: Yes.
10:47:58 draft	15	THE WITNESS: But then I said to myself, well, let me
	16	a reply for him.
	17	PRESIDING JUDGE: We got you up to then. Yes, yes. You
	18	drafted it
	19	THE WITNESS: I drafted it.

10:48:06 20 PRESIDING JUDGE: And you gave it to him.

to	21	THE WITNESS: No, no, I gave it to these two Presidents
	22	give to him.
	23	PRESIDING JUDGE: Okay. Yes.
it	24	THE WITNESS: And then when they gave it to him he read
10:48:14	25	and then he said: Mmm mmm, these guys will think that it's
	26	somebody else who has done this.
	27	PRESIDING JUDGE: Yes.
	28	THE WITNESS: So let me do it my own way.
	29	PRESIDING JUDGE: And how did he do it his own way.
		SCSL - TRIAL CHAMBER I
Daga 26		SESAY ET AL
Page 26		SESAY ET AL 16 MAY 2008 OPEN SESSION
Page 26	1	
	1 2	16 MAY 2008 OPEN SESSION
letter		16 MAY 2008 OPEN SESSION THE WITNESS: He wrote something else. He wrote a
letter leader	2	16 MAY 2008 OPEN SESSION THE WITNESS: He wrote something else. He wrote a and saying that he accepted Issa Sesay as the interim
letter leader	2 3 4	THE WITNESS: He wrote something else. He wrote a and saying that he accepted Issa Sesay as the interim and that they should try and cooperate to get the peace
letter leader process	2 3 4	THE WITNESS: He wrote something else. He wrote a and saying that he accepted Issa Sesay as the interim and that they should try and cooperate to get the peace forward.
letter leader process	2 3 4 5	THE WITNESS: He wrote something else. He wrote a and saying that he accepted Issa Sesay as the interim and that they should try and cooperate to get the peace forward. PRESIDING JUDGE: In your draft which you gave to the

- 9 that letter that was destroyed which you drafted yourself.
- 10:48:51 10 THE WITNESS: Oh, my letter which I was in that -- my draft
 - 11 was to say that I, Issa Sesay -- sorry, I Foday Sankoh.
 - 12 PRESIDING JUDGE: Foday Sankoh, yes.
 - 13 THE WITNESS: Have received your letter so and so and so
- \$14\$ and that I accept you as the interim leader and I hope you people
 - 10:49:12 15 will work together.
 - 16 PRESIDING JUDGE: I accept you.
 - 17 THE WITNESS: Issa Sesay.
 - 18 PRESIDING JUDGE: Issa Sesay as interim leader.
 - 19 THE WITNESS: Yes.
 - 10:49:19 20 PRESIDING JUDGE: Thank you.
 - 21 MR CAMMEGH: Mr Gbao apologises for interrupting the
 - 22 evidence but might he leave the room for the bathroom for one
 - moment, please.
 - PRESIDING JUDGE: He may, please.
 - 10:49:31 25 MR JORDASH:
 - 26 Q. I just want to make sure something is clear. You gave
 - 27 evidence that Foday Sankoh was taken to the half-completed
- 28 building in Aberdeen, held there before being taken at some stage
 - 29 to Hastings and then to Lungi, and this was I think you said,

16 MAY 2008 OPEN SESSION

- 1 after Issa Sesay had become interim leader.
- 2 A. Well, it depends on what you mean "after." After the
- 3 Monrovia meeting, when these people, it was -- they were
- 4 bringing -- they came, these people came. Issa -- Sankoh went to
 - 10:50:20 5 Lungi to take the letter from Issa Sesay, which these two
 - 6 presidents brought.
- $\,$ 7 $\,$ Q. Right. If we start from the point that Sankoh is held in a
- $\,$ 8 $\,$ half-completed building in Aberdeen in May, when do you think it
 - 9 was he went to Lungi?
 - 10:50:44 10 A. Again, I will just be guessing.
 - 11 Q. Was it in 2000 or 2001?
 - 12 A. Please don't hold me on to dates. Really, I mean, I
- 13 could -- it's roughly about that, but I cannot say "yes" one way
 - or the other.
 - 10:51:03 15 Q. Okay. Was it the rainy season or the dry season?
 - 16 A. Oh, my God.
 - 17 Q. Sorry to press you, but --
- $\,$ 18 $\,$ A. No. Well, you see, the thing is that you should have been
 - 19 in my position as president of a country that was --
 - 10:51:22 20 PRESIDING JUDGE: In turmoil.
 - 21 THE WITNESS: -- in turmoil and for me to be remembering
 - 22 what day, what happens today, tomorrow and then for me to just
- 23 store it up here, particularly -- I don't think people of my age,

details.	24	76 years of age, are very good at keeping some of those
10:51:46	25	MR JORDASH:
Where	26	Q. I think you are better than some of us younger ones.
	27	did Sankoh go after the meeting in Lungi?
	28	A. We brought him back.
	29	Q. To Aberdeen?
		SCSL - TRIAL CHAMBER I
		SESAY ET AL
Page 28		16 MAY 2008 OPEN SESSION
	1	A. Yes.
	2	Q. And how long do you recall when he left detention in
	3	Aberdeen? Or at least do you recall where he went after
	4	Aberdeen?
10:52:11	5	A. Where he
	6	Q. Well, he stayed in detention in Aberdeen?
	7	A. Yes.
	8	Q. Where did he go from there?
things	9	A. No, from there, we, you know, because we had made up
10:52:22	10	and so on, Foday, he was given an apartment when we decided to
	11	implement the Lome peace agreement properly, we gave him a
house		

him a	a	12	just off Spur Road, one of the best areas in town, and gave
		13	whole house there. That's where he was. He was free to move
		14	around. There was no problem.
10 same):53:00	15	Q. I want to make sure that we're both talking about the
		16	period. Were you aware at some stage that Sankoh was detained
		17	pursuant to the jurisdiction of the Special Court?
		18	A. I, frankly, I know Sankoh was detained.
		19	Q. Yes.
1(Road):53:37 ,	20	A. And I've told you that he was at one time at Pademba
on		21	at another time at Aberdeen, and then afterwards he was moved
I		22	to to he moved. He was given a house at Spur View, and
		23	also know that when things were very, very bad, when we had
I		24	curfew here from 6 p.m., I think, to 7 o'clock in the morning,
10	0:54:18	25	had to leave my house at 9 o'clock every night to go to the
		26	military barracks where he was kept, so that we can talk about
		27	how to bring about peace.
you		28	Q. Let me, before we move from this subject, could I ask
want		29	to I know you're going to feel pressed by this but I just

SESAY ET AL Page 29 16 MAY 2008

OPEN SESSION

- $\,$ 1 $\,$ to try once more in a different way. Are you able to estimate in
 - 2 days, weeks or months or years, how long it was Sankoh was
 - 3 detained in Aberdeen? Just --
- $4\,$ A. Let me say this: I can help you in this way. If you must
- 10:55:13 5 get this information, ask for the police to come and --because
 - 6 he was in their custody -- and they were the ones who made the
- $\,$ 7 $\,$ arrangements for that Aberdeen arrangement. I just approved of
- 8 it. So they will tell you, give you the full details. If that's
 - 9 so crucial to your case, certainly, the police will give you
- $10:55:40\ 10$ because they must have a record of it there. But I don't have it
 - 11 up there.
 - 12 Q. You cannot estimate between days, weeks or months?
 - 13 A. I think probably about a month or two. I'm not sure.
 - 14 Q. Okay. Let me take you on. You've referred to a meeting
- 10:56:06 15 held by ECOWAS, in which the RUF who attended then went away and
- 16 came back with Sesay's name as the proposed interim leader;
 was
 - 17 there a second meeting shortly after that?
 - 18 A. I don't know. The only meeting I know of is that, you
 - 19 know, obviously RUF will not tell me about their meetings, and
 - 10:56:42 20 also I know that my colleagues that went to Monrovia, they
 - 21 decided that these two presidents should come and see me and
- $\,$ 22 $\,$ debrief -- and brief me on that meeting and to convey the letter

- 23 from Issa.
- Q. But, just so that we're clear: I'm referring to -- I'm
- 10:57:03 25 asking about another ECOWAS meeting?
 - 26 A. In Monrovia?
 - Q. Yes. Do you recall that? Or in Liberia?
 - 28 A. In Liberia? I don't, no, I don't remember.
 - 29 Q. Okay. Do you recall how it was that Mr Sesay acted as

	SESAY ET AL	
Page 30		
	16 MAY 2008	OPEN SESSION

- 1 interim leader in relation to his in relation to the
- 2 implementation of the Lome agreement?
- $\ensuremath{\mathtt{3}}$ A. Now, this is an important point. There was a time when, in
- 4 the north, particularly Bombali District and Tonkolili District,
- 10:58:10 5 there was a lot of violence there, and I think Issa was then the
 - 6 commander in that area, and there was a massive movement of
- 7 people from Lunsar, Makeni, and Bombali and into Mile 91. And I
- 8 remember this clearly because it was so bad nobody could go from
 - 9 Freetown beyond up to the south or east because of what was
- 10:58:51 10 happening, and there was this huge movement of displaced people

	11	into Mile 91. So I decided, it was a very risky flight, but I
	12	decided to fly over the Atlantic by helicopter to Moyamba, and
	13	then down to Mile 91, to see for myself what was ongoing. And
	14	the reports I got from the people about the violence that was
10:59:27	15	taking place there, that they had cordoned off the whole of
people	16	Tonkolili, and particularly Magburaka Town and Makeni, and
	17	couldn't get in and out, so I
	18	PRESIDING JUDGE: That who had cordoned off?
I	19	THE WITNESS: RUF; RUF had cordoned off. And I decided
10:59:56 say	20	was going there to see for myself what needs to be done. I
sea	21	it was dangerous because, although we tried to fly over the
on	22	up to that point, as soon as we turned in, then there was fire
	23	this helicopter and we had to land in a on a farm and the
emergency	24	engineer was able to put out the fire and did whatever
11:00:30	25	repair was needed and then we moved on, and so we got there.
	26	Now, that's the type of situation that existed in the place at
	27	that time.
	28	MR JORDASH:
ono	29	Q. Could I, sorry to interrupt you, could I just ask you

SESAY ET AL Page 31 16 MAY 2008

one

- 1 question?
- 2 A. But can I continue with this, something?
- 3 Q. I beg your pardon.
- $\mathbf{4}$ $\mathbf{A}.$ Now, that was the setting there. And then Paramount Chief
- 11:00:54 5 Bai Kurr of Tonkolili District, and also the Fullah tribal head
- $\,$ 6 $\,$ man in Port Loko area, they came and saw me and told me that they
 - 7 knew Issa and his people, his family members, his father, his
- $\,$ 8 $\,$ mother, his sisters and brothers, and that if they could put $\,$ me $\,$
 - 9 in touch with him, so that I can talk to them -- to him -- so
- 11:01:27 10 that he -- that I can talk to them so that they will take, convey
 - 11 my message to Issa so that he would cooperate in the
 - 12 implementation of the peace agreement. I did. I said: Yes,
- 13 please, go and bring them. They brought them on a Friday, like
 - 14 today, and since they were Muslims, I invited them for Muslim
- $11:01:51\ 15$ prayers. We prayed and then I spoke to them about the need for
- 16 us to have peace, the need for us to stop all the violence, and
- 17 all the bad things that were going on, and that please, if they
- 18 could take this message from me to Issa, who was then a very -
 - 19 you know, the acting leader -- I said I will be very grateful.
 - 11:02:13 20 They did that. And, as a result, when it came to the
- $\,$ 21 $\,$ disarmament, when it came to the disarmament process itself, Issa

	22	was very cooperative. He was very, very cooperative. Yes.
	23	Q. Sorry to interrupt you.
	24	A. That's okay.
11:02:37	25	Q. Let me just ask briefly about
may	26	JUDGE BOUTET: Before you get there, Mr Jordash, if I
have	27	just clarify an issue with the witness. Mr Witness, do you
went	28	any recollection about the timing of this meeting when you
	29	and met with this paramount chief and you discussed the

message

Page 32

SCSL - TRIAL CHAMBER I

Page 32		16 MAY 2008	OPEN SESSION
	1	to be conveyed to Sesay?	
	2	THE WITNESS: Yes. Th, I think	the chief told me that
he	3	there was a man who knew the family, I	ssa's family, and that
bring	4	will bring them, now, and that the other	er man was going to
11:03:17 and	5	the rest of the family, the mother, the	e father, the sisters
Friday,	6	brothers, and they all came to my house	e, my lodging, on a
	7	about 10 o'clock in the morning, and the	hey stayed there until
	8	after 2.30, and they told me they were	going sending people

SESAY ET AL

- $\,$ 9 $\,$ around to go and track him down, so as to convince him on this.
- $11:03:46\ 10$ JUDGE BOUTET: But this meeting you had with these people
 - is after Sesay had been appointed as the interim leading?
 - 12 THE WITNESS: Yes.
- $$\tt JUDGE\ BOUTET\tt: So\ I'm\ just\ trying\ to\ find\ out\ with\ you\ the$
 - 14 timelines that we're talking about. Is it months after the
 - 11:04:02 15 ECOWAS meetings in Monrovia or -- you follow me on this,
 - 16 Mr Witness?
 - 17 THE WITNESS: I follow you, yes. I follow you. It's a
 - 18 sequential thing.
 - 19 JUDGE BOUTET: Yes, yes.
 - 11:04:13 20 THE WITNESS: Yes, that's right. Now, to be -- yes, I
 - 21 think it was after the meeting.
 - MR JORDASH:
- $\,$ Q. In terms of this violence, and where it was occurring, do
 - 24 you know at that time where the West Side Boys were?
- 11:04:58 25 A. The West Side Boys were between, after Waterloo going up,
- 26 right up to about Lunsar and Makeni and Magburaka, those areas.
 - 27 Q. And those were the areas where the violence was coming
 - 28 from?
 - 29 A. Yes.

Page 33

had

16 MAY 2008 OPEN SESSION

	1	Q. Thank you.
were	2	PRESIDING JUDGE: Mr Witness, I know you were you
WCIC	3	airborne. You have told the Tribunal that your helicopter was
you	4	shot down and you made an emergency landing on a farm. Then
11:05:50 have	5	took off after some repairs. Are you able to know who may
	6	targeted your helicopter? Did you get to know anything about
	7	that?
that	8	THE WITNESS: No, I didn't say we were bombed. I said
	9	it was that accident. Now, what happened was that it was a
11:06:05	10	mechanical problem.
	11	PRESIDING JUDGE: Oh, I thought it was a shot.
	12	THE WITNESS: No, no, it was mechanical problem.
	13	PRESIDING JUDGE: All right. Okay. Okay.
	14	MR JORDASH:
11:06:21 you	15	Q. And so after the meetings you've told the Court about,
meet	16	noted that Issa Sesay had become very cooperative. Did you
	17	him at some stage in 2001?
of	18	A. Yes. I met Issa when we went to it was some burning
la a d	19	the weapons, you know, announced to our people, that the war

11:06:59 20 come to an end so the first such meeting was where we invited

and	21	inter	national people and ECOWAS leaders	was at Lungi Airport
	22	I thi	nk he was there. And, from there,	I went with a group to
there	23	Maken	i, Bo, Kenema, and back. I'm not	sure whether he was
	24	or no	t. And if I'm if I should be a	round, I wouldn't even
11:07:26	25	recog	nise him now, because it was very	brief meeting on those
	26	occas	ions.	
	27	Q.	Compared to Foday Sankoh, how did	Issa Sesay strike you?
agreed	28	A.	No, I well, he proved to be cr	edible because he
	29	to do	something and he did it.	
			SCSL - TRIAL CHAMB	ER I
		SESAY	ET AL	
Page 34		16 MA	Y 2008	OPEN SESSION
	1	0	Mag those a time when you met him	in Kana?
	1	Q.	Was there a time when you met him Yes. Yes.	in kono?
	3	A.	Yes. Yes. PRESIDING JUDGE: He agreed to do	something and he did
it.	4		THE WITNESS: To cooperate with u	s in the disarmament
11:08:04	5	proce	ss.	
	6		MR JORDASH:	
him	7	Q.	Can you recall the circumstances	which led you to meet
	8	in Ko	no?	
	9	Α.	Yes. The two it was that I re	member, because I got

11:08:20 10 drenched in that rain; it was pouring heavily on that day. President Obasanjo and President Konare came, and I was also 11 at 12 the airport to meet them and, from there, we flew straight on to 13 Kono. And before we went to the general meeting to talk to all 14 the combatants, and all the people in Kono area, we had a private 11:08:54 15 meeting with Issa and the others, and I remember clearly 16 President Obasanjo saying to Issa, he said: You, you, you are 17 the one who answers when people call you General? He said: Yes, 18 sir. He said: Well, look, don't you ever answer to that name 19 any more. You don't see me I'm a general myself. I was head of 11:09:24 20 the Nigerian army and I don't want people to denigrate my profession in that way. You understand? He said: Yes, sir. 21 So 22 from that time on I think he stopped doing this, but it was a good psychological thing, and then we had some little pep talk 23 24 and so that was also helpful. 11:09:50 25 And Issa Sesay's responses to President Obasanjo, how Q. did --26 His what? 27 Α. 28 His response; I don't mean his specific response but his

29

general demeanour?

Page 35

16 MAY 2008 OPEN SESSION

- 1 A. Yes. No, no, he was very -- he was obedient. He was --
- 2 that's what Obasanjo wanted and he achieved it.
- 3 Q. And did you speak to Mr Sesay on the --
- 4 A. Yes, we greeted each other and so on.
- 11:10:20 5 Q. Was there a general view of Issa Sesay at that meeting,
 - 6 amongst the ECOWAS leaders?
 - 7 A. Not that I know.
- $\,$ Q. At that stage was there any impression concerning Sesay's
 - 9 commitment to disarmament?
 - 11:10:51 10 A. I was -- he looked really harmless young man and, again,
- $\,$ 11 $\,$ the way he responded to Obasanjo, I saw the tendency for someone
 - 12 who would want to be obedient.
 - 13 Q. Do you recall if xxxxxx xxxxx was at the meeting?
- I'm not sure I know him, but, I don't know whether he was
 - 11:11:21 15 in that meeting; I don't recollect.
 - 16 Q. Did you give any speech yourself at that meeting?
 - 17 A. You mean in Kono?
 - 18 Q. Yes.
- 19 A. Oh, yes, I did. I did. It was just to -- the people were
- 11:11:44 20 jubilant that they were expecting that some peace was on the way,
 - 21 and I was trying to reassure them, and I also gave Issa and
 - 22 others some advice that this is our country. This is the only

and	23	place, country they can regard as call their own country
	24	that we should not destroy it.
11:12:13	25	Q. Do you know if this meeting took place before or after
	26	disarmament in Kono?
	27	A. In Kono?
	28	Q. Yes.
	29	A. No. It was it was after we had deployed UNAMSIL and
		SCSL - TRIAL CHAMBER I
Page 36		SESAY ET AL
_		16 MAY 2008 OPEN SESSION
considerably	1 y;	then it was the security situation had improved
	2	that's why we went there.
or	3	Q. Do you know if there had been any concern amongst ECOWAS
	4	the Government of Sierra Leone concerning disarmament of Kono?
11:12:50	5	A. Very much. There was a time when, in fact, Generals
	6	[indiscernible] and Opande and others went up there and
that	7	because the Civil Defence people were really up in arms, and
	8	they were not going to be cooperative, and there was a lot of
	9	fighting that went on. But towards the end, before we went
11:13:20	10	there, things had calmed down because UNAMSIL had done a
	11	fantastic job, particularly the Pakistani contingent.

		12	Q.	And following that meeting, did disarmament continue?
		13	Α.	Um-hmm.
to		14	Q.	And did was disarmament did disarmament continue
	11:13:48	15	be le	d by Issa Sesay, from the RUF perspective?
		16	Α.	Yes. Yes.
		17		MR JORDASH: Can I just have a moment, please?
		18		PRESIDING JUDGE: You may, please.
su	re	19		MR JORDASH: I'm coming to a close. I'm just making
	11:14:40	20	I've	covered everything.
		21		PRESIDING JUDGE: The witness is not running out of his
λοι	u	22	stren	gth. He still looks equal to the task and the challenge
		23	are p	utting across to him.
		24		MR JORDASH:
	11:14:50	25	Q.	Did Issa Sesay ever make any demands concerning his
		26	commi	tment to the disarmament process, as far as you're aware?
hir	m.	27	Α.	No, I don't know. I'm not aware of any demands from
		28	Q.	And, during this process, do you know if Sankoh was

Page 37

16 MAY 2008

OPEN SESSION

29 detained or not?

- 1 A. During the disarmament process?
- Q. Yes, the period of the Kono meeting and so forth?
- 3 A. Yes, I think Sankoh was under detention, yes.
- $\mathbf{4}$ Q. And maybe you've covered it with your last answer: Do you
 - 11:15:37 5 know if Mr Sesay made any demands about Foday Sankoh?
- $\ensuremath{\text{6}}$ A. No. Foday -- Issa Sesay and I, we didn't really talk, as
 - 7 such. The people that I spoke to, I spoke to his people, his
 - 8 father, mother and brothers and sisters. With him it was just
 - 9 courtesies, you know. That was all we exchanged; very brief.
- 11:16:02 10 Q. He didn't make any to you but did you hear if he made any
 - 11 to anybody else?
 - 12 A. No, not that I know.
- $\ensuremath{\mathtt{Q}}.$ Thank you. Did you have any contact over this period with
 - 14 the SRSG Adeniji?
- 11:16:38 15 A. Adeniji, oh, I knew him since in the 1960s; he was a very
- $\,$ 16 $\,$ good friend of a long time. For a long time. In fact, we were
 - 17 together in Kenya recently.
 - 18 Q. But do you recall whether he made comment about his
 - impressions of Issa Sesay's commitment?
 - 11:17:03 20 A. Frankly, we never discussed Issa Sesay.
 - 21 Q. Okay. Do you recall associating with General Opande any
 - 22 stage during this disarmament process?
- 23 A. I know General Opande. I know he did a fantastic job here.
 - 24 He was a very brave soldier, but again, his relationship with
 - 11:17:36 25 Issa Sesay, I don't know.

Sankoh	26	Q. Do you know anything about Issa Sesay meeting Foday	
	27	in the Choithram's Hospital at any stage?	
was	28	A. I don't know. I heard that I think it was Issa who	
he	29	at the hospital and I suppose if Foday Sankoh was there and	
		SCSL - TRIAL CHAMBER I	
Page 38		SESAY ET AL	
rage 30		16 MAY 2008 OPEN SESSION	
	1	was [indiscernible] they were colleagues so he maybe he	
	2	visited him, but I don't know.	
look	3	MR JORDASH: Okay. I would like to ask the witness to	
to	4	at an exhibit. It hasn't been exhibited yet, but I would like	
11:18:20 obviously	5	exhibit it, if I may, through this witness. It hasn't	
The	6	been filed with this witness, but I would like to, if I may.	
I	7	Prosecution have a copy. It's been served on the Prosecution,	
	8	think previously.	
well?	9	PRESIDING JUDGE: And to the other Defence teams as	
11:18:41	10	MR JORDASH: Yes.	
	11	PRESIDING JUDGE: Well, show it to him.	

12 THE WITNESS: Thank you. Yes. [Indiscernible] done done, 13 that was my statement I made at the opening at -- yes. 14 MR JORDASH: 11:19:24 15 Now a very famous statement. 16 Α. Thank you. 17 Q. Do you recall, as I'm sure you must, this ceremony and do 18 you recall speaking at the ceremony? 19 Α. Yes. 11:19:40 20 Do you recall whether SRSG Adeniji was present? Q. 21 Somebody from the UN must have been there and, in fact, Olo 22 was here, yes, at the time for the thing, so he must have been 23 there. Yes. Can you see the photograph -- I think it's on 24 second 11:19:57 25 page. 26 Oh, yes. There he is, yes. 27 And do you recall the moment when the three of you, Issa Sesay, SRSG Adeniji and yourself put the hands together? 28 29 Um-hmm. Α.

SCSL - TRIAL CHAMBER I

SESAY ET AL Page 39

16 MAY 2008 OPEN SESSION

And do you recall the words that were spoken at that 1 Q. point? 2 I know it's a while ago? 3 Well, done done. 4 Was anything said when the three hands went together? Was 11:20:35 5 there a reason for putting the hands together? This is just saying: Please, make this peace. Let us try and keep it up that way. 8 All right. Both of us shaking hands and then Adeniji holding our 9 hands 11:20:52 10 on it. So that's the only meaning. 11 Thank you. Two last subjects: One is just if you could Ο. briefly assess the importance or otherwise --12 13 PRESIDING JUDGE: Mr Jordash, what are you doing with this 14 document? 11:21:11 15 MR JORDASH: I beg your pardon. I would like to tender it to be exhibited, please. 16 17 PRESIDING JUDGE: Is there any objection? 18 MR HARRISON: No, thank you. PRESIDING JUDGE: Mr Taku? Or Ms Mylvaganam? 19 11:21:34 20 MS MYLVAGANAM: No objection, My Lord. PRESIDING JUDGE: Mr Cammegh? 21 22 MR CAMMEGH: No, thank you. 23 PRESIDING JUDGE: The document is admitted in evidence and 24 is marked as Exhibit 374. 11:22:09 25 MS KAMUZORA: Yes, My Lord.

	26	PRESIDING JUDGE: Would that be 374.
	27	MS KAMUZORA: Yes, My Lords, it's 374.
	28	[Exhibit No. 374 was admitted]
	29	PRESIDING JUDGE: Yes, you may proceed, Mr Jordash.
		SCSL - TRIAL CHAMBER I
		SESAY ET AL
Page 40		16 MAY 2008 OPEN SESSION
	1	MR JORDASH: Thank you.
	2	Q. I just wanted, if you would, for you to briefly comment
on	3	Mr Sesay's importance or otherwise in the disarmament process?
	4	A. Well, I think I said it already, that Sesay was very
11:22:42		helpful.
11.22.12	6	PRESIDING JUDGE: Can you take the question again,
please,	Ü	TREBIETHO CODOL. can you came the question again,
	7	Mr Jordash. Sorry, I didn't get it.
	8	MR JORDASH: Whether His Excellency would comment on the
	9	importance or otherwise of Mr Sesay's contribution to
11:22:57	10	disarmament?
	11	PRESIDING JUDGE: Right. Yes.
	12	THE WITNESS: I feel that he his contribution was
	13	important and he kept to his word, and that is clearly

demonstrated in this tripartite shaking of hands.

11:23:17 15 MR JORDASH:

ask	16	Q. Thank you. And the last the last subject I want to
your	17	you about is really to give you an opportunity to deal with
I	18	subpoena to the Trial Chamber. I know you were concerned and
what	19	just wanted to make sure you had an opportunity to express
11:23:46	20	you wanted to say about that?
	21	A. Okay. Well, I thank you for that question, because it
itself.	22	gives me an opportunity to say something about the Court
when	23	This Court is something that I believe in very strongly and
	24	a former colleague of mine came here, Ralph Zacklin, and we
11:24:21 this	25	discussed it and the vision is that I had at that time for
which	26	Court is that Sierra Leone should be a legacy after the war
	27	we shall share with other countries in the subregion, and so I
	28	still believe that and that's perhaps the reason why I
to	29	deliberately kept away from the Court. I've never been near

	SESAY ET AL	
Page 41		
	16 MAY 2008	OPEN SESSION

- it. And -- but I think this is not a criticism it is just,
- 2 My Lord, it's just some suggestion that I'm making to further

- 3 reinforce the importance of the Court. We have some type of
- 4 journalism in this country which can lead to chaos and can also
 - 11:25:19 5 lead perhaps, unintentionally maybe, to some frictions in the
- 6 country. About two weeks ago I left here and before I left, this
- 7 was a long-standing invitation that I had received from the
- $\,$ $\,$ $\,$ President of Guinea and the prime minister, and on that day I $\,$ was
- 9 leaving I had to address ministers and members of Parliament and
 - 11:25:52 10 some international figures that had arrived. I had to address
- them on international peace in Parliament building. And I made
 - 12 it very clear that I was just going to deliver my speech and I
- $\,$ 13 $\,$ will take off for Guinea in response to this invitation. Now, I
- $\,$ 14 $\,$ was there on my way back. I heard on the BBC and it was in the
- 11:26:18 15 newspapers here that I was running away from subpoena which had
- 16 been issued by this Court. And then the next one that happened
 - 17 was you -- from the papers that I received it was such that I
 - 18 thought I was going to discuss with the -- with the Defence
 - 19 representative and thereafter we were going to decide on a
 - 11:27:03 20 statement that was to be presented to you. And, in fact, you
- $\,$ 21 $\,$ even told me that it had been cleared by the Defence. And that
 - 22 so there was no need --
 - 23 PRESIDING JUDGE: By the Prosecution.
 - 24 THE WITNESS: By the Prosecution, that's right.
 - 11:27:19 25 PRESIDING JUDGE: Yes.

Now,	26	THE WITNESS: And there was no need for me to come.
	27	because I didn't come that again led gave way to the usual
our	28	rumours in Freetown and what I call the politics of lies in
	29	country. And then you yesterday I couldn't come because of

	SESAY ET AL		
Page 42			
	16 MAY 2008	OPEN	SESSION

	1	the assurance you gave me that because the statement had been
to	2	cleared by the by the Prosecution there was no need for me
to	3	be here. Now, my concern and worry on that is that I belong
that's	4	one just one political party and that's the one that
11:28:18	5	the only political party I've belonged to in this country and
very	6	I but in the last election I was not a candidate. That's
that	7	well-known to everybody. I thought that I had taken oath,
	8	according to our constitution we have only two terms and I had
didn't	9	come to the end of my second term and that was it. So I
11:28:43	10	take part in the selection but people went I voted as a
	11	citizen and there was a big rumour around that I voted for the
that	12	opposition then, which is now the present government. Now,

be	13	I found very difficult to swallow. Now, why why should I
	14	concerned if you had heard some of the radio, text messages on
11:29:22 to	15	the radios and so on, people are suggesting that I was trying
and	16	evade coming. As I say, I'm very proud of this Special Court
	17	it will be just my pleasure at any time to come and do it.
	18	PRESIDING JUDGE: But haven't you proven them wrong,
	19	Mr Witness.
11:29:47 the	20	THE WITNESS: Well, that's one thing, yes. But it is
concerned	21	fact that the thing that I'm worried about and what
	22	me was that the you see, during the war with all these
the	23	atrocities committed, the civil society people or rather
	24	Civil Defence Forces, those were the ones that really provided
11:30:12	25	the only reliable type of resistance to the onslaught of the
	26	rebels. Now and some of them were saying on the radio
	27	yesterday that I refused to come and give evidence in their
	28	favour and I'm here to give evidence in favour of the rebels.
everything	29	Now, these are people, some of them decent people and

SESAY ET AL
Page 43
16 MAY 2008

OPEN SESSION

- - 2 so I have to think of my safety and so on. That's number one.
 - 3 Number two, I think the credibility of the -- of the Court
 - 4 itself, if we really are to leave a legacy that is worth
 - 11:31:11 5 emulating, I think we must always try and see to it that we do
 - 6 things in the proper way and you, judges and others, I think
 - 7 you've acquitted yourselves in an exemplary manner. I have no
 - 8 problem with this. But please, if somebody can control a

little

- 9 bit the dissemination of information to see to it that this type
 - 11:31:42 10 of misinformation stops at some stage, because it will -- I
- 11 believe it will negatively affect the image of the -- not of you,
 - 12 the judges and others, but clearly of the Court as an
 - institution. And it is this that I'm appealing to you about.
 - 14 Thank you.
 - 11:32:12 15 MR JORDASH: Thank you very much. I've got no further
 - 16 questions.
 - 17 PRESIDING JUDGE: Do you think that this Court in its
 - 18 judicial role can inhibit the press in these circumstances.
 - 19 THE WITNESS: I am not saying --
- 11:32:29 20 PRESIDING JUDGE: In its judicial role. My words are very
 - 21 guarded.
 - 22 THE WITNESS: I know.
 - 23 PRESIDING JUDGE: Yes.
 - 24 THE WITNESS: I'm not saying they should. That's why I
- 11:32:38 25 didn't make an appeal to the judges to the judicial role aspect.

26	I was thinking in terms of the dissemination of information.
27	This will just be a little thing calling together those who
28	disseminate information on your behalf to say please, this is
29	thing we have decided and this is what's going on. And this
	SCSL - TRIAL CHAMBER I
	SESAY ET AL
	16 MAY 2008 OPEN SESSION
1	so and so. But for the image of the Court for people to be
2	reading different stories of one situation, I really am
3	that I'm not saying you should use your judicial function
4	do it but it's just administratively that it can be done.
26 5	are closer links between your information people and the
6	who disseminate information. Just talking to them I think
7	help.
8	PRESIDING JUDGE: Mr Witness, thank you.
9	JUDGE THOMPSON: Let me, for the enlightenment of the
45 10	witness, address specifically an issue that you alluded to in
11	your advice to the Court, and that is in respect of the
	27 28 29 1 2 3 4 26 5 6 7 8 9

admission

of	12	in evidence of your statement, your written statement, in lieu
	13	oral testimony and, of course, I address this to you since in
	14	your evidence-in-chief you indicated, and quite rightly, and I
11:47:46	15	acknowledge that you are yourself a lawyer. Rule 92bis, under
	16	which your statement was sought to be admitted in evidence in
be	17	lieu of oral testimony, stipulates certain legal criteria to
	18	satisfied before the statement or information is received in
	19	evidence and this Court, consistent with its Statute and the
11:47:46	20	Rules of Procedure and Evidence, by which it is guided, and of
statement,	21	which you were one of the leading architects, put the
applying	22	the proposed statement, through that test and decided,
	23	the law, that in fact the statement did not measure up to that
that	24	test. It is my opinion, considered opinion, that indeed in
11:47:46	25	regard the Judges performed their duty in accordance with the
	26	requirements of legality to which I know you've always been
	27	committed and I am sure remain committed.
	28	THE WITNESS: May I
Witness.	29	PRESIDING JUDGE: Let me yes, yes, you may, Mr

SESAY ET AL
Page 45
16 MAY 2008

MAY 2008 OPEN SESSION

- 1 you may.
- 2 THE WITNESS: I just want to thank the learned Judge for
- 3 that statement, but just one correction: That my statement

was

- 4 as a result -- I wouldn't disown it at the moment because non est
 - 11:47:47 5 factum I cannot sign something --
 - 6 JUDGE THOMPSON: Non est factum.
 - 7 THE WITNESS: Exactly, so I'm not denying it, but the
- 8 Defence counsel's handiwork I just -- I trusted him, believed in
 - 9 him and just signed it, so that's the situation.
 - 11:47:47 10 PRESIDING JUDGE: Yes. I was just going to say that you
- 11 were supposed to be in Court yesterday. You never -- you did not
- $\,$ 12 $\,$ come here. The Court does not blame you for that at all because
- \$13\$ $\,$ from the way we watched the proceedings, the impression may have
 - been given to you that your statement would be admitted here.
- 11:47:49 15 Let me say one thing: There may be agreement between the
- 16 Prosecution and the Defence, but it is for the Court to determine
 - 17 whether to accept that agreement or not, and whether it is in
- 18 conformity with the law, and that is what happened. Even though
 - 19 there was agreement between the two parties, we did not accept
 - 11:47:49 20 that statement in evidence. So I hope that that clarifies the
 - 21 situation and that is why, you know, you are here today.
 - 22 THE WITNESS: Thank you. Thank you.
- 23 PRESIDING JUDGE: Thank you. Yes. Ms Mylvaganam, do you

	24	have any questions for the witness?
11:47:49 given	25	MS MYLVAGANAM: My Lord, I wonder whether I would be
friends	26	an opportunity to consult with Mr Kallon and my learned
	27	to determine if, in fact, there are issues that need to be
	28	canvassed with the witness.
	29	PRESIDING JUDGE: Well, yes, you may.
		SCSL - TRIAL CHAMBER I
		SESAY ET AL
Page 46		16 MAY 2008 OPEN SESSION
	1	MS MYLVAGANAM: I see it's time, My Lord, for what is
	2	usually
	3	PRESIDING JUDGE: It's 11.30. Okay.
	4	MR JORDASH: I should perhaps be candid with the Court
11:47:50	5	that, in relation to yesterday, I specifically said to former
	6	President Kabbah's lawyer that he should not attend Court
	7	tomorrow yesterday because we were making applications
turned	8	which would have been rendered nugatory if, indeed, he had
	9	up to Court, so it was
11:47:51	10	PRESIDING JUDGE: That is why we don't blame ex-

MR JORDASH: I'm happy to accept the blame.

11 Kabbah for not appearing yesterday.

President

	13	PRESIDING JUDGE: That's right. Yes.
,	14	JUDGE THOMPSON: And I make no reflection on you,
counsel.		
11:47:51	15	MR JORDASH: Thank you.
	16	PRESIDING JUDGE: Yes. Mr Witness, normally in this
Court,		
	17	you know, we take a tea break at 11.30. It's 11.40 now and I
	18	think as you have another hub to go through, we would stand
down		
	19	your continued testimony, where you'll be cross-examined, and
11:47:51	20	we'll resume in the next couple of minutes so that we dispose
of		
	21	your evidence today, if we may.
	22	THE WITNESS: Thank you.
	23	PRESIDING JUDGE: Thank you. The Chamber will rise,
	24	please.
11:47:51	25	[Break taken at 11.40 a.m.]
	26	[RUF16MAY08B-BP]
	27	[Upon resuming at 12.11 p.m.]
	28	PRESIDING JUDGE: Learned counsel, we are resuming the
	29	proceedings and, Ms Mylvaganam, do you have any questions in

Page 47	SESAY ET AL		
rage 17	16 MAY 2008	OPEN	SESSION

1 cross-examination for the witness, please?

- 2 MS MYLVAGANAM: My Lord, just a few.
- 3 PRESIDING JUDGE: Just a few.
- 4 MS MYLVAGANAM: If you will bear with me.
- 12:11:08 5 PRESIDING JUDGE: Right.
 - 6 CROSS-EXAMINED BY MS MYLVAGANAM:
 - 7 MS MYLVAGANAM:
- 8 Q. Sir, Mr Witness, ex-President Kabbah, I wonder if you can
 - 9 just help me with a few matters that you've raised in your
 - 12:11:17 10 testimony. You told us about the Lome Peace Accord, which was
- $\,$ 11 $\,$ the final agreement was July '99. Now, you were a party to that
 - 12 agreement, as you've told us, and is this correct: That the
 - 13 essential spirit of Lome was power sharing; is that fair?
 - 14 A. One of the spirits of the agreement was, yes, to
 - 12:11:56 15 accommodate the RUF.
 - 16 PRESIDING JUDGE: Counsel is specific with the choice of
 - her words; she has said "power sharing."
 - 18 THE WITNESS: It's the same thing we're talking about.
 - 19 Power sharing, it was not -- that was not the main objective.
- 12:12:19 20 The main objective of the agreement was to stop the war, to bring
 - 21 it to an end.
 - 22 PRESIDING JUDGE: But one of objectives also was power
 - 23 sharing?
- 24 THE WITNESS: No, it was not an objective, as such. It was
- 12:12:35 25 a condition for the agreement, and that's my own reading of it.
 - 26 We are going to get this agreement; we are going to enter into
 - 27 peace and that's the main objective. Now, but in order to do

- this, that and the other, then you'll accommodate them in this
- 29 way, that way and the other; that's what I understand from it.

1430 10		16 MAY 2008	OPEN SESSION			
	1	MS MYLVAGANAM:				
been	2	Q. Thank you, sir. But is this the	position: There had			
	3	a ceasefire from about May '99; do you accept that?				
	4	A. I, you are asking me again, as the	ney did this morning, to			
12:13:27	5	give timeframes within which certain dates within which				
	6	certain events took place. Now, there	was a ceasefire, yes.			
order	7	Q. Thank you. And do you agree this	: That in fact in			
two	8	to reach peace peace being the objective that there are				
	9	options: Either a military solution or a peaceful negotiated				
12:13:55 available	10	settlement; do you agree there are two	options always			
	11	to the protagonists?				
	12	A. Yes.				

And do you agree this: That in fact Lome was the

manifestation of the regional political will, certainly

12:14:11 15 the leaders of West Africa, and indeed yourself included, to

SESAY ET AL

Page 48

13

14

amongst

	16	bring	peace to your country; is that fair?		
	17	Α.	That's fair, yes.		
leaders,	18	Q.	And when I say the political will of the regional		
1	19	you'v	e mentioned President Obasanjo, and indeed all those		
12:14:36	20	invol	ved in the signing of Lome I think there was some 17		
21		heads	of state; do you agree?		
	22	Α.	Mmm.		
agree?	23	Q.	Who were anxious for peace in your country; do you		
	24	Α.	Yes.		
12:14:55	25	Q.	And sir, do you agree this: That the		
how	26		PRESIDING JUDGE: Ms Mylvaganam, did you say there were		
	27	many	there were 17 heads of state who signed Lome?		
;	28		MS MYLVAGANAM: Seventeen.		
were	29		PRESIDING JUDGE: Mr Witness, how many heads of state		
		SCSL - TRIAL CHAMBER I			
Page 49		SESAY	ET AL		
		16 MA	Y 2008 OPEN SESSION		
	1	party	to Lome?		
	2		THE WITNESS: My recollection on the exact number of		
just	3		PRESIDING JUDGE: Were there signatories or they were		
	4				

- 12:15:23 5 THE WITNESS: No. In fact the signatories were only myself
- 6 and Foday Sankoh and about -- and witnesses, Charles Taylor and
 - 7 Compaore and President Yadema. There was about five of us who
 - 8 signed it.
 - 9 MS MYLVAGANAM: My Lord, I believe before the Court is
 - 12:15:46 10 Exhibit 304, which was a document elicited through General
- Opande, which has all the signatories so in due course the matter
 - 12 can be fully clarified. If I'm wrong by saying 17 were
 - 13 signatories, then I apologise. But there is a document, the
- \$14\$ final communiqué of Lome, which has a number of signatures from
 - 12:16:14 15 recollection.
 - 16 Q. I think, sir, you agree with me?
- 17 A. Again, there's a question of time having been involved in
- 18 this because, really, these are matters of details that I didn't
 - 19 pay my attention to. My attention was we should have a peace
- $12:16:40\ 20$ agreement which should be signed and valid and the question as to
 - 21 how many people signed it, who they were, I think it's just a
 - 22 side issue.
 - 23 Q. Yes, you're right. The identities of who signed are a
- 24 minor detail save for this: The political will of the regional
 - 12:17:06 25 leaders for peace is a significant feature; do you agree?
- $\,$ 26 $\,$ A. It's a significant feature and it was demonstrated by their
- 27 presence there; that's all. Everybody, it was packed full. Not

- only from the subregion but also from our countries outside of
- 29 Africa.

Page 50		SESAY ET AL	OPEN SESSION
		10 1111 2000	OTEN SESSION
	1	Q. Absolutely. Because the Lome agre	eement had not only the
	2	ECOWAS peace and security committee's su	upport, but it had the
	3	international community's support; is the	nat right?
that	4	A. Well, there is one aspect, which I	I remember vividly,
12:17:47	5	is the UN representative that was there	refused to sign to it
	6	because of certain clauses in it which h	ne did not accept.
	7	Q. And who was that, please?	
with	8	A. Mr O'Kelo, he was the UN represent	cative here. He was
WICH	9	us there.	
12:18:15 end	10	Q. But in any event, as far as you we	ere concerned, at the
government	11	of Lome, that was the colours under which	ch you and your
	12	were flying; would that be fair?	
	13	A. Which which government?	
reference	14	Q. After the Lome agreement, those we	ere the terms of
12:18:33	15	that you were seeking to bring peace to	your people?

16 A. Oh, yes. Oh, yes.

17 And to the country of Sierra Leone. We're agreed on Q. that, 18 I hope? 19 My government, yes. 12:18:44 20 Your government. And you didn't like the term "power 21 sharing." Of course that was one aspect of it. But basically а 22 negotiated peaceful settlement means some degree of power 23 sharing? 24 You see, this was an element that we took into 12:19:09 25 consideration in arriving at a peace process, but it was not the thing. But in any case, in any case, whatever was in that 26 27 agreement, we, as a government, tried to keep to it fully.

SCSL - TRIAL CHAMBER I

political will to abide by the terms of the Lome peace

Now, thank you for that. Because of course, without the

SESAY ET AL

28

29

Page 51

agreement,

16 MAY 2008

OPEN SESSION

- 1 it would be very difficult for peace to ensue. Political will
- 2 must underline any agreement; do you agree with that?
- 3 A. Absolutely and that was fully demonstrated by the
- 4 government. But we had problems with the RUF.
- 12:20:04 5 PRESIDING JUDGE: Mr Witness, if I may put a question to

- 6 you at this stage: Would the RUF have signed the agreement if
- 7 there was no provision for power sharing.
- 8 THE WITNESS: When we arrived at that somewhere midway in
- $\,\,\,$ 9 $\,\,$ the negotiations. I was not involved in the actual negotiations
- 12:20:30 10 $\,$ myself. I was just consulted by telephone. But I believe that
 - 11 they had made an earlier exaggerated demand which we did not
 - 12 accept, and then --
- PRESIDING JUDGE: But finally you accepted with, I mean to
 - 14 give them four portfolios.
 - 12:20:53 15 THE WITNESS: We did and we did not renege on that.
- 16 PRESIDING JUDGE: If you did not accept to give them these
 - 17 four portfolios would they have come on board to sign the
 - 18 agreement.
 - 19 THE WITNESS: Now, this is what -- we had agreed so it
 - 12:21:05 20 doesn't -- it's not a question. It's a hypothetical at this
 - 21 stage.
 - 22 PRESIDING JUDGE: Yes.
- 23 THE WITNESS: Because the thing is that we agreed -- there
 - 24 was a provision in the agreement that we will give them four
- 12:21:18 25 positions. We delivered on that. They reneged later on. That's
 - 26 my point.
- 27 PRESIDING JUDGE: My question is still not really answered,
- $\,$ 28 $\,$ you know. And that is what counsel, you know, is insisting on.
 - 29 If you did not accept to give them the four cabinet positions,

Page 52		SESAY ET AL	
		16 MAY 2008	OPEN SESSION
	1	you never reneged on that, you know, yo	ou gave them the four
	2	cabinet positions and they were sitting	with you in cabinet.
	3	That is what that is your evidence.	
	4	THE WITNESS: That is true.	
12:21:55	5	PRESIDING JUDGE: If you did not,	would they have signed
	6	Lome.	
2	7	THE WITNESS: That is hypothetica	al and you expect me,
it's	0		
	8	hypothetical.	
	9	PRESIDING JUDGE: Mr Mr Witnes	s, I don't think it is
12:22:04	10	hypothetical. I think it is a reality.	I mean it is not
	11	hypothetical because it was a fundament	al clause, you know, in
fundamental	12	Lome, you know. Would they have signed	l Lome if that
	13	clause were not part of the agreement.	
say	14	THE WITNESS: Now, the point is t	hat I say that you
12:22:23	15	that if the fact that is that we will g	give to them four
	16	positions.	
	17	PRESIDING JUDGE: Yes.	
	18	THE WITNESS: Now, you are saying	supposing we did not.

	19	PRESIDING JUDGE: Yes, would they have signed.
12:22:33	20	THE WITNESS: That makes it hypothetical with respect.
	21	Because we gave them and because we gave them it could have
been		
	22	that they [indiscernible] I don't remember.
on	23	PRESIDING JUDGE: Did you did you Mr Witness, is it
they	24	your own accord that you gave them those positions or it was
12:22:50	25	who asked for the position.
	26	THE WITNESS: They asked for the positions.
	27	PRESIDING JUDGE: They asked for the positions.
	28	THE WITNESS: Yes.
	29	PRESIDING JUDGE: Which of course means, you know, that
		SCSL - TRIAL CHAMBER I
		SESAY ET AL
Page 53		16 MAY 2008 OPEN SESSION
	1	they made it a condition, you know, to sign to sign the
	2	agreement so it is to me well, it's a matter for
-	3	consideration, you know, later on but I wanted it to be very -
- I	4	
10.02.00	4	wanted it to be very clear on this as to what their position
12:23:09 the	_	would have been to signing that accord if they were not given
	5	
	6	positions they asked for.

- 8 PRESIDING JUDGE: You cannot guess.
- 9 THE WITNESS: -- what their position was going to be.
- 12:23:18 10 PRESIDING JUDGE: Thank you Mr Witness. Yes, you may
 - 11 continue, please.
 - MS MYLVAGANAM: Thank you, My Lord.
 - 13 Q. Now, sir, you told us about a meeting that you had one
- \$14\$ Saturday morning when you called Foday Sankoh to meet you and he
 - 12:23:36 15 came at your request; is that right?
 - 16 A. We agreed, yes, to meet.
 - 17 O. And this was after Lome?
 - 18 A. Um-hmm.
- $\ensuremath{\mbox{\sc 19}}$ Q. And he was asked about his position that had been accorded
 - 12:23:53 20 him under Lome; is that right?
 - 21 A. Um-hmm.
 - 22 Q. And he was told he would have to be accountable to a
 - 23 minister; is that right?
- $\ensuremath{\text{24}}$ A. He was told, yes, he was told what his position was. That
- 12:24:13 25 was chairman of the Strategic Mineral Resources Commission and on
 - 26 the basis of that he said well, everything about mineral
 - 27 resources in this country was to be presented to him. Then we
 - 28 explained -- that's when I explain that no, that was not the
 - 29 understanding.

16 MAY 2008 OPEN SESSION

it's	1	Q. So can I ask you this: Are you able now, and I know
the	2	difficult some years later, but are you able now to tell us
	3	name of that minister to whom he was to be accountable?
we're	4	A. No, there was no at that time we were talking
12:24	:52 5	not talking about individuals and we had not even appointed
question	6	ministers who were to work with whom. So there was no
	7	of individuals come into it. It was the principle of how to
	8	implement it.
by	9	Q. So can we agree this, that this meeting that was set up
12:25	:12 10	you and to which Foday Sankoh came, was a meeting to implement
	11	the terms of Lome; is that fair enough?
	12	A. Yes.
you've	13	Q. And at the end of that meeting, there was, as far as
	14	told us so far, a belief by Mr Sankoh that he was being sold
12:25	:36 15	short; would that be fair?
	16	A. It would be fair to say that, yes.
	17	Q. And that he believed, whatever your perceptions were of
of	18	that meeting, that he believed that the terms of the agreement
	19	Lome were being abrogated by what was being proposed to him at
12:25	:54 20	this meeting you've described; would that be fair?
	21	A. I think he he was a bit disappointed, yes, at that

	22	point.
Lome	23	Q. And he was disappointed because he had understood that
	24	represented a genuine peace agreement made between parties
12:26:16	25	committed to the peace process?
view	26	A. Well, yeah, but I also looked at it from the point of
	27	that he misunderstood it.
	28	Q. What did he misunderstand specifically?
	29	A. As to what his exact functions were to be.

Page 55		SESAY ET AL		
rage JJ		16 MA	Y 2008	OPEN SESSION
Lome	1	Q.	But his function had been defined	, had it not, in the
	2	agree	ment?	
Commission,	3	A.	As chairman of the Strategic Mines	ral Resources
	4	not a	s the sole owner and proprietor of	the Strategic Mineral
12:26:58	5	Resou	rces Commission.	
	6	Q.	Indeed, he was specifically named	in the Lome
	7	Α.	Oh, yes.	
	8	Q.	agreement?	
	9	Α.	We had no problem with that.	
12:27:14	10	Q.	He was answerable to whom?	

the	11	A. Well, he would have been answerable perhaps to me or to
	12	minister Of Mineral Resources.
	13	Q. When you say or perhaps to the minister of mineral
	14	resources, it suggests that the role minister of mineral
12:27:35	15	resources was something that perhaps had not been reflected in
	16	the agreement of Lome; do you agree?
and	17	A. You see, the question of somebody running a government
	18	somebody
	19	PRESIDING JUDGE: But the role of a minister of mineral
12:27:54 for	20	resources would not be reflected in Lome. That is a matter
	21	the internal sovereignty of the state.
	22	THE WITNESS: Absolutely.
	23	PRESIDING JUDGE: It's a matter for the internal
Republic	24	sovereignty of the state so it is the President of the
12:28:07	25	who determines the roles and attributions and functions of the
	26	various ministers and ministries, it's not Lome.
but	27	MS MYLVAGANAM: My Lord, I do of course I accept that
and	28	of course we're talking about what happens subsequent to Lome
but	29	if I may and I know it's some time ago, President Kabbah,

16 MAY 2008 OPEN SESSION

	1	the particular article
you	2	PRESIDING JUDGE: Does the witness have a copy of what
	3	want to read to him? Has he been given.
	4	MS MYLVAGANAM: My Lord, I believe Court Management have
12:28:50 of	5	the documents and I wonder whether you could go to Article 5
	6	the Lome accord.
send	7	PRESIDING JUDGE: He doesn't have it as yet so don't
	8	him there yet.
	9	MS MYLVAGANAM:
12:29:40	10	Q. Have you got it, sir?
	11	A. Yes.
	12	Q. Now would you look, please?
	13	PRESIDING JUDGE: Ms Mylvaganam, you say it's Exhibit 30
	14	what?
12:29:48	15	MS MYLVAGANAM: 4, My Lord.
	16	PRESIDING JUDGE: Yes, thank you.
evidence.	17	MS MYLVAGANAM: Exhibited during General Opande's
pardon.	18	Q. President Kabbah ex-President Kabbah, I beg your
	19	Article 5, paragraph 2, the chairmanship of the board of the
12:30:08	20	commission for management of strategic resources national
	21	reconstruction and development as provided for in Article 6 of
	22	the present agreement

JUDGE BOUTET: 7.

	24	MS MYLVAGANAM: 7, I beg your pardon, of the present
12:30:27 Corporal	25	agreement shall be offered to the leader of the RUF/SL
	26	Foday Sankoh. For this purpose, he shall enjoy the status of
	27	vice-president and shall therefore be answerable only to the
	28	President of Sierra Leone.
	29	THE WITNESS: Yes.
		SCSL - TRIAL CHAMBER I
		SESAY ET AL
Page 57		16 MAY 2008 OPEN SESSION
	1	Q. So his role, you see, as defined by the peace agreement,
	2	was stated there in that comprehensive peace agreement?
	3	A. Um-hmm.
do	4	Q. And there was nothing there about a minister for mining;
12:31:11	5	you follow?
	6	A. I follow.
	7	Q. So this was a new development which you were bringing to
	8	the table subsequent to Lome?
	9	A. No, no, no. No, no, no. You see, the point is that I
12:31:22	10	appoint ministers. I assign them responsibilities. Now, for
but	11	example, just before I left office, I was not only president,
	12	I was also minister of defence of this country. So that

but	5	13	particular reference to minister of mines could have been me
		14	at the time we were talking it was something different.
	12:31:54	15	Q. You agreed with my question to you earlier that he
at		16	perceived that you were really moving away from the agreement
to		17	the end of that meeting. You agreed with that question I put
		18	you, didn't you?
		19	A. I understood that from his reaction that he didn't quite
	12:32:09	20	understand what it was, so that got him into his original
		21	position.
		22	Q. And who subsequently became the minister of mining under
		23	your government post Lome?
		24	A. I don't remember now. It's a long time.
	12:32:27	25	PRESIDING JUDGE: Can you think, Mr Witness? Can you
pol	litical	26	reflect on that? I am sure, you know, you have these
		27	resources in your brains that.
the	e	28	THE WITNESS: No, but let me see. The one just before
		29	end.

SESAY ET AL
Page 58
16 MAY 2008

OPEN SESSION

PRESIDING JUDGE: Appointing a government is not something 2 you do by accident. 3 THE WITNESS: Let me tell you, the one just before the end of the -- of my term, the minister, was definitely not a minister 12:32:56 5 at that time. At that time I think maybe Mr -- Dr Harding or somebody like that was who subsequently became minister of transport and [overlapping speakers]. PRESIDING JUDGE: Post Lome. THE WITNESS: Yes. 12:33:13 10 PRESIDING JUDGE: I mean she is talking about post Lome. 11 THE WITNESS: That's what I'm talking about. PRESIDING JUDGE: It could have been Harding. 12 13 THE WITNESS: Yes. MS MYLVAGANAM: 14 12:33:20 15 Did you have occupy that position? Q. 16 No. But in any event, you agree that the term "vice-17 Q. president" 18 is clearly stated? 19 PRESIDING JUDGE: What's Mr Harding's other name, please. 12:33:39 20 THE WITNESS: Charles. 21 PRESIDING JUDGE: Thank you. 22 MS MYLVAGANAM: 23 And is this right, whoever was -- whoever occupied that sensitive role would be the person who would determine which 24 12:33:52 25 interests -- which multinational, which private individual, would

have access to the resources of Sierra Leone?

26

	27	A. Well, again, let me tell you how our system works. When
	28	there is a major investment, then the ministry the
the	29	responsibility is to really prepare the groundwork, prepare

Page 59			SESAY ET AL
	J		16 MAY 2008 OPEN SESSION
	to	1	documentation, look at all the professional aspects that have
	And	2	be looked at, and then prepare what we call a cabinet paper.
		3	that cabinet paper goes to the cabinet secretariat and to the
		4	National Policy Advisory Committee which I set up and that
	12:34:46	5	particular National Policy Advisory Committee will scrutinise
		6	that cabinet paper and then come out with a reply with some
		7	comment on it and those comments may be different and
		8	recommendations may be different from the ministry's position
		9	and, when the thing is considered in cabinet, of which I was

12 it is not just because somebody is chairman or somebody is minister that what he says is what's going to happen. We 13 wanted

chairman, with all the other ministers participating, then

whatever comes out of it, that's what the actual decision is

the

and

12:35:16 10

11

do	14	to have something that will be transparer	nt and that's how we
12:35:36	15	it.	
course	16	Q. Thank you, sir. But is the answer	essentially, of
	17	leaving aside the model that you've descr	ribed which may or may
	18	not work in a perfect world, is in realit	ty the answer to my
there	19	question: Yes, that is in fact a signifi	cant position? Is
12:36:00	20	some difficulty in giving that answer?	
	21	A. To be minister of	
	22	Q. Of mining in Sierra Leone is a sign	nificant position I
	23	suggest?	
Yes,	24	A. Yes, of course. Of course. Calm of	lown. Calm down.
12:36:18	25	of course.	
	26	Q. Thank you.	
	27	A. That's okay.	
	28	Q. Thank you so much. And would you s	say that that is, in
	29	fact, equivalent to the position of a Vic	ce-Presidency?
		SCSL - TRIAL CHAMBER	l I
D 60		SESAY ET AL	
Page 60		16 MAY 2008	PEN SESSION

- 1 A. No, no, not -- no, no.
- Q. But it was described as that in the Lome agreement?

- 3 A. No. We said similar to that.
- 4 Q. I see.
- 12:36:34 5 A. And, in fact, in particular what we were doing there was
- 6 that we give him some privileges. That was the intention there.
 - 7 They will give you some privileges but when it -- that the --
- 8 that the President -- the Vice-President enjoys, but, because of
 - 9 this we give that to him, or we are going to give that to him,
 - 12:37:03 10 but he was to report to somebody. And if he -- if he had
 - 11 cooperated fully all the way -- if he had cooperated fully
- \$12\$ without creating the problems that he created at that time after
 - 13 the Lome, then who knows, maybe I would have said yes.
- 14 PRESIDING JUDGE: Could it be that he created the problems
 - 12:37:26 15 because he was not given the privileges?
- \$16\$ THE WITNESS: No, not really. From the very -- from right
- 17 there it was because of tremendous pressure that was brought on
- 18 him; that's why he cooperated. But as I told you earlier on in
- $$19$\,\,$ my evidence, main evidence, that after Lome we had to go through
 - 12:37:47 20 a lot of trouble to get him to come back home; he didn't come
- $\,$ 21 $\,$ home. He went to other places. And when he came, I made a very
- $\,$ 22 $\,$ big reception to receive him here, to be part of it, so that he
 - 23 can feel comfortable.
 - MS MYLVAGANAM:
 - 12:38:06 25 Q. So -- he felt he was being short-changed whatever your

being	26	professed good intentions were at this stage he felt he was
	27	short-changed; we agree on that?
	28	A. Yes, I think he gave that impression that he was
	29	disappointed.
		SCSL - TRIAL CHAMBER I
Daga 61		SESAY ET AL
Page 61		16 MAY 2008 OPEN SESSION
	1	Q. Maintaining trust in the process at this stage was
it?	2	essential for the progression of this peace process, wasn't
at	3	A. Of course. This is why we went out, reached out to him
shall	4	that stage and tried to tell him to cooperate and then we
12:38:44	5	work this all out.
	6	Q. I see. Thank you, sir.
	7	PRESIDING JUDGE: Is that all?
	8	MS MYLVAGANAM: Thank you, My Lord.
end	9	PRESIDING JUDGE: You should inform us that is the
12:38:54	10	of your cross-examination.
	11	MS MYLVAGANAM: I'm so sorry, I'm responding to my
	12	instructions.
	13	PRESIDING JUDGE: Good. That's the end of your
	14	cross-examination, Ms Mylvaganam?

12:39:04	15	MS MYLVAGANAM: Thank you, My Lord.
	16	PRESIDING JUDGE: Mr Cammegh, it's your witness.
	17	CROSS-EXAMINED BY MR CAMMEGH:
	18	MR CAMMEGH: Thank you, Your Honour.
	19	Q. Mr Witness, good afternoon. I don't have any many
12:39:39	20	questions for you but there are one or two issues I would like
Gbao,	21	you to help me with, if you can. I represent Mr Augustine
dock.	22	who is the defendant sitting furthest away from you in the
before.	23	A. Can he stand? Let me see him. I've never seen him
to	24	Q. I understand you've never been introduced. I just want
12:39:58	25	refer back to some of the comments that you made during your
	26	evidence-in-chief in which you indicated on various occasions
this	27	that you were not aware of day-to-day events going on within
	28	country during the years of the war. I think in particular
	29	between the years of '97 and 2001; would that be fair?

Page 62
16 MAY 2008
OPEN SESSION

1 A. Did I say that?

 $\ensuremath{\text{\textsc{2}}}$ Q. It might have been my impression rather than what you said.

- 3 If so, forgive me.
- $\ensuremath{\mathtt{4}}$ JUDGE BOUTET: I don't think the witness testified that he
 - 12:40:32 5 was not aware.
 - 6 PRESIDING JUDGE: The witness didn't say that.
- $\ensuremath{\mathsf{7}}$ JUDGE BOUTET: He said he may not recall the dates but he
 - 8 didn't say he was not aware.
 - 9 MR CAMMEGH: Yes.
- 12:40:39 10 Q. Well, can I put the question in this way then: Is it your
- 11 evidence that day-to-day events within Sierra Leone, particularly
 - 12 within the areas where the conflict was raging, did not
 - 13 necessarily come to your attention?
 - 14 A. No. As -- I as President, and commander-in-chief of the
 - 12:41:05 15 armed forces, which includes -- and also as the chief security
- 16 officer of the State, particularly that type of war that we had
- 17 here, I had to know day and night. Sometimes they will wake me
 - 18 up to tell me what's happening somewhere.
- 19 Q. Were you ever made aware of Kamajor atrocities between '97
 - 12:41:29 20 and the end of '99 anywhere in the country?
 - 21 A. Well, I was --
- 22 PRESIDING JUDGE: Mr Cammegh, I wonder if the witness has
 - 23 provided the answer to your question, you know, whether he was
 - 24 following the day-to-day events, you know, in areas of the
 - 12:41:48 25 conflict. I didn't clearly get his response to this. He only
 - 26 stated and said, you know, that as President and

27 commander-in-chief, and also the chief security officer of the 28 State, you know, I didn't follow that he had really answered your 29 question very well. So may you please take him there. SCSL - TRIAL CHAMBER I SESAY ET AL Page 63 16 MAY 2008 OPEN SESSION MR CAMMEGH: 1 2 Mr Witness, you're invited to expand on that, if you like? 3 Well, I will. Now, I was fully briefed about every 4 movement of the rebels. Now, they will say they are moving from 12:42:28 5 -- they briefed me that they are moving from here to there, and what do we do? They will brief me that so many people have 6 been 7 killed somewhere there and so on; what do we do? And they will give me this type of information. 8 9 Q. Right. 12:42:45 10 But not the names of the people who will be involved in these atrocities, and that's why I asked for Mr Gbao to stand 11 up, because I heard his name around, but I never met him. 12 13 Q. 14 Α. And I never heard anything directly to do with him as an

12:43:10	15	individual.
	16	Q. No, I think that's agreed. I understand what you just
	17	said, which is that you were informed of the movements on a
not	18	regular basis of rebel forces. Of course, and I hope this is
	19	controversial, it's certainly true following the intervention
12:43:34	20	into Freetown in, February of 1998, that ECOMOG and Kamajor
were	21	forces, in league with the CDF, were on the move themselves;
	22	you aware of that?
	23	A. Yes, I'm aware that they were.
close	24	Q. And I don't think it's the time or place to go into
12:43:55	25	specifics, but I hope this is not controversial either, that
	26	there came a time
ECOMOG	27	PRESIDING JUDGE: Yes, Mr Cammegh, when you say the
move?	28	and the Kamajors were on the move themselves, what was this

MR CAMMEGH: I'm coming to that, Your Honour.

	SESAY ET AL	
Page 64		
	16 MAY 2008	OPEN SESSION

1 PRESIDING JUDGE: Yes.

29

2 MR CAMMEGH: I'm trying to do that now.

- 3 PRESIDING JUDGE: Right.
- 4 MR CAMMEGH:
- 12:44:12 5 Q. As I was about to say, I don't think it's controversial
 - that sometime in let's say late February of 1998 Kamajor and
 - 7 ECOMOG forces had reached Kenema; were you aware of that?
- 8 A. Yes, they were around Kenema, yes. And, Mr Gbao, are you
 - 9 from Segbwema?
 - 12:44:35 10 ACCUSED GBAO: Yes.
- 11 THE WITNESS: You are from Kenema, so that's his own area.
 - 12 MR CAMMEGH:
- 13 Q. I just wondered whether you'd -- or any information as you
- \$14\$ say you were in constant touch with intelligence forces and what
 - 12:44:51 15 have you -- I wondered whether you were made aware of events
 - 16 taking place in Kenema Town when the Kamajors entered that
 - 17 location, around the end of February?
 - 18 MR HARRISON: Objection. The Prosecution takes the
 - 19 position that the issues for trial before this Court do not
- $12:45:10\ 20$ involve acts or alleged acts of Kamajors in Kenema or any other
 - 21 location in this Republic of Sierra Leone.
- 22 PRESIDING JUDGE: Yes. But what if, what if those acts of
- 23 Kamajors impacted on the acts for which these accused persons are
 - prosecuted; what will be your response to that, Mr Harrison?
 - 12:45:34 25 MR HARRISON: If the Court was satisfied that there was
 - 26 evidence before you demonstrating already that the acts of
 - 27 Kamajors in some way shaped either motives or conduct of the

- 28 accused, then it may be relevant, but, absent the evidence
- 29 already being before the Court, then it is not relevant.

Page 65	SESAY ET AL	
5	16 MAY 2008	OPEN SESSION

	1	PRESIDING JUDGE: Yes, Mr Cammegh.
	2	MR CAMMEGH: Shall I respond to the objection?
this	3	PRESIDING JUDGE: We don't want to multiply issues at
to	4	stage, you know, with the Kamajors; we want to limit the trial
12:47:25 has	5	the purport, you know, of the testimony of this witness who
that's	6	been called here by one person, and one person only, and
RUF	7	Mr Issa Sesay who is being prosecuted on the etiquette of the
	8	and the [indiscernible] of the RUF so
in	9	MR CAMMEGH: Your Honour, there's great public interest
12:47:51	10	these events, and I'm just anxious that I'm allowed to explore
was	11	what the honourable witness said in chief, which is that he
daily	12	well, he has just told me which he was made aware on a
often	13	basis of rebel movements. Given that rebel movements were

forces,	14	consonant and contemporaneous with those of the defence
12:48:17 the	15	and I think we all know that there's a lot of evidence before
	16	Court that what happened at Kenema indirectly led to a lot of
a	17	events in Kailahun in the following month or so, there may be
	18	public interest in knowing just how much the former President
	19	knew about movements of pro-defence or pro-CDF forces at that
12:48:37	20	time. Lest one perhaps gains the impression that although the
	21	witness is being allowed to testify in relation to one side of
other.	22	the conflict, he's being prevented from talking about the
draw,	23	That would be an unfortunate conclusion for the gallery to
	24	I submit.
12:48:52	25	PRESIDING JUDGE: Well, let the gallery draw the
	26	conclusion. We are not going there.
	27	MR CAMMEGH: Very well.
	28	PRESIDING JUDGE: We are not going there.
	29	JUDGE BOUTET: What is important is what's relevant for

Page 66

16 MAY 2008

OPEN SESSION

- 1 this trial.
- 2 PRESIDING JUDGE: We're not playing to the gallery. We

- 3 don't have to play to the gallery. We are not playing to the
- $\ensuremath{4}$ $\ensuremath{\mbox{\sc gallery}}.$ We will take decisions the way we want to take them, so
 - 12:49:10 5 that is it.
 - 6 MR CAMMEGH:
 - 7 Q. Well, very well, Mr Witness. I won't ask you about your
- $\,$ knowledge of any pro-government forces during this time. Can $\,$ I
 - 9 just movement forward in time to 2001. You've told the Court
 - 12:49:36 10 today that you believe greatly in the Special Court of
- 11 Sierra Leone and, indeed, I think you -- you said that this was
 - 12 in fact your brainchild: I think you told us that earlier on
 - 13 today. Clearly, it's something you are very proud of and it's
- \$14\$ something that, given your words towards the end of Mr Jordash's
- 12:49:59 15 examination, it's something that you wish to place into some form
- of legacy. It's a legacy for the subregion, in your words. My
- 17 learned friend for Mr Kallon has already touched on some aspects
- of the Lome Peace Accord, and I very briefly just wanted to ask
- 19 you a couple of questions about Article IX of that document which
 - 12:50:32 20 comes under the heading "Pardon and Amnesty."
 - 21 PRESIDING JUDGE: Article IX.
 - 22 MR CAMMEGH: Article IX, yes. It's on page 13, if one
 - looks at the top right-hand corner.
- \$24\$ PRESIDING JUDGE: "Pardon and Amnesty", yes, we are there.
 - 12:50:52 25 MR CAMMEGH: Yes.

	26	Q. Now, in fact, if one goes over the page, Mr Witness, I
these	27	just if the Court will forgive me, I'm going to read out
asking	28	two paragraphs aloud so that everyone is aware of what I'm
	29	you about, and that nothing can be confused. Paragraph 2 of

anything done by them, in pursuit of their objectives as

Page 67	SESAY ET AL	
J	16 MAY 2008	OPEN SESSION

Article IX reads as follows. "After the signing of the present Agreement, the Government of Sierra Leone shall also grant absolute and free 3 pardon and reprieve to all combatants and collaborators in respect 12:51:26 5 of anything done by them in pursuit of their objectives, up to the time of the signing of the present Agreement." 6 Paragraph 3: "To consolidate the peace and promote the cause of national reconciliation, the Government of Sierra Leone shall 9 ensure 12:51:42 10 that no official or judicial action is taken against any member of the RUF/SL, ex-AFRC, ex-SLA or CDF in respect 11 of

12

the	13	members of those organisations, since March 1991, up to
addition,	14	time of the signing of the present Agreement. In
12:52:06	15	legislative and other measures necessary to guarantee
	16	immunity to former combatants, exiles and other persons,
	17	currently outside the country for reasons related to the
exercise	18	armed conflict shall be adopted ensuring the full
their	19	of their civil and political rights, with a view to
12:52:24	20	reintegration within a framework of full legality."
	21	The question that I would like to pose at this point,
efforts	22	Mr Witness, given your professed belief and, indeed, your
	23	towards the inception of this institution, is what was it that
the	24	changed your mind, that validated or justified in your mind
12:52:53	25	setting up of this Court and the trial of various individuals,
	26	notwithstanding the implementation of this Article about two
	27	years previously?
go	28	A. Now, there is something I want to tell you why we had to
	29	ahead and because after signing this agreement, within days

	SESAY ET AL		
Page 68			
	16 MAY 2008	OPEN	SESSION

- 1 after signing this agreement Foday Sankoh repudiated this
- 2 agreement by refusing to come and work here. As I've said
- 3 earlier on, we had to go around again the subregion talking to
- 4 people, getting them to come mediate and so on. He left Lome.
- 12:53:47 5 He went to Abidjan. Then he went to Liberia were everything was
- $\,$ 6 $\,$ cooked up and then it was with considerable pressure that he came
- $\,$ 7 $\,$ here. Now, these agreements and these -- and then when he came,
 - 8 we received him extremely well, both himself and another rebel
 - 9 leader, Johnny Paul Koroma, at Hill -- my Hill Station
- 12:54:18 10 residence -- invited people, diplomatic corps and so on. We even
- $\,$ 11 $\,$ set up what we call a committee comprising, not only myself and
 - 12 my government, my ministers, but ambassadors from the UK, the
 - 13 United States and others, and then set up a committee that we
- 14 called the NCDDR, and then we had another committee we called
 - 12:54:53 15 and I appointed a former vice-president specifically to be in
- charge of trying to reintegrate these people into the community
 - so that we will work together as a team and they, during that
- 18 time, they kept on doing -- committing atrocities. They didn't
 - 19 cooperate and where we got the patience from to continue doing
 - 12:55:18 20 this, I just don't know.
 - 21 Q. So you're saying --
- $\,$ 22 $\,$ A. $\,$ So, how -- therefore, as far as from that time we thought
 - 23 that by their actions they had repudiated this agreement.

	24	Q.	So you say that the RUF continued to commit atrocities
12:55:35	25	after	July of 1999?
	26	A.	That's correct.
2000	27	Q.	And do you think that events around Makeni in May of
	28	may ha	ave had some bearing as to whether or not this Court was
	29	going	to be set up?
			SCSL - TRIAL CHAMBER I
		SESAY	ET AL
Page 69		16 MA	7 2008 OPEN SESSION
	1	А.	The Court, we had decided that we were going to do it,
and	_	11.	The court, we had accraca that we were going to do re,
	2	I per	sonally spoke to the Secretary-General, and he sent a
	3	Mr Ra	lph Zacklin, being somebody that I knew beforehand.
	4	Q.	Right.
12:56:11 at	5	Α.	He was assistant secretary-general and he came, looked
ironed	6	this a	agreement, and then came with an agreement which we
	7	out a	nd spoke about very, very carefully
	8	Q.	Yes.
say,	9	Α.	before we decided to put this up. And then, as I
12:56:27	10	it was	s not only that but we were able to mobilise funding for
	11	these	ex-combatants to resettle them in their communities.
	12	Q.	Yes.

	13	A. And I appointed some people, headed by a former
please	14	vice-president, to go to those areas and beg the people to
12:56:49	15	embrace them and get them back. But no, they were continuing
were	16	business as usual so, therefore, we, this one, as far as we
	17	concerned, it was passe.
concerned,	18	Q. So you've said that it was, so far as you were
	19	the RUF continued or continued to repudiate Lome after July
12:57:14	20	'99 by committing further atrocities?
	21	A. Let me tell you one thing: The way they did it. Now,
first	22	believe me, you go and ask anybody they will tell you, we
	23	signed the first agreement was signed in Abidjan. I went
	24	there myself for us to sign the agreement in Abidjan, Cote
12:57:44 as	25	d'Ivoire, and then as we were signing the agreement, as soon
	26	we finished signing it, Foday Sankoh sent a message to
keep	27	Sam Bockarie telling him that he signed it, it was just to
	28	the international communities quiet. He didn't mean it. Now
	29	that's the same thing that was applied to this.

SESAY ET AL Page 70 16 MAY 2008

OPEN SESSION

- $\ensuremath{\text{1}}$ Q. So you would disagree, would you, if I were to suggest that
 - 2 Foday Sankoh disarmed themselves, Segbwema and Fadugu between
- 3 November '99 and March 2000? Would you disagree with that? Or
 - 4 would you say that was just a sop to try and maintain the
 - 12:58:21 5 appearance of cooperation?
 - 6 A. No, in Segbwema there was something that happened there.
 - 7 The Indian commander of the UN troops was almost beaten up by
 - 8 Foday Sankoh.
 - 9 Q. Right.
- $12:58:35\ 10$ A. And himself and that Indian general, they armed, there was
 - 11 almost a fist fight. People had to separate them in Segbwema.
 - 12 From that on, he left and went back home.
 - 13 Q. I hear what you say. Your generic use of the word
- \$14\$ "atrocities" continued by the RUF but of course it's not just the
- 12:58:58 15 RUF who were tried at the Special Court, was it? It was also the
 - 16 CDF. What have they done post-Lome that warranted their
 - 17 indictment at this Tribunal, insofar as you were concerned?
 - 18 A. Well --
- 19 MR HARRISON: Objection. That's solely a question that was
- 12:59:16 20 in the purview of the Prosecution to make a determination who, if
 - 21 anyone, should be put on trial.
 - 22 PRESIDING JUDGE: Mr Cammegh, that question is not the
 - 23 question we would expect the witness to answer, because the
- 24 privilege of preferring an indictment against, like they did in

13:02:06 the	25	this case, is not the witness's prerogative. If he created
he	26	Court he, it's not said, and we don't have it on record, that
charged.	27	is the one who was recommending, you know, who should be
	28	It's the privilege of the Prosecution and they decided to
that	29	exercise that privilege which is a statutory privilege and
		SCSL - TRIAL CHAMBER I
		SESAY ET AL
Page 71		16 MAY 2008 OPEN SESSION
	1	is it.
	2	MR CAMMEGH: Your Honour
	3	PRESIDING JUDGE: It would be unfair to subject this
charged.	4	witness, you know, to answering, you know, why they were
13:02:35	5	MR CAMMEGH: Your Honour, again I'm not playing to the
	6	public gallery, I hope I'm advancing public interest, but I
	7	respect Your Honour's ruling.
to	8	PRESIDING JUDGE: We are not saying that you are playing
	9	the public gallery. It is because you are caught by your own
13:02:47 if	10	words because you said that it would be unfair to the gallery
	11	the Judges, you know
	12	MR CAMMEGH: [Overlapping speakers]/

gallery.	13	PRESIDING JUDGE: so you brought in the public
	14	MR CAMMEGH: Yes.
13:02:58	15	PRESIDING JUDGE: It's not the Chamber, and we're not
	16	saying that you're playing to the gallery.
	17	MR CAMMEGH: No, no, I'm certainly not doing that. I'm
loose	18	playing to public interest. It's my fault for using that
	19	language, and maybe I should have known better.
13:03:07	20	Q. But I'll move on from that then, Mr Witness, and I can
the	21	promise you we're very nearly finished, and I suppose it's in
	22	spirit of public interest that I ask or move on to this topic.
in	23	You, with respect, have demonstrated a commitment and a belief
	24	this institution which has been here since, I think, 2002, the
13:03:32	25	Special Court of Sierra Leone, and you have told this Court
this	26	today, and you've repeated it, that can I suggest you feel
internation	27 al	is your legacy to the region, the introduction of
	28	justice into this part of the continent, and not before time.
Jordash's	29	You referred, during your address towards the end of Mr

Page 72

16 MAY 2008

OPEN SESSION

2 lies by rumours being peddled and things like that, and I think 3 we're all aware that journalism here can be a bit creative. You referred to the fact that you've been accused of coming to 13:04:25 5 support the RUF but not appearing to want to testify during the CDF trial; you made that point. Can I ask you if your commitment to this institution is, as you say it is, why it was that when you were requested to attend the CDF trial you sent the 8 attorney-general here to resist the subpoena that was laid 13:05:00 10 against you? 11 MR HARRISON: Objection. PRESIDING JUDGE: No, no, no. 12 13 MR HARRISON: Objection. 14 PRESIDING JUDGE: No, we would not ask the witness to 13:05:02 15 answer this question. 16 MR CAMMEGH: Very well.

examination-in-chief, to what you referred to as the politics

- 17
- PRESIDING JUDGE: Even without the objection. I rule that
 - 18 out.

of

- 19 MR CAMMEGH: That's all right.
- 13:05:06 20 PRESIDING JUDGE: Before we started this trial I did say
- 21 what I said, and I don't think I want to go back to that, because
 - 22 if the attorney-general appeared here it was for a very valid
 - 23 motive; it was for a very valid reason. This witness was a
 - 24 sitting in head of state and the attorney-general was his

13:05:26	25	plenipotentiary in the signatory of the agreement, you know,
communication	26 on	which brought this Court here and he is a medium of
	27	between this Court and the Government of the Sierra Leone.
	28	MR CAMMEGH: Yes.
general,	29	PRESIDING JUDGE: If the President has an attorney-
		SCSL - TRIAL CHAMBER I
Page 73		SESAY ET AL
		16 MAY 2008 OPEN SESSION
for	1	and he has a legal issue before this Court, it was only right
general	2	him at that time at that time to send his attorney-
	3	to come and defend his interests as far as a subpoena was
	4	concerned and we did, you know, grant that request which we
13:05:55	5	thought was legal.
	6	MR CAMMEGH: I'm not going to argue with Your Honour's
	7	ruling. I just, in support of the question I just posed, and
CDF	8	perhaps in support of the other two questions linked to the
	9	that I posed
13:06:04	10	PRESIDING JUDGE: Yes.
respect	11	MR CAMMEGH: I just want to make this point with
	12	and I did indicate to Your Honour's yesterday I've been

	13	instructed to ask a series of questions.
questions.	14	PRESIDING JUDGE: Yes. A series of acceptable
13:06:17	15	MR CAMMEGH: Well, that was as I indicated yesterday, it
	16	for you to determine.
	17	PRESIDING JUDGE: That was what we said.
that	18	JUDGE BOUTET: And you recognised yourself yesterday
	19	it may not be acceptable I don't remember the language you
13:06:27	20	used but you had doubts.
	21	MR CAMMEGH: I recognised that they might be worthy of
a	22	debate, yes. Of course, Mr Gbao didn't tender this trial for
on	23	very long time due to professed principles which he espoused
	24	day one of this trial, and Your Honour, it's with that in mind
13:06:49	25	and I don't want to go into a political
out,	26	PRESIDING JUDGE: Which was his principle? Let's come
come	27	you know. What was his principle that made him to not to
	28	to this Tribunal. What was his stand?
the	29	MR CAMMEGH: In brief, what he felt was a violation of

SESAY ET AL
Page 74
16 MAY 2008

OPEN SESSION

peace accord and there's no need to --1 2 PRESIDING JUDGE: A violation in what sense? MR CAMMEGH: A violation of Article IX. 3 PRESIDING JUDGE: Of Article IX? 13:07:09 5 MR CAMMEGH: Yes. PRESIDING JUDGE: Was that issue not put to rest by the 7 Appeals Chamber in this particular immunities and so on and so 8 forth, was that not put to rest by a decision of the Appeals Chamber of this Court, which arose from a challenge of the 13:07:28 10 jurisdiction of this Court, you know, based on the Lome accords 11 and we fast-tracked it to the Appeals Chamber, and there was a 12 decision. Should we visit that issue now, Mr Cammegh? 13 MR CAMMEGH: Your Honour, we're all cognisant of that 14 decision. 13:07:45 15 PRESIDING JUDGE: Yes. MR CAMMEGH: But my client is, I was going to say he sat 16 17 here for four years, that's not strictly correct, but he sat here 18 for a long time in good faith having reconciled his mind to the 19 position that he found himself in. And, as I announced 13:08:04 20 yesterday, I find myself in the position where I'm instructed to 21 ask some questions which are designed to meet his fears. 22 PRESIDING JUDGE: But, but, Mr Cammegh, may I say this to 23 you; may I say this to you. We accept that your client is bound 24 to give you instructions.

13:08:22	25	MR CAMMEGH: Yes.
your	26	PRESIDING JUDGE: But it is for you as well to inform
legality	27	client, and to advise him, as his legal adviser, on the
you	28	of the questions which you are supposed which he is urging
this	29	to put to this Court. And I think your role as counsel in

		SCSL - TRIAL CHAMBER I
Page 75		SESAY ET AL 16 MAY 2008 OPEN SESSION
	1	Tribunal is to assume a professional role and to tell your
question	2	client, in whatever circumstances that, you know, this
is	3	is not proper or the line of action you are asking me to t
the	4	not proper. I think that is the that is the what bi
13:09:05 know,	5	contract you have, the professional contract you have, you
	6	vis-à-vis this Court and vis-à-vis your Chamber.
	7	MR CAMMEGH: Can I just come in there.
	8	PRESIDING JUDGE: Yes.
	9	MR CAMMEGH: It's obviously not within my purview to
13:09:15 I	10	announce to this Court what I may or may not advise my cli

who	11	think it was generous of me, if I might say so, I don't know
	12	is causing this feedback, I hope it's not me.
	13	PRESIDING JUDGE: The technical hitches, as usual.
think I	14	MR CAMMEGH: It was out of candour yesterday that I
13:09:32 asked	2 15	foreshadowed that there might have been some debate. I've
	16	questions which Your Honours have overruled. I'm not going to
	17	seek to argue against your ruling, or go behind it, or advance
what	18	those questions or those topics in any other way. I've done
as	19	I have been instructed to do, and that's an end to it, as far
13:09:53	3 20	I'm concerned.
13:09:53	21	I'm concerned. But I hope the Court recognises the position that I
found	21	But I hope the Court recognises the position that I
found	21	But I hope the Court recognises the position that I myself in, particularly when presented with a client who has
found	21 22 23 24	But I hope the Court recognises the position that I myself in, particularly when presented with a client who has deeply held principles which I can't deny his right to have
found very them	21 22 23 24	But I hope the Court recognises the position that I myself in, particularly when presented with a client who has deeply held principles which I can't deny his right to have aired one last time after such a long trial, surely.
found very them	21 22 23 24 5 25	But I hope the Court recognises the position that I myself in, particularly when presented with a client who has deeply held principles which I can't deny his right to have aired one last time after such a long trial, surely. Your Honours have ruled, I say no more and I'll leave it

29 MR CAMMEGH: As always --

Page 76

16 MAY 2008 OPEN SESSION

	1	PRESIDING JUDGE: Otherwise there will be no end to
	2	litigation and that's it. We are all familiar with this
	3	principle and I think we should apply it and Mr your client
	4	should learn to live with even those decisions which are not
13:10:45	5	pleasant to him.
	6	MR CAMMEGH: Well, I've asked the questions. They have
you	7	been overruled. I'll leave it there and, Mr Witness, thank
	8	very much for your time. That's all I have.
	9	PRESIDING JUDGE: Thank you, Mr Cammegh. Mr Harrison.
13:11:51	10	MR HARRISON: Yes.
turn	11	PRESIDING JUDGE: As you would appreciate, it's your
desire	12	to cross-examine the witness, if you so desire. If you so
	13	I'm afraid we'll have to to rise for the lunch break and
	14	resume the proceedings at 2.30.
13:12:07 address	15	MR HARRISON: Yes. I'm sorry, Mr Ogeto wished to
our	16	you first. I see he is not wanting to. To be as complete in
and	17	response as I can be, we would like to question the witness,
	18	we would put an estimate of approximately 90 minutes.
	19	PRESIDING JUDGE: 90?
13:12:27	20	MR HARRISON: Nine zero.
	21	PRESIDING JUDGE: 90 minutes?
	22	MR HARRISON: Yes, sir.

	23	PRESIDING JUDGE: Yes, Mr Ogeto.
	24	MR OGETO: My Lords, that is the indication that I
wanted		
13:12:39	25	to get from the Prosecution.
afraid	26	PRESIDING JUDGE: Yes, fine. So it means that we're
	27	your witness has to go home.
	28	MR OGETO: Yes, My Lords.
	29	PRESIDING JUDGE: And we'll take him on Monday. That is
		SCSL - TRIAL CHAMBER I
		SESAY ET AL
Page 77		16 MAY 2008 OPEN SESSION
		20 1212 2000
	1	what it means.
	2	MR OGETO: That is the direction.
	3	PRESIDING JUDGE: That's the reality. We're sorry about
	4	this but we have no other alternative, Mr Ogeto. And tell the
13:12:56	5	witness we are aware of the fact that he is sick but that
there		
	6	are certain imperatives. The calendar is full and there is
	7	nothing we can do about it.
	8	MR OGETO: I'll convey the message.
	9	PRESIDING JUDGE: Let him bear with you. Yes, please.
13:14:50		Learned counsel, Mr Witness, we you've heard from the
spend	11	Prosecution and it seems you will still have some time to

		12	with us here this afternoon. We are adjourning. We are
	_	13	adjourning the proceedings you know to 3 o'clock because we
ar	3		
		14	rising at 1.15 and beyond, so we would rise and resume the
	13:15:24	15	session at 3 p.m. for you to face the cross-examination of
		16	Mr Harrison. The Chamber will rise, please.
		17	[Luncheon recess taken at 1.17 p.m.]
		18	[RUF16MAY08C-BP]
		19	[Upon resuming at 3.08 p.m.]
	15:07:41	20	PRESIDING JUDGE: Good afternoon, learned counsel. Good
		21	afternoon everybody. Mr Witness, good afternoon. Thank you.
		22	Can you put your microphone on, please. Yes, thank you. Yes,
		23	Mr Harrison, your witness.
		24	MR HARRISON: I'll try to be briefer than the estimate I
	15:08:06	25	gave before the lunch break.
		26	CROSS-EXAMINED BY MR HARRISON:
		27	PRESIDING JUDGE: We're in your hands because I was
		28	frightened at the 90 minutes.
		29	MR HARRISON: Yes, I noticed that.

SESAY ET AL Page 78

16 MAY 2008 OPEN SESSION

1 PRESIDING JUDGE: Yes.

- 2 MR HARRISON:
- 3 Q. I would like to start out by asking you some questions
- 4 about the Abidjan accord, and I'm going to give you a date and
- 15:08:39 5 I'm going to say that it was agreed to on 30 November 1996, and
 - 6 also that you were one of the persons who were a signatory to
 - 7 that agreement; is everything I've said so far correct?
 - 8 A. Yes.
- 9 Q. Now, what I want to ask you is: Are you aware if any party
 - 15:09:03 10 did anything to breach that agreement?
- $\,$ 11 A. Oh, yes. Oh, yes. The day after we signed the agreement
- in Abidjan Foday -- no, the same day, Foday Sankoh sent a message
 - 13 to Sam Bockarie saying that he merely signed that agreement
- \$14\$ because of the pressure from the international community, but he
 - 15:09:37 15 was really not committed to it.
- $$16\,$ Q. Now, we're still talking about the time period, this is $30\,$
 - 17 November, so if we're thinking about the end of November,
- December of '96, maybe even the early part of '97, were there any
 - 19 acts of violence that you're aware of that would have been
 - 15:10:04 20 breaches of the agreement?
- $\,$ 21 $\,$ A. In the first place, in communicating to his people in the
- $\,$ 22 $\,$ field here, he told them to go on the offensive and not relent.
 - 23 Q. And I'm asking you these questions in the context of
- \$24\$ intelligence reports that may have been passed on to you. We're
 - 15:10:30 25 all aware that you would not have been an eyewitness to any of

	26	these events. But I'm going to suggest to you that there may
	27	have been intelligence reports passed on to you, again in the
place	28	same time period, of breaches of the Abidjan accord taking
	29	in Sierra Leone?
		SCSL - TRIAL CHAMBER I
		SESAY ET AL
Page 79		16 MAY 2008 OPEN SESSION
	1	A. That's correct.
specific	2	Q. Are you able to assist the Trial Chamber as to any
	3	events or locations where you recall breaches taking place?
objection.	4	MR JORDASH: I'm sorry to leap up, but I have an
15:11:31	5	PRESIDING JUDGE: Yes.
	6	MR JORDASH: The objection is essentially this: That
	7	Your Honours ruled before the lunch break that we ought to be
basis	8	careful about multiplying the issues, and that was on the
	9	of my learned friend Mr Cammegh's questions concerning
15:11:31	10	PRESIDING JUDGE: The Kamajors.
	11	MR JORDASH: the Kamajor activity.
	12	PRESIDING JUDGE: Yes.
decided	13	MR JORDASH: In the Kenema region, and Your Honours

that	14	that that was impermissible and multiplying the issues, and
15:11:49	15	question asked by Mr Cammegh was in relation to the indictment
	16	period. And now what we have is my learned friend asking
	17	questions about which are focused on RUF activity
Peace	18	intelligence reports received by the witness at the Abidjan
	19	Accord period which, on the basis of Your Honour's previous
15:12:20	20	ruling, would appear to be again multiplying the issues much
	21	beyond the issues which have been dealt with in the statement
	22	which Your Honours have seen and which this witness gave this
	23	week. It follows
	24	PRESIDING JUDGE: Are we still guided by the statement?
15:12:37	25	The statement is not before us in evidence.
Honour	26	MR JORDASH: Well, I'm only picking up on what Your
	27	said concerning multiplying the issues
	28	PRESIDING JUDGE: I'm just replying to as far as the
	29	statement is concerned.
		SCSL - TRIAL CHAMBER I

	SESAY ET AL	
Page 80		
	16 MAY 2008	OPEN SESSION

1 MR JORDASH: Yes. Well, Your Honour made reference to it
2 when saying that the issues were being multiplied by my learned

- 3 friend's questions. It's my submission that if, indeed,
- 4 questions about Kamajor activities and Kamajor crimes are
- 15:13:04 5 multiplying the issues, then so it follows RUF crimes or
- 6 activities way outside the issues which were dealt with in chief
 - 7 by this witness, I can see myself no distinction that can be
- 8 properly made between behaviour by the RUF, or behaviour by the
 - 9 Kamajors, especially in light of our defence.
- 15:13:37 10 Certainly the Defence, by the first accused, which is that
- $\,$ 11 $\,$ the activities of both groups are interrelated and the activities
- of the Kamajors form the absolute foundation of our defence. So
- if we cannot discuss the Kamajor activities and atrocities, then,
 - in my submission, we cannot travel down the same road with the 15:14:02 15 RUF.
 - 16 MR CAMMEGH: Your Honour, may I just add something?
 - 17 PRESIDING JUDGE: Yes, Mr Cammegh.
 - 18 MR CAMMEGH: If I may.
 - 19 PRESIDING JUDGE: Yes, Mr Cammegh, yes, you may please.
- 15:14:13 20 MR CAMMEGH: I appreciate that Mr Kabbah is not my witness.
 - 21 PRESIDING JUDGE: No, no, no. It's okay. You may.
- 22 MR CAMMEGH: There are -- well, initially, I wonder if in
- $\,$ 23 $\,$ the interests of propriety it might be with respect wise for the
- $\,$ 24 $\,$ witness to leave the room during this argument. I don't know if
 - 15:14:29 25 that would be proper.

	26	PRESIDING JUDGE: Do you intend to ex	xplore this argument
	27	further?	
relates	28	MR CAMMEGH: Well, I don't think wha	t I have to say
	29	to that request; it's just in the interest	s of good practice,
		SCSL - TRIAL CHAMBER	I
		SESAY ET AL	
Page 81		16 MAY 2008 OP	EN SESSION
this:	1	though it's a matter for you. All I would	like to say is
examination	2	Bearing in mind Your Honour's ruling during	g my cross-
may	3	of Mr Kabbah, I must hasten to add that who	ereas Mr Harrison
the	4	ask Mr Kabbah questions about alleged RUF	breaches following
15:15:00	5	Abidjan Peace Accord, it was a feature of	several of my
	6	cross-examinations, as I hope you recall,	that there were CDF
	7	breaches at that same time and I listed the	e locations. I
	8	remember Peyama Jungle was one; another wa	s in Giema, and the
River	9	most notable one of all that you might rem	ember was the Moa
15:15:21	10	crossing in which many people allegedly di	ed at the hands of
	11	Kamajors. I don't want to go into that in	detail but I think
	12	it's only fair that if Mr Harrison is to b	e allowed to explore

13 this line of cross-examination --

should	14	PRESIDING JUDGE: Then you too should be allowed
15:15:34	15	have been allowed to explore
has	16	MR CAMMEGH: The horse has already bolted. Your Honour
	17	already ruled
	18	PRESIDING JUDGE: No, no, no, it's okay.
	19	MR CAMMEGH: I just ask really that with respect
15:15:44	20	PRESIDING JUDGE: I'm just drawing a logical conclusion
	21	from your argument.
	22	MR CAMMEGH: Aligning myself to Mr Jordash, I would also
asking	23	like to add that, by the same token, I was prevented from
frame	24	Mr Kabbah about events that took place during the same time
15:16:02	25	which concerned breaches by the other side, and it would be
three	26	wrong, in my submission, and unfair to the defendants, all
	27	of them, were Mr Harrison allowed to extract information about
	28	partial breaches during that period, rather than the whole
	29	picture.

Page 82

16 MAY 2008

OPEN SESSION

1 PRESIDING JUDGE: Thank you, Mr Cammegh. Yes, Mr Harrison,

- 2 do you have any response to this, please?
- 3 MR HARRISON: Yes. We think it's wrong in principle,

the

- $4\,$ suggestions that are being offered by the Defence. The principle
- 15:16:24 5 is that evidence is relevant until such time as the Trial Chamber
 - 6 deems it's either irrelevant or it's in some way unfair --
- 7 PRESIDING JUDGE: They are saying -- they are saying,

you

- 8 know, that if they were not allowed to talk about Kamajor
- 9 breaches of the accord at that time you should not be allowed to
- $15:16:49\ 10$ talk about the breaches -- the breaches of the RUFs, you know, at
- 11 that particular, you know, during that particular time frame and
 - 12 that it would be unfair to give you that advantage over the
 - 13 Defence.
 - 14 MR HARRISON: The difference is it's the RUF that's on
 - 15:17:08 15 trial; it's not the CDF. The CDF issue --
 - 16 PRESIDING JUDGE: Yes, I know.
 - 17 MR HARRISON: -- whether there were breaches or not by
 - 18 them, and I just hasten to add that I don't think the question
- $$19$\,\,$ put to the witness by counsel for the third accused was relevant
- refevant
- $15:17:24\ 20$ to the issue of breaches at this time period. The question was
- $\,$ 21 $\,$ about the area of Kenema. I'm asking about a time period which
- 22 is probably 16 months prior to that, still within the time period
- of the indictment because it's subsequent to Abidjan, 30 November

witnesses.	24	1996, and Defence evidence has been called by previous
15:17:52 Defence	25	Now, the Prosecution is entitled to cross-examine
	26	witnesses on previous Defence evidence. Defence evidence has
breached,	27	been called to the effect that the Abidjan accord was
	28	but breached by forces aligned to the government or the
	29	government itself.
		SCSL - TRIAL CHAMBER I
Page 83		SESAY ET AL
		16 MAY 2008 OPEN SESSION
Abidjan	1	PRESIDING JUDGE: Yes, that is their defence, that
	2	was breached by the Kamajors and others who were fighting on
	3	behalf of government.
	4	MR HARRISON: And if they are allowed to call that
evidence		
15:18:31	. 5	then the Prosecution suggests it is clear that it ought to be
	6	able to ask Defence witnesses on that very same point.
today	7	PRESIDING JUDGE: But when they wanted to explore it
	8	through the same witness they were
	8 9	MR HARRISON: No, I'm suggesting

11 Tribunal.

They	12	MR HARRISON: Yes, but it's not the same time period.
	13	were asking questions about Kenema. Those events are
of	14	post-intervention. That's February, March, maybe into April
15:19:16	15	'98. I'm asking about December sorry, end of November,
	16	December, January of '96 and '97.
	17	MS MYLVAGANAM: My Lord, I wonder whether I could, with
	18	Your Lordship's leave
say	19	PRESIDING JUDGE: Ms Mylvaganam, please, you wanted to
15:22:54	20	something?
I'm	21	MS MYLVAGANAM: I'm grateful, My Lord. Only this, and
but	22	sorry I didn't join in the objections at the relevant time,
	23	it occurs
	24	PRESIDING JUDGE: Are you joining in the objection now?
15:23:05 the	25	MS MYLVAGANAM: My Lord, I am in this way: That what
on	26	Prosecution are seeking to do is found their cross-examination
the	27	intelligence reports which are not evidential material before
	28	Court and, of course, after the whole issue of weapons of mass
a	29	destruction, there's an issue about intelligence reports being

SESAY ET AL
Page 84
16 MAY 2008

OPEN SESSION

- 1 reliable source on which to found any sort of questions.
- 2 PRESIDING JUDGE: We don't want to tread those grounds.
- 3 They are delicate grounds.
- 4 $\,$ MS MYLVAGANAM: Yes. Yes. But the point is the witness in
- 15:23:41 5 his statement before The Truth And Reconciliation Commission has
 - 6 specifically stated --
 - 7 PRESIDING JUDGE: Because we don't want to go to Iraq.
 - 8 MS MYLVAGANAM: No. But the point is the witness in his
 - 9 statement before The Truth and Reconciliation Committee has
 - 15:23:57 10 specifically stated that there was no reliable intelligence in
- $\,$ 11 $\,$ certain instances and, on that basis, I really query whether it's
- \$12\$ appropriate for the Prosecution, in the circumstances, to found
- 13 cross-examination on intelligence reports which actually are not
 - 14 evidential material before the Court.
- \$16\$ was based on hearsay. We don't have the evidence in front of the
 - 17 Court. I mean, it's been the standard procedure for this
- 18 Tribunal. I mean, if the witness says for that evidence that he
- \$19\$ $\,$ had intelligence report, I mean, we have to accept his word for
- $15\!:\!24\!:\!34$ 20 that at this particular moment. How much weight we're going to
 - 21 give to that is for the Tribunal to decide, so the question of

	22	admissibility, it's quite different.
is	23	MS MYLVAGANAM: My Lord, I take the point. My concern
	24	based on the fact that intelligence material
15:24:48	25	JUDGE BOUTET: But we have accepted that. Some of your
as	26	colleagues have asked questions based on intelligence reports
	27	well, so, I mean, there is no difference between this one and
	28	others. The witness has consistently stated that he was not
	29	there all the time. He was the President of the Republic of
		SCSL - TRIAL CHAMBER I
Dogo OF		SESAY ET AL
Page 85		SESAY ET AL 16 MAY 2008 OPEN SESSION
Page 85		
Page 85	1	
	1 2	16 MAY 2008 OPEN SESSION
of		16 MAY 2008 OPEN SESSION Sierra Leone. He was the commander-in-chief and had all sorts
of	2	OPEN SESSION Sierra Leone. He was the commander-in-chief and had all sorts reports coming to him. This is based on that information that
of	2 3 4	OPEN SESSION Sierra Leone. He was the commander-in-chief and had all sorts reports coming to him. This is based on that information that is giving evidence; whether it's intelligence or other
of he	2 3 4	OPEN SESSION Sierra Leone. He was the commander-in-chief and had all sorts reports coming to him. This is based on that information that is giving evidence; whether it's intelligence or other information.

8

not

the

JUDGE BOUTET: It may be for a certain period he could

rely. That's not the question. What your objection is that

15:25:25 had	10	question could not be asked because he is being asked if he
	11	intelligence report. The answer is "yes" he had intelligence
	12	report. That's where we are.
	13	MS MYLVAGANAM: So be it.
	14	PRESIDING JUDGE: Yes, Mr Jordash.
15:25:40	15	MR JORDASH: I wondered if I might briefly respond to
	16	PRESIDING JUDGE: Yes, yes, you may, please.
is	17	MR JORDASH: Simply in this way: That my learned friend
with	18	right that evidence has been adduced previously which deals
	19	this point, but what my learned friend's argument fails to
15:26:00	20	acknowledge is that evidence had also been adduced concerning
Cammegh	21	Kamajor activity in Kenema at the relevant time that Mr
excluded	22	was trying to deal with. So Your Honour's ruling simply
	23	questions on that subject. And what we're asking for is, in
other	24	light of that, that Your Honours do the same in relation to
15:26:22 trial	25	subjects which have, yes, been properly the subject of the
	26	but initial fairness arises.
is	27	JUDGE THOMPSON: In other words, we're not the issue
	28	not whether it was at a particular time frame or not; it's the
might	29	subject matter, that's the one that we said, if we allowed,

15:45:58 20 A. (Witness nods).

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16 MAY 2008 OPEN SESSION

	1	result in a multiplication of the issues, is as I understand.
yes,	2	MR JORDASH: Exactly. That's my point, Your Honour,
	3	and I'll leave my objection at that.
	4	JUDGE THOMPSON: Right.
15:27:05 for a	5	PRESIDING JUDGE: Well, learned counsel, we'll retire
our	6	couple of minutes to deliberate on this issue and return with
	7	verdict.
	8	[Break taken at 3.29 p.m.]
	9	[Upon resuming at 3.45 p.m.]
15:44:27	10	PRESIDING JUDGE: Learned counsel, the ruling of the
fundamental	11	Chamber is that, in conformity with the doctrine of
this	12	fairness, and guided by the ruling and the decision we made
this	13	morning in similar circumstances, Mr Harrison's question on
	14	issue is overruled, and the objection by Mr Jordash is upheld.
15:45:27	15	May we continue, please, Mr Harrison.
	16	MR HARRISON:
	17	Q. Witness, let me try and take you a little bit forward in
the	18	time. We all know that on 25 May 1997, that was the day of
	19	coup in Freetown, and do you remember that?

were	21	Q.	And my understanding is that shor	tly after 25 May you							
	22	force	forced to leave the country; is that correct?								
	23	Α.	Um-hmm.								
receiving	24	Q.	And after 25 May 1997, you still	would have been							
15:46:23	25	infor	ie?								
	26	Α.	Oh, yes.								
on a	27	Q.	And the information you received,	would that have been							
	28	regula	ar basis?								
	29	A.	Well, not really; not as regular	as when I was home.							
			SCSL - TRIAL CHAME	BER I							
		SESAY	ET AL								
Page 87		16 MA	Y 2008	OPEN SESSION							
being	1	Q.	In the months of June, July, Augu	st of 1997, were you							
	2	provi	ded with information about events	taking place in							
	3	Sierra	a Leone?								
	4	Α.	I was getting information, yes.								
15:47:11 to	5	Q.	And were you being given informat	ion about what appeared							
	6	be, to	o you, to be crimes committed by t	he RUF in Sierra Leone?							
	7	Α.	Frankly, the information was more	e dealing with the							
	8	coupi	sts, and how they were working in	collaboration with the							
	9	RUF.									

15:47:47 10 Q. And what was that information you were getting about how the coupists were working in collaboration with the RUF? 11 12 Well, about their movements, about some their activities 13 and atrocities being committed; that type of thing. 14 Ο. Are you able to recall any of the atrocities that you may 15:48:15 15 have --16 MR JORDASH: Objection. We're exactly in the same 17 territory, in my submission. If I can deal with my objection in 18 this way: This morning Mr Cammegh was stopped; he was not 19 permitted to ask about Kamajor atrocities. It is our defence and 15:48:38 20 has been our defence that Kamajor atrocities underpinned, in 21 large part, some of the RUF activities in Kailahun. In Kailahun, 22 throughout the whole indictment period, and in relation to 23 Mr Cammegh's questions this morning, particularly activities 24 which occurred at the point of the intervention. Let me put that more specifically: We have said, and a number of times, and 15:49:22 25 we have led evidence for the first accused to show that Kamajor 26 27 activities in the Kenema District caused civilians to seek refuge 28 with the RUF in Kailahun. A direct defence to a number of the 29 counts on the indictment, not least of which are counts dealing

Page 88

16 MAY 2008 OPEN SESSION

	1	with unlawful killing, counts dealing with sexual violence,
abduction.	2	counts dealing with forced labour, counts dealing with
to	3	If it's right that it is not fair that Mr Cammegh be allowed
fair	4	develop that Defence further through this witness, it is not
15:50:07 case	5	that my learned friend is able to advance the Prosecution's
	6	through this witness.
	7	It follows, as sure as night follows day, if we cannot
	8	adduce evidence supportive of the Defence, Mr Harrison cannot
same	9	adduce evidence supportive of the Prosecution case on those
15:50:28	10	counts. And just to buttress that, I refer Your Honours to 9
which	11	November 2007, DIS-281, who dealt with Kamajor atrocities
	12	led to civilians fleeing with the RUF during the February 1998
exactly	13	intervention, DIS-069, 22 October 2007, which dealt with
part	14	the same subject. This has been and always has been a large
15:51:00	15	of our defence. Those are my submissions.
	16	MR CAMMEGH: If I may very briefly add to that,
just	17	Your Honour. By the same token I'm adopting what Mr Jordash
	18	said. It's very important I put on the record this: One's
been	19	purpose in making reference to the grisly incidents that are

	15:51:21	20	rehearsed in Kenema Town in February of 1998 followed in due
		21	course by ECOMOG jet bombing raids on civilians in Kailahun
		22	thereafter, is very relevant to me or to Mr Gbao because they
		23	foreshadow the events of the killing of the Kamajors which is
cha	irged.	24	perhaps the most serious offence with which Mr Gbao is
in	15:51:43	25	There can be no denying after four years of hearing evidence
Ken	ıema,	26	this Court that there is a nexus between what happened in
in		27	the fleeing from Kenema, the internship of suspected Kamajors
and	l	28	Kailahun and the horrible killing of 65 of them afterwards,
say	7	29	on those grounds I concur entirely with Mr Jordash and simply

OPEN SESSION

one	1	this: With all respect, it is not fair that there should be
how	2	rule for one-party and one rule for the other because that is
	3	it might appear were Mr Harrison allowed to continue on this
	4	course, bearing in mind Your Honours' ruling this morning

15:52:22 5 sought not to undermine and nor do I now.

SESAY ET AL

16 MAY 2008

Page 89

which I

6 PRESIDING JUDGE: Thank you, Mr Cammegh. Ms Mylvaganam.

	7	MS MYLVAGANAM: My Lord, only to say it does seem to be
made.	8	part and parcel of the earlier ruling that Your Lordships
to	9	PRESIDING JUDGE: Thank you. Mr Harrison, do you want
15:53:09	10	make a quick response before we deliberate on this issue?
the	11	MR HARRISON: The first point is that the witness used
used	12	word atrocities in the preceding answer and he had actually
	13	the word atrocities having been committed during the original
accused.	14	examination and cross-examination by I think the third
15:53:27 those	15	And I was simply asking the witness to tell the Court about
that	16	atrocities of which he was aware. The relevance of that is
	17	any evidence that touches upon crimes committed by persons who
	18	may be affiliated to the three accused would be relevant
	19	evidence. It would be evidence of crimes committed, either in
15:53:54	20	concert with or potentially by one of the accused. The notion
ruled	21	that a CDF bit of evidence was ruled inadmissible, it was
have	22	inadmissible because it was not relevant to the issues. You
or	23	to decide whether or not this witness can tell you that crimes
the	24	certain acts and conduct of which he knows were committed by
15:54:23 before	25	RUF, that would clearly be relevant to all of the issues
	26	you. It's also known well to the Court that the defence of
and	27	Tukoki is not a defence. You can't simply say he did it too

in	28	expect	that	to	be a	dei	fence.	It's	s not	t. It's	not red	cogni	ised
or	29	interna	ationa	al l	Law.	So	that's	why	the	evidence	about	the	acts

Page 90		SESAY ET AL 16 MAY 2008	OPEN SESSION
	1	alleged acts of members of the CDF is o	f even less relevance
	2	because what happened by them you've ru	
	3	the legal issue is already decided for	
not	4	international criminal law. To simply	
15:55:15 raise	5	provide you with a defence. The only o	ther point I wish to
other	6	is that what we propose to do is to ask	this witness of any
witness	7	criminal acts of which he is aware, and	we would say this
preceding	8	is certainly allowed to give that evide	nce as have the
There	9	approximately 140-odd witnesses who hav	e come before you.
15:55:45	10	is no reason to prevent this witness fr	om giving what could be
gives	11	helpful, certainly relevant, and perhap	s of a nature that
the	12	the Court a clear understanding or a cl	earer understanding of
	13	facts of the acts that took place.	

	14	PRESIDING JUDGE: Yes, Mr Jordash. Right of reply. You
15:56:18	15	raised the objection.
	16	MR JORDASH: I'll be very brief. It's got nothing to do
through	17	with Tukoki and my learned friend knows that having sat
killings	18	the evidence at length. Counts 3 to 5 allege unlawful
Prosecution	19	in Kenema between 25 May and 19 February 1998. The
15:56:38 the	20	say the RUF killed civilians in Kenema. The Defence say at
	21	point of intervention it was the Kamajors killing civilians.
	22	Mr Cammegh was trying to seek evidence in support of that this
	23	morning. In relation to the sexual violence count, it is the
assaulted	24	Prosecution case that women were abducted and sexually
15:57:00	25	by the RUF in Kenema. It's the Defence case that at the
	26	intervention, the RUF the women who went with the RUF, went
abductions	27	for protection from the Kamajors. In relation to the
	28	and forced labour, the same point again. The Defence is as it
	29	always has been in Kenema that it was the Kamajors who were
	29	always has been in Kenema that it was the Kamajors who were

SESAY ET AL
Page 91
16 MAY 2008 OPEN SESSION

1 committing those crimes, especially at the point of the

- $\,$ $\,$ $\,$ $\,$ $\,$ $\,$ intervention. So if that evidence is not permitted then neither
 - 3 is, in our submission, the evidence of atrocities which my
- 4 learned friend is trying to adduce. Whether the witness mentions
 - 15:57:43 5 the word atrocity or not, the point is one of fairness. I
 - 6 concede this. Both subjects are relevant, but in light of
- 7 Your Honours' ruling that one side cannot adduce that evidence,
- $\,$ 8 $\,$ it follows that the other side cannot adduce it. It's simply not
- $\,\,$ 9 $\,\,$ fair to allow one side to adduce and not allow the other side to
 - 15:58:05 10 defend it. Those are my submissions.
 - 11 PRESIDING JUDGE: Well, learned counsel, again the
- $\,$ 12 $\,$ objection by Mr Jordash is upheld and the question by Mr Harrison
- 13 is overruled. It's ruled out because again on the ruling that we
- \$14\$ made this morning, a few minutes ago, we are reiterating it here
 - 16:00:56 15 now. May we proceed, please.
 - 16 MR HARRISON:
- 17 Q. Again talking about the same time period, so we're in June,
- 18 July, August of 1997, were you getting any information about arms
 - 19 and ammunition going to the RUF?
 - 16:01:32 20 A. That's the time that we were in Conakry, is that it?
- $\,$ 21 $\,$ Q. Yes, I think that would have been right. Because the coup
- $\,$ 22 $\,$ is 25 May '97 and I was thinking of the approximate three months
 - 23 after the actual coup?
 - 24 A. Yes. Well, really as I said earlier on, the bulk of the

16:01:56 soldiers.	25	reports had to do with the activities of the of the
	26	PRESIDING JUDGE: [Indiscernible] of the SLA.
	27	THE WITNESS: Not.
	28	PRESIDING JUDGE: AFRC.
	29	THE WITNESS: The AFRC.
		SCSL - TRIAL CHAMBER I
		SESAY ET AL
Page 92		16 MAY 2008 OPEN SESSION
		10 MAI 2000 OPEN SESSION
	1	PRESIDING JUDGE: The AFRC.
	2	THE WITNESS: Yes.
	3	MR HARRISON:
	4	Q. And you were aware though that the RUF joined?
16:02:18	5	A. Oh, yes. Yes.
with	6	Q. And what information did you get about the RUF joining
	7	the coupist?
	8	A. Well, they were invited by the coupists to come and join
	9	them so they can work as one and so that they will remain for
16:02:39	10	good.
	11	Q. And what information did you get about their activities?
	12	A. Well, again it was they started off with by moving
down	13	people into the airport area in Freetown and bringing them

conf	Elict	14	to oth	ner areas of the capital city, and	this led to some
1	6:03:03	15	also t	there.	
		16	Q.	And when you say it led to some co	onflict, what are you
		17	talki	ng about?	
		18	A.	Well, between themselves and the	civilians that were
		19	remain	ning.	
1	6:03:15	20	Q.	And did you get information about	the nature of that
		21	confl	ict with the civilians?	
beca	iuse	22	Α.	No, I was just told that there was	s severe fighting
		23	of the	e influx of the RUF to join the AFF	RC.
		24	Q.	Now, what about later on in time.	Did you ever get any
1	6:03:36	25	inform	mation about arms and ammunition go	oing to the RUF?
		26	A.	No, I didn't get that, no.	
		27	Q.	Did you get any information about	child soldiers at any
		28	time?		
		29	Α.	Yes, child soldiers came in togeth	ner with the regular
				SCSL - TRIAL CHAMBI	ER I
Dage	. 03		SESAY	ET AL	
Page 93		16 MA	Y 2008	OPEN SESSION	

- 1 fighters when they were invited to join the AFRC.
- Q. And what about over the length of time of the -- of the
- $\,$ 3 $\,$ war, and let's just say from 1997 up until the end of 2000 or the

- 4 middle of 2000, what can you say about --
- 16:04:24 5 MR JORDASH: Sorry I might be being premature but if we're
- 6 going to continue along the line of crimes within the indictment
 - 7 then my objection remains the same. I do not understand the
 - 8 distinction my learned friend is seeking to draw. My learned
 - 9 friend who raised the initial objection to Mr Cammegh's
 - 16:04:45 10 questions. It was my learned friend who raised this spectre
 - 11 which has now descended over the Court and this witness's
 - 12 evidence, and we simply ask the Trial Chamber to make the same
- 13 ruling on the same basis. What's good for the goose is good for
 - 14 the gander.
 - 16:05:05 15 MR CAMMEGH: I think the phrase is what's sauce for the
- \$16\$ goose is sauce for the gander and I adopt what my learned friend
 - 17 said subject to that correction.
- 18 PRESIDING JUDGE: Mr Harrison, I think we've -- we wouldn't
- 19 be coming back to these objections always. You know when we -
 - 16:05:31 20 from the three rulings we have made -- you will know where we
 - 21 would go if you put certain questions to this witness. So can
 - 22 you please very carefully avoid, you know, certain questions
 - 23 which you know will be contentious and would bring us to --
- $\,$ 24 $\,$ within the context of the rulings that we have made here, please.
 - 16:05:55 25 We want to move along. And I want -- I think we are
- desirous, you know, to see that this witness leaves and that he
 - 27 doesn't feature on our agenda on Monday, so we would like to

along	28	proceed th	nat way	and you	may go	along,	please.	Let's move	
as	29	and avoid	areas (of conte	ntion wl	hich we	know are	already tag	ged

Page 94		SESAY ET AL 16 MAY 2008 OPEN SESSION
	1	contentious areas.
what	2	MR HARRISON: I would just like to advise the Court of
	3	the Prosecution understands to be the ruling: The ruling was
	4	that certain evidence was not admissible because it was not
16:06:39	5	relevant. The Prosecution disagrees very much with any
with	6	suggestion that evidence that this witness may have, to deal
respect	7	crimes alleged in the indictment, and particularly with
	8	to the last question about child soldiers, any suggestion that
that	9	that is not relevant is unfounded, and the Prosecution says
16:07:02	10	it's entitled to put that question to the witness and asks the
	11	Court for the opportunity to do so.
the	12	JUDGE THOMPSON: I never understood at law school that
	13	principle that all relevant evidence must be admitted. All
that's	14	relevant evidence must be admitted. There can be evidence

16:07:23 15	relevant that's not it's not admissible on grounds of
16	fundamental fairness, on grounds of prejudice or something. I
17 your	mean, even the Rules say "may" be admitted. May be. So if
18 automatically	thinking is that every evidence that's relevant is
19	admissible, that's not how I understand the law. There are
16:07:51 20	when evidence may be relevant, but its prejudicial effect
21	outweighs its probative value, out it goes, if the Court so
22	decides. The times when evidence may be relevant, but if its
23	admissibility or admission, or recidivity may bring the
24	administration of justice into disrepute, out it goes.
16:08:11 25	MR HARRISON: Yes, I accept that distinction, but the
26 asking	Prosecution would advance the suggestion to the Court that
27 frame	a witness if he is aware of child soldiers, during the time
28 administration	of the indictment, could not in any way bring the
29	of justice into disrepute. In fact, there may be a suggestion

	SESAY E	T AI	L		
Page 95					
	16 MAY	2008	8	OPEN	SESSION

- that failing to put such questions to a witness, who may have
- 2 relevant evidence to give on that topic, would be if not

- 3 careless, certainly an act of negligence.
- 4 JUDGE THOMPSON: It may be, just as we have ruled, that
- 16:08:47 5 perhaps given the context of the -- where the questions have been
- 6 asked and the issues in controversy between the parties and the
- 7 fact that this Court has ruled that some of these questions are
 - 8 designed to elicit answers to questions that merely amount to
- 9 multiplying the issues -- the Court has a discretion to say that,
- $16:09:12\ 10$ indeed, such questions must be impermissible because we think it
 - does not conform to even-handed justice, and that's what we've
 - 12 been saying. We've made a ruling here in respect of one side,
- and the question is why should we now overrule ourselves because
 - of this relevancy -- relevancy rule.
 - 16:09:47 15 MR HARRISON: I think the answer --
 - 16 PRESIDING JUDGE: If I may ask: Is it this witness who
- 17 we're waiting for, in order to prove or to disprove the issue of
- 18 the presence of child soldiers in this case, which has lasted
- on which we have heard so many witnesses? Is it this witness we
 - 16:10:09 20 were waiting for?
 - 21 MR HARRISON: I think the answer to the question is this
 - 22 witness may have relevant evidence to give.
 - 23 PRESIDING JUDGE: Yes.
- 24 MR HARRISON: He is called by one of the Defence parties.
- 16:10:22 25 To suggest that the Prosecution cannot put questions to a Defence

	26	witness, on matters that are squarely within the words of the
has	27	indictment, and squarely within an abundance of evidence that
parties,	28	been put before this Court on this issue, by all of the
suggestion	29	and to cutoff that evidence today in the Prosecution

Page 96	SESAY ET AL		
J	16 MAY 2008	OPEN	SESSION

has		1	is not consistent with the notion of admissible evidence that
		2	been adhered to in the past by the Trial Chamber. And we're
he		3	suggesting that this witness can be asked the questions. If
he		4	doesn't know any information that would be the end of it. If
16:	11:04	5	does have relevant information on crimes alleged in the
		6	indictment, he should be allowed to answer.
		7	PRESIDING JUDGE: The question is: Why should you be
ground	ls	8	exploring it when we did not allow them to explore their
		9	as well on which they wanted to base their defence. This is
16:	11:20	10	where the doctrine of fundamental fairness comes in.
	:	11	MR HARRISON: Because you may
	-	12	PRESIDING JUDGE: Why should you be allowed to explore

grounds?	13	those grounds when they were not allowed to explore the
	14	Why?
16:11:31 was	15	MR HARRISON: Because the ruling was that that evidence
other	16	not relevant. That evidence was about crimes committed by
	17	persons not on trial here. The evidence that's or the
matters,	18	questions that are being put to this witness are about
either	19	acts, conduct which the Prosecution says are committed by
16:11:54 the	20	these accused, or persons associated with them, and that is
	21	reason why we're here today, to hear evidence about acts,
	22	conduct, possible crimes committed by the RUF.
	23	PRESIDING JUDGE: Mr Jordash, your objection, was it
	24	premised on the presence of child soldiers? Because learned
16:15:43 to	25	counsel for the Prosecution, Mr Harrison, did put the question
	26	the witness as to whether he saw he had information about
	27	child soldiers.
	28	MR JORDASH: Yes.
	29	PRESIDING JUDGE: And the witness answered the question.

Page 97

16 MAY 2008

OPEN SESSION

1 MR JORDASH: Yes. PRESIDING JUDGE: Is that what you are objecting to? 3 MR JORDASH: I'm objecting to the Prosecution being able to go outside the context or the parameters or the general 16:16:19 5 parameters set by the Trial Chamber this morning, which I understood to be that a consideration of the general parameters of this witness's --8 PRESIDING JUDGE: Our ruling on this was not supposed to 9 pre-empt the Prosecution to go through the [indiscernible] of its 16:16:46 10 privileges, you know, in terms of its cross-examination, no. That was not our ruling. 11 12 MR JORDASH: No, no, I'm not suggesting that's the case. 13 PRESIDING JUDGE: And what we are saying here, you know, is 14 that the question on child soldiers, in any event, has already 16:17:02 15 been answered by the witness. 16 MR JORDASH: Yes. And I think --PRESIDING JUDGE: And if it relates to that, then the 17 objection is belatedly taken, and we have the response on the 18 19 record already, and in any event, the issue of child soldiers is not a new phenomenon in this case. Evidence has been adduced. 16:17:25 20 21 It has been contradicted by the opposing parties, and so on and 22 so forth, and the witness has already proffered a response to 23 this and it is on the record already. 24 MR JORDASH: That's why I --16:17:40 25 JUDGE BOUTET: If I may, Mr Presiding Judge, to make sure

to	26	that there is no misunderstanding, our ruling this morning had
	27	do with a very discrete issue which had to do with the Abidjan
	28	accord and THE violations of the Abidjan accord by some of the
are	29	parties, and that's what it revolved around as such. And we

Page 98	SESAY ET AL	
10.30 70	16 MAY 2008	OPEN SESSION

	1	no more in the Abidjan accord, and these kind of scenarios, so
the	2	that's what the objection was at the time that violations of
witness.	3	these were the questions that were being asked of the
	4	He was aware of breaches by the Kamajors of in violation of
16:18:13 and	5	the Abidjan accord that's what gave rise to these issues
if	6	these discussions. So, at least that's my recollection, so,
recollection	7	I'm wrong, then I could be corrected but that's my
	8	of the facts that give rise to this objection and our ruling.
	9	And I never certainly it was not intended to be as broad as
16:18:32	10	you think it is.
	11	MR JORDASH: No. It, well, may I deal with that in this
	12	way: That as far as I recall Mr Cammegh didn't mention the

	13	Abidjan accord. He mentioned
	14	JUDGE BOUTET: Breaches.
16:18:44	15	MR JORDASH: Yes, I don't think he was discussing the
in	16	breaches of the Abidjan Peace Accord; he was discussing events
	17	Kenema in February of 1998, two years after the Abidjan Peace
of	18	Accord, and he was seeking to elicit, as I've said on a number
and	19	occasions this afternoon, evidence in support of his client's
16:19:05	20	my client's case
I'm	21	JUDGE BOUTET: Anyhow, you've heard my views on this.
	22	not prepared to say that it's as broad as you think it is.
	23	MR JORDASH: Well, no. I'm simply suggesting that it is
questions	24	logical that if Your Honours rule out through a witness
16:19:20	25	which support an accused
up	26	JUDGE BOUTET: We have supported some of your objections
	27	to now, Mr Jordash, I do not deny that, and it was a unanimous
	28	decision of the Bench.
Honours	29	MR JORDASH: Well, I'm simply saying that if Your

	SESAY ET AL	
Page 99		
	16 MAY 2008	OPEN SESSION

- 1 rule out evidence which supports a defence, but then allow the
- 2 Prosecution to pursue evidence which supports the Prosecution,
- 3 it's obviously unfair and there --
- 4 PRESIDING JUDGE: Are you suggesting that the

Prosecution

- 16:19:52 5 cannot put questions to this witness, you know, to buttress its
- 6 case, given those issues which have been affected by our ruling?
 - 7 Are you suggesting that they cannot pursue their case in
 - 8 cross-examination in terms of their indictment that they have
 - 9 proffered against your client?
- 16:20:16 10 MR JORDASH: They can in relation to the issues which were
 - 11 dealt with by this witness in chief. As a consequence of
 - 12 Your Honours' ruling that the Defence are prevented --
 - 13 PRESIDING JUDGE: By this witness in chief, but he is in
 - 14 cross-examination.
 - 16:20:31 15 MR JORDASH: Yes. But -- and I also was surprised --
 - 16 PRESIDING JUDGE: He is in cross-examination.
 - MR JORDASH: Yes, as was Mr Cammegh.
 - 18 PRESIDING JUDGE: And he can visit -- yes. There, you
 - 19 know, we took the stand we did.
 - 16:20:44 20 MR CAMMEGH: Yes.
- 21 PRESIDING JUDGE: But what I'm saying is, you know, are you
 - 22 suggesting, you know, that he cannot, you know, because of the
- $\,$ 23 $\,$ Kamajor issue, and what we have disposed of now, Mr Harrison for
 - the Prosecution, cannot pursue his cross-examination?
 - 16:21:03 25 MR JORDASH: Well Your Honours, Mr Cammegh asked about

	26	intelligence reports received by the witness in relation t	0
	27	crimes by the opposing party which form the bulwark of our	
	28	Defence, Mr Harrison is asking about intelligence reports	of
3	29	crimes committed by allegedly by the RUF and the accuse	d
and			
		SCSL - TRIAL CHAMBER I	
		SESAY ET AL	
Page 100		16 MAY 2008 OPEN SESSION	
	1	apparently he can, and that in my submission, is demonstra	bly
	2	unfair. And I can, in my submission, see no distinction	
except	3	that what will happen is the Prosecution get to adduce	
evidence	3	that what will happen is the Prosecution get to adduce	
evidence	4	in support of the indictment. We do not get to adduce	
16:21:43	5	in support of the Defence except that which was adduced in	the
	6	narrow remit of this witness's evidence-in-chief.	
	7	JUDGE BOUTET: So that's what you are saying, you ar	е
your	8	allowed to lead evidence through this witness in support o	f
7001	9	position but the Prosecution is not allowed to challenge t	his
16:21:58		evidence and that the normal rules of cross-examination do	
10-21-50	11	apply, and therefore they must limit their cross-examinati	
		Tr-1, onor or o	

solely on what you have raised in examination-in-chief.

12

13

what you're saying.

That's

	14	MR JORDASH: If that's the rule applied to the Defence.
16:22:12	15	JUDGE BOUTET: Isn't it what you are saying.
the	16	MR JORDASH: If that's the rule Your Honours applied to
	17	Defence.
	18	JUDGE BOUTET: No, I'm asking you a question Mr Jordash,
	19	answer my question.
16:22:19	20	MR JORDASH: I'm answering you. If that's the rule
	21	Your Honours applied to the Defence then it's the rule
to a	22	Your Honours apply to the Prosecution because we are parties
	23	fair proceeding.
this	24	PRESIDING JUDGE: Right, in any event the objection on
16:22:41	25	was belatedly taken. It is not considered. It is overruled.
	26	Mr Harrison you may continue and let's see how we go.
an	27	MR HARRISON: I understand from the Trial Chamber that
	28	answer was given about child soldiers?
	29	PRESIDING JUDGE: It was given, he answered it. He did
		SCSL - TRIAL CHAMBER I

Page 101
16 MAY 2008
OPEN SESSION

- 1 answer it.
- 2 MR HARRISON:

- 3 Q. I'm just asking if you could tell the Court, again using
- 4 the time frame that I've given to you which I think was from 1997
- 16:23:12 5 up to about mid 2000, what can you tell the Court about the use
- 6 of child soldiers? How common was it? What sort of numbers did
 - 7 you know about?
- 8 MR JORDASH: I'm objecting before the question is answered.
 - 9 On the same basis, exactly the same basis. Parity, equality.
 - 16:23:33 10 Fairness --
 - 11 PRESIDING JUDGE: Objection is overruled. Mr Harrison,
 - 12 please put the question.
 - 13 MR HARRISON:
- $$14\,$ Q. The question again is about child soldiers and I'm wanting
- 16:23:47 15 you to tell the Court what you can to assist it in what you knew
 - about the use of child soldiers by the RUF?
- $\,$ 17 $\,$ A. Well, the RUF from the inception to the end of the war used
- $\,$ 18 $\,$ child soldiers extensively and this was such a problem that as a
- 19 government, we decided to put up some building in Bo as a second
- 16:24:19 20 city to Freetown where we will take care of those child soldiers
- $\,$ 21 $\,$ who had lost their parents or were afraid to go to their homes.
 - 22 And so it was a common thing, and there is a video which was
- $\,$ 23 $\,$ shown on the SLBS TV once where a child -- I was deeply touched.
 - 24 This was a soldier now doing their thing during the AFRC time.
 - 16:25:06 25 Some people were arrested. They were taken and -- to some

	26	cemetery and they dug up the graves and
that	27	PRESIDING JUDGE: Are you able, Mr Witness, to produce
	28	documentary? Because I wouldn't want to receive evidence on a
	29	documentary that we cannot see. It would be it would be
		SCSL - TRIAL CHAMBER I
		SESAY ET AL
Page 102		16 MAY 2008 OPEN SESSION
	1	unfair.
speakers].	2	JUDGE THOMPSON: I think the SLBS [overlapping
	3	PRESIDING JUDGE: To comment on that documentary by the
comment	4	SLBS. Mr Harrison, it would be unfair for the witness to
16:25:40 him	5	on that documentary by the SLBS. If he can produce it, let
	6	produce it. Or if you can produce it, you produce it and let
	7	everybody take the benefit of what the document contains.
	8	MR HARRISON: All right. We'll produce it. And do you
	9	have any other information about child soldiers and in
16:26:03 indicated	10	particular, information that may have come to you that
	11	that there were children under the age of 15 involved with the
	12	RUF in combat.
was	13	THE WITNESS: I didn't as I've said it already, this

	14	a common thing and people saw them holding you know
16:26:24 when	15	whenever even in Freetown when people were running around
	16	the rebels came in, they saw children, people of that age,
	17	carrying weapons. It's simple.
think,	18	Q. And you returned to Sierra Leone in March of 1998, I
	19	from Guinea?
16:26:43	20	A. Um-hmm.
	21	Q. And when you came back in March of 1998, did you have
	22	occasion to yourself see child soldiers of the RUF?
	23	A. I will have problems in looking at thinking of it in
to	24	that specific area, because when I came back there was so much
16:27:10 when	25	be done and I hardly went out, and it's when you go out or
	26	you are in the real conflict areas that you see this type of
	27	thing evidence of it.
were	28	Q. After you had come back to Freetown in March of 1998,
the	29	you getting reports indicating any numbers of children under

Page 103

16 MAY 2008

OPEN SESSION

- 2 A. As I said already, it was a common thing and therefore
- 3 reports of combat activities going on didn't really identify or
 - 4 separate children as such.
- 16:28:03 5 Q. Now, there was a mention -- or it was actually a question
- 6 that came from Mr Cammegh. That was the last -- the lawyer for
- $\,$ 7 $\,$ Mr Gbao. He had asked you a question and you had told $\mathop{\text{him}}$ about
- $\ensuremath{\mathtt{8}}$ an incident in Shegbwema where an Indian general was beaten up.
 - 9 What was the context there? What was taking place?
 - 16:28:31 10 A. Simple. The man went to talk to the people about
 - disarmament, and he was attacked by the RUF there.
 - 12 Q. And can you say approximately when this was?
- 13 A. Again, please forgive me, I don't want to be specific about
- \$14\$ dates but I remember the events and it was, in fact, Foday Sankoh
 - 16:28:58 15 almost hit the man and kicked him and it was very unfortunate.
 - 16 Q. And did you develop an understanding as to --
- \$17\$ PRESIDING JUDGE: He almost hit him. He did not hit him.
 - 18 Mr Witness, you say he almost hit him but he did not hit him.
 - 19 THE WITNESS: That's correct, yes. He went for him and
 - 16:29:19 20 then he was stopped by people.
 - 21 MR HARRISON:
- $\,$ 22 $\,$ Q. Did you get any information as to what the -- the reasons
 - for these acts? Was there some conflict that you're aware of
 - that was taking place?

16:29:34 discuss	25	A. No, this man was a peacekeeper. He went there to
could	26	arrangements about disarmament. And Sankoh was a man that
	27	be temperamental and he was talking to the man and he was not
to	28	polite and he moved to go and really hit him, and somebody had
	29	intervene.
		SCSL - TRIAL CHAMBER I
		SESAY ET AL
Page 104		16 MAY 2008 OPEN SESSION
the	1	Q. And are you aware of any other incidents that may show
	2	animosity of members of the RUF towards disarmament in 1999 or
	3	2000?
	4	A. Well, I said it in my main statement that before Issa
16:30:32 he	5	became acting leader of the RUF, it was difficult. But when
him	6	came became leader and when we had problems we consulted
	7	and he was helpful.
	8	Q. Are you able to think of any events or any incidents in,
you	9	this is after Lome, so after July of 1999, which indicated to
16:31:01	10	that the RUF were not committed to disarmament?
	11	A. Oh, many. Again I said in my main evidence today that
	12	number one, Sankoh himself was reluctant.

The	13	PRESIDING JUDGE: I think that question is answered.
	14	question is answered, Mr Witness.
16:31:20	15	MR HARRISON:
and	16	Q. I was actually asking about any particular incidents,
	17	is there anything that comes to mind
	18	A. No. No.
	19	Q. All right. And let me ask you again about a slightly
16:31:37 asked	20	different time period from what I asked you earlier. I had
to	21	you a question about arms and ammunition and I had confined it
is	22	roughly June, July, August of 1997. Did you later get, this
	23	much later in time, could be '98, '99, did you get information
	24	about how the RUF were getting arms and ammunition?
16:32:07 had	25	A. Well, we received some information that even though we
	26	gone through the disarmament process, that they took some arms
pit	27	and ammunition across the River Moa into Liberia and dug some
	28	there where they kept them so that they can be used sometime.
attention	29	Now, I cannot verify that, but that was brought to my

SESAY ET AL
Page 105
16 MAY 2008

OPEN SESSION

and we agreed that people -- our security people should keep 1 an eye on that situation. And during the latter half of '97 and 1998, did you get 3 any 4 information about any arms coming into Sierra Leone for the RUF? 16:32:57 5 Α. Not -- no. Now, during the latter -- say the last half of '97 and 1998 7 again, did you get reports of who the RUF were communicating 8 with? Here or overseas? 16:33:25 10 Q. Let's start overseas. Charles Taylor and Burkina Faso. 11 12 And what were those reports? What was the information -13 PRESIDING JUDGE: Charles Taylor and is there a name 14 Mr Witness, that we know as Burkina Faso. 16:33:42 15 THE WITNESS: The President Compaore. 16 PRESIDING JUDGE: Yes. You said they were communicating 17 with -- the RUF were communicating with Charles Taylor and. 18 MR HARRISON: The first words he used were Burkina Faso but 19 as Your Lordship pointed out he then identified -- the witness 16:34:01 20 identified the name of Blaise Campaore. 21 THE WITNESS: And there is also something that comes to mind and that is that during the disarmament process an 22 Israeli

was arrested by the ECOMOG soldiers and he was kept at the

23

to	24	Pademba Road Prisons. He was charged and he made a statement
16:34:34 his	25	the police and later on he escaped from the prison and found
	26	way out of the country. But he had left this statement to the
	27	police which was brought to my attention. And in that
	28	statement
	29	PRESIDING JUDGE: No, it's not fair for us to visit that
		SCSL - TRIAL CHAMBER I
		SESAY ET AL
Page 106		16 MAY 2008 OPEN SESSION
	1	statement. It is not fair.
	2	MR HARRISON: With respect, Your Honour, the Prosecution
	3	says until you know what the information is and the context it
	4	may well be fair. You have the Court
16:35:16 not	5	PRESIDING JUDGE: It is overruled Mr Harrison. It is
We	6	fair. I've said it. You move to the next question, please.
	7	have to move. It's not fair.
	8	MR HARRISON:
	9	Q. You've started out your answer by saying there was
16:35:39 is	10	communication with Charles Taylor and Blaise Campaore and this
you	11	communication between the RUF and those two individuals, can

	12	tell the Court as to the content of the communication?
	13	A. Well his Lordship has ruled that I shouldn't go into.
	14	PRESIDING JUDGE: No, you were referring to a statement
16:35:59 was	15	You were referring to a statement, you know, which which
	16	made by the Israeli. That's the
about,	17	THE WITNESS: Yes, that's the one you are asking me
	18	not so, to give some information on that?
	19	MR HARRISON:
16:36:13 you	20	Q. Yes. If I've misunderstood your answer then of course
	21	are right in adhering to the ruling of the learned Presiding
	22	Judge. But the question I had asked you was intended to be
aware	23	slightly more general, and that was a question: Were you
	24	of any communication from sources, and let me be specific,
16:36:40	25	sources other than this Israeli statement indicating
	26	communication between the RUF and Charles Taylor or Blaise
	27	Compaore?
- I	28	A. That's the only one that I have referred to but that's
	29	cannot explain that now, because of the ruling.

Page 107

16 MAY 2008

OPEN SESSION

that. In fact, we -- we heard about communications between 2 the 3 RUF and Charles Taylor and Burkina Faso. Then I came in and said: Is there any name like Burkina Faso? You said: No, no, 16:37:19 5 it's Compaore, you know. So, but we didn't go any further than 6 that. And if you are, in your capacity then as the head of state, aware, you know, of any communications, you know, between that hierarchy there to which all of you belonged, I do not inhibit you from releasing that information. 16:37:51 10 THE WITNESS: You see, the only details I can give are the movement of ammunition that I know of. 11 12 PRESIDING JUDGE: Yes. THE WITNESS: And I was involved in trying to 13 investigate that, and that's the one that was contained in this police 16:38:13 15 interview with this Israeli where he said specifically --16 PRESIDING JUDGE: No, no, no. We have --

PRESIDING JUDGE: No, no, I didn't -- we didn't rule on

- THE WITNESS: No, no, no.
- PRESIDING JUDGE: Yes. So if it goes to that statement,

PRESIDING JUDGE: Yes. We don't -- I thought there was

information that came to you through your conversations with

THE WITNESS: I should not say that.

- you know, by the Israeli who fled from Pademba, you know, I don't
 - 24 think I want to go there.
 - 16:38:38 25 THE WITNESS: Okay.

them.

1

17

18

19

16:38:28 20

	26	MR HARRISON:
	27	Q. Again, staying again with a similar time period, that's
about	28	after May 25, '97 and through '98, were you getting reports
	29	mining taking place in Sierra Leone?
		SCSL - TRIAL CHAMBER I
		SESAY ET AL
Page 108		16 MAY 2008 OPEN SESSION
roporta	1	A. Yes. Yes. When Foday Sankoh was here, I received
reports	_	
through	2	that some foreigners came in and they came to the country
were	3	Liberia, and they were engaged in mining, and these people
	4	apprehended and deported from the country.
16:39:22	5	Q. And now, I'm going to suggest to you that you may have
to	6	gotten reports about forced mining, where civilians are forced
	7	mine in, for example, Tongo Fields. Again you would know; you
	8	can either accept that or deny the suggestion
	9	MR JORDASH: Objection.
16:39:44	10	JUDGE BOUTET: For what period of time?
	11	MR HARRISON: It was from after the May 25 after the
	12	junta '97 through '98.
	13	MR JORDASH: Objection. We're dealing with exactly the

	14	same period, in exactly the same location as that Mr Cammegh
16:40:07	15	tried to deal with this morning, and I would simply remind
adduced,	16	Your Honours that the Defence for the first accused has
Kamajors	17	through its witnesses, evidence that in fact it was the
fact	18	forcing people to mine, and the civilians of Tongo were in
able	19	relieved when the RUF came into Tongo because then they were
16:40:35 evidence	20	to mine on a two-pile system, so we are directly in the
	21	in the evidential field that Mr Cammegh tried to deal with
	22	this morning.
objection?	23	PRESIDING JUDGE: Mr Harrison, in reply to the
	24	MR HARRISON: Yes. Again, we suggest that there's a
16:41:00	25	problem of first principles here, and we think that problem is
to	26	this: The Prosecution is entitled to ask questions relevant
	27	the indictment. It's alleged in the indictment that there was
Sierra	28	forced mining in various locations within the Republic of
	29	Leone. One of those locations covers Tongo Fields. If logic

Page 109	SESAY ET AL	
	16 MAY 2008	OPEN SESSION

elements	1	prevails, then the Prosecution is entitled to prove the
that.	2	alleged in the indictment; there can be no prohibition on
	3	That is the essence of the trial. And, if that's wrong, then
	4	there is a dilemma of what to do with all of the previous
16:42:20	5	evidence heard in this trial alleging forced mining in Tongo
a	6	Fields. That was all admissible. On this date in May of 2008
	7	Defence witness comes forward who may have evidence to give on
which	8	this and he should be permitted to answer those questions
	9	are relevant to the indictment.
16:42:52	10	MR JORDASH: But, I mean, I don't want to I mean, we
	11	keep going around in circles. I mean, no one can dispute that
RUF.	12	we've heard evidence of forced mining in Tongo by AFRC and
one	13	No one can dispute it's part of the Prosecution case. But no
	14	can also dispute that we've heard evidence of Kamajors forcing
16:43:20	15	civilians to mine in Kenema, and no one can dispute that it's
was	16	part of the Defence case in answer to the charges that that
	17	going on.
	18	And I again remind the Court that it was Mr Harrison who
logic	19	raised the objection to the evidence this morning and, if
16:43:40	20	prevails, then perhaps the Prosecution can explain why they
	21	sought to argue at that point that that evidence was not
	22	relevant. They can't have it both ways. It's not relevant in
hands	23	the hands of one party but relevant not relevant in the
	24	of another.

16:46:47	25	PRESIDING JUDGE: By two to one verdict, the question by
	26	Mr Harrison on this is overruled, and the objection by
	27	Mr Harrison is sustained.
	28	JUDGE BOUTET: Jordash.
	29	PRESIDING JUDGE: I'm sorry, Mr Jordash.
		SCSL - TRIAL CHAMBER I
		SESAY ET AL
Page 110		16 MAY 2008 OPEN SESSION
	1	MR HARRISON: Well
question	2	PRESIDING JUDGE: Given the circumstances of this
-	3	which links the question to the activities of the Kamajors,
who		
	4	they were not allowed to explore during their time on your
16:48:09	5	objection, but I say it's a two to one. It's a two to one
	6	decision.
Court's	7	MR HARRISON: I don't want to take advantage of the
	8	ruling, but, and I don't want to prolong this: If the Court's
	9	guidance to the Prosecution is that it's not permissible to
ask		
16:48:30		questions that seek to elicit evidence relevant to the
	11	indictment, then we won't ask questions.
	12	PRESIDING JUDGE: We will treat all questions on a
	13	case-by-case basis. We don't want to pre-empt you from asking

	14	your questions. We will treat them on a case-by-case basis.
16:48:57	15	It's your objection this morning, you know, that brought us to
	16	this, you know, so we have to manage it and make sure that we
doctrine	17	we give our decisions and are preeminently guided by the
can	18	of fundamental fairness in this. We're trying to see what we
	19	do to be fair to all the parties.
16:49:22 to	20	MR HARRISON: Yes, but the Prosecution wishes to respond
fair	21	that comment, because we see it as being, first of all, not
	22	and, secondly, inaccurate.
you	23	PRESIDING JUDGE: We say it is fair, Mr Harrison, and
	24	cannot challenge the fairness of the Court. Do you mind? I'm
16:49:34	25	sorry, you cannot say so. You cannot say so as prosecuting
	26	counsel.
	27	MR HARRISON: Well, what the Prosecution can do is to
	28	advise the Court that its recollection is that the ruling was
now	29	based upon a question being irrelevant. The Prosecution is

Page 111
16 MAY 2008
OPEN SESSION

- $\,$ 1 $\,$ advancing questions which it says are relevant and that, we say,
- $\,2\,$ $\,$ is the crucial distinction. And if that distinction is correct,
 - 3 then we would be, the Prosecution suggests, entitled to ask
 - 4 questions that are relevant with the allegations contained in
 - 16:50:14 5 the --
 - 6 JUDGE THOMPSON: Let's concede for the sake of argument
- 7 that our recollection here may be hazy; what was precisely

your

- 8 position this morning? You can assist us.
- 9 MR HARRISON: The Prosecution objected to questions being
- $16:50:27\ 10$ advanced as to -- there was a question advanced as to whether or
- $\,$ 11 $\,$ not the Prosecutor -- sorry, it was -- whether this witness was
- 12 involved or had a view on the indictment being proffered against
 - 13 the CDF and the Prosecution objected, saying that was a matter
 - 14 within the sole purview of the Prosecution and ought not to be
- 16:50:52 15 allowed to be put to the witness. There was a second question
 - 16 there was three questions. The third one escapes me. I think
 - 17 the first one in order was a question to do with events in
 - 18 Kenema. I took it to mean Kenema Town as opposed to Kenema
 - 19 District but I think the only word used was Kenema. And my
 - 16:51:13 20 recollection is that the question was asking the witness about
 - 21 [overlapping speakers].
- JUDGE THOMPSON: Kamajor activity. Joint Kamajor activity.
 - 23 MR HARRISON: It may have been activities. It may have
 - 24 been crimes.

16:51:28	25	JUDGE THOMPSON: Kamajor activities, yes.
10.31.20		
	26	MR HARRISON: In I think Kenema.
	27	JUDGE THOMPSON: And your response to that was.
	28	MR HARRISON: The Prosecution responded saying that's an
	29	irrelevant question.
		SCSL - TRIAL CHAMBER I
		ODCAY DE AT
Page 112		SESAY ET AL
		16 MAY 2008 OPEN SESSION
	1	JUDGE THOMPSON: On the grounds.
or	2	MR HARRISON: Because whether or not members of the CDF
	3	Kamajors committed crimes, it's not relevant to the issues
before		
indictment	4	this Court. This Court is solely concerned with the
16:51:50	5	in the RUF trial and those frame the relevant issues. That
was	J	In one not creat and chope frame one refevant ibbaes. That
	6	the basis of the objection.
	7	JUDGE THOMPSON: Yes and, in fact, I think that idea of
the		
	8	question of or your submission that the CDF or the Kamajors

16:52:10 10 ruling that indeed any attempt to bring issues relating to the
11 CDF and the Kamajors would, in fact, amount to multiplying the
12 issues given the premised that you had advanced by way of --

are not on trial before this Court, seemed to have predicated

issues given the premised that you had advanced by way of $\ensuremath{\mathsf{--}}$ as

9

	13	the objection. And I think it was from that position that we
And	14	agreed with you that indeed the question was impermissible.
16:52:39	15	for you to do, by some clever ingenious legal doctrine of
CDF	16	severance to separate the that the Kamajor aspect or the
seems	17	aspect now from that and to anchor yourself upon relevance,
the	18	to me not logical because I think we came out with the use of
	19	term multiplying the issues, and of course when issues are
16:53:11 relevant	20	multiplied it means that if some of the issues are not
between	21	and they are brought to relate to issues in controversy
that	22	the parties, then we end up multiplying the issues. I think
to	23	was the thrust of our position this morning. And now you seek
now	24	narrow it down to just relevance. If I remember correctly,
16:53:38	25	that you've, in fact, given us your own recollection of it, I
impermissib	26 le	think we're not just saying that the question was
	27	on grounds of relevance. I think because we were bringing the
	28	whole issue of the Kamajors and the activities into a trial
	29	relating to the RUFs.

		SESAY	ET AL
Page	113		
		16 MAY	2008

1 MR HARRISON: But the Prosecution's position is that it's 2 not multiplying the issues by asking a question seeking to elicit 3 evidence whether or not the RUF were involved in forced labour in Tongo Fields in the course of mining. We don't see how that 16:54:17 5 multiplies issues. 6 JUDGE THOMPSON: Okay. MR HARRISON: Because that is an allegation contained in 8 the indictment and of course, as you'll recall, there has been evidence heard on that issue. We say this witness is no 16:54:30 10 different from others. If he has relevant evidence to give on 11 that topic, he is entitled to do so and the Prosecution is 12 entitled to ask questions seeking to do that. 13 PRESIDING JUDGE: Now that the objection is upheld, I think we stand by that. And we will rise for a couple of minutes 14 but I 15 do not know for how long -- how much longer you intend to go in 16 your cross-examination, Mr Harrison. 17 MR HARRISON: Yes I'll reflect on it and if the Court would give me another 15 minutes. If you would consider not taking 18 the 19 break I could try to finish within 15 minutes to convenience the 20 Court and the witness. 21 PRESIDING JUDGE: That's all right. We will retire and

resume here in the next 15 minutes. And I just wanted to say,

22

	23	you know, that we would like to conclude the testimony of this
	24	witness today. There is no question of taking it on to
Monday.		
	25	The Chamber will recess, please.
	26	[Break taken at 4.57 p.m.]
	27	[RUF16MAY08D-BP].
	28	[Upon resuming at 5.16 p.m.]
	29	PRESIDING JUDGE: We're resuming the proceedings. Yes,
		SCSL - TRIAL CHAMBER I
		SCSL - IKIAL CHAMBER I
		SESAY ET AL
Page 114		16 MAY 2008 OPEN SESSION
		20 121 2222
	1	Mr Harrison, you may continue with your cross-examination.
	2	MR HARRISON:
	3	Q. I'm going to ask you about Kono District, and I'm going
to		
So	4	ask you about the time frame from the middle of February '98.
17:16:21	5	this would be slightly before you returned to Freetown from
	6	Guinea, up until January of 2000, so quite a long time period.
reports	7	And I'm going to ask if you received any information, any
	8	about civilians being forced to mine for the RUF?
	9	A. Yes, I did.
17:16:45	10	Q. And can you tell the Court about those that
information		

	11	you received?
taken	12	A. Well, we were told I was told that the RUF had
next	13	over Kono, but not only Kono, but also Tongo Field, which is
	14	door, and a lot of beating up of people, killing people was
17:17:17	15	taking place, and also children were being seized and taken on
	16	as as rebel fighters and but then, later on, the Konos
	17	themselves founded some civil society group to try and resist
	18	this. In the case, though, of Tongo Field, which is just next
that	19	door, there was a lot of destruction of the mining machines
17:18:00	20	were there, and burning of offices and so on, as well as the
	21	killing of people.
	22	Q. And let me take you to Kailahun District. From the time
	23	that you returned to Freetown, roughly March of '98, up until,
	24	let's say, the latter part of 1999, did you receive any
17:18:39	25	information about civilians in Kailahun District being
	26	mistreated?
end	27	A. Yes. Yes, we did. I myself went just towards the very
	28	and I was shown around some of the destruction and some of the
	29	victims of the war brought to my attention and but at that

SESAY ET AL
Page 115
16 MAY 2008 OPEN SESSION

- 1 time things had cooled off a little bit to the extent that I
- 2 remember distinctly that about three RUF fighters came and
- $\,$ a pologised to me for what had been going on and they -- in a big
 - 4 meeting that was organised -- they spoke there and asked for
 - 17:19:59 5 people to live together in peace and harmony.
- $\ensuremath{\mathsf{G}}$ Q. And let me ask you about Koinadugu District, and again, let
 - 7 me be a little bit shorter on the time period this time. I'm
 - 8 asking you about the time period from February '98 until
 - 9 approximately the end of September 1998. Did you receive any
- 17:20:34 10 informing about the treatment of civilians in Koinadugu District
 - 11 during that time period?
- 12 A. Yes, I did. There was a notorious rebel, I don't remember
- $\,$ 13 $\,$ his name now, but I gathered that he mobilised a lot of rebels to
 - 14 that particular place and one particular village that they
- 17:20:59 15 visited and destructed many lives and burnt down the homes, and
 - 16 this was where two generals -- I still remember -- they really
 - 17 acquitted themselves well in helping the people there. That's
 - one of them General Opande and the other one general -- he's a
 - 19 Nigerian -- he is now in Sudan. And they were very brave. I
 - 17:21:30 20 thought they were very brave because people were afraid to go
 - 21 there and they went by themselves and they were able to get
 - things under control.
- $\ensuremath{\texttt{23}}$ Q. And let me just ask you a general question: Sometimes I've
- \$24\$ heard you use the word "rebels." When you use the word "rebels,"

17:21:51	25	are you	a meaning
	26	A. F	RUF. RUF.
	27	Q. S	Sorry?
	28	A. F	RUF [indiscernible].
	29	Q. A	And with regard to Bombali District, and the time frame
			SCSL - TRIAL CHAMBER I
		CECAN I	7m
Page 116		SESAY I	
		16 MAY	ZUU00 OPEN SESSION
	1	would b	oe from the beginning of May '98 until the end of
November	1	would i	Se from the beginning of may 96 until the end of
civilians	2	1998, 0	did you get any information about mistreatment of
CIVIIIAIIS	3	or grin	mes against civilians committed by the RUF?
	4		Yes, I did.
17:22:26	5		Could you tell the Court what it is you recall, as best
you	5	Q. (could you tell the coult what it is you recall, as best
	6	can?	
	7	I	PRESIDING JUDGE: In what location?
	8	N	MR HARRISON: It's Bombali District.
District	9	7	THE WITNESS: Bombali District, particularly the
	1.0	1	
17:22:41		_	arters Makeni, there was a lot of violence there as well
	11		e RUF people went and took over the homes of the people
Issa	12	there a	and this is one of the reasons why I was trying to get

	13	Sesay to be on board, so that they can really go easy on our
called	14	people there. And also it's from Makeni Town to a place
17:23:11 District.	15	Kamakwie, they used to use that road to go on to Kambia
destruction	16	And again, quite a lot of burning of people's homes,
	17	of farms and killing of people.
	18	MR HARRISON:
in	19	Q. And with respect to Port Loko District, I'm interested
17:23:46	20	you assisting the Court as much as you can with respect to the
	21	time period of February 1999. So this would be in context a
	22	month after the January 6, 1999 attack on Freetown. So the
or	23	following month in February, are you aware of any mistreatment
	24	crimes committed by the RUF in Port Loko District?
17:24:21	25	A. Yes, similar to what happened in Port Loko District.
	26	And
mean	27	Q. I'm sorry, I asked you about Port Loko District. You
	28	similar to
	29	A. Sorry, sorry, Bombali District.

SESAY ET AL Page 117

16 MAY 2008

OPEN SESSION

- 1 Q. Similar to Bombali?
- 2 A. Yes. And to the extent that we deployed some soldiers
- 3 there, our own troops, and it was a bit difficult for them.

And

- $\,$ 4 $\,$ then the Malians decided to send I think three battalions or so
 - 17:25:06 5 and they were attacked severely and some of them were killed.
 - 6 And subsequently, later on, we deployed Pakistani troops there
 - 7 that did well to get the place moving.
 - 8 Q. Thank you. I think that concludes the questions that we
 - 9 have for you.
 - 17:25:28 10 A. Thank you.
 - 11 PRESIDING JUDGE: Yes, Mr Jordash, any re-examination?
 - 12 MR JORDASH: Yes, please, if I may. I won't detain you
 - 13 PRESIDING JUDGE: If you may indeed.
- 14 MR JORDASH: Indeed. I won't detain you for much longer.
 - 17:26:13 15 Q. But you've been asked questions about RUF atrocities and
- 16 obviously the RUF was a huge organisation at one point and so we
- 17 can clarify, if you're able to: Were you aware if there were any
 - 18 factions within the RUF in the areas you've been discussing in
 - 19 terms of atrocities?
 - 17:26:42 20 A. Not that -- not that I know.
 - 21 Q. You don't know of the factions?
 - 22 A. No. No.
- $\,$ Q. So you can -- when you say the RUF atrocities which we're
- 24 hearing about -- are you able to be more specific or is it just
 - 17:27:00 25 the RUF?

what	26	A. I think the RUF much later we had the soldiers
	27	we called the West Side Boys, that I mean, particularly in
	28	Makeni.
	29	Q. Right.
		SCSL - TRIAL CHAMBER I
Dago 110		SESAY ET AL
Page 118		16 MAY 2008 OPEN SESSION
	1	A. Yes.
in	2	Q. When you were asked questions in relation to atrocities
	3	Port Loko and Makeni and so on, were you referring to the West
	4	Side Boys or
17:27:29	5	A. No, in Makeni, yes, the West Side Boys were there, but
	6	definitely in Port Loko and Makeni I think the RUF had a very
	7	strong presence there.
	8	Q. Okay. In relation to Kailahun, there's been a number of
	9	witnesses in the courtroom, civilians, who have given evidence
17:28:00	10	about government jets causing damage in Kailahun, bombing
the	11	civilian areas, and those civilians have said that basically
you	12	damage to Kailahun was caused in large part by the jets. Do
	13	know anything about that?
	14	A. Well, I know we had some aircrafts that were used and

to	17:28:26	15	but those aircrafts, their mandates were basically mainly
		16	destroy ammunition dumps.
		17	Q. All right.
		18	A. Because Kailahun, being next to Liberia, and that was a
		19	source of getting in ammunition from across the border.
	17:28:47	20	Q. And did you receive reports about when those jets were
		21	operating?
		22	JUDGE BOUTET: Aren't we getting outside the scope of
		23	proper re-examination here?
		24	MR JORDASH: Well, I'm going
any	17:29:03 ?	25	JUDGE BOUTET: I have no recollection that there's been
		26	examination about jets in Kailahun.
tho	ought	27	MR JORDASH: No, about damage to Kailahun, and so I
bee	en	28	it was legitimate to then discuss how that damage might have
by		29	caused by other factors. Other than the RUF. But I'm guided

SESAY ET AL
Page 119
16 MAY 2008 OPEN SESSION

- 1 you. I'll leave it there. Thank you, Mr Witness.
- 2 THE WITNESS: Thank you.

end	3	PRESIDING JUDGE: Well, Mr Witness, we have come to the
able	4	of your testimony, and we are very gratified that you were
17:30:10 following	5	to enjoy good health to be able to be before us today
of	6	the subpoena that was issued for you to appear at the behest
	7	the first accused person.
the	8	We are thankful for the evidence that you have given to
terms	9	Tribunal and I think we've benefited from this evidence in
17:30:39 this	10	of its assisting us in arriving at a just determination of
at	11	case. And I would make one comment: It is not out of place
	12	all. If we had ended up with only receiving your statement,
have	13	which you signed in evidence, I do not think that we would
	14	had the benefit of the clarifications that we have heard from
17:31:10 any	15	you, and I do not think the Prosecution would even have had
examine	16	claim to 90 minutes which they said they needed to cross-
would	17	you, if we ended up with just your statement because that
	18	have been the end of it all. So we're very grateful for your
	19	testimony and we've taken note of your concerns.
17:31:36	20	But you will agree with me that, as a statesman, you are
your	21	the target of everybody. You have your friends and you have
to	22	enemies, and there is nothing you can do about that. You have
very	23	live with that and just pray, you know, to your God, who you

		24	much believe in, that he keeps you intact from all your
	17:32:05	25	detractors. That is public life; there is nothing you can do
to		26	about it. And we are happy in any event, that you were able
of		27	come here and we wish you a very happy and successful pursuit
		28	your post-presidential career, which we are seeing already on
		29	record, with your movements around the world, for very useful

1 peacekeeping operations in terms of monitoring elections and

	SESAY ET AL		
Page 120			
	16 MAY 2008	OPEN	SESSION

what		
you,	2	have you, and I think Africa still has a lot to benefit from
	3	and I think also that your country, Sierra Leone, has a lot to
	4	benefit from you notwithstanding the fact that you have left
17:32:50	5	office. We thank you and we wish you the very best.
	6	THE WITNESS: Well, am I allowed to just say something?
	7	PRESIDING JUDGE: You may, if you wish.
the	8	THE WITNESS: Just to thank you and my colleagues here,
have	9	barristers, for the professional way that really that you
17:33:16	10	discharged your responsibilities here today. I'm very highly
this.	11	impressed, and I hope that my compatriots will learn from

	12	And so that we can be proud of this institution continuing to
	13	provide assistance to other countries indeed, not only in the
	14	subregion, but the whole of the African continent.
17:33:47 we	15	With regard to my people, my brothers and sisters, yes,
comments	16	have problems. I, and particularly in relation to the
	17	you made, I have always said that in Sierra Leone when you
And	18	succeed in life you win many false friends and true enemies.
try	19	that happens. But I think it is a challenge to some of us to
17:34:24 worth	20	and change that attitude. Thank you very much. It's been
	21	coming here.
visit.	21 22	coming here. PRESIDING JUDGE: Thank you for coming to pay us a
visit.		
visit.	22	PRESIDING JUDGE: Thank you for coming to pay us a
visit. 17:34:36 Well,	22 23 24	PRESIDING JUDGE: Thank you for coming to pay us a This time in another capacity.
17:34:36	22 23 24	PRESIDING JUDGE: Thank you for coming to pay us a This time in another capacity. THE WITNESS: Indeed.
17:34:36 Well,	22232425	PRESIDING JUDGE: Thank you for coming to pay us a This time in another capacity. THE WITNESS: Indeed. PRESIDING JUDGE: Thank you. Thank you very much.
17:34:36 Well, very	2223242526	PRESIDING JUDGE: Thank you for coming to pay us a This time in another capacity. THE WITNESS: Indeed. PRESIDING JUDGE: Thank you. Thank you very much. learned counsel, I think after a hard day's job, it's been a

	1	Prosecution, and again I think we have been very fair to the
the	2	ex-president and, as a colleague in the Bar, and above all as
that	3	ex-president, after all, it isn't too many people who get to
	4	position anyway.
17:36:05 9.30.	5	So we would rise and resume the session on Monday at
	6	We will rise, please.
p.m.	7	[Whereupon the hearing adjourned at 5.37
9.30	8	to be reconvened on Monday, 19 May 2008 at
	9	a.m.]
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SCSL - TRIAL CHAMBER I EXHIBITS: Exhibit No. 374

WITNESSES FOR THE DEFENCE:

WITNESS: AHMAD TEJAN KABBAH 7

EXAMINED BY MR JORDASH 7

CROSS-EXAMINED BY MS MYLVAGANAM

CROSS-EXAMINED BY MR CAMMEGH

CROSS-EXAMINED BY MR HARRISON