

Case No. SCSL-2003-01-T

THE PROSECUTOR OF THE SPECIAL COURT V.

CHARLES GHANKAY TAYLOR

FRIDAY, 16 MAY 2008 9.30 A.M. TRIAL

TRIAL CHAMBER II

Before the Judges:

Justice Teresa Doherty, Presiding Justice Richard Lussick Justice Julia Sebutinde Justice Al Hadji Malick Sow, Alternate

For Chambers:

Mr William Romans Ms Carolyn Buff

For the Registry:

Ms Rachel Irura

For the Prosecution:

Mr Stephen Rapp Ms Brenda J Hollis Ms Maja Dimitrova

For the accused Charles Ghankay Mr Courtenay Griffiths QC Mr Terry Munyard Mr Morris Anyah

1 Friday, 16 May 2008 2 [Open session] [The accused present] 3 [Upon commencing at 9.30 a.m.] 4 PRESIDING JUDGE: Good morning. Good morning, counsel. 09:22:55 5 Good morning. I note a change of appearance on the Defence Bar, 6 7 do I, Mr Griffiths? MR GRIFFITHS: Good morning Madam President and counsel 8 9 opposi te. Representation today is: Myself, Courtney Griffiths; my learned friend, Mr Munyard; my learned friend, Mr Anyah; and, 09:30:59 10 new to the Court Ms Sanela Trzin, spelt T-R-Z-I-N for the benefit 11 12 of your Honours. PRESIDING JUDGE: Thank you, Mr Griffiths, and we welcome 13 Ms Trzin to the Court. Mr Rapp, I note that your Bar is as 14 before. 09:31:27 15 MR RAPP: That is correct, your Honour. 16 17 PRESIDING JUDGE: Thank you. If there are no other matters I will remind the witness of his oath? No. 18 19 Mr Griffiths, if I could request you to turn off your 09:31:38 20 microphone. MR GRIFFITHS: I am sorry. 21 22 PRESIDING JUDGE: It is quite all right. It is just that it interferes with the recording. 23 24 Mr Witness, good morning. THE WITNESS: Good morning, your Honours. 09:31:47 25 26 PRESIDING JUDGE: I remind you again this morning that you 27 have taken the oath to tell the truth, that oath is still binding 28 on you and you must answer questions truthfully. You understand? 29 THE WI TNESS: Your Honours.

	1	WITNESS: MOSES ZEH BLAH [On former oath]
	2	EXAMINATION-IN-CHIEF BY MR RAPP: [Continued]
	3	Q. Good morning, witness.
	4	A. Good morning.
09:32:07	5	Q. Witness, as we concluded yesterday we reached the point
	6	where Charles Taylor had left as President and you had become
	7	President. Before I go on to talk about the period of your
	8	presidency, I did want to go back over some matters during
	9	Taylor's years in Liberia and get some clarification. You had
09:32:30	10	told us yesterday that the NPFL grew; originally just a small
	11	group in Libya and then eventually into thousands in Liberia. In
	12	Liberia, how did the NPFL recruit its soldiers?
	13	A. We had two groups recruitment. We had the voluntary
	14	recruitment and we had people who were captured and forced into
09:33:03	15	the NPFL.
	16	Q. You also spoke of a particular case, the case that you were
	17	asked to investigate but were not able to, that involved the
	18	girlfriend, Jeneh, of General Kpeh and I looked at the record and
	19	I wasn't sure we have exactly what happened to each of them.
09:33:28	20	What happened to General Kpeh?
	21	A. The general was arrested in Grand Gedeh by Cassius Jacobs
	22	and was later executed.
	23	Q. Do you know why he was executed?
	24	A. He was executed because of his involvement with Mr Taylor's
09:33:58	25	brother, Nelson Taylor, who was ambushed and at that time he was
	26	the commander in the area where the ambush took place.
	27	Q. And the girlfriend, Jeneh, do you know what happened to
	28	her?
	29	A. Jeneh was also investigated and was arrested. I was not

1 there when she was investigated. She was arrested in Tapita and 2 was executed by one Faneia, the commander of Tapita at the time. And how do you spell Faneia? 3 Q. 4 Α. F-A-N-E-I-A, Faneia. 09:34:44 5 0. And why was she executed? She was executed because she was a girlfriend Kpeh, the 6 Α. 7 commander at that time in Sinoe where the ambush took place and the brother of President Taylor was killed in that ambush. 8 She 9 was the girlfriend of Kpeh. Kpeh, the K-P-E-H? 09:35:11 10 Q. Yes. 11 Α. 12 Q. You have mentioned several times an organisation called 13 ULIMO and the fights with ULIMO. When did, if you know, NPFL 14 begin to fight with ULIMO? 09:35:37 15 Α. ULIMO started fighting against the NPFL and at the initial stage it was immediately after the election. ULIMO was a group 16 17 that was dissatisfied and it had two factions. We had ULIMO-K and ULIMO-J. The J belonged to the Krahn ethnic group and the K 18 19 was the Mandingo ethnic group. They were not satisfied with the 09:36:12 20 result of the election. That was why they jumped into the bush against the NPP-led government and they started fighting. 21 22 0. Witness, I believe there are several times you talk about for instance when Cassius Jacob was I think executed for 23 24 desertion when ULIMO was allowed to take Gbarnga. When was that 09:36:37 25 particular event, the taking of Gbarnga by ULIMO? Just give me time to recall. No, I can't recall the date, 26 Α. 27 but the event occurred that at one time when Mr Taylor left 28 Gbarnga to go to Cote d'Ivoire or some place, I don't know where, and then ULIMO overran Gbarnga and captured the headquarters of 29

1 the NPFL at that time. And Cassius Jacob, being the commander, 2 fled to Ganta and he left. He deserted his post and he was 3 investigated and he was charged for desertion and he was 4 executed. I am sorry, I can't remember the exact time, but after some time maybe later on I will recall and I will tell you, your 09:37:42 5 Honours, sir. 6 7 Well, at that time was it ULIMO-K or J or just ULIMO? 0. 8 At that time it was ULIMO-K that was very active on our Α. 9 side. J was also in the making, but they were coming from the 09:38:04 10 Sierra Leone side. ULIMO-J was trained on the side of Sierra Leone from Sierra Leone, but the ULIMO-K was coming from Guinea. 11 12 So ULIMO-K was closer to us at that time. So they were the K 13 that attacked Gbarnga. Well, at the time of this attack, was this before or after 14 Q. 09:38:27 15 Taylor became President? Yes, yes, it was before Taylor became President. 16 Α. Sorry, I 17 am very, very sorry. At that time we were in Gbarnga. We were 18 still in Gbarnga and he became President when we moved to 19 Monrovia, so at that time he was in Gbarnga. 09:38:52 20 0. So in terms of ULIMO's activities, I think earlier you said 21 that they began after the election. Is that correct? 22 Yes, I am sorry, I will repeat. They were preparing for Α. 23 election and they did not want this election to take place. Thev 24 wanted to forcibly take over government and we were still waiting 09:39:14 25 for election. There was still confusion. I am very sorry. 26 Now just in terms of the record and making sure that we Q. always know who "he" is in the record, there were questions that 27 28 I put to you on Wednesday in regard to your conversation with Taylor as to Sankoh's visit. Your Honours, this is at page 9862 29

	1	of the transcript and it appears at lines 18 to 29 and there is
	2	about four "he"s in this paragraph and I just want to make sure
	3	we know who "he" is, okay? And this is - you can remember this -
	4	or it goes - to pick it up, "He was walking around his palace
09:40:09	5	where he lived in Gbarnga" and who was the "he"?
	6	A. Taylor was walking around. Taylor was walking around his
	7	garden in Gbarnga.
	8	Q. "And I went close to him to salute him" and the "him" there
	9	is?
09:40:27	10	A. It was Mr Taylor that I went close to.
	11	Q. And then the transcript says, "Any conversation, he said he
	12	didn't know earlier that Foday Sankoh had talked to me about this
	13	matter"?
	14	A. Taylor again.
09:40:43	15	Q. And then the next line is, "He said, 'Look, your man Foday
	16	Sankoh is here'."
	17	A. Taylor again.
	18	Q. "And he is saying that the people are destroying his
	19	people". Now who is that "he"?
09:41:06	20	A. That is Foday Sankoh.
	21	Q. "Destroying his people, looting his property. He said,
	22	'How could the war be fought'" Who is the "he" there?
	23	A. Mr Taylor again.
	24	Q. Okay.
09:41:20	25	"When you talk about a guerilla war there's destruction and
	26	this is the type of thing - and this type of thing must happen if
	27	you are fighting a war. You are not eating bread and butter, you
	28	are fighting."
	29	And then, "If he continues with such a report", who is the

1 "he" referred to there?

2 A. Taylor first and Sankoh is the second "he".

Q. Okay. So it was Taylor making the comments about bread and
butter and then it's Mr Sankoh - it's Taylor then referring to
09:41:56 5 he, "If he continues with such a report"?

6 A. "He" is Sankoh. That if Sankoh continued with this kind of7 report he will have his men withdrawn.

8 Q. Thank you very much for that clarification, witness. There 9 is another place here where I wonder if we have - I just want to 09:42:20 10 make sure we don't have an error. This is on page 9865 on the 11 same day, three pages later, and the question was put to you at 12 line 18: "Were there other Liberians that returned from Sierra 13 Leone?" Then you answer:

14 "Yes, later I went to Gbarnga because I was in Gbarnga, in
09:42:43 15 and out of there, I saw this thing. I told you I saw Dopoe,
16 Liberian Mosquito Christopher Varmoh, and they all agreed that
17 they had returned from Sinoe. There was a conflict between them
18 and Foday Sankoh."

19

Is "Sinoe" what you meant to say?

09:43:01 20 A. No, it was not Sinoe. They had returned from Sierra Leone
21 and that there was conflict between them and Foday Sankoh and
22 they had to come back to Gbarnga.

Q. And while we are on that subject of Liberians returning
from Sierra Leone, did the Liberians bring anything back with
09:43:22 25 them from Sierra Leone?

A. No, initially when the war started in Sierra Leone some
came with vehicles, some came with other things like radios and a
lot of properties. They brought them from there. And even
girlfriends of commanders, they were always in and out of Sierra

1 Leone when they were bringing the looted items to Gbarnga. That 2 was where the name Kuwait came from, because Kuwait is an oil country and it has money. So if you heard that somebody was 3 4 coming out of Kuwait it meant that they were coming out of where 09:43:59 5 there was money. And what was the source of these items that they were Q. 6 bringing back, do you know? 7 8 Α. What was the what? 9 0. What was the source? Where had they obtained these items, if you know? From whom? 09:44:16 10 I wouldn't know, but I saw the items coming from out of 11 Α. 12 there. I saw jeeps and vehicles, other cars. They all came from 13 Sierra Leone with Sierra Leonean licence plates on them. 14 Q. Okay. And while we're on the question of Sierra Leone, you 09:44:40 15 had testified yesterday in regard to your visit to Sierra Leone when you were Vice-President and to visiting amputees and it's at 16 17 page 9664 of the transcript and there are multiple places in your answer where you talk about saying that you were sorry. When you 18 19 returned to Monrovia, did you talk to Taylor about your visit in 09:45:04 20 Sierra Leone? Yes, I told him, but I did not go into details that I 21 Α. 22 visited the amputees, but I simply said that I went to present the document which was sent by him to be presented to President 23 24 Tej an Kabbah and that I did. I did not say, because the concern 09:45:33 25 was for me to deliver the letter and that I did. So I spoke to 26 him about the document that I have given the document to 27 President Sankoh as I was directed. 28 PRESIDING JUDGE: President who? THE WITNESS: President Kabbah as I was directed, sorry. 29

1 Sorry, your Honours. 2 MR RAPP: Thank you very much, your Honour: 3 Q. Did Taylor say anything about your visit? 4 Α. Yes, later he got the information that I went to the amputees, but that I was not directed to do. He didn't say it to 09:46:14 5 me, but he was not happy because he had been my boss and I knew 6 7 when he was not happy, but he played me cool on that. He did not 8 ask me further. So he left alone. 9 0. How did you know that he wasn't happy? No, he did not query me about it and he did not ask further 09:46:36 10 Α. questions like why I had to go there and who sent you there. 11 So, 12 I mean, I just assumed that because he did not instruct me to go 13 there I knew he was not happy about it. 14 Q. Witness, you mentioned one of the Liberian leaders that was 09:47:03 15 in Sierra Leone was a Dopoe Menkarzon. Did Dopoe have any other name or any other nickname that he was called by to your 16 17 knowl edge? 18 No, not that I can remember. Dopoe was just called Dopoe Α. 19 Menkarzon throughout the war. 09:47:28 20 0. And, witness, the - one final sort of clarification from 21 the record. Yesterday at pages 10032 and 10033 we have 22 questioning regarding this arms shipment that you said came in in 23 I believe we had the context of it being a few days August. 24 before Taylor's departure in August 2003 that was stopped by the 09:48:02 25 peacekeepers at the airport or prevented from being given to the 26 Liberians and I just want to be clear because I see morning, 27 evening, evening, morning in this answer. When did Taylor come? 28 Morning, evening, what time of the day, and when did the arms 29 come?

1 Taylor arrived at night. Late night. And the arms Α. 2 shipment arrived early the following morning. Taylor arrived at night and the shipment arrived early in the morning. 3 4 Q. Thank you very much, witness. Now just in terms of Taylor and his control in the NPFL and government, just some general 09:48:51 5 questions so we have this absolutely clear. Before Charles 6 7 Taylor became President, when he was NPFL leader, who gave orders to the fighters in the NPFL? 8 9 Α. He was - before he became President he was called the commander-in-chief of the NPFL and he was the only one that could 09:49:16 10 give orders for any operations. Nobody else but him, Taylor. 11 When he became President, and we are talking about military 12 Q. 13 decisions, who made military decisions or gave military orders, let me put it that way, when Charles Taylor was President of 14 Li beri a? 09:49:43 15 16 Α. He was again called the commander-in-chief. According to 17 the constitution of Liberia, once you are a President you are the commander-in-chief and you take major decisions in military 18 19 matters. 09:50:00 20 0. And the forces that Taylor had, or that the Liberian 21 government had under Taylor, how were the forces - the military 22 forces - organised? What kind of units were there in the 23 military during Taylor's presidency? 24 Α. When Taylor was President we had the Liberian army. That 09:50:28 25 was organised, Liberian army, stationed at the Barclay Training 26 Centre in Monrovia. But then he had his forces like the 27 anti-artillery unit, like the ATU. The anti-artillery unit, the 28 ATU. It was a very powerful unit organised by him and they took 29 orders only from President Taylor and nobody else. And there

1 were other units like the Marine unit. The previous units we had within the NPFL at that time, some were still active and they 2 3 were standing by. They were not known to the public, but they 4 were still standing by in case anything happened, because we had threats from the start of election, like I said. ULIMO-K and 09:51:23 5 ULIMO-J were still standing by and they were in the bushes and 6 7 they did not attack immediately, but later they started fighting 8 again against the Government of Liberia.

9 Q. Okay, you mentioned that there were these units that 09:51:46 10 weren't well-known, but they were essentially - I don't want to 11 put words in your mouth?

12 A. No.

13 Q. But what were those units?

14 Α. They were at different locations and when he became 09:52:00 15 President there were still people who were in opposition, like other citizens, other units, like other people from ULIMO-J and 16 17 ULIMO-K. They could not come to Gbarnga. They were still afraid 18 thinking that our forces like the Marine unit, artillery unit and 19 the various units of different kinds and different operations, 09:52:24 20 they were still there and they knew that they were in Gbarnga and 21 they were in different camps that we had, secret places in 22 Gbarnga and other parts of our controlled areas. 23 Well, now, could the commander of one unit give orders to 0. the commander of another? 24 09:52:43 25 Α. No, no, sir. This was a strong order. Even the commanders 26 did not take orders from me as inspector general and as even 27 Vice-President of Liberia. He was the sole commander of 28 everything, even the defence minister could not give orders.

29 PRESIDING JUDGE: Sorry, I didn't mean to interrupt you.

1 Please finish your answer. 2 THE WITNESS: I said even the defence minister could not give orders at that time. He was the sole commander-in-chief of 3 4 the entire operations of the army. MR RAPP: Your Honour? 09:53:26 5 PRESIDING JUDGE: It is the two "he"s, Mr Rapp. 6 7 THE WITNESS: Sorry. Sorry, your Honours, sorry. MR RAPP: 8 9 Q. The "he"s that you were referring to was Mr Taylor? Was Mr Taylor. Mr Taylor was the "he". Mr Taylor gave the 09:53:41 10 Α. orders. 11 12 Q. Now, yesterday, or it may even have been the previous day, 13 you had mentioned these organisations LURD and MODEL. When did 14 they become active in Liberia? 09:54:03 15 Α. It was later. It was the latter part of Taylor's presidency. That was when the name changed. The LURD group was 16 17 out of ULIMO-K and the MODEL came from the ULIMO-J. That happened 18 later and at that time his presidency was almost coming to an 19 end. 09:54:35 20 Q. And who was in charge, for the Liberian government, of 21 operations against LURD and MODEL? 22 The name was changed from NPFL and the sole commander at Α. 23 that time - there were various commanders that I have just told 24 you about, they were in charge of each and every unit, but 09:55:03 25 Benjamin was the overall commander and he could move from unit to 26 unit and taking instructions and carrying messages from President 27 He was also the biggest man that I could see at that Tayl or. 28 time. 29 I think yesterday you were asked this question and you Q.

	1	answered a question in regard to Benjamin Yeaten and his power in
	2	relation to the defence minister and I just want to be clear if
	3	we had that question. How was Benjamin Yeaten's power, how did
	4	that compare to the power of the defence minister?
09:55:46	5	A. Benjamin Yeaten grew so powerful that he did not even have
	6	regard for the Vice-President of Liberia at that time and the
	7	defence minister also was not considered to be anything in the
	8	face of Benjamin Yeaten and his powers at that time.
	9	Q. And who was the defence minister during Taylor's
09:56:08	10	presi dency?
	11	A. He was Daniel Chea.
	12	Q. And while we are on that subject, I think yesterday you
	13	told us in Bockarie's killing - the official announcement that
	14	was made about Bockarie having been killed coming in from Cote
09:56:27	15	d'Ivoire with his bodyguards, who was the defence minister that
	16	made that announcement?
	17	A. It was still Mr Daniel Chea. He was still the defence
	18	minister.
	19	Q. Now, in regard to Benjamin Yeaten, you said that he became
09:56:46	20	very powerful. Did he become more powerful than Mr Taylor?
	21	A. No, no, he wouldn't. He was more powerful than the
	22	Vice-President and other ministers of government, but not more
	23	powerful than Mr Taylor.
	24	Q. Now, yesterday you talked about acts that Mr Yeaten was
09:57:07	25	involved in, like the killing of Dokie, or even the killing of
	26	those disabled soldiers. Was Mr Yeaten ever punished for those
	27	actions?
	28	A. No, he was never punished and the matter was never
	29	investigated.
	- /	

1 Q. We talked about Benjamin Yeaten and yesterday we discussed 2 several other individuals that had different tasks under Taylor. 3 Just as a general thing, who did Taylor consult with the most 4 about decisions that he was to make? There were other people in the government, like the leader 09:57:57 5 Α. of our party at that time, like mostly he consulted with people 6 7 like the chairman of our party NPP, Cyril Allen, Cyril Allen, and sometimes with the commissioner of maritime affairs, Mr Benoni 8 9 Urey, and sometimes he called himself prime minister, but it was a joke. He said, "These are the prime ministers of this 09:58:33 10 government." That meant he was always with the President and he 11 12 was always consulted by the President and there were a few that I 13 cannot recall off head. Now, this Cyril Allen, when did his relationship with 14 Q. 09:58:52 15 Taylor begin, if you know? From the days - I don't know how they met and how they 16 Α. 17 became very friendly, but they were best of friends. They were friends for a very long time, according to what I observed 18 19 myself. 09:59:11 20 Q. And this Benoni Urey, the fellow you just said sometimes 21 jokingly was referred to as prime minister, when did Taylor's 22 relationship begin with him? 23 They had been old friends. They were very old friends. Α. 24 They had been old friends. They had been old friends. Into your 09:59:33 25 question again, the speaker at that time, Nyundueh Monkomana, was 26 also consulted on matters relating to government at that time. 27 Those were very close friends of Mr Taylor that he could call on 28 any time for consultation. 29 Who was the speaker you are referring to? Q.

1 Α. Nyundueh Monkomana. 2 Q. That is the fellow we talked about yesterday that --3 Α. Yes, sir. 4 Q. -- potentially might have been the Vice-President. Yes, sir, the Vice-President. Yes, sir. 10:00:09 5 Α. 0. Just to be clear, he was an individual that was someone I 6 7 think you said Taylor would have liked to have had as his Vice-President, is that correct? 8 9 Α. Yes, that was the fellow. Nyundueh Monkomana. Now, you mentioned yesterday a person, a Bell Dunbar, and 10:00:26 10 Q. when did the relationship between Taylor and Bell Dunbar begin? 11 12 Α. Bell was the friend of Taylor's wife that I know about and she also came closer to President Taylor and grew up to be the 13 14 managing director of the Liberian refinery company, the petroleum 10:01:00 15 refinery company. Bell Dunbar. Again, when did that relationship begin, if you know? 16 Q. 17 Α. No, I wouldn't say. 18 Now, you had mentioned Grace Minor. When did the Q. 19 relationship with Grace Minor begin, if you know? 10:01:20 20 Α. I wouldn't know. They were old friends. From the 21 discussions that I listened to, they had been very old friends. 22 You mentioned also a woman by the name of Kaddieyatu 0. 23 Do you know when that relationship began? Finlay. 24 Α. I wouldn't know but Kaddieyatu was a young girl and they 10:01:45 25 met before he became President, because they talked like old 26 friends anyway. 27 Q. Now, yesterday you told us that Nathaniel Barnes, who was 28 first finance minister, had been dismissed by Taylor. Who 29 succeeded Mr Barnes as finance minister?

	1	A. One Mr Charles Bright.
	2	Q. And when did, if you know, the relationship between
	3	Mr Taylor and Bright begin?
	4	A. No, I wouldn't know, but they were old friends. They were
10:02:25	5	old, old friends.
	6	Q. Do you know what Mr Bright had been doing prior to himself
	7	becoming finance minister?
	8	A. No, I wouldn't know.
	9	Q. Just one more question now we are talking about finances:
10:02:41	10	The Central Bank of Liberia, who was in charge of the Central
	11	Bank of Liberia when Taylor was President?
	12	A. The Central Bank of Liberia was headed by another friend of
	13	Taylor who is Mr - please, I will call the name later.
	14	Q. When you say a friend of Taylor, do you know how long he
10:03:13	15	had had a relationship with that individual?
	16	A. Yes, they had been friends. What I am speaking from is
	17	from my own observation. If you are talking to an old friend you
	18	would know and, being Vice-President, and sometimes this
	19	individual will come by him and then they will greet each other
10:03:34	20	like old friends, but in public due respect to the President will
	21	be given, but in meetings in closed places, when they met with
	22	the President they would talk like very old friends and they
	23	discussed things. So that was how I looked at it, they were old
	24	friends.
10:03:55	25	Q. And who appointed the head of the Central Bank of Liberia
	26	during Taylor's presidency?
	27	A. It was the President. It was President Taylor.
	28	Q. Thank you for those answers. Let's now move to your own
	29	presidency. Yesterday you told us about being sworn in office

1 and your comments on being sworn. What did you do about the 2 conflict in your country on assuming the presidency? 3 I became President within a week and I contacted ECOWAS to Α. 4 get permission that I would be travelling through my neighbouring countries to see how best we could live together as good 10:04:47 5 neighbours and I started with Sierra Leone. I spoke with Tejan 6 7 Kabbah and then I moved on to Guinea and I talked to Lansana Conte and I tried to organise them to bring peace to my people in 8 9 Liberia and then on to Cote d'Ivoire, yes, and I talked to --10:05:22 10 I am sorry, I didn't mean to interrupt you. I was going to Q. ask you about each visit, but finish your answer with regard to 11 12 Cote d'Ivoire. Who did you talk to in Cote d'Ivoire? 13 I talked to Laurent Gbagbo, as President of Cote d'Ivoire, Α. 14 and lastly I went to Ghana and the President of Ghana was then 10:05:48 15 the chairman of ECOWAS, and then on to Nigeria, because Nigeria had played a major role in the war in Liberia. They had given us 16 17 great help, soldiers to ensure that peace returned to Liberia, and I went to congratulate him for his effort in bringing peace 18 19 to our country. 10:06:15 20 0. And who did you meet in Nigeria? 21 I met Obasanjo, President Obasanjo. Α. 22 MR RAPP: Your Honours, if these aren't on the record we Obviously they are common names of Presidents: 23 can provide them. 24 Q. Let me just go back. You said Sierra Leone first. Do vou 10:06:39 25 remember what you specifically said to President Kabbah? 26 Α. I went to Sierra Leone. I met with Tejan Kabbah. He 27 welcomed me. I was received. We went to the State House and I 28 started message to him by saying that I am very, very sorry -29 sorry, your Honours.

1 PRESIDING JUDGE: Mr Witness, it is just that everything is 2 recorded and it's best you speak into the microphone. I appreciate there is a natural tendency to look at the person 3 4 speaking to you. It's not always easy to overcome. THE WITNESS: 10:07:19 5 Sorry. PRESIDING JUDGE: Please continue. 6 7 THE WITNESS: 0kay. Sorry, your Honours. 8 MR RAPP: 9 0. Again just so we pick up that question and answer again, what did you specifically say to President Kabbah of Sierra 10:07:28 10 Leone? 11 12 Α. I told President Kabbah that it was not time for war during 13 my presidency and that I will try my best to bring peace to both 14 of us and I also promised that there would be no cross-border attacks coming from my side into his country and he promised too 10:07:50 15 that he appreciated that I visited him and he said, "We are 16 17 neighbours, we are supposed to live together" and he promised to come to Monrovia the following week to see me so that we could 18 19 discuss further on the peace in Liberia. 10:08:13 20 0. I think when the microphone was moved you were saying 21 something about sorry, you said sorry. What was it that you were 22 precisely saying about your conversation with President Kabbah? 23 Yes, I was saying that it was not good that we fight and Α. 24 that I met the war on and war was coming out of Sierra Leone and 10:08:36 25 from Liberia and I said that was not good and that we should stop 26 I was speaking from my own side as President of fighting. 27 Liberia, that it was not good to attack each other, I was not 28 investigating him, I told him that that would not happen and that 29 if it happened in the past I was sorry about it and that things

were going on and on on both sides of the country, but that
 during my presidency I would discourage that and I would not let
 that happen.

4 Q. I just want to be clear. Something had happened that you were sorry for. What was it that you said you were sorry for? 10:09:10 5 I told him that I was sorry, because I saw what happened Α. 6 7 during the presidency of President Taylor that there were a lot of accusations that Sam Bockarie was in Liberia or he was not in 8 9 Liberia and that Liberians had entered into Sierra Leone to fight and a lot of things. A lot of things were happening. 10:09:35 10 And that I told him, "If these things happened, I am sorry". Those were the 11 12 things I started by saying. And that those accusations, I was sorry about them and that during my presidency they would not 13 14 happen any longer and that I was sorry about that. And it did 10:09:54 15 not happen. I stopped it.

16 Q. You said you visited Guinea and saw President Conte. What17 did you say to him?

18 I told President Conte that there was war in Liberia and Α. 19 that people were coming out of Guinea fighting in Liberia and I 10:10:13 20 apologised and I said, "Please stop this war, old man, if you 21 have the capacity to stop this was. From my side you can rest 22 assured that nobody will come out of Liberia to attack your 23 country as long as I am President of Liberia. If there was anyone - I did not actually name anybody, but, "If there is 24 10:10:38 25 anybody coming out of Guinea to fight against Liberia", I said, 26 "Please sir, you should try to discourage that so that we can 27 live together once again as good neighbours". 28 Q. And what did President Conte say to you?

29 A. Conte promised and he admitted that in fact that there were

	1	groups coming out of Guinea to fight in Liberia and then he said,
	2	"Mr President, I welcome your visit, but you should do one thing
	3	for me". He said, "Please allow your brothers, call them to you,
	4	talk to them. Once you all start talking I will intervene".
10:11:18	5	That was what he promised me. And he admitted that there was a
	6	group coming out of Guinea to fight against Taylor's government
	7	and he further said that, "I will tell them" - I am sorry, excuse
	8	me, that, "I will talk to them about attacking Liberia and they
	9	will stop". And he said, "You have to do the same thing from
10:11:39	10	your side".
	11	Q. Then you said you visited Cote d'Ivoire and saw President
	12	Gbagbo.
	13	A. Gbagbo
	14	Q. Is that spelled G-B-A-G-B-0?
10:11:55	15	A. Yes, Gbagbo, yes.
	16	Q. And what did you say to him?
	17	A. When I went to Cote d'Ivoire I was received like a
	18	President of my country and I was very happy and he was also
	19	happy. He organised a press conference and he spoke first and he
10:12:19	20	said, "You have come here, I welcome you, but please let me
	21	speak". Then I said, "You can go ahead to speak". What he said
	22	was that something happened in the past which he did not like and
	23	I said, "What was it?"
	24	He said, "I will give you a parable" and I said, "What is
10:12:40	25	it, Mr President?" He said, "If your neighbour's house is on
	26	fire would you put gasoline on the fire or would you bring water
	27	to quench the fire?" And I asked him what that meant. Then he
	28	said, "This message and this parable goes to the former President
	29	of Liberia, Charles Taylor". He said, "Charles Taylor saw my

1 house on fire and instead of putting the fire off, he added 2 gasoline to the fire and the fire started blazing everywhere in 3 my country". He said, "As I am sitting down here I am sitting in 4 a divided country" and he did not like it. He had his properties looted, Caterpillars in companies. He named so many other things 10:13:24 5 that went on in his country. He said so many people died and he 6 7 said a lot of things.

In conclusion I said, "Look, I am now President of Liberia. 8 9 Taylor is gone, he is no longer President, but I want to promise you one thing. As of today nobody - no soldier - will live under 10:13:41 10 my command as commander-in-chief of Liberia will cross into that 11 12 Cote d'Ivoire with a penknife, I am not talking about guns, to 13 attack your country by any means. I will discourage that. 1 14 promise you. I have people in position right now to stop such 10:14:09 15 incursions against you". That was the promise I made and it went on as I promised until I retired as President. 16

17 Q. Now just to be clear on the "he", this assurance that no-one would cross the border even with a penknife from one 18 19 country to the other, who was saying that and what direction was 10:14:34 20 that, that border crossing that you were discussing? I was talking directly from Liberia as President of 21 Α. 22 Liberia. From any direction that anybody could just imagine to pass through to enter the country, I told him it will not be 23 24 possible. And exactly like I said I had people in position to 10:14:56 25 stop it. And even when market people were crossing I ensured 26 that they made proper checks to know why they were going to that 27 Cote d'Ivoire and I did the same thing on the borders into 28 Liberia and to that he agreed.

29 Q. The same thing on the borders into Liberia?

A. The same incursion, yes. Any trouble coming from Cote
 d'Ivoire with guns or penknife or with even bad intentions to
 attack Liberia, he should discourage that. And President Gbagbo
 agreed to that.

10:15:36

36 5 Q. Now do you know anything about what he was referring to,
6 the supposed gasoline that had been poured on the fire, according
7 to him, by President Taylor?

Yes, he simply said that if you had a neighbour and the 8 Α. 9 neighbour is in trouble, he is on his knees, what you should have done was to go to him and hold him by his hands, lift him up to 10:15:59 10 ensure that he stood straight. But then he also said another 11 12 parable, that you should not go to step on his back to push him 13 down further, to drag him on the ground. Then he said that was 14 the former President Taylor. He said he was in trouble, people were fighting against him, his own soldiers were fighting against 10:16:24 15 him, but Taylor did not stop that and that, instead of sending 16 17 soldiers into his country, he sent to fight him and he said he did not like that and he said that is one thing he will never 18 19 forget and that, "Even though I welcome you as President of 10:16:45 20 Liberia into my country, but that particular incident I will 21 never forget it. It will take a long time to wipe that away from 22 my heart". And I kept saying to him, "Sorry, sorry, sorry. I will do as I promised". 23

24 Q. Now you said you visited Ghana and met with President 10:17:10 25 Kufuor there. What did you say to him?

> A. Yes, I went to explain to Kufuor. He was a little bit concerned at the reason I was going around the region and I told him this was a peace mission, that I was trying to unite my neighbours and that I was trying to calm them down about the wars

1 that took place in Liberia. Whatsoever had happened had 2 Let bygones be bygones so that we would live as good happened. 3 neighbours once again. And he said it was a good idea and he 4 congratulate me and he said I was doing well. I also said I was on my way to Nigeria to talk to the 10:17:51 5 Godfather Obasanjo who had helped Liberia so much during war and 6 7 he tried to bring peace to my country and then I left and I went 8 on to Nigeria. 9 0. And Kufuor is spelt K-U-F-U-O-R, is that correct? Yes. 10:18:15 10 Α. And you told us you had met President Obasanjo in Nigeria 11 Q. 12 which I think is spelt O-B-A-S-A-N-J-O, is that correct? 13 Α. Yes, Obasanjo, yes. I think you told us something about that conversation 14 Q. already, but would you tell us precisely what you did say to him? 10:18:26 15 The conversation with? 16 Α. 17 Q. With the President of Nigeria, with Obasanjo? At that time I was on my way to the Nigeria. I visited 18 Α. 19 Ghana first and I went to Obasanjo and I told Obasanjo that I 10:18:53 20 needed more help and that he had done well, peace is gradually 21 returning to Liberia and that he had done well even by taking 22 President Taylor to his country and that was for the sake of peace, to bring peace to Liberia and I thanked him very much for 23 24 what he did. And I also explained to him that I had been talking 10:19:15 25 to my neighbours trying to reassure them that there would be no 26 more war coming out of Liberia to attack their countries and he 27 He congratulated me and he said that was the was very happy. 28 best thing a President should do in his region and that he said 29 he was trying too to live good with his neighbours and the

citizens of his country to live in peace. And he congratulated
 me and I went back to Liberia. I spent the night in Nigeria and
 I went back home the following day.

4 Q. Now you have just told us that you had indicated to
10:19:57 5 President Obasanjo that peace was returning to Liberia. What was
6 happening in Liberia at the time precisely?

7 There was a bitter fight in Liberia. There was war between Α. LURD, MODEL, the Liberian government and he had been helping with 8 9 soldiers through the United Nations and he had sent soldiers to Liberia on two occasions as peacekeeping force and a lot of them 10:20:27 10 died in the process and he did not withdraw them. He said they 11 12 will continue until peace returned to Liberia and that I 13 congratulated him for also. And there was war in Liberia at that 14 time and he tried to stop the war to bring peace to the people of 10:20:50 15 Liberia.

16 Q. Now on your return to Liberia what did you do about the17 conflict in Liberia?

18 When I came back to Liberia I tried to call on the warring Α. 19 factions to bring them together and MODEL was very receptive to 10:21:18 20 the whole invitation. MODEL was willing to come and LURD was 21 willing to come, and before they started communicating with me 22 that he was coming for peace talk to Liberia, or to me in 23 Monrovia, he also added his own idea that he did not have 24 television. He wanted a satellite television, a DSTV in Gbarnga 10:21:44 25 at his headquarters in Bomi Hills where he was stationed. The leader of LURD, Sekou Conneh, he was staying there. I promised 26 27 him that I will send him the satellite TV and that I was going to 28 send him gasoline for his vehicles and he must come to see me in 29 Monrovia, but unfortunately for me I spoke to the head of the

1 peacekeepers at that time, the troops from Nigeria, he agreed, he 2 made the arrangements and I prepared food, dancers, the cultural 3 troops of Liberia were present to receive him, but unfortunately 4 for me at a marketplace called Red Light, before reaching my compound, three pick-ups loaded with armed men came with a heavy 10:22:41 5 force and when they entered the market they asked the people to 6 7 close the market down and that they were on their way to the 8 President's house and that they did not want anybody on the road. 9 Then the market people said, "No, if you are coming for peace 10:23:04 10 talk you shouldn't come like this with arms and ammunition."

All they did was that the peacekeepers asked me to disarm 11 everybody that I had around me, because my soldiers should be 12 13 disarmed because it will not - the commander of LURD will be 14 afraid that he was coming to my house and if he saw people 10:23:28 15 hanging around my house with arms, and I did that. When I heard later that there was fighting going on with the marketers and 16 17 that they jumped out of the pick-up, they were stopping the people not to go, because - to come to me, because they said 18 19 their intention was not good.

10:23:48 20 Then about an hour I heard gunshots in the market and then 21 the only peacekeepers assigned to me, the commander said to me 22 that I should go into the Moak [phon] and run away for my safety, because he said the group that was coming to me - but I said, "I 23 24 will not run. As long as I am President of Liberia, if you are powerful, if you are big, if you come here to kill me you will 10:24:11 25 26 kill me as President." So there was a big argument. So I went 27 to the back to my men who were disarmed and I asked them to rearm 28 them and then we went to the place, to the marketplace, where the 29 shooting was taking place, but at that time the LURD leader,

	1	Sekou Conneh, had turned his vehicle and he was running back to
	2	Bomi Hills where he came from and in that incident about three
	3	people were killed. I took the bodies, I sent the bodies to
	4	funeral homes and these people who were killed were market women.
10:24:45	5	They were not involved with war, only that they got killed during
	6	crossfire and that discouraged the peace meeting for a while, and
	7	later I rearranged for a latter date for peace talks to resume.
	8	That was how I started bringing peace to Liberia.
	9	Q. Now, I just want to be clear. The name of this LURD
10:25:09	10	leader, what was his name again?
	11	A. His name is Conneh, Sekou Conneh.
	12	Q. How is that spelled?
	13	A. S-E-K-O-U, Sekou. C-O-N-N-E-H, Conneh.
	14	Q. Now, you said there was a second peace meeting. What were
10:25:41	15	you able to accomplish after that second attempted peace meeting?
	16	A. Well, I talked through legislators. I talked to the
	17	ministers of my government and this time the meeting was held in
	18	the Executive Mansion and I was able to convince Sekou Conneh to
	19	come and the other commander of LURD who was also there, I will
10:26:13	20	recall his name later. We started talking peace and I told them
	21	- I appealed to them that I was not here for power. The
	22	presidency I am here for came out of the meeting in Ghana, that I $% \left({{\left[{{\left({{\left({{\left({{\left({{\left({{\left({$
	23	will only be here for 60 days as President and we will have to
	24	elect our chairman who was - the chairman that was elected in
10:26:45	25	Ghana will have to come and I will turn over the presidency to
	26	him for the sake of peace and we shall run a government until we
	27	have an election in this country. They all accepted what I said.
	28	I also promised them, I said, "For you to be to believe that you
	29	have come here and that I invited you here for peace, I will

1 start disarming myself tomorrow. As we leave this conference 2 tomorrow morning, if you have any representatives to send to make 3 sure I will start voluntary disarmament. I will give over the 4 weapons of the government to ECOMOG - to ECOMIL, to have them under their custody and I will be without arms and ammunition 10:27:32 5 because I am out for peace and I am expecting you to do the 6 7 same." Judge, your Honours, can I use the restroom? 8 9 PRESIDING JUDGE: Mr Rapp, please have a seat. THE WITNESS: Excuse me. 10:27:53 10 JUDGE SEBUTINDE: Mr Rapp, the witness before he rose 11 12 mentioned disarming and giving the weapons to somebody and I 13 wasn't sure exactly who or what that was. 14 MR RAPP: Thank you very much, your Honour: 10:32:33 15 0. Witness, in your previous answer I think you were talking about the disarmament process and then you mentioned an 16 17 organisation and I thought I heard the word ECOMIL. What were 18 you referring to? 19 Yes, a voluntary disarmament. I disarmed voluntarily, as I Α. 10:32:52 20 promised the warring factions in the meeting. These arms were 21 given to the ECOMIL group from the United Nations. They were 22 responsible for the disarmament in Liberia later. 23 I just want to be clear, because we have heard about ECOMOG 0. before. 24 10:33:14 25 Α. No, sorry, ECOMOG was before then, before the war, before 26 the war ended. 27 Q. And yesterday we spelled out this word UNMIL, or UNMIL, 28 which was it, or was it a third group? 29 UNMIL was the last UN organisation that was responsible for Α.

1 disarmament. As time went by they were changing the names. 2 There was ECOMOG, ECOMIL, then we had UNMIL. The UNMIL is the one that is now in position in Liberia. They are all from the 3 4 United Nations. Just to be clear, at the time of this disarmament during 10:33:55 5 0. your presidency, was it UNMIL, or was it some other organisation 6 7 that the weapons were turned over to? No, it was not UNMIL then. UNMIL came in later. 8 Α. When 9 peace was in place and I was ensuring that the peace holds, that 10:34:16 10 was when UNMIL started to supervise. In terms of your relationships with the United Nations, did 11 Q. 12 you have any contact with the United Nations yourself as 13 Presi dent? 14 Α. Yes, the representatives of the Secretary-General of the 10:34:37 15 United Nations were in Liberia at the time and he had meetings 16 with me to ensure that the peace process was on course. He was 17 visiting me at my house to encourage me to put more pressure on the fighting men and some men under my command, as commander 18 19 in-chief, were very hostile to the peacekeepers. What they were 10:35:14 20 saying was that they will disarm, but that the peacekeepers were 21 planning to attack and they will arrest them and I told them, 22 "No, that was not the intention." I told them the peacekeepers were here to bring peace to Liberia. I was able to convince them 23 24 and some started to turn in their weapons from their various 10:35:39 25 places of assignment. 26 During the course of your 60 day presidency, what happened Q. 27 with the United Nations presence in Liberia? 28 Α. Their presence - they were good, there was no trouble. I 29 tried to keep the situation calm as President. The relationship

29

1 was good. Nothing serious happened. 2 Q. And what about the numbers of United Nations peacekeepers in Liberia, what happened with that during your presidency? 3 4 Α. What I could remember was that the number increased and some were brought over from Sierra Leone to augment the strength 10:36:31 5 of the men on the ground at the time. That's what I can 6 7 remember. Did you discuss this with the special representative? 8 0. 9 Α. Yes, we discussed. We discussed a lot of issues that I cannot remember off head now. We had a lot of talks. There were 10:36:49 10 talks every time. There were meetings every time, talking, and 11 12 there were reports from everywhere in Liberia. I was head of 13 government as President and I was chairing meetings every day. 14 Every day there was a meeting to bring peace to Liberia. 10:37:14 15 0. And, witness, a few moments ago you mentioned the resistance among your soldiers to disarmament. Were you able to 16 17 persuade people to disarm? 18 In some instances I was able. In others I had to use force Α. 19 on some of the fighting men. They didn't want to - President 10:37:40 20 Taylor had just left and some were still hostile to me. They 21 wanted me to pay them. President Taylor had promised to pay them 22 and he didn't and I must pay them their money. These guns were 23 things by which they lived, they had their checkpoints, they had 24 their guns to patrol to make their money and now I was trying to 10:38:05 25 disarm them. I must give them money. 26 At one time my house was surrounded and they said if I did 27 not pay they were going to set my house ablaze and they will harm 28 my family. There was a very big confusion. Then UNMIL came in

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and assisted me and arrested some of the fighters and took them

to prison and later UNMIL decided that they were going to pay
 them some benefits at least to save the day and bring peace to
 Liberia.

PRESIDING JUDGE: Mr Rapp, I am sorry to interrupt your
10:38:43 5 Line of questioning, but I would like to clarify who exactly we
are talking about. We have had reference to groups such as the
ATU, the EMG, LURD, MODEL and I presume somewhere in the
background is a regular army. So when we are talking about
people living by their guns and soldiers, this disparate group,
10:39:06 10 who are we referring to?

11 MR RAPP:

Q. Madam President was inviting me to put the question just to
be clear. Who were the people that were complaining to you about
having to give up their guns?

- 10:39:19
 15 A. These were groups from our former NPFL group. It was not
 16 from LURD. It was not from the regular army. It was not from
 17 MODEL. It was only the NPFL group that had known me who came
 18 closer that I must pay them for what they did for the NPP-Ied
 19 government.
- 10:39:45 20 0. And at the time that they came to you, what had been their positions during the Taylor government? Had they been in any 21 22 units or organisations during that period of time? 23 There was - there was the ATU that started the harassment. Α. 24 They started coming to me with force. And later other groups, 10:40:12 25 the Marine unit, the artillery unit. It was not just one unit 26 that started this thing. Other units joined in later, but the 27 first group to attack me for pay was the ATU group. 28 Q. Thank you, witness. As far as these individuals that were

29 attacking you, how long did those kinds of expressions and those

1 attacks continue?

	2	A. It went on for about a month. Pretty close to a month. I
	3	was always in problems with them. Sometimes I will calm them
	4	down, I will call the commanders, we will talk and he will assure
10:41:01	5	me he will calm the boys. And when they continued coming and I
	6	was - that I was in danger with them, because I was not armed any
	7	more and I didn't have the power I had, because I had disarmed
	8	myself previously voluntarily, so I had to inform the United
	9	Nations. I did that and the UN came in with a very good force
10:41:25	10	and my house was fully protected. I had some artillery, war
	11	tanks, all surrounding my house to keep them at bay.
	12	Q. Witness, let's just jump ahead for a moment. In the period
	13	after your presidency did you have any contact with these
	14	individuals and did they express anything to you?
10:41:50	15	A. Yes, they came again, the individuals. The group came
	16	again. When I retired - when I resigned my post as President on
	17	one occasion, just one occasion, it was not a big group, the
	18	representatives from the group came. I think there were four or
	19	five men. They said I must see to it that they get their monies
10:42:18	20	from the United Nations as promised and if I don't I will be the
	21	one to pay them the money that the government owed them. That
	22	was when Gyude Bryant was the chairman. He got involved and I
	23	told him, Gyude Bryant, "I am no longer President of this
	24	country, you are chairing this transitional government and they
10:42:41	25	said this is my problem". He said, "No, I will intervene. I
	26	will call the men to me and make them understand you were acting
	27	as President of Liberia. You are no more President. Nobody has
	28	claims to you". That was when that stopped and they stopped
	29	coming to me.

1 Q. And just in terms of the names and we may have it in the 2 record otherwise, but Gyude Bryant I believe is G-Y-U-D-E, is it 3 not? Am I correct on that? 4 Α. [Indi scerni bl e]. MR RAPP: Okay. Well, anyway I think it's G-Y-U-D-E first 10:43:08 5 name, second name Bryant, B-R-Y-A-N-T. But we will correct that 6 7 if that's incorrect. JUDGE SEBUTINDE: Mr Rapp, I don't recall that the witness 8 9 has told us the exact period when he was President - the exact time when he was President. 10:43:29 10 MR RAPP: 11 12 Q. Witness, when was the exact time that you were President? I was President of Liberia for 60 days. 13 Α. JUDGE SEBUTINDE: From when to when is what I mean? 14 MR RAPP: 10:43:44 15 What months were you President? 16 Q. 17 I was President from 11 August to 11 October 2003. Α. 18 Thank you very much, witness. What's your relations today Q. 19 with these men that were disarmed? 10:44:10 20 Α. Well, the relationship I should say is good, but before I 21 left Monrovia to come to this Court there was - there was some -22 there was some threats. I got a report from my security men, 23 there were leaflets on my house with threatening statements that 24 if I come to testify in this matter I will be killed. That will 10:44:50 25 be the end of my life and that of my family. 26 I am not accusing anyone, because I did not see them, but 27 it sounded like the former soldiers of our fighting force, NPFL. 28 But, anyway, we tried to manage the situation as it is. Even as 29 I am here now I am quite worried. We have security in place.

1 Maybe if we hear some strange news then let it be. God is there, 2 it will not happen. But I was under threat from time to time, 3 more especially when I was coming here to testify. 4 Q. Witness, during this 60 days when you were President what was the financial situation of the Liberian government? 10:45:44 5 Α. Well, there was nothing left in the coffers of the 6 7 government. The ministry of finance was completely empty. There 8 was no money because the period I was President of Liberia there 9 was a lot of fighting going on. There were no taxes being paid, 10:46:16 10 companies were closed down. There was no money coming in to the government coffers and there was no way they could come because 11 12 there was a lot of fighting going on. Everywhere where 13 government was supposed to get money was closed and there wasn't any money. 14 10:46:34 15 0. You mentioned the minister of finance. Did you ask him where the money had gone that had been in the treasury? 16 17 I asked him and he said the money, some was taken away by Α. the previous government, they had to pay this, they have taken 18 19 some money from some companies in advance and they will not be 10:46:59 20 able to pay any money from now for about a year. The government, 21 they have money and the little money the government had the 22 previous government had taken it away. That was from what he 23 said. And I was President for 60 days. I was not paid - up 24 until I am speaking to you I have not been paid for the period 10:47:26 25 for which I was President. 26 Witness, you mentioned this 60 days period and a meeting in Q. 27 Accra and something that happened there. What happened in Accra 28 in regard to the term - the 60 day term - of your office? 29 Perhaps I should rephrase the question. How was it determined

1 that you were going to stay in office for 60 days? 2 Well, the ECOWAS leaders were not sure. Everybody was Α. 3 hesitant. They were linking me with my previous President. Thev 4 were saying, "Look, that is the tactics he has been able to play, he will not give up power as he promised". Nobody was sure. 10:48:12 5 Even if the - they spoke to the United Nations that if I did not 6 7 step down what will happen? So they were not satisfied. That 8 was what I could remember. Exactly on October 11, the end of my 9 60 days, I was able to resign as President of Liberia and they 10:48:40 10 were very surprised that it happened. And why were they surprised? 11 Q. 12 Α. Because they thought - like I said, they said they were 13 linking me with my previous President and saying that this is the 14 kind of thing, they have not been stable, he has been 10:49:01 15 Vice-President under Charles Taylor, he will not resign, he is just buying time to fight, you know. There were a lot of rumours 16 17 everywhere, every corner. They were surprised that I made a promise and I kept to my word and that I was able to turn in the 18 19 presidency as I did, as I promised. That was why they were 10:49:23 20 surpri sed, yes. 21 And when had you made that promise? When had you made the 0. 22 promise to leave office after 60 days? 23 Α. I made - I promised when I took over as President. When I 24 was sworn in as President of Liberia I promised that I will not 10:49:42 25 go one day after the 60 days. Under no circumstances would I 26 stay in office after 60 days and I went by my promise. 27 And, witness, let's move on up towards the present. Q. After 28 your presidency were you ever approached by investigators from 29 the Special Court for Sierra Leone?

A. Yes, I was approached by a few investigators on one or two
 or three occasions. Yes, I was approached. Yes.

3 Q. And what did you say to them?

4 Α. They tried to enquire. First of all, they were very polite in their questions to me. Some things I cannot remember two or 10:50:45 5 They asked me if I was aware that there was a Court three times. 6 7 in Liberia - in Sierra Leone to try the President of Liberia and I said, "Yes, I am aware", and said, "Well?" One question that 8 9 came first was if I am aware that Sam Bockarie was killed in Liberia and that, "We were hearing that you were around during 10:51:24 10 his killing", and I explained exactly what I had explained to the 11 12 Court: That I was in the village where he was taken and they were leaving, they passed my village and they returned. So they 13 14 kept coming, they kept coming at different times, finding out 10:51:52 15 different things from me. That is how they approached me. Well, did you ever ask them if you were a suspect of the 16 Q. 17 Court, or a target of investigation? 18 Please --Α. 19 Were you ever asked by them whether you were suspected by 0. 10:52:08 20 the Court, or were a target of investigation? 21 Yes, I asked that question on one occasion. I asked that Α 22 question, why these questions should be asked to me, and they 23 told me "no", they told me purely "no". They said the only 24 person that they had to answer questions in this matter would be 10:52:34 25 President Taylor, but because he was President at the time and 26 that they were not after any other person to go to The Hague to 27 answer questions to the Special Court. That was what they told 28 me. 29 Did you receive anything from them in regard to that Q.

1 question of your own situation? 2 No, they did not. In the first instance what they did when Α. 3 they came in was that they wanted me to go to the German embassy where they were based. One of the investigators came to me and 4 said that, "You will not take your car to the German embassy. 10:53:16 5 We will give you money initially to go to the German embassy to 6 7 answer some questions." Well, did they ever give you a letter in regard to your own 8 Q. 9 - whether you were subject of investigation? It was at a later date a letter came. Just recently a 10:53:35 10 Α. letter came, a letter like clearing me, that I was not concerned 11 12 with the case in The Hague and this it was only Taylor - this 13 letter was signed by one Johnson, one of the judges of the Court, 14 that I have been cleared, I should not worry about this matter. They had wanted to find facts. I shouldn't put that in my mind 10:54:08 15 that I was going to be investigated behind closed doors. I think 16 17 that was all they said. The letter is not here with me now. MR RAPP: Well, I believe we distributed copies of a letter 18 19 signed by Mr Johnson earlier and if we could have the Registry 10:54:36 20 provide that to the witness: 21 Witness, if you would now look at the screen, is that the 0. 22 letter you were referring to? 23 Yes, that is the letter I am referring to. Α. So, your Honours, we would ask that this --24 MR RAPP: 10:55:29 25 PRESIDING JUDGE: Counsel for the Defence have seen this 26 document? 27 MR GRIFFITHS: I have seen the document, your Honour, but I 28 think it ought to be made clear by my learned friend that this letter did not come from a judge of this Court, but from a senior 29
1 Prosecutor. 2 THE WITNESS: Yes, that is right. I am sorry, yes. MR RAPP: Certainly, your Honours, the letter speaks for 3 4 itself. It was signed by James Johnson, acting Prosecutor, on 30 October 2006. Could we have it marked for identification with a 10:55:57 5 number? 6 7 PRESIDING JUDGE: Yes, that will be MFI-19. MS IRURA: That is correct, your Honour. 8 9 PRESIDING JUDGE: Is it 20 or 19? I thought it was 19. MR RAPP: 19. 10:56:18 10 PRESIDING JUDGE: It is a one page document dated 30 11 12 October 2006 and it addresses, "For the attention of Mr Moses 13 BI ah. " MS IRURA: Your Honour, it is MFI-19. 14 PRESIDING JUDGE: For the avoidance of doubt I will repeat 10:56:50 15 that it is MFI-19. 16 17 MR RAPP: Thank you very much, Madam President. There will be another two items to be placed before the witness that have 18 19 been distributed and earlier disclosed, but they are not in the 10:57:08 20 tabs. The first one that I would like displayed to the witness is a document of six pages with the heading, "Special Court for 21 22 Sierra Leone, all disbursements for witness ", and it contains a 23 number of entries, 20 entries, the first beginning with number 1 24 with "D Cunningham". If that document could be placed before the 10:57:37 25 witness: 26 Q. Now, witness, during the course of your meetings with 27 representatives of the Office of the Prosecutor, or investigators 28 from the Office of the Prosecutor in the Special Court, you have already said that there were some expenses paid to you for a 29

1 particular visit to an interview at the German embassy.

2 A. Yes.

3 Q. Did you receive other payments of expenses from those4 investigators?

Yes, sometimes they will come, I will put my generator on 10:58:18 5 Α. because in my - I will put my generator on for a few hours. When 6 7 they are leaving they will say, "Oh no, we will have to give you 8 something because you have your generator on, some \$50." They 9 will leave that and then I will sign for it and they will give me sometimes scratch cards for my phone. They will call me and 10:58:45 10 sometimes they would want me to call back in Sierra Leone, so 11 they will leave scratch cards with me to enable me to call 12 13 whenever they call, yes.

Q. Well, just to look at this particular document that is on
10:59:02
15 the screen at the moment, have you seen this document before?
A. No, I have just seen it here. I didn't see it. I have not
seen it.

Q. Well, then, witness, just looking at item number 1, Tuesday
31 October 2006, made by D Cunningham, category is lost
10:59:24 20 wages/transport, amount \$50, checked US dollars, do you recall
21 receiving in and around that time a payment of \$50?

22 A. I mentioned that.

Q. And when it says lost wages, were you losing wages at thetime?

10:59:45 25 A. Yes, I have - at the time that was spent to me, sometimes I
will be in my shop, I had a business going. They will take me, I
will have to close the shop for a while and they say, "We will
not talk long with you as you are going", and they say, "Okay, we
will leave about \$50, we will leave about \$30." That is how it

	1	went on and on, but I cannot even remember some of these things
	2	because I had a business. I have a very big business centre
	3	where I stay during the day. My wife has a business centre, a
	4	boutique downtown Monrovia. Sometimes I go to the boutique
11:00:26	5	downtown to stay in the store when she is not present.
	6	Q. Now, item 3 refers to property, category property, but
	7	reads, "In payment to retrieve documents from his property which
	8	is up country", and the amount is 450 US dollars. Do you
	9	remember that payment?
11:00:48	10	A. Yes, I remember that.
	11	Q. And do you know why that payment was made?
	12	A. It was made because as we spoke over some documents they
	13	wanted from me it was - they were not in Monrovia at the time and
	14	that I should use my jeep, my two vehicles, to go. Usually I
11:01:05	15	send my backup vehicle with the security and myself. We went on
	16	to Nimba, to Toweh Town, to and from there to bring these
	17	documents back, because I had to have some references to some
	18	questions they wanted me to answer.
	19	MR GRIFFITHS: I apologise in interrupting my learned
11:01:28	20	friend, but I noted that my learned friend asked the witness
	21	about item 1, skipped item 2 and went to item 3. I was wondering
	22	whether he was intending to deal with incidental expenses under
	23	head number 2 on that page, for completeness that is.
	24	PRESIDING JUDGE: I am sure that if he doesn't, you will,
11:01:48	25	Mr Griffiths, but I don't think it is an objection. It is for
	26	counsel to conduct his examination-in-chief, but, Mr Rapp, you
	27	have heard counsel for the Defence.
	28	MR RAPP: If I might be permitted to reply to a
	29	non-objection, it is not my intention to mention every one of

1 these items, but to deal with the categories so we can understand 2 what is involved and I presume counsel will be able to cross-examine about anything that I miss: 3 4 Q. We discussed item 3 on property and this trip up country to get these documents. Let me go down to items 7 and 8. I see 11:02:29 5 transport and medical on one for \$100 and then I see, I guess it 6 7 is a month and a half later, 370, medical/transport/lost wages. 8 Why were you being paid medical, or expenses for medical? 9 Α. It was on one occasion when the investigator visited the 11:03:04 10 house I was really sick. I have a cardiac problem and I was in a 11 hospital. They waited. When they called I was on my way from 12 the hospital. They wanted to talk and I said, "Well, look, I cannot talk today, because I am sick and I am going back to the 13 14 hospital tomorrow. I have to take with me some money to pay my 11:03:33 15 doctors", so they looked at some of the receipts and said, "Well, if we come tomorrow, if you really owe the doctor and we are 16 17 taking your time to talk to you, we will have to help with these medical bills." That was when these monies were paid. The 18 19 following day, when they came I took the money to the doctor and 11:03:56 20 paid the bills, based on the prescriptions and other things that 21 had to do with the doctor that were all presented to them. 22 Well, I see a number of other items if we go over the page 0. 300 for medical, 21 March 2007; two days later 538 for 23 to 3: 24 medical and fuel, also just deal with medical; 7 May of the same 11:04:36 25 year, going over the page on page 4, item 13, 100 for medical; 14 26 mentions medical as one of the things, including lost wages and 27 meals, for \$200, that is way up in October 2007; 12 December 28 2007, 600 for medical; and then on 7 January 2008, \$2,150 for medical. What was the reason for these medical expenses, for 29

1 this medical expense reimbursement? 2 Yes, at the time all the monies were being paid. At one Α. 3 time I was hospitalised. They came, I almost - I had a mild 4 stroke on my left foot. It went completely dead. I had to do a lot of tests. They were taking me here and there for 11:05:35 5 examinations. At one time the doctor recommended that I must go 6 7 to Cote d'Ivoire because they did not have the equipment in Liberia to do some scanning on my body. At this time I was very, 8 9 very sick. I was not walking correctly. I couldn't even walk. When these monies were paid they got involved and ensured that I 11:06:02 10 went to hospital. The investigator said that. 11 12 Q. Now, witness, going over the page to number 5, I see number 17, transport, \$1,970, purchase of airline tickets. Then down in 13 14 20 I see \$485 for purchase of additional airline ticket for his 11:06:36 15 staff. What was the purpose of those payments? At the time the doctors recommended that I go to - the 16 Α. 17 doctors that recommended, those in Abidjan - I had been to the hospital in Ghana previously. Then my first doctor which I 18 19 certified with the prescription and the medical reports from 11:07:08 20 Liberia said that I must go to see my doctors in Ivory Coast. If 21 this is not done, I will be in danger and I was very, very 22 frightened. That was when the tickets were bought. Three tickets were bought, mine and two tickets for my two bodyquards. 23 24 Q. And the ticket down here on number 20 that was purchased 11:07:33 25 five days later, who was that ticket for? 26 It was at one time when I sent my boys to buy medicines, Α. 27 medication. The medication I am taking is not sold in Liberia 28 nowhere. That was costing me a lot of money and as time went by 29 I was sent to Abidjan to bring the drugs with me, but the drugs

1 got finished and I had to send again to buy because we do not 2 have the kind of drugs that I am taking now in Liberia. 3 Now this trip that you were going to see the doctor in Q. 4 Abidjan, were you going to do anything else when you were in Abi dj an? 11:08:15 5 No, I was only going there to see my doctor. Α. 6 7 And, witness, did you in fact take that trip? 0. No, I did not go and I was pending - I suspended the trip 8 Α. 9 because of the harassment. It was just about the time when the leaflets were flying. The people - it was said in the paper that 11:08:36 10 it was stuck everywhere on my house, on my shop, on my phone that 11 12 if you leave here it means that you are going to The Hague to 13 testify. You will come - when you come back you will meet your 14 house burnt to the ground, we will kidnap your children from school. I have those documents now on me. 11:09:01 15 So I suspended the trip and said, "Look, I will wait and 16 17 see". I have got the tickets with me right now. I can go back to Abidjan as soon as I finish from here to see my doctor. 18 The 19 trip was not made. 11:09:21 20 MR RAPP: Your Honour, we would ask that this particular 21 document of six pages be marked for identification. 22 PRESIDING JUDGE: That is a six page document entitled 23 "Special Court for Sierra Leone, all disbursements for witness" 24 and it is in subparagraphs 1 to 20 and it becomes MFI-20. 11:09:53 25 MR RAPP: 26 Q. Now, witness, prior to you coming to The Hague did you have 27 occasion to meet officers or individuals that worked for the 28 Witness and Victim Section of the Court? 29 Yes, we met in Monrovia. Α.

1 Q. And what did you discuss with them?

2 I discussed my security concerns. If I was coming to The Α. 3 Hague to testify, according to these leaflets and things going 4 around that was threatening my life and the lives of my family, I said, "Well, I cannot leave my premises in such a condition. I 11:10:31 5 must be secured when I am out of here and wheresoever I will be 6 7 both my home and my premises must be protected". Those were my concerns that I expressed to them. 8

9 MR RAPP: Could we have the Registry show the witness 11:10:58 10 another document that we have disclosed that is a Special Court 11 for Sierra Leone, heading "Inter-office memorandum" from Naeem 12 Ahmed" dated 7 May 2008, a one page document:

Q. And, witness, if I can direct your attention to this
document, it makes reference to the WVS putting security and
11:11:40
other facilities in place for that security and in line 3 it says
the current cost of these measures is \$3,200? Do you know how
that cost was arrived at?

Yes, because there were additional securities. I had 18 Α. 19 security from UNMIL, I had security on my own, my own security 11:12:02 20 guards. So we had to have - we had additional securities for the 21 surrounding because the threat was not taken lightly. Besides 22 the threat on me, there was other visible things that were 23 happening. People became annoyed. At night we had black cloth 24 around my back gate. So at this time we had to put security in 11:12:31 25 place and they are in place. As I am talking to you now, my 26 house is heavily guarded. It all comes to security and we had to 27 pay for this. I have to pay.

Q. And without naming any individuals, how many people live atyour house approximately?

1 My family members. In my house I have my children, I have Α. my grandchildren, my wife, my wife's relatives, approximately 2 3 about - the children in my house in school they are 22. Μv 4 family is about roughly 20, 15, 32 - maybe 50 persons live in my house. I have a house - a two storeyed building. It has so many 11:13:26 5 There is a boys quarter in my house. I have children rooms. 6 7 living there who are going to school. Some are children I am caring for, some are my grandchildren, my relatives' children. 8 9 If you know being a President in Africa then you know a lot of responsibility rests on you. People who were not able whom you 11:13:50 10 want to help - in fact as I am speaking to you if you see my 11 12 house, you go into that compound you will think it is some kind 13 of a refugee camp. We eat rice - mostly we eat about a bag of 14 rice a day, or two days, in my house. That is the kind of strain 11:14:09 15 I have. Right now as I am sitting here I worry all the time. Witness, in this document before you I see a number 4. It 16 Q. 17 "In addition he", you, "were provided with money for says: conducting a medical examination for determining fitness to 18 19 travel and for the procurement of drugs. The amount expend was 11:14:36 20 \$500". Is that correct? 21 Yes, the drugs were bought. Α. 22 MR RAPP: This particular document then we would ask your 23 Honours if it can be marked for identification in the next 24 sequence. 11:14:47 25 PRESIDING JUDGE: Thank you. This is a one page document 26 headed "Special Court for Sierra Leone, inter-office memo" and it is addressed to the Defence team's CT case, dated 7 May 2008. It 27 28 becomes MFI-21. MR RAPP: Thank you very much, your Honour: 29

1 Q. Before we leave this payments question, there was - without 2 putting it back in front of you, there was one item on the list 3 of payments made by the Office of the Prosecutor that I wanted to 4 ask about and that was number 19, 26 January 2008: "Family expenses while the witness is supposed to travel to meet with 11:15:25 5 OTP. Category, family. Amount 1000". What was that about? 6 7 What page was that? Α.

8 Q. Number 19.

9 Α. 19? Yes, I remember this. I remember this. In January I moved up to - was it in Cote d'Ivoire? Ghana? I went to Ghana. 11:16:10 10 On this occasion wanted to get - there were some unpaid receipts 11 12 that I was supposed to pay in Ghana. My embassy in Ghana was 13 informed, so I had to rush to Ghana to sort this one out. I paid even some additional money. The previous bill that I had was not 14 11:16:42 15 paid and so I was in Ghana for about a day and I brought the medication with me from the hospital. 16

Q. Well, witness, let me move ahead with another matter. Your
appearance here I think the record will reflect will be - is
subject to a subpoena. Prior to that subpoena being delivered to
you, did anyone discuss that subpoena with you?
A. Yes, the investigators approached me. I had two options.

22 I said, "Look, I am sick, I am not well. Any time you are here I feel embarrassed asking you to pay these hospital bills and this 23 24 to me, except I leave this country, if it's a force, if it's a subpoena, you subpoena me, then I will not be hostile to an 11:17:44 25 26 international Court. I have must go under any condition. But if 27 this is not done I will not leave this country to go anywhere". 28 Q. Witness, I wonder if now you could help us with certain 29 exhibits and if we have some pictures that are in the binder, I

	1	think at tab 31, and they are given the letters and the letters
	2	are A, B, C, D, E, F and there is something on the back of them,
	3	but I just want the witness to be shown the front of those
	4	documents. If those could be taken to the witness and displayed
11:18:40	5	on the projector. Okay, witness, a document has been placed in
	6	front of you that I believe has an ERN number 00039998 over on
	7	the right side. Do you recognise the person in that picture?
	8	A. Yes, I recognise Benjamin Yeaten and
	9	Q. Which one is he?
11:19:38	10	A. Benjamin Yeaten is on the left with a communication on his
	11	ear.
	12	Q. Do you recognise any other person in that photograph?
	13	A. Yes, another bodyguard to Benjamin Yeaten, sir. Sylvester
	14	Willor. He is on the right, right behind him.
11:20:01	15	Q. And Sylvester Willor, how do you spell that? Willow like
	16	willow tree?
	17	A. Yes, willow tree. W-I-L-L-O-R, Willor.
	18	MR GRIFFITHS: I am wondering which of the several people
	19	on the right is the tree?
11:20:25	20	PRESIDING JUDGE: Perhaps if the witness could hold up the
	21	paper and indicate to us. That might be the most practical way.
	22	MR RAPP: Or perhaps if the witness could show with a pen.
	23	PRESIDING JUDGE: Yes, with a pen on the screen, please, Mr
	24	Witness, if you could point out the person you have identified as
11:20:40	25	Sylvester Willor.
	26	THE WITNESS: Do you want me to come on that side? On the
	27	left is Benjamin Yeaten, General Benjamin Yeaten. Then on the
	28	right right behind him is Sylvester Willor. Those two people I
	29	recogni se, si r.

1 MR RAPP: 2 Q. Okay. I think that clearly reflects in the transcript who 3 he is talking about, so let's move to B and ask if you recognise 4 the individuals in B and point them out and describe where they are as you point them out, if you recognise any person on the 11:21:35 5 projector? 6 7 The one on the right with the shades is called Yanmayan. Α. And is that spelt Y-A-N-M-A-Y-A-N? 8 Q. 9 Α. Yes, Yanmayan. And what's his first name? 11:22:07 10 Q. John Yanmayan. 11 Α. 12 Q. And what was his position during the Taylor administration, 13 if you know? 14 Α. Previously he was a commander of the Executive Mansion 11:22:24 15 Guard unit when we were in Gbarnga, but later he was dismissed. I met him in Monrovia going to school at the University of 16 17 Liberia. At present he is working for the Firestone Plantation in Liberia. I don't know what the job is there. 18 19 Do you recognise anyone else in that picture? 0. 11:22:50 20 Α. No, I only recognise this very well, the man with the 21 shades. 22 That would conclude our examination on that picture. Then 0. 23 let's move to C. By the way the picture we just looked at, the 24 ERN was P0000637. Now we have a picture with the ERN P0000791. 11:23:23 25 Do you recognise any persons in this picture and in this case, 26 witness, perhaps if you would go to the left and point it out on 27 the projector, because there are a lot of people I see here. 28 Α. I can see Benjamin Yeaten first. 29 Can you point him out? Q.

1 Α. Excuse me. There is Benjamin Yeaten, former President 2 Tayl or. 3 PRESIDING JUDGE: Excuse me, Mr Witness, could you please 4 point out Benjamin Yeaten again as it wasn't translated on the 11:24:20 5 screen. MR RAPP: 6 7 Witness, as you point out the individuals would you just 0. put the point of your up toward them. First Benjamin Yeaten? 8 9 Α. This is Benjamin Yeaten. Okay, and --11:24:38 10 Q. And this is the former President Taylor. 11 Α. 12 Q. And --13 Α. At the back is senior aide-de-camp N'jie, Musa N'jie. 14 Q. Okay, who else, and then we will get clear places? 11:25:04 15 Α. And right there is Mrs Jewel Howard Taylor, the wife of the President. 16 17 Q. And anyone el se? This is Joseph Montgomery, the deputy director of SS 18 Α. 19 operations. That is all I can remember. 11:25:28 20 MR RAPP: Then, your Honour, may the record reflect that 21 from left to right below the stairs the witness has identified 22 Yeaten as the person on the left, the person next to him to the 23 right is former President Taylor, the next person to the right is 24 Jewel Howard Taylor and the final person that's in full view to the right is Joe Montgomery. Additionally right behind President 11:25:50 25 26 Taylor I believe that the witness identified Musa N'jie. That's 27 correct: 28 Q. Now, before we pass from that picture, who was Musa N'jie? 29 Musa N'jie was the senior aide-de-camp to the President, to Α.

1 President Taylor at the time.

2 Q. And where is he from?

3 He is from The Gambia. Α.

4 Q. And, just to be clear, he is the individual in the white uniform with a hat on? Witness, did you hear the question I was 11:26:25 5 just asking you? Is Mr N'jie the individual behind President 6 7 Taylor in the white uniform?

> Yes, he is the Gambian. He is not a Liberian. 8 Α.

9 0. And again I am just trying to get a clear answer so that we don't get confused because there are several people behind. 11:26:56 10 He is the individual right behind President Taylor, is he not? 11 12

Α. Yes, this is Musa N'jie.

13 JUDGE SEBUTINDE: Is this witness able to write these 14 names, maybe draw an arrow against each one? Wouldn't that be 11:27:19 15 better for a permanent record, Mr Rapp?

MR RAPP: We could do that. Obviously these are pictures 16 17 that we may use with other witnesses in the future and if it works better that way we can go ahead and do it. 18

19 I think at this point, just because these pictures will be 11:27:43 20 shown to others, we will just proceed as we are. Your Honours, if we can have this particular exhibit put aside, number C, and 21 22 go to D:

Witness, a picture is now on the screen that is the number 23 0. 24 - the ERN number is P0000795 and can I ask you if you recognise 11:28:51 25 any persons in this picture and just begin on the left and go to 26 the right and describe the individuals?

> 27 On the left again is Musa N'jie, the senior aide-de-camp to Α. 28 the President Taylor. Then right after Musa N'jie is former 29 President Taylor himself. Then next to President Taylor himself

1 is Joe Montgomery with the neck tie, with the shirt open. The 2 man who is standing with his mouth open with a chain round his 3 neck is - the picture is not clear. Okay, he is Edwin Snow, the 4 former managing director of the LPRC, Liberia produce - Liberian produce - petroleum - producing - processing something. 11:30:17 5 Before we leave Edwin Snow, what was his relationship to Q. 6 7 Tayl or? Edwin Snow was the son-in-law to the President, President 8 Α. 9 Tayl or. And who was he married to? Q. 11:30:40 10 Married to President Taylor's daughter. 11 Α. 12 MR RAPP: Are we ready for the morning break, your Honour? 13 PRESIDING JUDGE: Yes, I was just checking on the time. I 14 think we are now up to our time limit, Mr Rapp. Mr Witness, we 11:30:59 15 are now going to take our usual mid-morning break of half an We will resume again at 12 o'clock. 16 hour. 17 THE WITNESS: Your Honour --PRESIDING JUDGE: Please adjourn Court. 18 19 MR GRIFFITHS: Your Honour, I wonder if someone could check 11:31:11 20 out, there is a smell of something burning. 21 PRESIDING JUDGE: I am going to be checking that. Don't 22 worry. We have had this in the past. It's building works, but I will check it again. 23 24 [Break taken at 11.30 a.m.] 11:53:22 25 [Upon resuming at 12.02 p.m.] 26 PRESIDING JUDGE: Mr Rapp, just before you resume I just 27 want to assure counsel and others present in the Court that the 28 security informs us that there are works going on in the exterior of the building and the smell we notice is being brought through 29

1 the air ducts.

2 Mr Rapp? MR RAPP: Thank you very much, Madam President. We were 3 4 going through pictures at the break and there was a fifth picture I would like to have exhibited to the witness, the one that is 12:03:21 5 letter E and that carries the ERN P000796: 6 7 Witness, do you recognise any persons in this photo? 0. Yes, by the right - by the left the photo is former 8 Α. 9 President Taylor and by the right is Mr Musa Cisse and at the extreme right is Joe Montgomery and the lady with the red I will 12:04:07 10 have to think about her name. 11 12 Q. Well, witness, let's just be sure that we have correctly 13 identified the people that you have there. You said the one on 14 the left, the one on the left I take it with the blue suit, is Taylor. Now you said to the right the gentleman you said was 12:04:45 15 Musa Cisse, what is he wearing? 16 17 Α. Musa is with a white shirt and a grey suit. How close is he to Taylor? 18 Q. 19 Very close. He is close on the right of --Α. 12:05:11 20 PRESIDING JUDGE: Perhaps if the witness could do as he did 21 before and point to them, it might make a better record. Thank 22 you, Mr Witness. 23 THE WITNESS: Here is Mr Taylor and here is Mr Musa Cisse 24 and here is Joe Montgomery and later I will identify this person. 12:05:46 25 MR RAPP: 26 Q. Thank you, very much, witness. I think the record should 27 reflect that the Joe Montgomery person is the person furthest on 28 the right. Okay, if we can put that picture aside and go to a 29 sixth picture. That is the one under letter F and that has the

1 ERN number P000812. Do you recognise any persons in that photo? 2 Yes, here is the aide-de-camp again to Mr President Taylor, Α. 3 Momoh Gibba - the man in the military suit, Momoh Gibba - and here is former President Taylor. The next here is N'jie. He was 4 another senior aide-de-camp in the coat suit. This man is from 12:06:47 5 La Cote D'Ivoire. He used to be the Charge d'Affairs for the 6 7 Cote D'Ivoire, the embassy of Cote D'Ivoire. I don't know his 8 name. In the right here again is Joe Montgomery. 9 0. Okay, witness, I want to be clear because you said we were 12:07:10 10 seeing again Momoh Gibba as the individual on the left and then you also identified Mr N'jie. Now, what were their positions? 11 12 Α. Momoh Gibba is aide-de-camp and at that time N'jie was the 13 chief, senior aide-de-camp to the President. There were a lot of 14 aides to the President, but N'jie was the chief at that time and 12:07:41 15 at that time Momoh Gibba was just an aide-de-camp to the President. 16 17 Q. And what were their nationalities? Gibba is a Liberian. N'jie is a Gambian. 18 Α. 19 MR RAPP: I think the record clearly reflects the order of 12:08:00 20 the individuals here, so we ask that that exhibit be taken from 21 Now there was a seventh photo which wasn't in the the witness. 22 packet and it was distributed to the parties in the last several It has the number P0005002. Thank you: 23 days. 24 Q. Witness, let me invite your attention to this photo. Who 12:08:42 25 do you see in this photo? 26 I can see - I am seeing Mr Cyril Allen, the former chairman Α. 27 of the National Patriotic Party. I have seen former President 28 Taylor and then of course I have seen Moses Blah. 29 Would you just tell me left to right who the individuals Q.

1 are? On the left is Cyril Allen the former chairman of the 2 Α. 3 National Patriotic Party, and in the centre is former President 4 Charles Taylor, and on the right is Moses Blah former President of Liberia. 12:09:42 5 Witness, do you know when this picture was taken? Q. 6 7 I can't remember. It was taken somewhere - the way I see Α. it, it was out of Monrovia, like in Gbarnga, Ganta, some place 8 9 out of Monrovia. 12:10:04 10 Q. And from looking at the scene and the situation can you tell what position you were in at the time? 11 12 Α. As this photo is, by then I was Vice-President of Liberia. 13 I had the shirt when I was Vice-President. 14 Q. One question: I see this wooden stick in Taylor's hand and 12:10:33 15 I think that may have been shown earlier on in the fifth photo. What is that that he's holding, if you know? 16 17 It is a walking stick. That is the stick he used to walk Α. It is like a walking stick for older people that use them 18 with. 19 to walk. I see carving on it. Is there any significance to that? 12:10:56 20 Q. Well, I wouldn't know and I wouldn't explain about the 21 Α 22 stick, because some leaders have this stick and some big military 23 people, some presidents, they have their own reasons for holding 24 a walking stick. And I have mine, but I don't think I have any 12:11:24 25 reason for holding it except for support to my legs. 26 Thank you very much for identifying that photo. Your Q. 27 Honours, we now have seven photos here and if we can have those 28 marked for identification perhaps - I don't know whether it's appropriate to have a single number and then have them as letters 29

1 A through G, but I will leave that to your Honours. 2 PRESIDING JUDGE: The first photograph which the witness identified with the ERN number ending in 998 is marked for 3 4 identification MFI-22 and I will give it an A and keep them in 12:12:16 5 that sequence. The second photograph which ends in the ERN number 637 6 7 which the witness identified will become MFI-22B. The photograph ending in ERN number 791 which the witness 8 9 identified will become 22C. The photograph ending in ERN number 795 which was 12:12:45 10 identified will become MFI-22D. 11 12 The photograph ending in ERN number 796 identified will 13 become MFI-22E. 14 The photograph ending in ERN number 812 will become 12:13:21 15 MFI -22F. The photograph ending in an ERN number 5002 will become 16 17 MFI-22G. Mr Rapp, please proceed. MR RAPP: Thank you very much, your Honour: 18 19 0. In your testimony you have indicated that you followed the 12:13:52 20 news on BBC Network Africa and Focus on Africa. Do you remember ever hearing any reports about the invasion of Freetown? 21 22 Yes, I remember that Freetown was being attacked. Yes, Α. 23 I remember. MR RAPP: If we could ask for a document to be placed 24 12:14:22 25 before the witness. It is in the binder. I believe it is the number 7 tab of the binder, BBC News article, "Freetown bears the 26 scars": 27 28 Q. Witness, would you look at this document and scan it and see if - then I want to put a question to you. Witness, is this 29

1 consistent with the reports that you heard over the BBC? 2 Yes, I remember the reporter named here Mark Doyle. Α. Yes, 3 I can remember. I remember. 4 MR RAPP: Your Honours, if we can put that one - well, let's ask if we can have that particular exhibit marked for 12:15:36 5 i denti fi cati on. 6 7 PRESIDING JUDGE: This is a three page document with a heading "BBC/Africa/Freetown bears the scars" with a subheading 8 9 "BBC News World Edition" and it is marked for identification MFI-23. 12:15:59 10 MR RAPP: 11 12 Q. Witness, you indicated you visited Sierra Leone after you 13 were President, after you became President of Liberia. Do you 14 know if that visit was reported on in the press? 12:16:30 15 Α. Yes, because when I was in Sierra Leone I had a press conference and even before I left Monrovia there was a press 16 17 conference. So I am sure that it was in the press. Let me ask the Registry to place before you a document that 18 Q. 19 is not in the binder that has been circulated in the last several 12:16:54 20 days. It is from the Sierra Leone News Archive dated 22 August. It's ERN number 000100522. It's a short article with a picture 21 22 in it. We have a second copy of it here if there's a problem. Witness, would you take a look at this document and read it over 23 24 briefly to yourself. Okay, witness? 12:18:56 25 Α. Yes, I remember. 26 Is this news report consistent with your recollection of Q. 27 the reports made about your visit to Sierra Leone? 28 Α. Yes, I remember, I remember. Who is shown in the picture there? 29 Q.

1 On the left is former President Blah and by the right is Α. 2 former President Tejan Kabbah of Sierra Leone. We were trying to 3 embrace each other. MR RAPP: So if we could have this exhibit, your Honour, 4 marked for identification as well. 12:19:36 5 PRESIDING JUDGE: That is a one page document headed 6 7 "Sierra Leone News Archives" with a date 22 August, a year unspecified, with a picture. It is marked for identification 8 9 MFI-24. MR RAPP: 12:19:55 10 Just an additional question about that document which you 11 Q. 12 had a chance to look at: Is the report consistent, or is it 13 accurate when it reflects what you said to President Kabbah? Yes, I said it. 14 Α. Q. 12:20:12 15 Witness, you indicated in your testimony that you also followed Liberian newspapers and have you been shown any articles 16 17 in Liberian newspapers that you were able to identify and 18 remember? 19 No, until I see. I don't have any of those documents in my Α. 12:20:40 20 possession, but there were a lot of newspapers and news coming 21 out of Sierra Leone. 22 Witness, let me ask the Registry to place before you a 0. document from the - I will just make sure I have got the right 23 24 document. It's at tab 5 of the binder. It is a news article 12:21:15 25 from the Daily Times. If that can be placed. Witness, do you 26 recall seeing this newspaper before? 27 Yes, yes, I have seen this paper before in Liberia way back Α. 28 in 1998. 29 Do you remember, when you saw it, any of the stories from Q.

1 that newspaper? 2 Yes, I have seen them. Α. 3 MR RAPP: Okay, well, then I would ask that this particular 4 document be marked for identification. PRESIDING JUDGE: That is a one page document with a 12:22:21 5 heading "Daily Times" and a subheading "Volume 2 No. 65 Friday, 6 7 July 24 1998". It is marked for identification MFI-25. JUDGE SEBUTINDE: Mr Rapp, if you don't mind my 8 9 interrupting, I am not sure which of the stories you want to draw the Court's attention to? 12:22:46 10 MR RAPP: 11 12 Q. Well now it has been marked, witness, do you remember the 13 stories in regard to guns and rice being traded for diamonds? 14 Α. Yes, that is the story. That was in the newspaper, your 12:23:03 15 Honours. It was in the newspaper. Okay, thank you very much, witness. 16 Q. 17 Α. It was in the news. MR RAPP: Thank you, your Honour. Let me ask the Registry 18 19 then to place before you a news article, or newspaper, at tab 11, 12:23:21 20 the Monrovia Daily News from 3 March 1994: 21 Witness, do you recall seeing this newspaper before? 0. 22 Yes, I remember this story in the newspaper. Α. 23 0. And what story do you remember from this newspaper? The one that is saying "ULIMO contemplates replacing Ziah", 24 Α. 12:24:29 25 I saw the headlines, and the other headlines "In Rivercess County 26 NPFL burns 200 alive". 27 Well do you know anything about this report, or do you have Q. 28 any information about what is being reported on in this article that is headlined "NPFL burns 200 alive"? 29

A. Yes, I read the story in the newspaper. I read the
 newspaper.

3 Q. And do you remember anything about the event that is4 reported in the newspaper?

12:25:14 5 A. Well, what I remember is that it was the time when ULIMO
6 was deploying all over Liberia and this news came from UNMIL and
7 they were able to move to that area to investigate the matter,
8 but I don't know how it was concluded. It was a different place
9 at that time.

Okay, thank you. I would then ask that this MR RAPP: 12:25:43 10 document be marked for identification as well, your Honours. 11 12 PRESIDING JUDGE: This is a one page document headed 13 "Monrovia Daily News" with a subheading "Volume 3 No. 52 Thursday, March 3", and I think it is "1994". The date is not 14 entirely clear. It is marked for identification MFI-26. 12:26:05 15 MR GRIFFITHS: Your Honour, can I just interrupt to seek 16 17 some clarification here. Behind my divider 11 there are in fact two pages. I don't know whether both are to be exhibited, or 18

19 just the one?

12:26:25 20 PRESIDING JUDGE: I see, you are right. I had not seen the
21 second page, Mr Griffiths, but you are quite right there is a
22 second page and it appears to be a continuation and am I to take
23 it they are together, Mr Rapp?

MR RAPP: That is correct, your Honours. As I think you note, they are both 3 March 1994 and there is a note at the bottom of the article, for instance the NPFL and the 200, it says "Continued page" and it looks like "page 6" and this is page 6 and then the story continues about the same subject matter. PRESIDING JUDGE: I will not amend the MFI number, but

I will amend it to note that it is a two page document. Thank
 you for that, Mr Griffiths.

3 MR GRIFFITHS: Not at all, your Honour.

4 MR RAPP:

12:27:19 5 Q. Then finally the final article I wanted to show you, or
6 have the Registry place before you, is an article from - let's
7 see, it is in the binder at tab 12 and it is from a newspaper The
8 Inquirer. If you would look at that briefly, Mr Witness, have
9 you seen this newspaper before? This issue?

12:28:00 10 A. Yes, I remember.

Q. Now as far as the articles that are in the newspaper, are
there any that you recall specifically that are there from your
own personal experience?

14 Α. Yes, it has to do with this ambush. There was an ambush in Rivercess in which a businessman died. I will recall his name 12:28:51 15 He was killed, and one of our commanders escaping 16 later. 17 unharmed and he went into the bush for about a week and he was 18 later discovered and he was brought to safety. It started in 19 Grand Gedeh, when one evening I was in Grand Gedeh for inspection, and this man - this businessman - had decided to come 12:29:34 20 21 to Buchanan by using the Sinoe route coming to Rivercess. I knew 22 it was dark and they wanted me to go and escort them as inspector 23 general, but I advised earlier that the road was not good and 24 during war if you were driving a car and the headlights of the 12:29:59 25 car will be suspected and there will be an ambush. I warned 26 them, but they said, no, the war was not close to them. 27 But as they went and they were attacked from Sinoe and that

28 was the direction they wanted us to go at night, but then I told 29 them that my car had a problem and that my jeep was not good and

1	I needed to have it repaired before I will take the way to escort
2	them at night. Then I took off, I came up to Tapita to the
3	garage and it was early that morning that our radio - our
4	communication in the car said - we heard that there was an ambush
12:30:43 5	and this businessman was killed, another man jumped into the bush
6	and the soldiers that we were carrying on that side they were all
7	killed in an ambush. It was a terrible ambush. I remember that,
8	but the names of those who got killed will come to my mind later.
9	It was between Rivercess and Grand Bassa in the palm plantation -
12:31:15 10	oil palm plantation. That was where the ambush took place.
11	Q. And glancing your eyes over this article, does this appear
12	to be the same event that is being reported on in the article?
13	A. Yes. As I am reading, yes. It has been quite a long time.
14	That was why it took me long to see.
12:31:39 15	Q. At the time that this event occurred, what was your
16	position?
17	A. At this time I was inspector general. It was in 1994,
18	1994/1995 if I am not mistaken. I was still inspector general.
19	MR RAPP: Your Honour, we would ask that this article in
12:32:05 20	two pages be marked for identification.
21	PRESIDING JUDGE: This is a two page document with the
22	words "The Inquirer" at the left side, Volume 4 No. 6, Monday
23	January 24 1994. The date is somewhat obscured, but I think that
24	is correct. It is marked for identification MFI-26. Oh, sorry,
12:32:35 25	I have been corrected by Justice Lussick, 27.
26	MR RAPP:
27	Q. Now, witness, when you were Vice-President what were your
28	duties as Vice-President?
29	A. Well, as Vice-President of Liberia I was also the President

1 of the Liberian Senate and I was like a deputy principal to the 2 President and he had all rights to order me to do anything that lied [sic] within his powers. I was serving between both the 3 4 executive and the legislature, according to our laws as Vice-President. 12:33:23 5 As Vice-President, were you familiar with the constitution 0. 6 7 of the Republic of Liberia? I must have been familiar with it. I must be familiar with 8 Α. 9 the laws of the country and that was why I was President of the Senate. 12:33:36 10 MR RAPP: We would ask then that the item at tab 18 be 11 12 placed before the witness, a document of 21 pages - 24 pages, 13 excuse me: 14 Q. Witness, would you glance at this document. I think you 12:34:24 15 have seen the first page on the screen. Are you familiar with this document? 16 17 Α. Yes, yes. What is it? 18 Q. 19 The Constitution of the Republic of Liberia. Α. 12:34:44 20 0. And was it the constitution that was in effect when you 21 were Vice-President and President? 22 This is like a preamble. You mean what was the Α. 23 constitution? 24 Q. No, I am just asking about this document. I understand 12:35:02 25 that on the screen you have page 1 in front of you, but I believe 26 the Court Registry has given you a document that is 24 pages in 27 length and if you just glance through those pages, if you could 28 tell me what this document is? 29 It is the law of Liberia. Α.

1 Q. What law is it specifically? 2 Α. This is the law, the structure of the State and the laws 3 that govern the State, the country of Liberia, because there are 4 a lot of articles here and I could not go through them all and it describes what now the division of powers. We have the 12:38:22 5 legislature, the executive, the judiciary. So these are various 6 7 laws that guide the country. Going to the last page, if you would, witness, there I see, 8 Q. 9 "Completed the 19th day of August AD 1983." Do you know if these laws, this basic law or constitution was still in effect as of 12:38:58 10 the time that you were President of Liberia? 11 12 Α. I didn't see this, but this is the law and the guidelines 13 you see in all of these laws are drawn from the constitution of 14 Liberia and most of the things that are in here are in our 12:39:43 15 constitution now as I speak, but a lot of changes went on, but 16 they weren't much. 17 MR RAPP: Your Honour, we would then ask that this particular document in 24 pages be marked for identification. 18 19 PRESIDING JUDGE: This is a 24 page document headed 12:40:10 20 "Constitution of the Republic of Liberia." There then is a preamble setting out the 13 chapters and it continues. It is 21 22 marked for identification MFI-28. 23 MR RAPP: 24 Q. Finally with exhibits we would ask the Registry to place 12:40:32 25 before you a document which begins with the ERN 00031455 26 "Liberian Codes Revised" and though it doesn't - it is a series of pages, not necessarily all the pages, but the document itself 27 28 that is here has 16 separate pages to it. 29 JUDGE SEBUTINDE: Is it in a tab?

1 MR RAPP: Sorry, it is indeed in a tab. That is tab 10. My apol ogi es: 2 Q. Now, witness, if I can ask you if you can go back in the 3 4 document that's in front of you to six pages from the back. Perhaps the Registry can assist. If they would show the witness 12:41:52 5 the pages beginning with ERN 31465. Witness, are you familiar 6 7 with the Special Security Service of Liberia? I am familiar with the law that established the Special 8 Α. 9 Security Service of Liberia. 12:42:53 10 Q. Witness, if you would look at these pages and the pages that follow, does this appear to be the law that you are 11 12 familiar with? 13 Yes, under our laws the appointment and duties of the Α. 14 director are spelt out here, they are correct. These are the 12:44:10 15 duties. MR RAPP: Your Honour, with the Court's permission I would 16 17 like to have this document marked for identification, noting that the pages that precede the sections on the Special Security 18 19 Service are content pages showing outlines of the material in the 12:44:31 20 book, so that these pages are put in proper context in the book. PRESIDING JUDGE: If my arithmetic is correct, Mr Rapp, 21 22 these are 17 pages. MR RAPP: It would appear so though for some reason the 23 24 page that is 31464 isn't in the group. It steps from the beginning of the chapter on the general organisation of the 12:45:06 25 executive office to a subchapter C, so I think it is 17 minus 26 27 one. 28 PRESIDING JUDGE: 16 then. This is a 16 page document entitled "Liberian Codes Revised, Volume III" of which the 29

1 witness's attention has been drawn to the page 349 and he 2 particularly identified page 350. It is marked for 3 identification MFI-29. MR RAPP: 4 Witness, was this law in effect when you were President? 12:45:41 5 0. Yes. Yes, sir. Α. 6 7 And to your knowledge was it in effect when Charles Taylor 0. 8 was President? 9 Α. Exactly, sir. Witness, I just have one final question for you on my 12:45:58 10 Q. direct examination and we earlier talked about the subpoena, but 11 12 you said you had before that spoken to investigators. Why did 13 you decide to provide information to the Special Court for Sierra 14 Leone? Because I decided to comply with the international court 12:46:20 15 Α. and I took this decision on my own that I must comply with the 16 17 Court. 18 Q. Thank you very much. 19 Yes, I want to add and also if it had to do with the Α. 12:47:01 20 National Patriotic Front and I came a long way from the start to 21 finish being adjutant, being inspector general, being inspector 22 reacquisitions and ambassador of Liberia to Libya and Tunisia and 23 been Vice-President and President, I must have had knowledge of 24 things that happened in the country up to these times. So I saw 12:47:29 25 it necessary to do this. 26 MR RAPP: Thank you very much, witness. That will conclude 27 my direct examination, your Honours. 28 PRESIDING JUDGE: Thank you, Mr Rapp. Mr Griffiths, do you 29 carriage of --

1 MR GRIFFITHS: Before I begin I have an application to 2 During the short adjournment this morning I was provided make. with a 18 page autopsy report into the death of Sam Bockarie. 3 4 It's a document which hitherto had not been served on the Defence and it is of some significance, given that your Honours might 12:48:09 5 well conclude that at one level the high point of this witness's 6 7 evidence is the evidence he gives as to the death of Sam Bockarie. 8

9 As a consequence, I would like an opportunity, having not
12:48:29 10 had one, to peruse this document in some detail and noting the
11 hour I wonder if your Honours would agree to adjourn at this
12 point so that I can commence my cross-examination of this witness
13 on Monday morning.

14 PRESIDING JUDGE: Mr Rapp, you have heard the application 12:48:47 15 by Defence counsel.

MR RAPP: I am informed by the Case Manager of our team
that this document was first disclosed to the Defence on 12
February '07. It was brought to their further attention today
because of Rule 68, the possibility of inconsistencies between
that report and the witness's testimony, but I have no objection
to this adjournment if the Defence requires time to prepare for
cross-examination.

23 PRESIDING JUDGE: Allow me to consult.

24

[Trial Chamber conferred]

12:49:3125We note there is no objection and we consider this a26reasonable application and we will grant the application and the27Court will adjourn early. I will explain to the witness.28MR GRIFFITHS: I am most grateful, your Honour.

29 PRESIDING JUDGE: Mr Witness, on Friday afternoons we

1 normally do not sit in court, we do other work, written work and 2 have meetings, and we are going to adjourn a little earlier than 3 usual today because counsel for the Defence must look at some papers. Counsel was not counsel for the Defence at the relevant 4 time they were served. We are therefore going to adjourn now and 12:50:06 5 we will be resuming court at 9.30 on Monday morning. 6 7 THE WITNESS: Your Honour. 8 PRESIDING JUDGE: I will again remind you, as I have done 9 in the past, of your obligation not to discuss your evidence with any other person because you are under oath. 12:50:21 10 11 THE WI TNESS: Your Honour. 12 PRESIDING JUDGE: Please adjourn court until 9.30 on 13 Monday. 14 [Whereupon the hearing adjourned at 12.50 p.m. 12:50:43 15 to be reconvened on Monday, 19 May 2008 at 9.30 a.m.] 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29

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