

Case No. SCSL-2003-01-T

THE PROSECUTOR OF THE SPECIAL COURT CHARLES GHANKAY TAYLOR

TUESDAY, 17 AUGUST 2010 9.00 A.M. TRI AL

TRIAL CHAMBER II

Justice Julia Sebutinde, Presiding Justice Teresa Doherty Before the Judges:

Justice El Hadji Malick Sow, Alternate

For Chambers: Mr Simon Meisenberg

For the Registry: Ms Rachel Irura

Ms Zainab Fofanah

For the Prosecution: Mr Nicholas Koumjian

Mr Mohamed A Bangura Mr Nathan Quick

For the accused Charles Ghankay Mr Silas Chekera

Tayl or:

Ms Logan Hambrick Mr Tor Krever

	1	Tuesday, 17 August 2010
	2	[Open session]
	3	[The accused not present]
	4	[Upon commencing at 9.04 a.m.]
09:04:38	5	PRESIDING JUDGE: Good morning. We'll take appearances
	6	first, please.
	7	MR KOUMJIAN: Good morning, Madam President. Good morning,
	8	your Honours, and good morning, counsel opposite. For the
	9	Prosecution this morning, Mohamed A Bangura, Nathan Quick,
09:04:55	10	Jacqueline Greene, and myself, Nicholas Koumjian.
	11	MR CHEKERA: Good morning, Madam President, your Honours,
	12	and counsel opposite. For the Defence, myself, Silas Chekera,
	13	Logan Hambrick and Tor Krever.
	14	PRESIDING JUDGE: Mr Chekera, I thought you'd address the
09:05:18	15	Court on the absence of Mr Taylor.
	16	MR CHEKERA: Yes, Madam President. Thank you.
	17	Mr Taylor will not be available for the morning session for
	18	reasons that are already on the public record - sorry, on the
	19	record.
09:05:33	20	PRESIDING JUDGE: Well, the Chamber has been informed this
	21	morning of the reasons for his absence and the fact that he has
	22	no objection to the trial proceeding in his absence, in your
	23	presence.
	24	MR CHEKERA: Indeed. Thank you.
09:05:48	25	PRESIDING JUDGE: So the trial will continue pursuant to
	26	Rule 60(B) of the rules.
	27	Mr Koumjian, please - oh, let me remind Mr Sesay.
	28	Good morning, Mr Sesay. I remind you, as I'm supposed to
	29	every morning, of the oath that you took to tell the truth. It's

1 still binding on you today. 2 WITNESS: DCT-172 [On former oath] MR KOUMJIAN: Your Honour, I'd like to begin by 3 4 distributing some additional pages from the RUF judgment in order to respond to the concerns that were expressed yesterday about 09:06:23 5 whether the paragraphs I was reading were the findings of the 6 7 Court and whether I had in any way misrepresented the finding. 8 It will only take a moment to do that. PRESIDING JUDGE: Thank you, Mr Koumjian. We have the 09:07:31 10 copies now. MR KOUMJIAN: Just to point out, to direct everyone to the 11 12 relevant pages, on page iv, page 4, of the table of contents, you 13 can see it is indicated which paragraphs - which pages and 14 sections of the judgment are the factual and legal findings. 09:07:57 15 factual and legal findings that I read in relation to the sexual violence in Kailahun were from paragraph - I believe I began 16 17 reading at paragraph 1405, that's section 6.13, 6.13.1, forced marriage, 6.13.2, forced marriage of TF1-093, and I read, I 18 19 believe, several other paragraphs consecutively. 09:08:32 20 And for the record to be complete, because there was a 21 concern that I had misrepresented the finding on 093, because 22 earlier, in the evaluation of evidence section, the Chamber did make some findings regarding the credibility of 093, that's at 23 24 And I would like to read, for completeness, the 09:08:57 25 complete findings of the Chamber on that witness, or perhaps to 26 shorten things a bit, the final paragraph, 603. I believe that 27 was the one cited by counsel yesterday. 28 Paragraph 603 of the judgment reads: "The Chamber shares the concerns of the Sesay Defence and 29

- 1 finds the testimony of TF1-093 generally unreliable. The Chamber
- 2 is of the considered view that this witness is often inconsistent
- 3 and prone to exaggeration. Although much of her testimony has
- 4 been rejected, the Chamber accepts the core of her testimony,
- 09:09:40 5 particularly as it relates to her own experiences, such as the
  - 6 time she spent as a bush wife. The Chamber has otherwise relied
  - 7 upon her evidence to the extent it was corroborated by reliable
  - 8 witnesses and is consistent with the general story adduced by
  - 9 other evidence."
- 09:10:00 10 PRESIDING JUDGE: And, Mr Koumjian, it is subsequent to
  - 11 this paragraph that then the paragraph you read yesterday comes.
  - 12 MR KOUMJIAN: It's 800 paragraphs later that the findings -
  - 13 this is on the general evaluation of evidence, and the findings
  - 14 come in a separate section.
- 09:10:16 15 PRESIDING JUDGE: I think that does put things in
  - 16 perspective for everybody. Thank you.
  - 17 CROSS-EXAMINATION BY MR KOUMJIAN: [Continued]
  - 18 Q. Good morning, Mr Sesay.
  - 19 A. Yes, good morning, sir.
- 09:10:31 20 Q. You spoke yesterday and told us that Foday Sankoh knew
  - 21 Charles Taylor from Libya. Where did Foday Sankoh go from Libya?
  - 22 A. According to Mr Sankoh, he used to come to Freetown in
  - 23 Sierra Leone, and from there, when he met us in Abidjan, he told
  - 24 us that he was in Burkina Faso.
- 09:11:02 25 Q. Did he tell you that he had also travelled to Ghana at any
  - 26 time in his life?
  - 27 A. Well, what I understood is that they used to transit in
  - 28 Ghana.
  - 29 THE INTERPRETER: Your Honours, can the witness kindly

- 1 repeat this last part of his answer.
- 2 MR KOUMJIAN:
- 3 Q. Mr Sesay, can you speak up a bit, the interpreter didn't
- 4 hear you. It sounds like you're speaking slowly, but you're not
- 09:11:34 5 speaking distinctly into the microphone?
  - 6 A. I said I understood that the recruits that Ali Kabbah used
  - 7 to recruit from Sierra Leone transited through Ghana to Libya.
  - 8 Q. Because Ali Kabbah was studying in Ghana, is that correct?
  - 9 A. I did not know if he was studying in Ghana.
- 09:12:05 10 Q. Was Foday Sankoh did Foday Sankoh tell you that he had
  - 11 been arrested in Ghana at one time?
  - 12 A. No, I do not know that. He did not tell me that.
  - 13 Q. When did Foday Sankoh tell you excuse me. Foday Sankoh,
  - 14 you said, told you he had been in Burkina Faso. Did he say when
- 09:12:26 15 he was in Burkina Faso?
  - 16 A. He did not tell us when he was in Burkina Faso. He only
  - 17 told us at the time he was recruiting us; he said he had a
  - 18 restaurant in Burkina Faso and he had come from there.
  - 19 Q. But that was part of the deception to get you into Liberia
- 09:12:50 20 where you were then forced to train, isn't that true?
  - 21 A. Yes. He lied to us.
  - 22 Q. Now, you've made a point of pointing out that in Libya when
  - 23 the recruits arrived Ali Kabbah was the leader of the
  - 24 Si erra Leoneans, correct?
- 09:13:10 25 A. Yes.
  - 26 Q. So, sir, how was it that in Liberia Foday Sankoh was the
  - 27 Leader of the RUF? How did Foday Sankoh become the Leader of the
  - 28 RUF?
  - 29 A. I understood that Ali Kabbah, when they were in Libya,

- 1 training the RUF, Gaddafi gave him some money for the welfare of
- the RUF recruits and they said he embezzled the money and Gaddafi
- 3 was annoyed with him. That is my understanding.
- 4 Q. So then did Foday Sankoh become the Leader of the
- 09:13:54 5 Sierra Leoneans in Libya or did he become the leader of what
  - 6 became the RUF in Liberia? Which is true, to your knowledge?
  - 7 A. Well, I only came to know about the RUF in Liberia but
  - 8 before then I did not know.
  - 9 Q. But you've you were in the RUF. What did you learn about
- 09:14:21 10 how Foday Sankoh became the Leader of the RUF?
  - 11 A. Well, from what I understood, after Ali Kabbah had
  - 12 embezzled the money and Gaddafi became annoyed with him, he left
  - and he went to America. From that time Mr Sankoh was in charge
  - 14 of the recruits.
- 09:14:48 15 PRESIDING JUDGE: In Libya? Mr Sankoh became in charge in
  - 16 Li bya?
  - 17 THE WITNESS: Well, it was in Liberia. Because the time
  - 18 Ali Kabbah left, the training had completed, so the RUF returned
  - 19 to Sierra Leone and they were all scattered.
- 09:15:11 20 MR KOUMJIAN:
  - 21 Q. So it was in, according to your information, in Liberia
  - 22 that someone chose to make Foday Sankoh the Leader of an
  - 23 organisation that became known as the RUF, is that correct?
  - 24 A. Well, Mr Sankoh did not tell me that. He only told us at
- 09:15:30 25 Naama that he was the organiser of the RUF. The time that he
  - said he was the leader was the time he gave the 90-day ultimatum
  - 27 to Momoh to step down. That was the time he said he was the
  - 28 leader of the RUF.
  - 29 Q. So until that time, he described himself as an organiser.

- 1 So you were there for some months and Foday Sankoh did not claim
- 2 the title of leader but only organiser, is that right?
- 3 A. That was what he said, that he was the one organising the
- 4 revolution to go to Sierra Leone.
- 09:16:06 5 Q. Who was he organising that revolution for?
  - 6 A. For himself, because later he said he was the leader.
  - 7 Q. Mr Sesay, I want to read to you a bit of testimony of
  - 8 Mr Taylor. So I'd ask the transcript of 11 January 2010 to be
  - 9 brought up, page 33154. And at the bottom of the page, beginning
- 09:17:16 10 at line 21, Mr Taylor was asked:
  - 11 "Q. Indeed, let's go over that again because it is
  - important. You told Ms Harper" and Mr Sesay, that was a
  - 13 BBC correspondent; Mr Taylor was being asked about a radio
  - 14 interview he gave. So the question was:
- 09:17:37 15 "Q. You told Ms Harper, 'It is known by everyone that I
  - have been friendly with Foday Sankoh for many years before
  - the revolution'. You told her that in 1998, didn't you,
  - 18 Mr Taylor?
  - 19 A. Yes, I did."
- 09:17:54 20 Now, Mr Sesay, is that true what Mr Taylor said, that it
  - 21 was known by everyone that he was friendly with Foday Sankoh for
  - 22 many years before the revolution?
  - 23 MR CHEKERA: It calls for speculation; in other words, how
  - 24 can Mr Sesay tell what everyone knew?
- 09:18:16 25 PRESIDING JUDGE: Mr Koumjian, perhaps you could rephrase -
  - 26 I think I know what you mean to ask, but perhaps you could
  - 27 rephrase your question.
  - 28 MR KOUMJIAN:
  - 29 Q. Mr Sesay, was it known to all of you at Naama that

- 1 Foday Sankoh was friendly with Charles Taylor, or Charles Taylor
- 2 was friendly with Foday Sankoh, for many years before the
- 3 revolution?
- 4 A. I cannot talk about before the revolution, but what I knew
- 09:18:49 5 was that Mr Sankoh had said that he was a friend to Mr Taylor.
  - 6 Q. He said that at Naama?
  - 7 A. Yes, he said it at Naama and he said it in Sierra Leone
  - 8 also because, after the invasion after the six months I saw
  - 9 Liberians and Mr Sankoh himself brought together with ammunition
- 09:19:14 10 when they came to Pendembu.
  - 11 Q. Okay. So then let's go on to the next page of that
  - 12 transcript that I read to you, 33155, and Mr Taylor's full
  - 13 explanation of what he meant when he said, "It is known by
  - 14 everyone that I have been friendly with Foday Sankoh for
- 09:19:37 15 many years before the revolution." At the bottom of the page,
  - 16 towards the bottom, at line 19, Mr Taylor said:
  - 17 "A. Well let's look at, you know, the cynical way you ask
  - 18 your question and let's look at the language. I had never
  - 19 known Foday Sankoh, I said to her. It is known by everyone
- 09:20:02 20 that I had known Foday Sankoh before the revolution, which
  - 21 was totally incorrect because I had not known him. But
  - 22 I'm saying to her that everyone knows, and this is what is
  - out there because this is 1998, I'm already President, I
  - 24 said it is known by everyone that I knew Foday Sankoh, when
- 09:20:21 25 in fact I did not."
  - 26 Mr Sesay, your information Foday Sankoh told you he did
  - 27 know Charles Taylor before the revolution, correct?
  - 28 A. I said Foday Sankoh told us at Naama that Mr Taylor was his
  - 29 friend well, Foday Sankoh did not tell me that he was a friend

- 1 of Mr Taylor before the revolution.
- 2 Q. Mr Sesay, you really are trying to phrase your answers in
- 3 the way that you believe is most favourable to Mr Taylor, isn't
- 4 that true?
- 09:21:04 5 A. No, I'm saying the things that I heard from Mr Sankoh
  - 6 because during this time I did not speak with Mr Taylor.
  - 7 Q. Mr Sankoh told you in Naama, you've told us just two
  - 8 minutes ago, that he was a friend of Charles Taylor, correct?
  - 9 A. Yes, he said Mr Taylor was his friend, but he did not say
- 09:21:27 10 that the friendship dated before the war or it was during the
  - 11 revolution. He only said he was a friend of Mr Taylor, and I did
  - 12 not ask him when he became a friend of Mr Taylor's.
  - 13 Q. When did the revolution begin in Sierra Leone?
  - 14 A. It was March 1991.
- 09:21:48 15 Q. When did the revolution begin in Liberia?
  - 16 A. Mr Sankoh brought me to Liberia in late September 1990.
  - 17 MR CHEKERA: Madam President.
  - 18 PRESIDING JUDGE: Mr Chekera?
  - 19 MR CHEKERA: Just for clarity of the record, I would seek
- 09:22:10 20 counsel to distinguish which revolution is being referred to
  - 21 here, because we do have more than one, from his own follow-up
  - 22 questi on.
  - 23 PRESIDING JUDGE: You mean revolution in Liberia or in
  - 24 Si erra Leone?
- 09:22:26 25 MR CHEKERA: That is the question; if counsel could clarify
  - 26 which one of the two.
  - 27 MR KOUMJIAN: Your Honour, it's not for me to tell.
  - 28 PRESIDING JUDGE: He did say, "When did the revolution in
  - 29 Sierra Leone begin?" Are you saying there was more than one

1 revolution in Sierra Leone?

	2	MR CHEKERA: He then alluded to a revolution in Liberia as
	3	well.
	4	PRESIDING JUDGE: Yes. And what is your objection to that?
09:22:50	5	MR CHEKERA: I was seeking clarification as to which one of
	6	the two was being referred to in the context of the question.
	7	PRESIDING JUDGE: I'm sorry, Mr Chekera, you've lost me
	8	completely. I'm under the impression that counsel has been
	9	asking about the various revolutions - very distinctly one in
09:23:16	10	Sierra Leone, one in Liberia. Where is the confusion?
	11	MR CHEKERA: The initial question was, the quotation by
	12	Charles Taylor in the context of a revolution, and the proceeding
	13	question related to two revolutions. And there was no follow-up
	14	question to the two revolutions that were asked. So in the
09:23:38	15	context of the earlier question "a revolution" which one of the
	16	two? The one in Sierra Leone or the one in Liberia is what I'm
	17	seeking clarification on.
	18	PRESIDING JUDGE: I think we've long superseded that
	19	question, Mr Chekera. We are on a different question now. The
09:23:55	20	witness doesn't seem to have been confused, so I'll ask
	21	Mr Koumjian to proceed.
	22	MR KOUMJIAN:
	23	Q. Mr Sesay, when we broke off yesterday afternoon you had
	24	spoken about Charles Timber, an NPFL member who was with you at
09:24:12	25	the invasion and you said had attacked Daru twice and died during
	26	the second attack in late 1991. And just the last couple of
	27	questions to you at page 46422, you were asked?
	28	"Q. He came with you, he met you at Kailahun
	29	in March before you went to Sierra Leone, correct?

- A. Well, it was Anthony Mekunagbe who introduced him to us
- and he said that he was one of his men who were to join
- 3 us. "
- 4 And then you were asked:
- 09:24:54 5 "Q. And they joined you in the attack?
  - 6 A. Yes."
  - 7 So Charles Timber was one of the NPFL that joined the RUF
  - 8 in the March invasion in Sierra Leone, correct?
  - 9 A. Yes, Charles Timber was one of the men who worked with
- 09:25:14 10 Anthony Mekunagbe. All of us came together.
  - 11 Q. In March of 1991, correct?
  - 12 A. Yes, March 1991, but Charles Timber was a junior commando
  - 13 and Anthony Mekunagbe was a Special Forces, so they were working
  - 14 under Anthony Mekunagbe.
- 09:25:47 15 Q. And that's correct, Special Forces were those Liberians
  - 16 trained in Libya, correct?
  - 17 A. Yes, that is what I knew.
  - 18 Q. And you know, because of what you just said, that junior
  - 19 commandos were those Liberian NPFL forces trained in Liberia;
- 09:26:06 20 correct?
  - 21 A. Yes.
  - 22 Q. How did you know that?
  - 23 A. Well, they used to say it when we came on the attack in
  - 24 Bomaru up to the time we came to Mobai they used to say it,
- 09:26:21 25 because at that time we used to talk to each other. So that was
  - when I knew the difference between junior commandoes and the
  - 27 Special Forces.
  - 28 Q. Another person who took part in that invasion in March 1991
  - 29 of Sierra Leone was Mustapha Jallow of the NPFL; correct?

- 1 A. No, Mustapha Jallow, it was after the attack on Koindu -
- 2 after RUF had captured Koindu up to Kailahun, that was when he
- 3 came. Because I knew him in Pendembu.
- 4 Q. And what was his role in the attack, or in Sierra Leone
- 09:27:01 5 when you knew him?
  - 6 A. When I came to know him in Pendembu after the capture of
  - 7 Koindu and Kailahun, that was when he came. And he was with CO
  - 8 Kargbo, it was CO Kargbo who sent him to Bunumbu.
  - 9 Q. Well, he was the commander for the attack on Bunumbu. Is
- 09:27:27 10 that right?
  - 11 A. Yes, he was the commander in Bunumbu.
  - 12 Q. For the attack on Bunumbu. Is that right?
  - 13 A. Yes, he was the commander.
  - 14 Q. And that was March of 1991, correct?
- 09:27:46 15 A. No, it was around April.
  - 16 Q. April of 1991?
  - 17 A. Yes.
  - 18 Q. Well, sir, these NPFL that joined in the attack, I'd like
  - 19 to read to you a little bit about what Charles Taylor said about
- 09:28:09 20 them. First if we could have the transcript of 29 July excuse
  - 21 me. I must have the wrong page. I'll have to come back to that
  - 22 and look for the correct page. But let's go to the testimony of
  - 23 9 September, page 2009.
  - 24 PRESIDING JUDGE: September of which year, counsel?
- 09:28:59 25 MR KOUMJIAN: 9 September 2009, page 28531.
  - 26 Q. Sir, going to line 7, Mr Taylor was asked by Defence
  - 27 counsel:
  - 28 "Q. Help us. Do you accept that you know Mustapha Jallow?
  - 29 A. Oh, yes. Very, very well. I know Mustapha very well.

Q. How well?

1

28

29

	'	Q. How well:		
	2	A. Well, Mustapha, like I say, was one of those Gambians,		
	3	an older fellow that was very, very disciplined. He was a		
	4	very disciplined fellow. He was one of those that did not		
09:30:51	5	provide internal security protection for me but was always		
	6	moving along, around observing and different things.		
	7	Q. Was he a confidant of yours?		
	8	A. No, no, he was not a confidant of mine, no.		
	9	Q. Was he someone that he you discussed matters of state		
09:31:11	10	wi th?		
	11	A. No, no, no, no, no.		
	12	Q. Help us. Can you define the period over which you		
	13	associated with Mustapha Jallow?		
	14	A. Mustapha Jallow was in Liberia with me up until - he		
09:31:28	15	stayed in Liberia up until 2003."		
	16	Now, Mr Sesay, you've told us that this person that stayed		
	17	with Mr Taylor all the way to 2003 was one of the Gambians that		
	18	had joined Mr Taylor - was one of those that led the attack on		
	19	Bunumbu in Sierra Leone in April 1991, correct?		
09:31:57	20	A. Well, the Mustapha whom I know, that I spoke of being the		
	21	commander of the attack on had a problem		
	22	THE INTERPRETER: Your Honours, can the witness kindly		
	23	repeat this slowly.		
	24	PRESIDING JUDGE: Mr Sesay, you will just have to repeat		
09:32:18	25	your testimony. The Mustapha you know did what? Please speak		
	26	slowly.		
	27	THE WITNESS: Yes, my Lord. I said the Mustapha whom I		

knew that led the attack on Bunumbu had a problem with Sam Tuah

in late 1991 and Sam Tuah killed him. And this Mustapha had a

- 1 love relationship with Monica before Mr Sankoh left for Pujehun
- 2 District.
- 3 MR KOUMJIAN:
- 4 Q. Mr Sesay, the Mustapha Jallow that you knew, was he a
- 09:32:56 5 Gambi an?
  - 6 A. Yes, he was a Gambian, a tall, slim guy and dark. But Sam
  - 7 Tuah killed him in Bunumbu.
  - 8 Q. Mr Sesay, Mustapha Jallow was NPFL and he stayed with
  - 9 Mr Taylor until 2003, and it's the same Gambian Mustapha Jallow
- 09:33:23 10 that you're speaking of, isn't that true?
  - 11 A. No, the one I'm referring to, everybody knew him and
  - 12 everybody knew that Sam Tuah killed him.
  - PRESIDING JUDGE: When is Sam Tuah supposed to have killed
  - 14 Mustapha Jallow, Mr Sesay?
- 09:33:46 15 THE WITNESS: My Lord, it was in late 1991 when Sam Tuah
  - 16 had come back with the NPFL reinforcement. Before he left, that
  - 17 was the time he had the problem with him and he killed him. And
  - 18 he had gone to Bunumbu with his bodyguards where he met Mustapha.
  - 19 He first shot him in his leg, according to Keifa Wai and others
- 09:34:14 20 who were present. He shot him in his leg and then later he
  - 21 killed him and that information was all over Kailahun.
  - 22 MR KOUMJIAN:
  - 23 Q. Mr Sesay, another important member of the attacking forces
  - that invaded Sierra Leone was John Kargbo, correct?
- 09:34:33 25 A. Yes, John Kargbo was the battle group commander.
  - 26 Q. He didn't spend time with you at Naama. Is that correct,
  - 27 he did not?
  - 28 A. No.
  - 29 Q. But he was appointed at the day of the invasion as the

- 1 battle group commander to replace Rashid Mansaray, correct?
- 2 A. Yes.
- 3 Q. He was NPFL, John Kargbo; correct?
- 4 A. Well, I did not know John Kargbo before. It was in
- 09:35:10 5 Pendembu that we met, when Pa Kallon told us that he was the
  - 6 battle group commander that had been appointed by Mr Sankoh. And
  - 7 at the time I used to discuss with John Kargbo because I used to
  - 8 visit him in his house every morning to say hello to him. So he
  - 9 explained to me that he was a former SSD from Sierra Leone. He
- 09:35:35 10 said they were the ones who went with Quiwonkpa to overthrow Doe
  - 11 from Sierra Leone.
  - 12 Q. Well, certainly if John Kargbo told you about his time
  - 13 many years before in the Sierra Leone police, he would have told
  - 14 you that when he joined the RUF he was NPFL. That since in
- 09:36:07 15 1990 he was fighting for the NPFL. Isn't that true?
  - 16 A. Yes, he was an NPFL fighter before he came to Sierra Leone,
  - 17 because when the war started, Sierra Leoneans came in to join
  - 18 Mr Sankoh. But later in 1993, because in early '92 he had a
  - 19 problem with Mr Sankoh, because at the time the NPFL were
- 09:36:50 20 withdrawing Mr Sankoh also decided to replace him. So in '93
  - 21 Mr Sankoh gave orders to Mohamed to kill him. So he killed him
  - 22 right in the middle of Kailahun Town at the roundabout.
  - 23 Q. It was part of the killings of Rashid Mansaray and others,
  - 24 isn't that true?
- 09:37:13 **25** A. No, no.
  - 26 THE INTERPRETER: Your Honours, could the witness be asked
  - to raise his voice up.
  - 28 PRESIDING JUDGE: Mr Sesay, you can't be heard. You've got
  - 29 to raise your voice up a bit. But also, Mr Interpreter, isn't

- 1 there a way you can raise the volume in your ears?
- THE INTERPRETER: Your Honours, the volume is at the last
- 3 Level.
- 4 PRESIDING JUDGE: Mr Sesay, you don't have a choice, you
- 09:37:44 5 have to speak up and repeat your evidence. You were saying that
  - 6 counsel asked you, "It was part of the killings of Rashid
  - 7 Mansaray and others, isn't it true?" And you were beginning to
  - 8 explain that no, it was not. Continue.
  - 9 THE WITNESS: Yes, my Lord. I said no. I said it was not
- 09:38:10 10 part of Rashid's killing. He was killed by Mohamed at the time
  - 11 they were killing Jande and others in the centre of Kailahun Town
  - 12 right at the roundabout on Mr Sankoh's orders.
  - PRESIDING JUDGE: When you say "he" you are now referring
  - 14 to who?
- 09:38:29 15 THE WI TNESS: John Kargbo.
  - 16 MR KOUMJIAN:
  - 17 Q. So John Kargbo was killed as part of the Luawa Giehun
  - 18 killings at the same time, is that correct?
  - 19 A. Yes, it was during that same period because he was killed
- 09:38:49 20 before the NPRC captured Kailahun Town.
  - 21 PRESIDING JUDGE: It's not NPFL captured. It's NPRC
  - 22 captured Kailahun Town.
  - 23 MR KOUMJIAN:
  - 24 Q. So, Mr Sesay, from what you've told us, the RUF invaded
- 09:39:14 25 Sierra Leone in 1999 [sic] together with the NPFL with commanders
  - 26 like Anthony Mekunagbe, Sam Tuah, Charles Timber, John Kargbo,
  - 27 NPFL and Mustapha Jallow, NPFL who assisted the RUF in the
  - 28 invasion of Sierra Leone; correct?
  - 29 A. Well, Mustapha came after the invasion of Sierra Leone.

- 1 That was when Mustapha came. But Sam Tuah and Charles Timber,
- those ones were introduced to us by Anthony Mekunagbe in Kolahun
- 3 and they joined us to come and I understood that they had been
- 4 working with Anthony Mekunagbe in Lofa. They said they were his
- 09:40:08 5 own junior commanders.
  - 6 MR CHEKERA: Sorry. Before we continue, normally dates are
  - 7 difficult to pick up. Did counsel say 1999 or another date in
  - 8 the question? I just raise it because normally there is a
  - 9 difficultly picking transcripts once we go past.
- 09:40:31 10 PRESIDING JUDGE: Well, the record shows 1999. I don't
  - 11 know what you said, Mr Koumjian. Did you say 1999?
  - 12 MR KOUMJIAN: I hope I said 1991, but --
  - 13 PRESIDING JUDGE: That date should be 1991, when the RUF
  - 14 invaded Sierra Leone.
- 09:41:02 15 MR KOUMJIAN:
  - 16 Q. Mr Sesay, now, you're aware that the NPFL had or I'll ask
  - 17 you. Are you aware the NPFL had its own internal security, and
  - agents were planted among various units? Did you know that?
  - 19 A. In the RUF?
- 09:41:28 20 Q. I'm asking you now about the NPFL.
  - 21 A. Say that question again, please.
  - 22 Q. Certainly. Are you aware that Charles Taylor had agents in
  - 23 various fighting units to report to him on what the unit was
  - 24 doing, undercover agents?
- 09:42:00 25 PRESIDING JUDGE: Is that units within the NPFL or where?
  - MR KOUMJIAN:
  - 27 Q. Within the NPFL.
  - 28 A. Well, I did not know that because I was not part of their
  - 29 units, and when we came to Sierra Leone, the NPFL who came there

- 1 were not agents because when we came to Sierra Leone, the units
- that Pa Sankoh formed, like the G2, it was Edward Fembeh.
- THE INTERPRETER: Your Honours, the name of the battalion
- 4 was not clear to the interpreter.
- 09:42:40 5 MR KOUMJIAN:
  - 6 Q. Mr Sesay, the interpreter didn't get the name of the
  - 7 battalion. What we understood is the units that Pa Sankoh
  - 8 formed, like G2, and please continue.
  - 9 A. I said, like, for the G2, it was Edward Fembeh who headed
- 09:42:59 10 that, and Eldred Collins was for the rear battalion, and the G4
  - 11 was headed by Joseph Brown. But I did not see Liberian members
  - who were there with them, who were NPFL.
  - 13 PRESIDING JUDGE: You said Eldred Collins was for the what
  - 14 battalion?
- 09:43:26 15 THE WITNESS: The rear battalion, the rear battalion.
  - 16 PRESIDING JUDGE: Is that "rear", as in the back, or
  - 17 "real", as in genuine?
  - 18 THE WITNESS: Yes. Rear, at the back.
  - 19 MR KOUMJIAN:
- 09:43:45 20 Q. Mr Sesay, you know that in the RUF, there were various
  - 21 techniques that were used by commanders, including yourself, to
  - 22 be kept informed about what their subordinate commanders were
  - 23 doing; isn't that true? Let me give you some specific examples
  - 24 so it's clear. Radio operators were sent to various units, and
- 09:44:12 25 part of their duties were to report to Sam Bockarie or to you
  - about what the commanders that they were assigned to were doing;
  - 27 isn't that true?
  - 28 A. Yes, but radio operators were not assigned to units. Radio
  - 29 operators were assigned to commanders, commanders who commanded

- 1 areas. That is how the radio operator worked, but not with the
- 2 unit commanders.
- 3 Q. The Black Guards were not undercover but they were a unit
- 4 assigned to the leader who were responsible to go sent to
- 09:44:53 5 various units and responsible to report to the leader about what
  - 6 the units were doing; isn't that true?
  - 7 A. Yes. At the time Mr Sankoh was present, he used to send
  - 8 the Black Guards to various areas, not to units, to various
  - 9 areas, so that they would be able to monitor the activities of
- 09:45:17 10 the commander, including his fighters, at that location.
  - 11 Q. And didn't you say, Mr Sesay, that every radio operator was
  - 12 a Foday Sankoh informant?
  - 13 A. Yes. Radio operators could serve as informants to
  - 14 Mr Sankoh.
- 09:45:36 15 Q. And everywhere Foday Sankoh sent you, he would send
  - 16 security to spy on you; isn't that true?
  - 17 A. Yes. He used to send his Black Guards or radio operators
  - 18 to try and know what the commander was doing, he and his men, at
  - 19 that Location.
- 09:45:57 20 Q. So it would not surprise you, would it, to learn that the
  - 21 NPFL did exactly the same thing: sent spies to report to
  - 22 Charles Taylor about what the units were doing? Would that
  - 23 surpri se you?
  - 24 A. Well, I cannot tell. But what I knew was that the RUF in
- 09:46:18 25 Sierra Leone, at the time of the invasion, were subject to
  - 26 Mr Sankoh and it was Mr Sankoh that each and every one of us knew
  - 27 as the leader of the RUF.
  - 28 Q. And the NPFL was subject to Charles Taylor, correct?
  - 29 Was that a difficult question?

- 1 A. Well, what I knew is that when the NPFL were in
- 2 Sierra Leone, they were subject to Mr Sankoh, and when they did
- 3 things that Mr Sankoh did not like, Mr Sankoh asked Mr Taylor to
- 4 withdraw them, and they were withdrawn.
- 09:46:55 5 Q. So you're saying that the NPFL would follow Foday Sankoh's
  - 6 orders when they were in Sierra Leone?
  - 7 A. Yes, at the initial stage. At the time, they did not
  - 8 follow Mr Sankoh's orders in early '92. That was the reason why
  - 9 Mr Sankoh told Mr Taylor about it, and they were withdrawn.
- 09:47:20 10 PRESIDING JUDGE: Mr Koumjian, sorry, you did ask the
  - 11 witness a question where he hesitated, and you said, "Was that a
  - 12 difficult question?" If you look at the transcript, it says,
  - 13 "And the NPFL was subject to Charles Taylor." Is that what you
  - 14 asked? I thought I heard "the RUF was subject to
- 09:47:41 15 Charles Taylor".
  - 16 MR KOUMJIAN: The NPFL.
  - 17 PRESIDING JUDGE: You asked the NPFL?
  - 18 MR KOUMJIAN: Yes.
  - 19 Q. For example, Mr Sesay, you've told us about how RUF members
- 09:47:56 20 were arrested and beaten in front of Foday Sankoh by the NPFL at
  - 21 one time, correct?
  - 22 A. Yes, they did it, including myself. But that was the time
  - 23 that Mr Sankoh went and told Mr Taylor, and during that time,
  - 24 when we were beaten in Pendembu in presence of Mr Sankoh and we
- 09:48:21 25 were tied up, Pa James took us to Kuiva where they placed us in a
  - 26 detention cell, and the next three days, Anthony Mekunagbe came
  - 27 to withdraw I mean, sorry, General Dopoe Menkarzon came to
  - 28 withdraw the NPFL from Sierra Leone.
  - 29 Q. So when Charles Taylor wanted the NPFL out of Sierra Leone,

- 1 they went out of Sierra Leone, correct?
- 2 A. Yes, because those who were causing those problems, he had
- 3 sent them to come and fight against the ULIMO because it was
- 4 Mr Sankoh who brought them to Pendembu.
- 09:48:59 5 Q. And he had sent them to assist you in the invasion of
  - 6 Sierra Leone in March of 1991, correct?
  - 7 A. No. Those that I knew that he sent, they came after
  - 8 six months to come and fight against the ULIMO.
  - 9 Q. Well, Mr Sesay, you've told us yesterday afternoon and
- 09:49:20 10 today that the invasion was assisted by Charles Timber, Sam Tuah,
  - 11 Anthony Mekunagbe, that all of these went with you on the attack.
  - 12 A. Well, I knew that it was Anthony Mekunagbe who had that
  - 13 initial agreement with Mr Sankoh. But the one that I later came
  - 14 to know about, that was after we had invaded, because when we
- 09:49:47 15 attacked Kailahun I mean Bomaru and we came up to Mobai, Sam
  - 16 Tuah killed a paramount chief that was called Chief Bunduka. So
  - 17 Mr Sankoh became angry and he told Anthony Mekunagbe and he took
  - 18 back Sam Tuah to Liberia. So it was after six months that I saw
  - 19 those trucks of reinforcements armed with AKs, and they came with
- 09:50:11 20 ammunition, a truck full of ammunition, and they met with
  - 21 Mr Sankoh in Pendembu, and they went to Mr Sankoh's house, and
  - 22 from there they went to Kuiva where they were fighting against
  - the ULIMO, going towards Joru.
  - 24 Q. Mr Sesay, I want to read to you from some of the testimony
- 09:50:37 25 of Charles Taylor. If we could have the transcript of
  - 26 2 December 2009, page 32966. Thank you. And going down about 10
  - 27 lines, thank you, at line 11 Mr Taylor said:
  - 28 "A. Mr Koumjian, I have said the defence intelligence -
  - 29 Look, my Minister of Defence brought me this report. I do

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		•
	2	came from defence intelligence. Now, you asked me
	3	subsequently, and I'm trying to say, that, of course, if
	4	you want to call it agents, intelligent officers, I do not
09:51:51	5	know what word we can attach to it, but there were a lot
	6	of intelligence people that were circulating at that
	7	particular time."
	8	And then the next answer:
	9	"A. What I'm saying, intelligence - defence intelligence
09:52:06	10	people were sent undercover. I think this started with
	11	what did I mean by undercover. What apparently they did
	12	was to take some of the intelligence officers and let them
	13	volunteer to join in order to infiltrate the organisation.
	14	This is my understanding of it."
09:52:25	15	Mr Sesay, when you knew Charles Taylor, were you aware that
	16	he was very - took his security very seriously?
	17	A. Well, at the time I met with Mr Taylor for the first time
	18	and I discussed with him, it was in May of 2000, and he was a
	19	President, he had securities.
09:52:54	20	Q. Many of his securities, particularly in the early years,
	21	were non-Liberians, as a matter of preventing - as a matter of
	22	protecting himself from a Liberian coup. Did you know that?
	23	A. Well, I did not know much about the NPFL or Mr Taylor at
	24	the early stage. From Camp Naama, at the time I came to Naama, I
09:53:23	25	never left Naama to go to anywhere else, neither to go to Gbarnga
	26	or any other place, no. From Naama, I came to Sierra Leone, and
	27	since I came to Sierra Leone, I never went to Gbarnga, so I don't
	28	know much about Mr Taylor or his bodyguards or his securities.
	29	Q. Well, one of the securities - top security persons that you

not know the mechanism of this defence intelligent, but it

- 1 got to know was a Sierra Leonean and that was Momoh Dgiba,
- 2 correct?
- 3 A. Yes, I know Momoh Dgiba.
- 4 Q. He was one of the minority of those at Naama who were from
- 09:54:00 5 Sierra Leone; isn't that true?
  - 6 A. Well, Momoh Dgiba told me that his father was a
  - 7 Sierra Leonean but he was born in Liberia, because he was there
  - 8 at the base with his younger brother.
  - 9 Q. And Momoh Dgi ba stands out because he has a huge and
- 09:54:21 10 athletic body; isn't that true?
  - 11 A. Well, at the time we were training, Momoh Dgiba was not
  - 12 huge, but at the time I went later to I saw him, he was now
  - 13 huge. But at the time we were training, he was not huge, because
  - 14 he and I are within the same age bracket, but by then he was not
- 09:54:42 15 huge. And from 1991, when he left Naama, he and his brother
  - 16 escaped from Naama, I never saw him again until 2000 I mean
  - 17 1999, during the Lome Accord. And I again saw him in 2000. At
  - 18 that time, he had now become huge.
  - 19 Q. And another Sierra Leonean you know that worked as security
- 09:55:08 20 for Charles Taylor was Jackson Swarray, correct?
  - 21 A. Well, I did not know Jackson Swarray to be a security to
  - 22 Mr Taylor.
  - 23 Q. Didn't you know that Jackson Swarray was wounded in
  - 24 Sierra Leone, taken to a hospital in Liberia, where he was
- 09:55:35 25 visited by Charles Taylor?
  - 26 A. Well, I was not in Pujehun so I did not know about that.
  - 27 But at the time I came to know Jackson Swarray was when he was
  - 28 Mr Sankoh's bodyguard when he came to Kailahun in 1992.
  - 29 Q. Have you ever heard that Charles Taylor visited the

- 1 hospital, told Jackson Swarray, "I like you," and brought him to
- 2 the Executive Mansion in Gbarnga?
- 3 A. Well, I did not know about that.
- 4 Q. You've never heard that before, is that what you're saying?
- 09:56:11 5 A. Well, I do not recall that, and I'm saying I don't know
  - 6 about that. I knew Jackson Swarray in 1992 at the time they came
  - 7 to Kailahun, when Mr Sankoh brought them to Kailahun as his
  - 8 bodyguards.
  - 9 Q. You knew him all the way through your time as the until
- 09:56:33 10 your arrest, isn't that true?
  - 11 A. Yes, I knew him up to the time they left Kailahun and went
  - 12 to Zogoda and they left us in Kailahun up to the time I was
  - 13 arrested.
  - 14 Q. And Charles Taylor used to use Jackson Swarray because he
- 09:56:54 15 was a light-skinned man, of approximately the same height as
  - 16 Taylor, as a decoy to send out in a convoy of cars before he went
  - 17 to see if there would be an ambush, isn't that true?
  - 18 A. Well, I don't know about that. Jackson Swarray was a young
  - 19 man, whilst Mr Taylor is an old man, so I don't know about that.
- 09:57:28 20 Q. What agents did you become aware of, from Liberia, that
  - 21 were with the RUF? Did you become aware of anyone informing on
  - 22 the RUF to Liberia?
  - 23 A. I don't understand the question.
  - Q. Well, Mr Sesay, wouldn't it make sense to you that
- 09:57:52 25 Charles Taylor would want to know what was going on in the RUF?
  - 26 A. Well, Mr Taylor must have had interest, and I know that he
  - 27 knew what was happening in the RUF after the six months of the
  - 28 invasion when his men came, because at that time he also had
  - 29 interest for his men to come and fight against the ULIMO so that

- 1 they could be stopped from crossing the border. So they must
- 2 have been reporting to him. But before that time I did not know
- 3 about that. And after the withdrawal of the NPFL in early '92, I
- 4 did not know about Mr Taylor or that if Mr Sankoh was reporting
- 09:58:40 5 to Mr Taylor, I did not know that. But at the time Mr Sankoh
  - 6 came with the reinforcement from the NPFL to come and fight
  - 7 against the ULIMO and the kind of ammunition that I saw, I then
  - 8 realised that Mr Taylor had interest in what was happening in
  - 9 Sierra Leone, because it was a large cache of ammunition and the
- 09:59:02 10 fighters too were in huge numbers.
  - 11 THE WITNESS: My Lord, please, I want to use the restroom
  - 12 just for two minutes.
  - 13 PRESIDING JUDGE: Yes, Mr Sesay could be escorted out,
  - 14 pl ease.
- 10:03:22 15 PRESIDING JUDGE: Yes, Mr Koumjian?
  - 16 MR KOUMJIAN:
  - 17 Q. Mr Sesay, I'd like to read to you from the testimony of
  - 18 31 March 2010, page 38450. It's from a Defence witness DC 215.
  - 19 PRESIDING JUDGE: Did this witness testify openly or with a
- 10:04:16 20 pseudonym?
  - 21 MR KOUMJIAN: As I recall, openly. But I won't say the
  - 22 name, unless the Defence requests it or they confirm it.
  - 23 Q. The witness said, beginning on line 2 This, sir, was a
  - 24 witness who said he was a vanguard and said that he had been
- 10:04:46 25 NPFL, joined briefly then sent and joined the RUF and was
  - 26 trained at Naama and then went back to Liberia in the later years
  - 27 and rejoined the Armed Forces of Liberia and then the SSS. So he
  - 28 was asked:
  - 29 "Q. Sir, the SSS also had an intelligence function,

1 correct?

	2	A. When you talk about intelligence function, what do you
	3	mean?
	4	Q. Well, what I mean is it had an intelligence branch that
10:05:19	5	was part of the SSS that was responsible for obtaining
	6	information?
	7	A. Yes.
	8	Q. And one of the ways the SSS did that was by putting
	9	people into different units where they weren't - where they
10:05:34	10	were undercover. People didn't know they were SSS and they
	11	would report to Benjamin Yeaten or to their bosses in the
	12	intelligence section, correct?
	13	A. Yes.
	14	Q. In the RUF, there was a somewhat similar system that
10:05:51	15	people like Sam Bockarie and Issa Sesay would send
	16	bodyguards or others into other people's units, like
	17	Superman's, to report back to them on what was going on,
	18	correct?
	19	A. Yes. Yes, those were intelligence officers, yes.
10:06:08	20	Mostly you had what they called - I don't know - the IDU or
	21	the IO, they were intelligence officers who were on the
	22	front line."
	23	Now, there's a couple of things there. First of all, were
	24	you aware that the SSS had this practice of putting undercover
10:06:26	25	agents into NPFL units?
	26	A. I did not know how the SSS operated.
	27	Q. Were you aware - well, is it true, as the witness says,
	28	that you and Sam Bockarie would send bodyguards or others to
	29	different units to report back to you on what those commanders

- 1 were doing?
- 2 A. No. Like, for example, in 1998, I did not send my
- 3 bodyguards to Superman to know what he was doing, not even in
- 4 1999. And in 1997, I could not send my bodyguards to Superman in
- 10:07:09 5 the jungle, or even 1996. So in the RUF there was an IO, that is
  - 6 a unit. They were not Issa's bodyguards or Bockarie's
  - 7 bodyguards. That was a unit. Those IOs were responsible to be
  - 8 at the various front lines in the battalions to send reports to
  - 9 the IO commander and the IO commander, in turn, would send
- 10:07:39 10 reports to Bockarie. At the time Bockarie was not there any
  - 11 more, the reports were sent to me. But in the RUF,
  - 12 between August to part of December 1998, RUF did not send reports
  - on Superman's operation to Sam Bockarie's and happen again
  - 14 between April to October of 1999, IOs did not send reports from
- 10:08:05 15 Superman's operation areas.
  - 16 Q. Mr Sesay, moving on. You've mentioned a couple of Special
  - 17 Forces, Sierra Leoneans, who joined you after Naama. Patrick
  - 18 Lamin and Daboh, is that correct?
  - 19 A. Yes.
- 10:08:25 20 Q. What were they doing before they joined you?
  - 21 A. Well, I understood that they were in Sierra Leone because,
  - 22 when Daboh met us in Pendembu, he said he had come from Freetown.
  - 23 Q. When the RUF invaded Kailahun District the people of
  - 24 Kailahun were forced to do work for you, and particularly for the
- 10:08:56 25 NPFL who invaded, and they were forced often to carry loads back
  - 26 to Foya, isn't that true?
  - 27 A. Yes, that happened.
  - 28 Q. And you don't speak Mende, do you?
  - 29 A. No, I don't speak Mende. Even the one that I could

- 1 understand is not much.
- 2 Q. Did you hear, as we were told by a Defence witness, that
- 3 there was a common song in Kailahun District that the people
- 4 would sing, translated it means, "Leave me alone, I am not going
- 10:09:34 5 to take coffee to Foya for you." Did you ever hear that song
  - 6 sung by the people of Kailahun?
  - 7 A. I did not know about a song like that. But I knew that the
  - 8 NPFL used to force civilians to carry coffee and looted items to
  - 9 Foya. That was those were the things that made Foday Sankoh to
- 10:10:06 10 complain them to be withdrawn. And even during the withdrawal,
  - 11 the RUF mobilised itself and they were attacked, and some of them
  - 12 died in the hands of the RUF.
  - 13 Q. Foday Sankoh, when the invasion happened, wasn't with you,
  - 14 he remained in Liberia, correct?
- 10:10:28 15 A. Well, I knew that Foday Sankoh used to go to Pujehun and he
  - 16 used to come through Liberia.
  - 17 Q. And you know certainly, don't you, Mr Sesay, that he had a
  - 18 house in Gbarnga at that time when you were fighting in
  - 19 Sierra Leone, isn't that true?
- 10:10:51 20 A. Yes, after the invasion. During the time that Mr Sankoh
  - 21 brought the reinforcement he had a place in Gbarnga.
  - 22 Q. We've heard evidence that Pa Tengbeh was the RUF
  - 23 spokesperson at that time, is that true?
  - 24 A. Pa who?
- 10:11:19 25 Q. Tengbeh. Pa Tengbeh?
  - 26 A. Pa Tengbeh was PRO.
  - 27 Q. Public relations officer, correct?
  - 28 A. Yes.
  - 29 Q. And he was based in Gbarnga for months, correct?

- 1 A. No, no, no. He never went to Gbarnga from '91 to up to
- 2 '93. When the NPRC captured him in Dia. He never went there.
- 3 He was in Mobai. And when the NPRC advanced he left Mobai to his
- 4 home town, that is Dia. He was there up to his capture.
- 10:12:06 5 Q. So it's your testimony that Pa Tengbeh, the PRO, never was
  - 6 in Gbarnga? Is that what you're saying?
  - 7 A. That is what I knew. I never heard that he went to
  - 8 Gbarnga.
  - 9 Q. How often would Foday Sankoh come to Kailahun District?
- 10:12:34 10 A. Well, when he used to come Kailahun he would tell us that
  - 11 he was going to Pujehun. At times after three weeks he would
  - 12 come to Kailahun. There were times after two weeks. There was
  - 13 times in a month. That happened between '91 and part of early
  - 14 '92. And after the withdrawal of the NPFL, at that time ULIMO
- 10:13:00 15 was advancing on Lofa, so he did not go to Liberia again.
  - 16 Q. Now, you stated in an earlier answer, you said, "During the
  - 17 time that Mr Sankoh brought the reinforcement, he had a place in
  - 18 Gbarnga." Why did Mr Sankoh have a place in Gbarnga when the war
  - 19 was in Sierra Leone?
- 10:13:27 20 A. Well, one, Mr Sankoh's wife whom he had was from Gbarnga.
  - 21 And, two, after he had brought the reinforcement, after the
  - 22 six months, he was operating directly with Mr Taylor during that
  - 23 time because Mr Taylor's troops had come to Sierra Leone to fight
  - 24 against the ULIMOs and they brought a good number of fighters and
- 10:13:56 25 ammunition. That is what I knew.
  - 26 Q. First of all, in your answer, you said one of Sankoh's
  - 27 wives was from Gbarnga, or he had a wife from Gbarnga. Was that
  - 28 Fatou Brown?
  - 29 A. Yes, she was from Gbarnga, Fatou Brown.

- 1 Q. And what was her relationship to Joseph Brown?
- 2 A. She was Joseph Brown's junior sister. Same parents.
- 3 Q. And what was her relationship with Alfred Brown?
- 4 A. Well, Alfred Brown was their elder brother. But there were
- 10:14:39 5 two Alfred Browns in the RUF. There was Alfred Brown who was the
  - 6 driver --
  - 7 THE INTERPRETER: Your Honours, can the witness kindly
  - 8 speak slowly and speak up.
  - 9 PRESIDING JUDGE: Mr Sesay, you have to repeat your answer,
- 10:14:56 10 slowly, and speak up. We didn't understand a word you said.
  - 11 THE WITNESS: My Lord, I said there were two Alfred Browns.
  - 12 There was one Alfred Brown who was a driver to Mr Sankoh and that
  - 13 is Fatou and Joseph Brown's elder brother. And there was another
  - 14 Alfred Brown who was a cousin to them. He was a radio operator.
- 10:15:23 15 He was in the RUF.
  - 16 MR KOUMJIAN:
  - 17 Q. Thank you. The radio operator Alfred Brown is one of those
  - 18 that Bockarie sent to the north to SAJ Musa in 1998; correct?
  - 19 A. Yes.
- 10:15:42 20 Q. And the brother of Fatou Brown and Joseph Brown, that
  - 21 Alfred Brown was the driver of Foday Sankoh, correct?
  - 22 A. Yes, yes.
  - 23 Q. When the invasion first occurred Foday Sankoh stayed in
  - 24 Liberia and he only later came to Pendembu, isn't that true?
- 10:16:06 25 A. Yes, Foday Sankoh came with us up to Kolahun and we left
  - 26 him in Kolahun and we went we went to Vahun and we attacked
  - 27 Bomaru and after a week after we captured Mobai --
  - 28 THE INTERPRETER: Your Honours, can the witness kindly be
  - 29 asked again to speak slowly.

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- 2 Q. Mr Sesay, the interpreters asked you to speak slowly. And
- 3 I want to go over your answer because I think there might be some
- 4 confusion in the transcript between Kailahun and Kolahun. You
- 10:16:50 5 said Foday Sankoh came with us up to where?
  - 6 A. Up to Kolahun. That is in Liberia.
  - 7 Q. Thank you. And then you said, "And when we left him in
  - 8 Kolahun we went to Vahun", and then continue slowly.
  - 9 A. Yes, from Vahun we attacked Bomaru and we captured Bomaru.
- 10:17:15 10 We came and to Mobai and to Pendembu, while the group from Koindu
  - 11 had captured up to Kailahun Town and we met in Pendembu. So
  - 12 Mr Sankoh came through Bomaru, Baiwala and he came to Mobai and
  - 13 Pendembu where he held a meeting and he went to Kailahun Town.
  - MR CHEKERA: Madam President, I do understand the problem
- 10:17:48 15 that the stenographers are having, but on this aspect of the
  - 16 evidence, would it be helpful if we spelt out Kolahun and put it
  - 17 appropriately, because initially the witness speaks of Kolahun
  - 18 and then he speaks of Kailahun. And after we finish with this
  - 19 part of the evidence it might be difficult for us to follow and
- 10:18:09 20 see which reference was to Kolahun and Kailahun, because we have
  - 21 both references in the same paragraph.
  - 22 PRESIDING JUDGE: Mr Chekera, I see both words in the
  - 23 record. So it's not a question of this spelling not being there.
  - The word Kolahun is referred to in the text and Kailahun is
- 10:18:31 25 referred to in the text. Now, all that needs to be done is for
  - the transcriber to get the words correctly. And I think the
  - 27 witness has said so very clearly. Both spellings are in the
  - 28 record.
  - 29 MR KOUMJIAN: I understand Mr Chekera's concern. I'm sure

- 1 it will be picked up in the editing of the transcript. We'll all
- 2 make sure of that.
- 3 PRESIDING JUDGE: Yes. I really do ask the parties to pay
- 4 attention to this record tomorrow. It's in all your interests to
- 10:19:03 5 make sure the record is accurate finally.
  - 6 MR KOUMJIAN:
  - 7 Q. Mr Sesay, you've talked about hearing about Foday Sankoh's
  - 8 90-day ultimatum over the BBC. Did you also hear Charles Taylor
  - 9 before that threaten Sierra Leone that it would taste the
- 10:19:29 10 bitterness of war if it continued to support ECOMOG in Liberia?
  - 11 A. Yes, I heard that one.
  - 12 Q. I want to talk to you a bit now about Top 20, Top 40.
  - 13 Excuse me. Before we go into that I'm going to talk to you
  - 14 about Top 20, Top 40, Top Final but is it correct that what set
- 10:20:12 15 these events in motion were the crimes that the NPFL were
  - 16 committing against civilians and the vanguards in Sierra Leone?
  - 17 A. Yes, the civilians the vanguards and the junior
  - 18 commandos.
  - 19 Q. The NPFL were raping. Isn't that true?
- 10:20:37 20 A. Yes
  - 21 Q. They were killing. Isn't that correct?
  - 22 A. Yes.
  - 23 Q. You've already told us they were making people carry loads
  - 24 to Lofa County, to Foya, correct?
- 10:20:55 **25** A. Yes, to Foya.
  - 26 Q. And those were things that they had stolen, that they had
  - 27 I ooted from Sierra Leone, correct?
  - 28 A. Yes.
  - 29 Q. And they even were committing acts of cannibalism in

- 1 Sierra Leone. Isn't that true?
- 2 A. Yes, few of them. That's why one Edward Fembeh who was in
- 3 Mende Buima, when some people were captured in Mende Buima Edward
- 4 Fembeh organised the junior commandos and the Poro society in
- 10:21:39 5 Mende Buima was organised and that's why the Top 20 was formed
  - 6 and people were killed. Because the Poro society that Fembeh
  - 7 organised, that night they were chasing them from Mende Buima and
  - 8 they chased them out of Mende Buima. So they came to Pendembu
  - and the NPFL reorganised themselves and they killed the acting
- 10:22:06 10 paramount chief. They killed some people, shooting junior
  - 11 commandos.
  - 12 Q. And was it at that time that you were arrested?
  - 13 A. Yes, it was at that time that Mohamed, Morris Kallon,
  - 14 Augustine Banabay, Keifa Wai, Peter Vandi and others, together
- 10:22:34 15 with myself we were in Boabu up to the time Mr Sankoh came and
  - we were arrested and taken to Kuiva and we were beaten.
  - 17 Q. Isaac Mongor was also arrested, correct?
  - 18 A. No, no. Isaac Mongor was not arrested. In fact, he joined
  - 19 them. Because that was the time he killed those ten civilians.
- 10:23:03 20 THE INTERPRETER: Your Honours, can the witness repeat the
  - 21 name of the town where the civilians were killed.
  - 22 PRESIDING JUDGE: What was the name of the town where the
  - 23 civilians were killed?
  - 24 THE WITNESS: Tombowolo. That is where he killed ten
- 10:23:23 **25** civilians.
  - MR KOUMJIAN:
  - 27 Q. Mr Sesay, can you spell the name of the town that you just
  - 28 sai d?
  - 29 A. No.

- 1 MR KOUMJIAN: Can the interpreter please assist us?
- 2 THE INTERPRETER: Yes. Phonetically it's
- $3 \quad T-O-M-B-O-W-O-L-O.$
- 4 MR KOUMJIAN:
- 10:23:41 5 Q. Now, Mr Sesay, when the Liberians arrested your group,
  - 6 among your group was Augustine, somebody named Augustine,
  - 7 correct?
  - 8 A. Yes, Banabay.
  - 9 Q. I'm not sure if we have Banabay on the record before. We
- 10:24:05 10 probably did in his direct examination. Do you know how to spell
  - 11 that, Mr Sesay?
  - 12 A. I think it's B-A-N-A-B-A-Y.
  - 13 PRESIDING JUDGE: I thought that surname had a G in there
  - 14 somewhere. Mr Interpreter, is that the correct spelling?
- 10:24:32 15 THE INTERPRETER: No, your Honour. It's G-B-A-N-A-B-A-Y.
  - 16 THE WITNESS: I don't think it has a G.
  - 17 MR KOUMJIAN:
  - 18 Q. Well, it's clear who you're speaking about, Augustine.
  - 19 Mr Sesay, I just want to go back for a moment to something you
- 10:24:57 20 said earlier. You said Pa Tengbeh was never in Gbarnga. If we
  - 21 could have the transcript of 19 April 2010, page 39312.
  - 22 MR CHEKERA: Before counsel proceeds, the evidence was not
  - 23 that he was never. The evidence was the witness is not aware
  - whether he was.
- 10:25:21 25 PRESIDING JUDGE: What are you referring to?
  - 26 MR CHEKERA: The prefix to the question where Mr Sesay's
  - 27 recorded as saying in his evidence that Mr Tengbeh was never in
  - 28 Gbarnga. His evidence is he does not know whether he was. He
  - 29 has no knowledge whether he was not he was never.

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29

	1	MR KOUMJIAN:
	2	Q. Mr Sesay, I'm reading from page 34 of my LiveNote,
	3	beginning line 17 - beginning line 10. The question was put to
	4	you: "We've heard evidence, testimony, that Pa Tengbeh, the
10:26:11	5	spokesperson - who was the spokesperson at the time" and you
	6	explained it was a public relations officer. And then the
	7	question was put to you:
	8	"Q. And he was based in Gbarnga for months, correct?
	9	A. No, no, no, he never went to Gbarnga from '91 up to
10:26:28	10	' 93.
	11	And then you continued on:
	12	MR CHEKERA: I withdraw my objection.
	13	MR KOUMJIAN:
	14	Q. So in this testimony that I'm about to read to you, this is
10:26:47	15	from a Defence witness, and the question was put - I don't know
	16	if we have it on the screen, if I gave the correct citation.
	17	Yes? Correct. So halfway down the page, thank you, line -
	18	beginning line 24.
	19	"Q. And by the end of 1991, you mean somewhere
10:27:15	20	between October and December?
	21	A. It was around December.
	22	Q. So from December to May or June, so about six months?
	23	A. Exactly.
	24	Q. Mr Tengbeh was in Gbarnga?
10:27:30	25	A. Yes.
	26	Q. With Foday Sankoh?
	27	A. Yes."
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PRESIDING JUDGE: Next page.

MR KOUMJIAN: Thank you.

- 1 Q. The question was:
- 2 "Q. With Foday Sankoh?
- 3 A. Yes.
- Q. And when he returned, what did he say he did for
- 10:27:50 5 six months with Foday Sankoh in Gbarnga?
  - 6 A. Who?
  - 7 Q. Mr Tengbeh."
  - 8 And the answer goes on:
  - 9 "Mr Tengbeh knew the reason why we went him. We sent him
- 10:28:01 10 to go meet Charles Taylor, to tell Charles Taylor that we wanted
  - 11 help from him."
  - Mr Sesay, who was telling the truth, you or the other
  - 13 Defence witness, about Mr Tengbeh being with Foday Sankoh in
  - 14 Gbarnga for six months?
- 10:28:20 15 A. I am only saying what I could recall. That is the
  - 16 witness's opinion. But what I do recall is that in May of 1992,
  - 17 when the NPFL arrested us and took us to Kuiva, Pa Tengbeh was
  - 18 already in the cell in Kuiva. He had been arrested. So how
  - 19 could Pa Tengbeh be in Gbarnga when all of us were in custody in
- 10:28:49 20 Gbarnga in May of '92 in Kuiva, sorry.
  - 21 Q. So what you're saying is at the time of Top 20 or Top 40,
  - 22 Pa Tengbeh was arrested and he was is that correct?
  - 23 A. Yes, during Top 20. We met him in Kuiva. He was in the
  - 24 cell. All of us were in the cell; myself, Pa Tengbeh was there,
- 10:29:16 25 Keifa Wai, Augustine, Peter Vandi, Mohamed Tarawalli, all of us
  - 26 were in the cell.
  - 27 Q. Is it correct, as the Defence witness I just read
  - 28 testified, that Foday Sankoh would spend months in Gbarnga?
  - 29 A. Well, I wouldn't know the exact time that Mr Sankoh spent

- in Gbarnga because in '91 he used to go to Pujehun and he used to
- 2 go to Gbarnga and Kailahun, so I wouldn't tell you the exact time
- 3 that he spent in Gbarnga.
- 4 Q. Did Foday Sankoh tell you why he spent time and had a house
- 10:30:05 5 in Gbarnga?
  - 6 A. The time that Mr Sankoh brought the NPFL, that is the
  - 7 reinforcement, to fight against the ULIMOs, he reported about the
  - 8 activities of the NPFL, that is the fighting that they were doing
  - 9 against the ULIMOs and the welfare of the NPFL that he had
- 10:30:28 10 brought with the reinforcements, so he used to go to Gbarnga. So
  - 11 and he had a place there.
  - 12 Q. By this time, by the time that ULIMO began attacking the
  - 13 RUF, the RUF had captured radios, correct?
  - 14 A. Yes, RUF had captured radios.
- 10:30:51 15 PRESIDING JUDGE: Mr Koumjian, I'm sorry to interrupt. I
  - 16 want to understand the evidence of the witness, Mr Sesay,
  - 17 regarding Pa Tengbeh's arrest and detention in Kuiva. When was
  - 18 this? When was Pa Tengbeh arrested?
  - 19 THE WITNESS: It was in May. May 2000. That is when all
- 10:31:16 20 of us were arrested.
  - 21 PRESIDING JUDGE: You said May 2000?
  - 22 THE WITNESS: May 1992, my Lord, I'm sorry, because the
  - 23 problem started in April and we were arrested in May. And when
  - 24 we were arrested and taken to Kuiva, we met Pa Tengbeh there in
- 10:31:36 25 1992.
  - 26 PRESIDING JUDGE: You met him in jail? You met him in
  - 27 jail?
  - 28 THE WITNESS: Yes, ma'am. Because he was arrested in Mobai
  - 29 and taken to Kui va.

- 1 PRESIDING JUDGE: Yes. But the testimony that we just read
- 2 is not inconsistent with what you're saying, because the
- 3 testimony is that he is supposed to have been in Gbarnga
- 4 before May of 1992. Isn't that right, Mr Koumjian?
- 10:32:05 5 The testimony that you just quoted was that by the end of
  - 6 1991, that's December, from December to May/June, about
  - 7 six months, Pa Tengbeh was in Gbarnga with Foday Sankoh?
  - 8 MR KOUMJIAN: Correct.
  - 9 PRESIDING JUDGE: I don't see any inconsistency there.
- 10:32:28 10 MR KOUMJIAN:
  - 11 Q. So, Mr Sesay, you had said earlier that Pa Tengbeh had
  - 12 never been in Gbarnga but you now say that the other witness may
  - 13 be correct, that he was in Gbarnga, and you didn't know; is that
  - 14 correct?
- 10:32:47 15 A. No. I said I don't know if he was in Gbarnga, if he went
  - 16 to Gbarnga at all. I don't know. I know that in May all of us
  - 17 were in custody in 1992, all of us were in custody in Kuiva, when
  - 18 we were arrested.
  - 19 Q. You said Pa Tengbeh was arrested in Mobai. How do you know
- 10:33:10 20 that, that it was in Mobai that he was arrested?
  - 21 A. Well, he was in Mobai from the time RUF entered Kailahun in
  - 22 1991. I met him in Mobai with his family; his wife and the rest
  - 23 of his family, they were in Mobai. When we met him in the cell,
  - they told us that he was arrested from his house in Mobai.
- 10:33:38 25 Q. His daughter was a girl friend of Foday Sankoh, is that
  - 26 right?
  - 27 A. Yes, that was what I heard, at the time Mr Sankoh was in
  - 28 Abidjan, that is Josephine Tengbeh.
  - 29 Q. Now, some of those arrested in Top 20 and Top 40 were taken

- 1 to Liberia by the NPFL, isn't that true?
- 2 A. Yes, they arrested some and they took them away, but
- 3 Mr Sankoh later brought them back, at the time the NPFL were
- 4 withdrawing.
- 10:34:21 5 Q. So, again, Foday Sankoh was able to get people out of NPFL
  - 6 prisons or detention facilities, is that right?
  - 7 A. Well, yes, because the people the NPFL who were in
  - 8 Sierra Leone were the ones who arrested them and took them away
  - 9 and they detained them in Foya. So Mr Sankoh too after he had
- 10:34:47 10 complained for the withdrawal of the NPFL, when he went and
  - 11 brought them.
  - 12 Q. Now --
  - PRESIDING JUDGE: Sorry, I don't understand that aspect.
  - 14 He says that Mr Sankoh went and he says he later brought them
- 10:35:02 15 back at the time the NPFL were withdrawing, meaning what? What
  - 16 time was that?
  - 17 THE WITNESS: My Lord, at the time Mr Sankoh went and
  - 18 complained to Mr Taylor to withdraw the NPFL and he explained to
  - 19 him about the atrocities that they had committed, he Mr Taylor
- 10:35:24 20 then sent Dopoe Menkarzon to come and withdraw the NPFL. That
  - 21 was the time that Mr Sankoh brought the men who had been in
  - 22 custody in Foya, that the NPFL had took had taken with them,
  - 23 John Kargbo, Ibrahim Goba, Kallon.
  - 24 PRESIDING JUDGE: From the record it looks like Sankoh went
- 10:35:47 25 and brought back the same NPFL that had been withdrawn. I don't
  - 26 know if this is what you meant.
  - 27 THE WITNESS: No, I said no, my Lord. I said Mr Sankoh
  - 28 brought back the RUF personnel whom who had been arrested by
  - 29 the NPFL and detained in Foya. Mr Sankoh brought them back to

- 1 Si erra Leone.
- 2 PRESIDING JUDGE: Thanks for that clarification.
- 3 MR KOUMJIAN:
- 4 Q. Now, in order to fight against the NPFL Foday Sankoh
- 10:36:19 5 instructed Isaac Mongor to lead the Top Final operation, correct?
  - 6 A. Well, that was not an order from Mr Sankoh. It was Isaac
  - 7 who said that we were now tired with the kind of nonsense. They
  - 8 said we were no longer going to wait for Mr Sankoh's orders. He
  - 9 said he himself was going to take upon himself and attack the
- 10:36:47 10 Liberians and by then he was the acting battle group.
  - 11 Q. So when was Foday Sankoh Isaac Mongor appointed acting
  - 12 battle group commander? What month and year?
  - 13 A. It was around around May of '92.
  - 14 Q. So just a month or so later he led the Top Final operation,
- 10:37:13 **15** correct?
  - 16 A. Yes.
  - 17 Q. Now, when the NPFL the majority of the NPFL were
  - 18 withdrawn, many NPFL or several, stayed with the RUF, isn't that
  - 19 true?
- 10:37:33 20 A. Well, after General Dopoe came and withdrew the NPFL and he
  - 21 told them that all of them should go back to Liberia, those who
  - 22 did not want to go were the ones that were attacked by the RUF.
  - 23 When Isaac Mongor led the attack against them. So a few of them,
  - 24 who were very friendly to the RUF, decided to stay.
- 10:38:02 25 Q. Now, there were people like Superman stayed, correct?
  - 26 A. Yes, Superman stayed. That was why I said "few of them".
  - 27 Q. I want to move on to the time that ULIMO controlled the
  - 28 borders between at Lofa County between Liberia and
  - 29 Sierra Leone. When did that occur?

- 1 A. That started in 1992.
- 2 Q. And when that happened ULIMO blocked the armed transport
- 3 route for supplies of weapons and ammunition to the RUF, isn't
- 4 that true?
- 10:38:45 5 A. Yes, because but no. Because after the withdrawal of the
  - 6 NPFL, Mr Sankoh no longer brought arms or ammunition at that time
  - 7 until the time the ULIMO took over Lofa. So when the ULIMO took
  - 8 over Lofa Mr Sankoh was no longer able to go to Gbarnga.
  - 9 Q. Would it be correct to say then, or incorrect, to say that
- 10:39:16 10 ULIMO blocked the armed transport route in April or May 1993; is
  - 11 that true or false?
  - 12 A. No. Before that time ULIMO had already been in Lofa.
  - 13 MR KOUMJIAN: Can I ask that the transcript from the RUF
  - 14 case, Mr Sesay's testimony for 22 June, page 29, be put on the
- 10:39:42 15 screen.
  - 16 PRESIDING JUDGE: Sorry, can you repeat the reference,
  - 17 pl ease.
  - 18 MR KOUMJIAN: 22 June, I didn't write down the year, but it
  - 19 was the year of his testimony, 2007 or 2008. I'm getting
- 10:40:11 20 confused.
  - 21 PRESIDING JUDGE: What case?
  - 22 MR KOUMJIAN: RUF. Mr Sesay's RUF testimony. The
  - 23 transcript from the RUF case, Mr Sesay's testimony for 22 June,
  - 24 page 29, 2007. 22 June 2007. Scroll down, please, because I
- 10:40:35 25 don't know the line number. Thank you.
  - 26 Q. At line 25 you were asked this question:
  - 27 "Q. Now, there was a time when ULIMO blocked the armed
  - 28 transport route from Liberia to Sierra Leone, is that
  - right?

- 1 A. Yes, that is true, when ULIMO captured Lofa County,
- 2 around April, May 1993."
- 3 So in the RUF trial, Mr Sesay, you said that it was true
- 4 that the armed transport route was blocked in April or May 1993.
- 10:41:19 5 Isn't that what you said?
  - 6 A. Yes, that was what I said, and I meant that at the time
  - 7 that the NPFL had finally been moved from the Liberian soil, who
  - 8 were at the borderline in Lofa. But ULIMO had cut off the supply
  - 9 line from Zorzor starting late 1992, before 1993. ULIMO had been
- 10:41:51 10 in Zorzor. And if ULIMO was in Zorzor, no vehicles could travel
  - 11 to Gbarnga. But in April of 1993, ULIMO had then captured up to
  - 12 Mendekoma, which is the last village to the Sierra Leone border.
  - 13 Q. So the armed transport route was cut off, you said,
  - 14 in April or May 1993, and you were referring to the fact that
- 10:42:18 15 Charles Taylor and the NPFL continued to supply the RUF up until
  - the time ULIMO closed the border; isn't that true?
  - 17 A. No. Mr Sankoh could no longer get ammunition from since
  - 18 the time the NPFL withdrew, and by late 2000 ULIMO had already
  - 19 been in Zorzor and they were now fighting to go towards Voinjama,
- 10:42:51 20 and Mr Sankoh could no longer go to Liberia. And by April of
  - 21 1993, ULIMO had captured Foya and they had captured Mendekoma.
  - They were deployed there.
  - 23 Q. Why then, Mr Sesay, did you say that in April or May 1993,
  - the armed transport route was blocked by ULIMO?
- 10:43:17 25 A. Well, I meant that by April of 1993, ULIMO had occupied the
  - 26 whole of Lofa County. That was what I meant, down to Mendekoma.
  - 27 Q. Mr Sesay, do you recall testifying that no weapons were
  - gi ven to the NPFL by the RUF?
  - 29 A. Yes, that was what I said.

- 1 Q. That wasn't true. When the RUF captured large weapons,
- they turned them over to Charles Taylor; isn't that true?
- 3 A. No. When the NPFL left, the RUF was also in need of arms,
- 4 and RUF did not have arms, so it was not possible for the RUF to
- 10:44:07 5 capture arms and give it to Mr Taylor, when Mr Taylor had
  - 6 withdrawn his arms and armament from the RUF, and at the time
  - 7 they left, the RUF did not have arms.
  - 8 Q. I'm asking you at any time. At any time did the RUF give
  - 9 weapons to Charles Taylor?
- 10:44:24 10 A. No, I did not witness that.
  - 11 Q. Could the witness be shown exhibit D-123G, as in George.
  - 12 Mr Sesay, do you recognise this as a piece of artillery?
  - 13 A. Yes, this is an artillery.
  - 14 Q. This gun was given to the NPFL; did you know that?
- 10:45:40 15 A. No. The gun that I know we captured, the 106 missile, was
  - 16 what the RUF was using in Kailahun when we were in Pendembu. The
  - 17 RUF in the RUF, Isaac Mongor and Kargbo used to bring it to
  - 18 Mobai Junction going towards Daru and to go to Segbwema.
  - 19 Q. A witness has testified that this gun was given to the
- 10:46:09 20 NPFL. Are you saying that that witness was lying?
  - 21 A. Well, I did not know that the RUF gave such a gun, this
  - 22 type of gun, to the NPFL. I did not know that.
  - 23 Q. So when you testified actually on 12 August, just last
  - 24 week, that the RUF never sent any artillery to the NPFL, were you
- 10:46:37 25 testifying about something you knew or you were just guessing?
  - 26 A. Well, it's something that I knew because I was the one we
  - 27 were the ones who captured the weapons. I was part of them. We
  - 28 captured one of the the BZT, and the other group captured the
  - 29 106 at Bailma. And the 106 was what we were using, and the BZT

- 1 was based in Pendembu. And when the NPRC pushed us, those are
- 2 the weapons that the NPRC captured at Buedu from us.
- 3 Q. Well, 106s were given to the NPFL; isn't that true?
- 4 A. No, that did not happen. I said that was what I saac and
- 10:47:29 5 others were launching at Mobai Junction. Even during one attack,
  - 6 when Mr Sankoh said we should attack Daru, that was the weapon
  - 7 that Isaac Mongor was using around Tikonko, towards --
  - 8 THE INTERPRETER: Your Honours, the last the name of the
  - 9 last village he referred to is not clear to the interpreters.
- 10:47:48 10 PRESIDING JUDGE: You have to repeat that last part of your
  - 11 answer. You said something about from I can't work it out from
  - 12 the record. You just have to repeat your answer, please.
  - 13 Slowly, slowly.
  - 14 THE WITNESS: Yes, my Lord. Mr Koumjian asked me, my Lord,
- 10:48:12 15 he said the he said it was the 106 that the RUF gave to the
  - 16 NPFL. I said no. I said that 106 was what Isaac Mongor --
  - 17 PRESIDING JUDGE: Is that slowly? The reason I'm asking
  - 18 you to speak slowly is that so the interpreter can interpret what
  - 19 you're saying to us and so that the transcriber can report what
- 10:48:34 20 you're saying to us. I asked you to repeat it slowly, and you go
  - 21 running again. What part of "slowly" don't you understand?
  - 22 Please repeat your testimony slowly.
  - 23 THE WITNESS: Yes, my Lord. My Lord, I said Mr Koumjian
  - 24 asked me, he said it was the 106 that we gave to the NPFL. And
- 10:49:04 25 then I said no. I said the 106 that the RUF captured at Baiima
  - 26 was what Isaac Mongor and John Kargbo were using. It was at
  - 27 Pendembu. The weapon was at Pendembu, the 106. Sometimes they
  - 28 would take it to Mobai Junction and they would launch towards
  - 29 Daru, towards Segbwema. And even during an attack in '93 that

- 1 Mr Sankoh ordered that we attack Daru, it was that weapon that
- 2 Isaac Mongor was using, that he took to Tikonko, towards
- 3 Bonbohun. That was what he was launching. So I said that weapon
- 4 stayed with the RUF up until November of 1993, when the
- 10:50:05 5 government troops pushed that is the NPRC pushed --
  - 6 MR KOUMJIAN:
  - 7 Q. Mr Sesay, I want to --
  - 8 A. Let me complete. Let me complete, my Lord, please. When
  - the NPRC pushed the RUF up to Koindu, Buedu, we then left the
- 10:50:23 10 weapons in Buedu and the NPRC captured them from us, the BZT and
  - 11 the 106.
  - 12 Q. Mr Sesay, before leaving this photograph, I'll give the
  - 13 reference in a moment, but I want to read to you what a witness
  - 14 said who was shown the same picture. They said, "This is a
- 10:50:42 15 photograph of an artillery gun, a long-range artillery gun." And
  - 16 the witness said, "This artillery gun is a gun that was given to
  - 17 the NPFL by Foday Sankoh." That's true, isn't it?
  - 18 A. No. I did not know that Mr Sankoh gave this type of a gun
  - 19 to NPFL. The 106 that we captured was what the RUF was using.
- 10:51:08 20 Q. Does this appear to be a 106 to you? It does, doesn't it?
  - 21 A. No. The 106 has a single barrel, a long barrel, and two
  - 22 tyres, but this is 206.
  - 23 MR KOUMJIAN: Could the witness be shown the transcript of
  - 24 22 July 2009, page 24999.
- 10:51:52 25 Q. I'm going to read to you a little more of the testimony
  - 26 that I asked you if it was true and you said no. So at the time,
  - 27 this photograph was MFI-9F and Mr Griffiths asked Charles Taylor
  - 28 at line 6:
  - 29 "Q. Right. What do we see in this photograph DP-7,

- 1 Mr Taylor?"
- 2 Excuse me, this photograph was DP-7 at the time.
- 3 "A. This is the photograph of an artillery gun, a
- 4 long-range artillery gun.
- 10:52:36 5 Q. And what is the significance of it?
  - 6 A. This artillery gun is a gun that was given to the NPFL.
  - 7 Q. By whom?
  - 8 A. This was given to the NPFL by Foday Sankoh.
  - 9 Q. And where did it come from?
- 10:52:56 10 A. It came from Sierra Leone."
  - 11 Mr Sesay, do you want to say I'll ask you again is this
  - 12 testimony true or is it a lie?
  - 13 A. Well, I don't know. I don't know whether it's true or it's
  - 14 a lie.
- 10:53:15 15 Q. So when you testified on 12 August that no weapons were
  - 16 given to the NPFL by the RUF, was that true or was that a lie, or
  - 17 were you just guessing?
  - 18 A. Well, what I was aware of is what I'm saying here, because
  - 19 sometimes I was at the front line, so because in 1992 we came
- 10:53:44 20 towards Kono.
  - 21 Q. Well, let's look at your testimony from 12 August,
  - 22 page 46115, beginning at line 25. 12 August, 46115, starting at
  - 23 line 25. You were asked:
  - 24 "Q. Tell me, Mr Sesay, do you recall at any stage the RUF
- 10:54:41 25 providing weaponry to Charles Taylor in Liberia?
  - 26 A. No. RUF itself used to look out for guns. How could
  - 27 the RUF give guns to Mr Taylor at that time?
  - 28 Q. In particular, are you aware of the RUF giving
  - 29 artillery to Mr Taylor in Liberia?

	1	A. No. I did not know of that. I was part of the ambush
	2	that captured the artilleries. From there we went to
	3	Bailma where the artilleries were captured, and we were the
	4	ones who were using the artilleries. I was in that group,
10:55:19	5	like CO Kargbo."
	6	Now, Mr Witness, let's look at the testimony of yet another
	7	Defence witness, from 1 April 2010, page 38601. This is from
	8	DCT-146. And the witness said:
	9	"A. We got it from the Guineans.
10:56:11	10	Q. How do you know the number - what the number 106
	11	stands for? What does it mean, do you know?
	12	A. 106, I do not know that code number. I only know about
	13	106.
	14	Q. And this is a heavy artillery piece?
10:56:28	15	A. Very dangerous. If it launches, if a woman is
	16	pregnant, that woman could miscarry, the vibration."
	17	He described it as, "One barrel, but it has a long barrel.
	18	The barrel can move from here to that point, very long."
	19	"Q. And can a 106 be broken down and transported by people?
10:56:52	20	A. Impossible. It can only be carried by a vehicle.
	21	Q. Do you remember telling the judges about that the RUF
	22	had captured weapons they did not know how to use?
	23	A. I said yes." This is line 20. "RUF captured weapons
	24	that they did not know how to use, except me. And even
10:57:20	25	this one is an example, they did not know how to use it.
	26	Q. And those weapons were sent to Liberia to
	27	Charles Taylor, isn't that correct?
	28	A. We sent two to him. The 106, we sent two to him, 1991.
	29	Q. You sent two 106 heavy artillery pieces to

- 1 Charles Taylor?
- 2 A. Yes, in exchange for automatic rifle and some
- 3 materials."
- So, Mr Sesay, it's true, isn't it, let me give you another
- 10:57:54 5 chance, that the RUF sent artillery to the NPFL and
  - 6 Charles Taylor?
  - 7 A. Well, the artillery that we captured in 1992 from Bailma
  - 8 and the ambush, the weapon, the 106, was what we were using. But
  - 9 for the NPFL like for an armoured car that we captured, the
- 10:58:27 10 NPFL took it with them. And even in Koindu, the artillery pieces
  - 11 that they captured there the NPFL took with them. But to say
  - during purely an RUF operation the arms that we captured in '92,
  - 13 no, the 106 did not go to Liberia. It was the 106 that the RUF
  - 14 also was using. And it was only Kargbo and Isaac who knew how to
- 10:58:52 **15 fire it**.
  - 16 Q. The NPFL officers, Kargbo and Isaac Mongor, correct?
  - 17 A. Well, yes, you're correct because Kargbo can say he was
  - 18 with the NPFL. He said he was with the NPFL. But for Isaac
  - 19 Mongor, he said he was a former Doe soldier.
- 10:59:18 20 Q. Mr Sesay, I think I have just one more question before the
  - 21 break. When the armed transport route was cut off by ULIMO
  - 22 taking Lofa County, the RUF started suffering a series of defeats
  - 23 and you were pushed out of the towns and into the jungle. Isn't
  - 24 that correct?
- 10:59:39 25 A. Well, that was even before the NPFL. That was when the
  - 26 NPFL withdrew. The arms strength of the RUF had reduced. The
  - 27 RUF was no longer strong in arms. That was why the RUF decided
  - 28 to take the Sandaru axis towards Kono so that we could be able to
  - 29 arm ourselves, because going towards Daru was a stronger target

- 1 and the RUF could not have captured any weapons from the Guineans
- or the soldiers who were there. So where the government troops
- 3 were weaker was where the RUF decided to concentrate on.
- 4 So even before the ULIMO took over Lofa, the government had
- 11:00:27 5 been pressurising the RUF because after the NPFL withdrawal, the
  - 6 RUF's strength became very poor in terms of arms.
  - 7 MR KOUMJIAN: Your Honour, I could continue with a few
  - 8 questions or break here.
  - 9 PRESIDING JUDGE: No. I think we'll break now and
- 11:00:46 10 reconvene at 11.30 to continue.
  - 11 [Break taken at 11.01 a.m.]
  - 12 [Upon resuming at 11.34 a.m.]
  - 13 [The accused present]
  - 14 PRESIDING JUDGE: Yes, I note that Mr Taylor is now back in
- 11:35:18 15 court. Mr Koumjian, please continue.
  - 16 MR KOUMJIAN:
  - 17 Q. Mr Sesay, we talked, just before the break, about the fact
  - 18 that after the border was closed by ULIMO, and you said after the
  - 19 NPFL withdrew, the RUF began suffering a series of defeats and
- 11:35:43 20 was pushed out of the towns it occupied even in Kailahun
  - 21 District, correct?
  - 22 A. Yes, but it was not immediately after the withdrawal of the
  - 23 NPFL. After the NPFL withdrawal, RUF then had problem with arms
  - 24 and ammunition. That was the time we attacked Sandaru,
- 11:36:12 25 Gandorhun, up to Kono. And in '93 was when the RUF late '93
  - 26 was when the RUF was pushed out of the towns in Kailahun
  - 27 District.
  - 28 Q. So the key for the RUF to capture and occupy the towns of
  - 29 Sierra Leone, the towns and cities of Sierra Leone, was its

- 1 ability to have arms and ammunition; isn't that true?
- 2 A. Yes. That was why the RUF was attacking and setting
- ambush, ambushes, so that we will be able to arm ourselves.
- 4 Q. You testified in direct, in fact, that if the RUF/AFRC had
- 11:37:01 5 had more arms and ammunition, you never would have been pushed
  - 6 out of Freetown, correct?
  - 7 A. Yes.
  - 8 Q. And it was thanks to the arms and the ammunition that you
  - 9 received in 1998 that the RUF, unlike the situation in 1993 where
- 11:37:21 10 you did not occupy any town, even in Kailahun District, you were
  - 11 able to go on the offensive, take Koidu and take Makeni, go all
  - 12 the way up to Waterloo, because of that ammunition that was
  - 13 brought from Liberia, correct?
  - 14 A. No. I disagree, because sometimes in the conflict, like
- 11:37:50 15 from '95 to '97, RUF was able to occupy towns in the Kailahun
  - 16 District.
  - 17 Q. RUF was not able to occupy and hold for any length of time
  - 18 any of the towns from 1995 to 1997; isn't that true? Excuse me,
  - 19 until the coup in 1997; isn't that true?
- 11:38:17 20 A. No. That was not what happened, because RUF was in control
  - 21 of Buedu, Kailahun Town, Dia, up to Koindu, Kangama, before the
  - coup in May of '97.
  - 23 Q. And RUF was attacked and held for a short time Koindu -
  - 24 Koidu, excuse me, Koidu, Kono District, in 1995, correct?
- 11:38:54 25 A. Yes.
  - 26 Q. I want to switch topics and talk to you about the external
  - 27 delegation. The external delegation, you said, was organised so
  - they could contact Foday Sankoh's good friends; is that right?
  - 29 A. To contact Mr Sankoh's friends and to be able to make the

- 1 RUF known to the outside world.
- 2 Q. Well, why was it necessary to send the external delegation
- 3 to Danane?
- 4 A. Well, it was because it was in Danane that Mr Sankoh
- 11:39:44 5 thought they could be based and be able to carry out with their
  - 6 operations for which they had gone there.
  - 7 Q. Well, Mr Sankoh already had contact with the outside world,
  - 8 thanks to Addai-Sebo, isn't that true?
  - 9 A. No, no, no. It was the external delegation that was able
- 11:40:07 10 to make contact between Mr Sankoh and Dr Sebo, and it was when
  - 11 the external delegation was based in Danane that Dr Sebo was able
  - 12 to get in contact with Mr Sankoh and he came through Guinea with
  - 13 Philip Palmer to go and see Mr Sankoh. It was through the
  - 14 assistance of the external delegation. That was what happened.
- 11:40:33 15 Q. Mr Sesay, didn't Addai-Sebo come to Zogoda and interview
  - and publish a story about Foday Sankoh where he was pretending to
  - 17 be a journalist, Dr Sebo? Did you know about that?
  - 18 A. Well, Dr Sebo told me that he was working with the
  - 19 international alliance and it was Philip Palmer who brought him
- 11:41:07 20 from Danane, they met me in Kailahun and they went to Zogoda
  - 21 where he interviewed Mr Sankoh, and later they met me again in
  - 22 Kailahun, they crossed in Guinea and returned to the Ivory Coast.
  - 23 Q. Dr Sebo brought Foday Sankoh a satellite telephone, isn't
  - 24 that true?
- 11:41:29 25 A. Yes, that was what I said and that was what happened.
  - 26 Q. Also Omrie Golley gave Dr Sebo Foday Sankoh a satellite
  - 27 telephone, isn't that true?
  - 28 A. No, no. Omrie Golley did not come to Mr Sankoh in Zogoda,
  - 29 and if he had given him a phone in the Ivory Coast I didn't know,

- 1 but I know that Omrie Golley also came to the RUF through the
- 2 external delegation but he did not come to Sierra Leone. He used
- 3 to come from England. He would come to Abidjan. He would meet
- 4 the external delegation in Danane.
- 11:42:09 5 PRESIDING JUDGE: Mr Sesay, the simple question asked you
  - 6 was whether Omrie Golley gave a phone to Foday Sankoh. Why are
  - 7 you telling us about all his travels? What is the answer to the
  - 8 question asked?
  - 9 THE WITNESS: Well, I thought the question was asking
- 11:42:30 10 whether Omrie Golley came and gave Mr Sankoh a telephone. That
  - 11 was how I understood it. I did not know whether he gave him a
  - 12 telephone. I did not know that.
  - 13 MR KOUMJIAN:
  - 14 Q. Sir, you said at that time external delegation was
- 11:42:52 15 established in Danane. That's true, isn't it?
  - 16 A. Well, it was established in Sierra Leone and Mr Sankoh sent
  - 17 them to go and be based in Danane.
  - 18 Q. Why Danane?
  - 19 A. Well, Mr Sankoh told them to go to the Ivory Coast. They
- 11:43:15 20 went and decided to be based in Danane.
  - 21 Q. Did you visit Danane?
  - 22 A. Yes, I went to Danane in November of 1995, at the time I
  - 23 went for medical treatment in Abidjan.
  - Q. Well, did you go to Danane or Abidjan or both?
- 11:43:40 25 A. I went to Danane and from Danane I went to Abidjan for my
  - 26 medical operation.
  - 27 Q. Now, this was the time when you told us ULIMO controlled
  - 28 the border; correct?
  - 29 A. Yes, yes. ULIMO was in control of the border before that

- 1 time.
- 2 Q. And this was the time you told us it was impossible for
- 3 there to be any contact with Charles Taylor because ULIMO
- 4 controlled the border; correct?
- 11:44:16 5 A. Yes, because there was no movement going towards Gbarnga,
  - 6 and I did not understand about any communication that took place
  - 7 between Mr Sankoh and Mr Taylor during that time.
  - 8 Q. Mr Sesay, how did you travel to the Ivory Coast?
  - 9 A. The operator, that is the radio operator who was with the
- 11:44:42 10 external delegation, he came and collected me from Dia in
  - 11 Kailahun District and went to the border. The business
  - 12 contractor from Guinea, his name was Abdul Rahman. It was in the
  - 13 evening when he brought a canoe and we went to the canoe and
  - 14 crossed over to Guinea and we joined a vehicle to go to
- 11:45:09 15 Gueckedou, and from Gueckedou the following day we got on board a
  - 16 vehicle and we went to Macenta and from there we went to
  - 17 Nzerekore and we passed the night in Nzerekore. The following
  - 18 morning we went to Lola, that was the border where we crossed,
  - 19 and from there we got on board another vehicle and we went to
- 11:45:28 **20** Danane.
  - 21 MR KOUMJIAN: Could the witness be shown P-1, and after
  - 22 that I will be asking for P-6. These are maps.
  - PRESIDING JUDGE: While that is being found, the witness
  - 24 said in the evening when he brought a canoe. The word is
- 11:46:19 25 pronounced canoe, it appears like "colonel" in the text. And we
  - went to the canoe and crossed over to somewhere.
  - 27 MR KOUMJIAN:
  - 28 Q. Mr Sesay, we did not get or at least I didn't get all the
  - 29 names of the places that you went through, so now we are going to

- 1 put on the screen a map of all of West Africa, it is not
- 2 detailed, but it shows all of West Africa.
- 3 You were leaving from were you leaving from Kailahun
- 4 District?
- 11:47:07 5 A. Yes, from Kailahun District.
  - 6 Q. And you crossed into Guinea; isn't that true?
  - 7 A. Yes.
  - 8 Q. And you made your way to Danane in the Ivory Coast,
  - 9 Cote d'Ivoire; correct?
- 11:47:25 10 A. Yes?
  - 11 Q. You could just as easily have gone to Liberia; correct?
  - 12 A. Well, I did not go through Liberia. I went through Guinea
  - and even the delegation that had been patrolling that route used
  - 14 to go through Guinea not through Liberia.
- 11:47:53 15 Q. So when you told the Court that it was impossible to have
  - 16 contact with Charles Taylor because ULIMO controlled Lofa, that
  - 17 wasn't true because you and the external delegation were able to
  - 18 travel to Cote d'Ivoire through Guinea and you could just as
  - 19 easily have gone to Liberia. Isn't that true?
- 11:48:18 20 A. Well, yes, one can travel from Danane to Liberia but at
  - 21 this time I did not know about any contact that Mr Sankoh had
  - 22 with Mr Taylor. Mr Sankoh was operating his own revolution.
  - 23 That was what I knew.
  - 24 Q. And when you said it was impossible to have contact with
- 11:48:39 25 Charles Taylor because ULIMO controlled the border, of course
  - 26 that wasn't true because your radios reached Gbarnga and other
  - 27 locations in Liberia; isn't that true?
  - 28 A. Well, I did not know about any contact or a dialogue
  - 29 between Mr Taylor and Mr Sankoh.

- 1 Q. Mr Sesay, you're very good at not answering the question.
- 2 I didn't ask if you knew of a dialogue. My question had to do
- 3 with the reach the extent the area that your radios could
- 4 cover. You know that the radios that the RUF had had sufficient
- 11:49:21 5 range to reach Gbarnga and other parts of Liberia, isn't that
  - 6 true?
  - 7 A. Well, the radio frequency could go even beyond Liberia
  - 8 because you would communicate with Ivory Coast.
  - 9 Q. So you agree with me that it never was impossible for the
- 11:49:44 10 RUF to have contact, through the radio, with Charles Taylor.
  - 11 That was always possible, wasn't it?
  - 12 A. Well, I did not know about that, to say that during this
  - 13 time the RUF used to contact Mr Taylor or that Mr Sankoh used to
  - 14 contact Mr Taylor, I did not know about that.
- 11:50:04 15 Q. My question was: Was it possible? Mr Sesay, was it
  - 16 possible for the RUF to contact NPFL radio stations in Liberia,
  - 17 yes or no?
  - 18 A. Yes, because there were Liberians within the RUF who were
  - 19 operators, so they used to call their colleagues and talk with
- 11:50:28 **20** them.
  - 21 Q. And they used to call their families and colleagues by
  - 22 going through NPFL radio operators; correct?
  - 23 A. Yes, because, for example, like Nya, Nya was a radio
  - 24 operator, he was in the Northern Jungle during this time and Nya
- 11:50:53 25 knew some of the Liberian operators, so they would be able to
  - 26 communicate regarding personal bases.
  - 27 Q. So when you said that it was impossible for the RUF to have
  - 28 contact with Charles Taylor because ULIMO controlled the border,
  - 29 that wasn't true, it was possible, isn't correct?

- 1 A. Well, what I meant is that, one, ULIMO was in control of
- 2 Lofa and part of Bong County. And, two, the way Mr Sankoh was
- 3 Looking at Mr Taylor and what Mr Sankoh said before he left
- 4 Kailahun District for Zogoda.
- - 6 A. Yes. What Mr Sankoh said was the reason why I said I did
  - 7 not see any possibility of Mr Sankoh contacting Mr Taylor because
  - 8 Mr Sankoh was completely embittered with Mr Taylor and he too
  - 9 proved himself that minus Mr Taylor, he can lead his revolution
- 11:51:58 10 on his own. That was what he said.
  - 11 Q. Mr Sesay, according to you, when did this bitterness
  - 12 between Foday Sankoh and Charles Taylor until what time or date
  - 13 did this bitterness last?
  - 14 A. Well, this started after the withdrawal of the NPFL and it
- 11:52:25 15 continued until the time that Mr Sankoh was arrested in Nigeria.
  - 16 At that time I did not know about any contact between them. So
  - 17 they later had contact after Mr Sankoh was had gone to Lome but
  - 18 even with that, it was not a reliable friendship because I recall
  - one incident that took place after the capture of the UNAMSIL.
- 11:52:57 20 By then other leaders used to send people to talk to Mr Sankoh to
  - 21 release the UNAMSIL because it was over the international radio.
  - 22 And I understood that Mr Taylor also sent two people to come and
  - 23 talk to Mr Sankoh, and when they came, Mr Sankoh seriously
  - 24 embarrassed those people, he did not listen to the advice that
- 11:53:19 25 they were trying to give to him for the immediate release of the
  - 26 UNAMSIL. Yes, my Lord.
  - 27 Q. Mr Sesay, is it then your testimony that between the
  - 28 withdrawal of the NPFL after Top 40, around the time of
  - 29 Top Final, until the Lome talks in 1999, you know of no contact

- 1 between Charles Taylor and the RUF. Is that your testimony?
- 2 A. Yes. I said their friendship was not cordial. They did
- 3 not have any dealings. I did not know about any dealings between
- 4 Mr Sankoh and Mr Taylor because from the time the RUF --
- 11:54:04 5 Q. Mr Sesay, my question was Charles Taylor and the RUF. So
  - 6 let me repeat it. Is it your testimony that after the NPFL
  - 7 forces were withdrawn after Top 40 that there was no contact
  - 8 between Charles Taylor and the RUF until the Lome talks began in
  - 9 1999?
- 11:54:29 10 A. Yes, that was what I was aware of.
  - 11 Q. Now let's go back to Danane. Perhaps we could show the map
  - 12 for the Ivory Coast which is P-5, I believe. P-6, excuse me.
  - 13 Mr Sesay, I believe I asked you this within the last 15
  - 14 minutes but let me ask again: Why was it that the external
- 11:55:26 15 delegation was sent specifically to Danane? Why, of all the
  - 16 places in the world, was Danane chosen?
  - 17 A. Well, Mr Sankoh asked them to go to the Ivory Coast. So
  - 18 they decided to go and be based in Danane, because, one, Danane
  - 19 was close to the Guinean border for their movement back to
- 11:55:51 20 Sierra Leone through Guinea to Kailahun. And, two, what I
  - 21 understood when at the time I went to Danane, the cost of rent,
  - 22 at the time they went and rented places in Danane was cheaper
  - 23 than Abi dj an. So --
  - 24 Q. Mr Sesay, the biggest city by far in the Ivory Coast is
- 11:56:18 25 Abi dj an; correct?
  - 26 A. Yes, it's in Abidjan.
  - 27 Q. If you want to make contact with media, international
  - 28 media, the place to go in the Ivory Coast is Abidjan; correct?
  - 29 A. Well, Abidjan is the city but you can also stay in Danane

- 1 and use international lines. There were telephones that you can
- 2 use to call international lines from Danane.
- 3 Q. And Yamoussoukro was the political capital of Cote
- 4 d'Ivoire; correct?
- 11:56:54 5 A. Yes, sir.
  - 6 Q. Danane was chosen because it was an NPFL base from even
  - 7 before the revolution. Isn't that true?
  - 8 A. Well, Danane was controlled by the Ivorian authorities.
  - 9 Q. And if you look at Danane on this map perhaps the Court
- 11:57:22 10 Officer could point to it. We see Danane. The roads from
  - 11 Danane, it has access to Liberia. The roads from Danane go to
  - 12 Liberia, isn't that true?
  - 13 A. Yes, that is true.
  - 14 Q. And, Mr Sesay, you said you spent time in Danane. How much
- 11:57:56 15 time did you spend there?
  - 16 A. Well, I was in Danane. I went there in November. I was
  - 17 there in December and then in January I went to Abidjan where I
  - 18 underwent my medical operation. So I was in Abidjan in January,
  - 19 February January, and then February I came back to Danane and
- 11:58:22 20 when Mr Sankoh came to Ivory Coast to Yamoussoukro, I --
  - 21 THE INTERPRETER: Your Honours, can the witness be asked to
  - 22 slow down and repeat that area.
  - PRESIDING JUDGE: Please slow down, Mr Sesay. You have
  - 24 been requested to slow down and to repeat your answer where you
- 11:58:44 25 said you underwent a medical operation. Now continue from there
  - 26 and repeat your answer, slowly.
  - 27 THE WITNESS: Yes, my Lord. I said after the medical
  - operation in Abidjan, then myself and Dr Barrie, we went back to
  - 29 Danane. So I was in Danane up until March when Mr Sankoh came to

- 1 Yamoussoukro. So I travelled with the delegation with the
- 2 external delegation from Danane to Yamoussoukro where we received
- 3 Mr Sankoh.
- 4 MR KOUMJIAN:
- 11:59:25 5 Q. Mr Sesay, why did you go to Danane, you said in November?
  - 6 Why did you go there?
  - 7 A. I said I went for a medical operation.
  - 8 Q. But you told us you didn't have the operation until January
  - 9 in Abidjan; correct?
- 11:59:44 10 A. Yes, because when I went, Dr Barrie, who was a member of
  - 11 the delegation, he was a doctor, he was a medical doctor, he took
  - me to a hospital in Danane. So after they did the x-ray on me,
  - 13 so Dr Barrie then said that until January before I would be
  - 14 operated. So that was why I stayed in Danane in December until
- 12:00:13 15 January before myself and Dr Barrie went to Abidjan.
  - 16 Q. Danane was the same place that Foday Sankoh stopped at
  - 17 inside a walled compound when he took you to camp originally to
  - 18 Cuttington University when you were tricked into becoming part of
  - 19 the RUF. You stopped and you spent a night inside a walled
- 12:00:40 20 compound at Danane; correct?
  - 21 A. No. We did not pass the night in Danane. We arrived in
  - Danane in the morning and in the afternoon we were taken.
  - 23 Q. When you went in November 1995 and stayed until April 1996
  - 24 in Ivory Coast, many of those months in Danane, you knew that
- 12:01:10 25 Musa Cisse lived there in Danane. Isn't that right?
  - 26 A. No. Mr Interpreter, that was not what the lawyer said.
  - 27 The lawyer said during the time I lived in Danane Musa Cisse was
  - 28 living in Danane. That was what the lawyer said. That was what
  - 29 I heard.

- 1 Q. You have understood me, Mr Sesay. Your English is good.
- 2 So tell us, Musa Cisse was living in Danane when the external
- 3 delegation and you were present there, correct?
- 4 A. Well, I don't know. I did not see him there. I did not
- 12:01:49 5 meet with him and I did not see him, so I did not know whether he
  - 6 was in Danane.
  - 7 Q. We have heard testimony that the external delegation began
  - 8 by using the radio of Musa Cisse. You knew that, didn't you?
  - 9 A. Yes, because when the delegation went in December they
- 12:02:14 10 hadn't a radio but they used to send a message to Mr Sankoh. But
  - 11 later they took their own radio along.
  - 12 Q. Musa Cisse was very close to Charles Taylor and became,
  - 13 when he was President, his formal title was, as you know, chief
  - 14 of protocol; correct?
- 12:02:34 15 A. Yes.
  - 16 Q. So, Mr Sesay, when you testified here before the judges
  - 17 that you knew of no contact between the RUF and Charles Taylor,
  - 18 you did know of contact between the RUF and Musa Cisse, his close
  - 19 aide. Isn't that true?
- 12:02:51 20 A. Well, I did not see or hear of anything that Musa Cisse was
  - 21 doing or Mr Taylor was doing to the external delegation
  - 22 because --
  - 23 Q. Mr Sesay, the purpose of the external delegation was to
  - 24 have contact with the outside world. The first thing they needed
- 12:03:09 25 was communications. Isn't that true?
  - 26 A. Yes, communication.
  - 27 Q. And Musa Cisse provided that, correct?
  - 28 A. No. It was Omrie Golley who provided telephone for them.
  - 29 Q. Omrie Golley, another friend of Charles Taylor. Isn't that

- 1 true?
- 2 A. Well, I don't know anything between himself and Mr Taylor.
- 3 I only know something about Omrie Golley and the RUF.
- 4 Q. Musa Cisse provided a radio, a long-range radio, to the
- 12:03:47 5 external delegation; correct?
  - 6 A. Well, the operator, when they went at the initial stages,
  - 7 he used to send messages at Musa Cisse's house. He used to use
  - 8 the radio at Musa Cisse's house to send messages to Mr Sankoh.
  - 9 But later before I went to Abidjan, the Ivory Coast, the RUF had
- 12:04:11 10 taken their own radio set that they had at Philip Palmer's house.
  - 11 That was where the set was.
  - 12 Q. Until the radio set of the RUF arrived, all the
  - 13 communications by radio were through Musa Cisse's house and his
  - 14 operator; correct?
- 12:04:34 15 A. No. The RUF had their own operator when they wanted to
  - 16 send a message. That was about three to four months when the RUF
  - 17 had their own set.
  - 18 Q. So for three to four months the RUF was relying on the
  - 19 radio at Musa Cisse's house; correct?
- 12:04:52 20 A. Yes. That was where the radio operator used to go to send
  - 21 messages.
  - 22 Q. Who is Cassell?
  - 23 A. I don't know that person. I am not familiar with that
  - 24 name.
- 12:05:05 25 PRESIDING JUDGE: Could we have a spelling of that name,
  - 26 pl ease.
  - 27 MR KOUMJIAN: It is on the record, I believe, as
  - 28 C-A-S-S-E-L.
  - 29 Q. Mr Sesay, Danane is a little town. Isn't that true?

- 1 A. No, Danane is a big town.
- 2 MR KOUMJIAN: Can we look behind tab 9, and if that can be
- 3 shown to the witness.
- 4 Q. Mr Sesay, this is from a web page about Cote d'Ivoire and
- 12:06:38 5 you see at the bottom of the first page is a list of the
  - 6 principal cities. It cites as a source it says 1998, December
  - 7 20, and we see above that the source is the Institut National de
  - 8 La Statistique, Republique de Cote d'Ivoire. There's eight
  - 9 cities listed as the principal cities of Cote d'Ivoire and none
- 12:07:04 10 of those is Danane.
  - 11 If we look at the next page, a list of cities and
  - populations, there's two columns; one for 1975 and one for 1998
  - 13 and we see the sources on the next page.
  - 14 PRESI DI NG JUDGE: 1988.
- 12:07:28 15 MR KOUMJIAN: Yes, thank you.
  - 16 Q. And if we look down the page at Danane, in the middle of
  - 17 the page, we see the population was listed in 1988 as 30,506
  - 18 people. Danane was a small town, isn't that true?
  - 19 A. Well, when I went there in 1995, because at that time there
- 12:08:05 20 were many Liberian refugees there, for me it was a big town. But
  - 21 if the country classed it as a small town, I don't have any
  - 22 reason to dispute that. But whatever you can think about of a
  - town it's in Danane. There are hotels there. There are
  - 24 different things there.
- 12:08:28 25 Q. And that's where Musa Cisse Lived and that's where the NPFL
  - 26 had its base for outside contacts, Danane. Correct?
  - 27 A. Well, I don't know whether that was where NPFL had their
  - 28 outsi de contact.
  - 29 THE INTERPRETER: Your Honour, can he kindly repeat the

- 1 last part of his answer.
- 2 PRESIDING JUDGE: Mr Sesay, repeat the last part of your
- 3 answer.
- 4 THE WITNESS: My Lord, I said I don't know whether that was
- 12:09:01 5 where that was where the NPFL had their outside contact,
  - 6 because I did not meet with Musa Cisse, neither did I talk with
  - 7 him.
  - 8 MR KOUMJIAN:
  - 9 Q. Mr Sesay, an important part of the work of the external
- 12:09:17 10 delegation was the publication of this text that we looked at
  - 11 briefly yesterday, Footpaths to Democracy; isn't that correct?
  - 12 A. Well, that's not the most important one because, before
  - 13 that, they were doing other things. They made contacts they
  - 14 used to go to Ghana, for them to have get money to pay for
- 12:09:50 15 their housing and transportation when they were going to meet the
  - 16 Ivorian government. Even the others, like when they did the
  - 17 negotiations, they made an agreement with the Ivorian government
  - 18 through Amara Essy for them to be able to make peace with the
  - 19 NPRC.
- 12:10:08 20 Q. By the way, just briefly since you have mentioned Amara
  - 21 Essy, Amara Essy, you saw him in Monrovia later when you were the
  - 22 interim leader, correct?
  - 23 A. No, no. I never saw him in Monrovia.
  - 24 Q. Were you aware that Amara Essy was in Monrovia after the
- 12:10:38 25 coup in the Ivory Coast, Christmas 1999, that Amara Essy then
  - 26 went to Monrovia?
  - 27 A. No, sir, I wasn't aware of that.
  - 28 Q. When you, the external delegation, was in the Ivory Coast,
  - 29 he was the foreign minister of the Cote d'Ivoire, correct?

- 1 A. Yes.
- 2 Q. Now my question, Mr Sesay, was not which was the most
- 3 important work of the external delegation. You went into an
- 4 answer saying going to Ghana. You said it wasn't the most
- 12:11:15 5 important because they used to go to Ghana to get money. I said
  - 6 it was an important part of the work. Would you agree that the
  - 7 publication of Footpaths to Democracy was an important part of
  - 8 the work of the external delegation?
  - 9 A. Well, the Footpaths to Democracy, its topic came up when
- 12:11:42 10 the delegation was in the Ivory Coast, but before that time,
  - 11 there was no topic about Footpaths of Democracy that I heard.
  - 12 Q. Addai-Sebo wrote Footpaths to Democracy for the RUF, he
  - 13 made finalised it; would you agree with that?
  - 14 A. No. The Footpaths to Democracy -
- 12:12:09 15 THE INTERPRETER: Your Honours, can he kindly take the
  - 16 names slowly, one after the other.
  - 17 PRESIDING JUDGE: Mr Sesay, repeat your testimony, slowly.
  - 18 THE WITNESS: My Lord, I said the ideas of writing the
  - 19 Footpaths to Democracy was done some of it was done by
- 12:12:25 20 Mr Sankoh, Mr Deen-Jalloh, Fayia Musa, Philip Palmer, left Ivory
  - 21 Coast and came and met Mr Sankoh in '95 at Zogoda. That is where
  - 22 the Footpaths to Democracy was written. Dr Sebo was not a part
  - 23 of it.
  - 24 MR KOUMJIAN:
- 12:12:49 25 Q. Mr Sesay, it was published in November 1995, and there was
  - a book launch in December in Abidjan; isn't that true?
  - 27 A. 1995? I was not aware of the exact time that it was
  - 28 published, but it was the external delegation and Mr Sankoh who
  - 29 were the authors of the they were the authors of the Footpaths

- 1 to Democracy.
- 2 Q. So those who would know much better than you about
- 3 Footpaths to Democracy and how it was written would be the
- 4 members of the external delegation; is that correct?
- 12:13:41 5 A. Well, I knew that they came to Zogoda and did the write-up
  - 6 of Footpaths to Democracy. So, when they went to the Ivory
  - 7 Coast, that is where they published it.
  - 8 Q. Could we have the testimony of 14 April, 2010 page 38969?
  - 9 Mr Sesay, the spokesperson for the RUF at that time, November
- 12:14:09 10 1995, was Fayia Musa; is that correct?
  - 11 A. Yes, that's correct.
  - 12 Q. So if we look down the page, about line 20 approximately,
  - we see from the testimony of Musa Fayia, that he said, line 16:
  - 14 "A. It was published in November 1995 because it was
- 12:14:48 15 | launched in December, just before I left for Zogoda."
  - Then it we go to page 39000, on the same page, we see a
  - 17 question began on line 5, the witness interrupted, but the
  - 18 question was:
  - 19 "Q. The Launch of Footpaths to Democracy?
- 12:15:32 20 A. Yes, yes. Addai-Sebo, according to him, he said he was
  - going to inform Taylor that we were in town we're in
  - 22 Abidjan launching our book. He informed him and later he
  - came back to tell us that Mr Taylor wanted to see us now
  - that the first leg of the peace process has been achieved.
- 12:15:57 25 We went to the place there. I was there. Dr Mohamed
  - 26 Barrie was there, Mrs Deen-Jalloh was there, Mr Deen-Jalloh
  - 27 himself was there when we went.
  - 28 Q. To which place?
  - 29 A. Hotel Ivoire.

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2 A. Yes, we saw him but it was not a meeting. We saw him. We entered his room. He said congratulations 3 4 because, by then, he was very busy and the place was very crowded. He said congratulations, gentlemen. I've heard 12:16:33 5 that you have started - the first leg of the peace process At least when you market yourself, that is an 7 has started. 8 important start. That is a very good start. That is a very good place for you to start, because, first of all, you have done very well by making your views known, by 12:16:53 10 making your objectives known, so you have done very well. 11 12 Then he told General Jackson, his bodyguard, to give us 10 13 million CFA for our maintenance in Abidjan - sorry, in 14 Ivory Coast." 12:17:18 15 Mr Sesay, when you told the Court that you knew of no contact between Charles Taylor and the RUF, between Top Final and 16 17 the Lome talks, that wasn't true, was it, because Charles Taylor was congratulating the RUF on Footpaths to Democracy and giving 18 19 them money? 12:17:43 20 Well, I'll only say what I know. I won't talk about what I 21 don't know. The external delegation were not reporting to me. 22 What I heard is what I'll talk about. I won't testify about something I did not hear. 23 Now that you have heard this testimony, would you say what 24 12:18:03 25 you said was wrong; in fact, there was contact between 26 Charles Taylor and the RUF during those years? 27 Well, that's the witness's own opinion. I don't know, 28 because I did not hear that before now. I'm only hearing it now

Q. Did you meet Mr Taylor?

that they were given money. Even when I went to Abidjan and

- 1 Ivory Coast, I was in Deen-Jalloh's I was in Philip Palmer's
- 2 house, but I never knew that Philip that Mr Taylor give them
- 3 money.
- 4 Q. Now, you talked about a very important part when I asked
- 12:18:46 5 you whether Footpaths was an important part of the work of the
  - 6 external delegation, you said it wasn't the most important part,
  - 7 and then you began to talk about travelling to Ghana to get
  - 8 money. Did you think that was the most important part of the
  - 9 work of the external delegation, to travel to Ghana to seek
- 12:19:03 **10** money?
  - 11 A. Well, because that was what was going to enable them to do
  - 12 their works.
  - 13 THE INTERPRETER: Your Honour, can he kindly repeat take
  - 14 his answer again slowly.
- 12:19:20 15 PRESIDING JUDGE: Mr Sesay, you're again running too
  - 16 quickly. Repeat your answer slowly.
  - 17 THE WITNESS: My Lord, I said for them to go to Ghana to
  - 18 get money was important for them because if they hadn't gone to
  - 19 Ghana to get money, they wouldn't have been able to pay for their
- 12:19:37 20 housing and they wouldn't have been able to feed themselves and
  - 21 their families, to be able to do the work that they did, because
  - 22 the main works that they did, negotiating and making arrangements
  - 23 with the government of Ivory Coast the peace talks that Mr Sankoh
  - 24 and Maada Bio had and the writing of the Footpaths to Democracy
- 12:20:02 25 and the talks the talks that the speeches that Mr Fayia Musa
  - 26 used to make over the BBC.
  - MR KOUMJIAN:
  - 28 Q. Mr Sesay, why go to Ghana to look for money? What was in
  - 29 Ghana?

- 1 A. The Libyan ambassador who was in Ghana, that was where
- 2 Mr Sankoh used to send them to get money.
- 3 Q. Mr Sesay, did you know that it was Charles Taylor that took
- 4 the external delegation to Accra, Ghana?
- 12:20:39 5 A. Well, I don't know.
  - 6 Q. Could we have the transcript, please, for 19 April 2010?
  - 7 Page 39306, 19 April 2010. I am going to be reading to you,
  - 8 Mr Sesay, from evidence of a Defence witness that was given
  - 9 during the direct examination of this Defence witness. I am
- 12:21:57 10 going to start reading at line 10. The witness said:
  - 11 "A. But when we came outside and got ourselves introduced
  - to the Ivorian government as having come to start the peace
  - process, that was the time Charles Taylor started rendering
  - 14 us rendering the RUF support. He started by allowing
- 12:22:21 15 Musa Cisse to help us use his radio set. Second, he
  - invited myself and Palmer to meet him in Gbarnga so he
  - 17 could take us to Ghana in August 1995."
  - The witness went on:
  - 19 "We went to Ghana. He assisted us to see Ghana. He
- 12:22:47 20 assisted us to see how peace process goes on. He allowed us to
  - 21 mix with his men around. He put us in the hotel, Sicaps Hotel, I
  - 22 and Palmer. Sicaps hotel. And the other assistance that I do
  - 23 remember him giving to the RUF peace process was the 10 million
  - 24 franc CFA he gave us."
- 12:23:21 25 Then if we go to page 14 April, page 38959, the same
  - 26 date, page 38959, and starting at about the tenth line 38959 -
  - 27 starting at line 10, the witness said:
  - 28 "One, as for Charles Taylor, what he did was he invited us
  - 29 to Gbarnga to meet him there, I and Palmer. As soon as Palmer

- 1 came back in July he invited us to go there. When we told Foday
- 2 Sankoh, Foday Sankoh said no, we should not go there at all. We
- 3 said, 'But we have to see if there is a second phase to this man.
- 4 We are not going to continue to reject him outright. Let us see
- 12:24:48 5 if there is a second face to him. You told us in the bush that
  - 6 he was your friend. We did not see anything. Now he is inviting
  - 7 us to go meet him as your external delegation, so we are
  - 8 appealing to you to allow us to go there.' So I and Palmer went
  - 9 there."
- 12:25:08 10 He was then asked by Defence counsel:
  - 11 "Q. First of all, by what means was this invitation from
  - 12 Charles Taylor indicated to you?
  - 13 A. He sent a message to Cassell to give it to us."
  - And I see that it is spelt with two Ls, I only said one L
- 12:25:28 15 this morning, but the correct spelling is two Ls.
  - "A. He sent a message to Cassell to give it to us.
  - 17 Q. Cassell being the radio operator that you mentioned
  - 18 earlier?"
  - 19 And the witness the witness is Mr Fayia Musa said
- 12:25:48 20 "Yeah." He was then asked, going to the very bottom of the page,
  - 21 he was asked:
  - 22 "Q. First of all, when was it when you arrived in Gbarnga?
  - 23 Can you give us a month?
  - A. Yes, it was the first week in July.
- 12:26:06 25 Q. Of which year" I'm sorry, have I lost everybody?
  - 26 PRESIDING JUDGE: Yes, you did.
  - 27 MR KOUMJIAN: I think it was page 38960, and it should be
  - the middle of the page. I think that's how I lost you.
  - 29 Q. Beginning at line 10 he was asked:

	1	"Q. Now, let's just develop that, shall we. First of all
	2	when was it that you arrived in Gbarnga, can you give us a
	3	month?
	4	A. Yes, it was the first week in July.
12:26:49	5	Q. Of which year?
	6	A. 1995.
	7	Q. Secondly, how long did you stay in Gbarnga?
	8	A. We stayed there up until the start of August.
	9	Q. So you were there for about a three-week period, is
12:27:11	10	that fair?
	11	A. Yes, exactly."
	12	Then let's go to the next page, 38961. The witness said:
	13	"A. We told him we were there on the ground on his
	14	invitation. Then he said, 'Okay, I'll talk to you guys
12:27:38	15	later on, but how is the brother?' We said he is okay.
	16	Q. Which brother?
	17	A. Foday Sankoh.
	18	Q. So what did you say?
	19	A. We told him he is okay.
12:27:55	20	Q. And what was his response?" And the witness is talking
	21 about	Charles Taylor, and he said, "He just smiled."
	22	Then if we could go to page 38962. The witness was asked
	23 at the	e bottom of the page, about - line 19, he was asked:
	24	"Q. And help us, from Gbarnga, you travelled to where?
12:28:44	25	A. From Gbarnga we came to the Liberia-Sierra Leone
	26	border, then we came to Danane, from Danane we went to
	27	Man." And that was spelled. "From Man we boarded the
	28	flight which took us to Accra in Ghana.
	29	Q. Help us, from the RUF side who went to Accra?

1 I and Palmer. Just the two of us went. Α. First of all, long did you stay there? 2 Q. We were there for about two weeks. 3 Α. Q. Doing what? 4 We were just there around. He actually don't give us 12:29:20 5 Α. any specific thing to do. We were just there around. he said at the end of the day was that - because we went 7 8 there, we and the boys, we were all in the same - all of us were treated the same way. The allowance he gave them, the protocol gave us as our own allowance to stay there, to 12:29:39 10 stay in the hotel. All of us were there. And when we went 11 12 there it was during the second week that he called us to 13 say that in fact - because we were not too sure what he had 14 actually called us for, because he did not say anything up until the end of the first week. 12:29:59 15 And then what did he say? 16 17 So we told the protocol to go tell him that we want to Α. The protocol told him. So that day he invited 18 see him. 19 We went to see - to meet him. He said, 'Gentlemen, us. 12:30:18 20 you have come out here to market the RUF. You have come up here to let your voice be heard by the international 21 22 community. In fact, you need even Sierra Leone to know what you're all about, but this has to start from somewhere 23 24 and you have to get yourself prepared emotionally for it. 12:30:37 25 So that is the only reason I have brought you here, to be 26 around to see how people were moving around.'" 27 Mr Sesay, were you aware that Charles Taylor invited two 28 members of the external delegation to spend three weeks with him 29 in Gbarnga and then took them to Ghana?

- 1 A. No. I was not aware of this. In August '95 I was in
- 2 Kailahun, I was the commander there, but I was not aware of this.
- 3 Q. Now you have explained to us how important it was for the
- 4 RUF external delegation to travel to Accra, to Ghana, because
- 12:31:22 5 Ghana was the seat of the West African ambassador for Libya.
  - 6 Isn't that true?
  - 7 A. That was what I understood. When they were going there to
  - 8 take money from there, when Gaddafi was sending to Foday Sankoh
  - 9 through the Libyan ambassador who was in Ghana.
- 12:31:44 10 Q. So is the reason Charles Taylor took the RUF to Ghana to
  - 11 further their relationship with Libya?
  - 12 A. No, I was not aware of that. I was aware of the RUF going
  - on their own, Philip Palmer and others, when they went to meet
  - 14 the ambassador of Libya in Ghana.
- 12:32:10 15 Q. Now, Mr Sesay, do you realise that we have just seen
  - 16 evidence of contacts, direct contacts, between Charles Taylor and
  - 17 the RUF at the Launch of Footpaths to Democracy and giving 50
  - 18 million CFA francs to the RUF and then taking the RUF to Gbarnga
  - 19 and Ghana you realise this contradicts what you said that there
- 12:32:36 20 were no contacts between the RUF and Charles Taylor that you knew
  - of, at least as far as you knew of, between Top Final and the
  - 22 Lome talks?
  - 23 A. Well, what I know is what I'm testifying to or what I
  - 24 heard. What I saw and heard. I did not hear this. And the
- 12:32:59 25 external delegation was not reporting to me.
  - 26 Q. Mr Sesay --
  - 27 A. And, what I knew, you were reading part of the testimony
  - 28 where Fayia Musa said they contacted Mr Sankoh and Mr Sankoh said
  - 29 they should not go to Mr Taylor. That was the kind of

- 1 relationship I knew about, that Mr Sankoh had no business with
- 2 Mr Taylor.
- 3 Q. Did Charles Taylor then prefer to deal directly with other
- 4 members of the RUF, such as Sam Bockarie, to avoid Foday Sankoh?
- 12:33:40 5 A. No. I was not aware of that.
  - 6 Q. Charles Taylor had a better relationship with Sam Bockarie
  - 7 than he did with Foday Sankoh. Isn't that true?
  - 8 A. Well, I can't say so.
  - 9 Q. But you know all about you've talked to us a lot about
- 12:33:58 10 your knowledge of the relationship between Sam Bockarie and
  - 11 Charles Taylor, so isn't it true Sam Bockarie had a lot of
  - 12 respect for Charles Taylor? Isn't that true?
  - 13 A. Yes, when he used to go to him he had respect for him. He
  - 14 was President. And I can't decide the interest that Mr Taylor
- 12:34:20 15 had over Sam Bockarie or Mr Sankoh. That was up to Mr Taylor.
  - 16 Q. That is true, Mr Sesay. So let's move on to a subject of
  - 17 Operation Stop Elections. This is an incident that is infamous
  - 18 in Sierra Leone as showing, would you agree, the brutality of the
  - 19 RUF ordering the amputation of people's hands and fingers because
- 12:34:50 20 they chose to participate in an election and vote? Do you agree
  - 21 with that or disagree with that?
  - 22 A. Well, I have testified that I was not in Sierra Leone when
  - 23 that operation took place, but I heard that people's fingers were
  - 24 chopped off and they said they were using those fingers to go and
- 12:35:13 25 vote. And that was what I heard. They said it happened around
  - the Northern Jungle area and Isaac Mongor was the commander in
  - 27 the Northern Jungle at that time at the Kangari Hills.
  - 28 Q. Mr Sesay, before I move on I want to go back to the answer
  - 29 you just gave and explore that a little bit. You were saying you

- 1 were not in Sierra Leone during Operation Stop Elections. You
- 2 said you went to the Ivory Coast in November for a medical
- 3 procedure. Why what was the procedure? Why did you go to the
- 4 Ivory Coast?
- 12:35:47 5 A. I said I went there for a medical operation. I went I
  - 6 underwent an operation.
  - 7 Q. Well, what kind of operation? What was your problem?
  - 8 A. I was sick. That's my personal business. I was sick.
  - 9 Q. Mr Sesay, you didn't get the operation until January, so
- 12:36:12 10 what was the operation that you went for? What was the sickness?
  - 11 A. Well, the illness for which I went to the hospital, when I
  - went they did the x-ray on me and the doctor who did it advised
  - 13 Dr Barrie who took me to the hospital that they should wait until
  - 14 January before doing my operation.
- 12:36:34 15 Q. Mr Sesay, I want to ask you what the operation was about.
  - 16 Is there some reason you don't want to talk about that publicly?
  - 17 MR CHEKERA: Madam President, it is quite obvious Mr Sesay
  - is uncomfortable discussing his health in public.
  - 19 PRESIDING JUDGE: I would rather he answered for himself.
- 12:36:53 20 Mr Sesay, are you uncomfortable answering that question?
  - 21 THE WITNESS: No, my Lord. I was sick and it's possible,
  - 22 anybody can get sick. I underwent an operation. If the lawyer
  - 23 still does not believe what I am talking about I can still strip
  - 24 my trousers down and then the lawyer will see it and everybody in
- 12:37:17 25 the RUF I believe knows that I underwent an operation at that
  - 26 time.
  - 27 PRESIDING JUDGE: Well, the problem, Mr Sesay, is that
  - 28 there is nobody here that was in the RUF except yourself, and the
  - 29 simple question that the lawyer asked was what kind of operation

- 1 was it? What was your illness? Surely you can answer that. You
- 2 don't have to strip. You can answer the question using your
- 3 mouth.
- THE WITNESS: My Lord, at the time I was cross-examined
- 12:37:48 5 when I was testifying I told them that I went I underwent a
  - 6 medical operation, but the Prosecutor did not ask me that I
  - 7 should expose my health condition to everybody. The Prosecution
  - 8 lawyer did not treat me that way.
  - 9 PRESIDING JUDGE: Mr Sesay, this is cross-examination,
- 12:38:03 10 okay. Can you please answer the question that was simply asked
  - 11 of you. What was the illness for which you had the operation?
  - 12 THE WITNESS: My Lord, I think I've answered.
  - PRESIDING JUDGE: No, you have not. What is your answer?
  - 14 You haven't answered.
- 12:38:26 15 THE WITNESS: My Lord, I said I underwent a medical
  - 16 operation. I had hernia and I was operated on.
  - 17 PRESIDING JUDGE: Very well. Thank you.
  - 18 MR KOUMJIAN:
  - 19 Q. Mr Sesay, if you had a hernia why would the doctor tell you
- 12:38:42 20 to wait two months for an operation?
  - 21 A. How do you how can you say two months? I went in
  - 22 November and it was in December that I went to the hospital and
  - 23 the doctor advised Dr Barrie that I should wait, in January
  - 24 undergo the operation. So in that light, I wouldn't have said
- 12:39:03 25 anything to that because the doctor who took me to the hospital
  - 26 was advised. The medical doctor who took me there, he was
  - 27 advised that I should wait until January before I undergo the
  - 28 operation?
  - 29 Q. So you arrived in the Ivory Coast in Danane in November; is

- 1 that right?
- 2 A. Yes, it was in November that I went there.
- 3 Q. You travelled to Abidjan for an operation in January;
- 4 correct?
- 12:39:29 5 A. Yes.
  - 6 Q. And how long did it take you to get on your feet after
  - 7 having this operation?
  - 8 A. Well, I was operated on in January and by February I was
  - 9 able to move around. I could walk around. The only thing, they
- 12:39:52 10 advised that I shouldn't carry any heavy loads but --
  - 11 THE INTERPRETER: Your Honours, the last bit was not clear
  - 12 to the interpreter.
  - 13 PRESIDING JUDGE: Mr Sesay, you said you were advised that
  - 14 you shouldn't carry any heavy loads but what happened? Repeat
- 12:40:11 15 your evidence.
  - 16 THE WITNESS: I said the doctor advised that I should not
  - 17 walk a far distance and that I should not carry heavy loads from
  - 18 the ground, like like a bucket of water, I should not hold that
  - 19 for until it was up to six months.
- 12:40:34 20 MR KOUMJIAN:
  - 21 Q. So why when did you return? You said you returned to
  - 22 Sierra Leone in April, is that correct?
  - 23 A. Yes, that is correct.
  - 24 Q. What did you do between January and April?
- 12:40:49 25 A. Well, when I returned in April --
  - 26 Q. I'm so sorry my question was: What did you do? First of
  - 27 all, where were you between January and April, were you in
  - 28 Danane?
  - 29 A. I was in Danane January/February and I said it was when

- 1 Mr Sankoh went that all of us went to Abidjan and from Abidjan
- 2 Peter Vandi and I, we came through Danane, we came through Guinea
- 3 and to Kailahun.
- 4 Q. So, Mr Sesay, before you went for the medical operation you
- 12:41:27 5 were in the Ivory Coast, in Danane, in December 1995 when the RUF
  - 6 launched Footpaths to Democracy; isn't that true?
  - 7 A. Well, I was in Danane. I did not go to Abidjan at that
  - 8 time. If it was launched in December, then I did not go to
  - 9 Abidjan by then.
- 12:41:54 10 Q. And Let's go back to Operation Stop Elections. You have
  - denied what other witnesses said; that there was an order from
  - 12 Foday Sankoh to amputate people's hands who had voted. Is that
  - 13 right? You deny that, correct?
  - 14 A. I said it was Mr Sankoh who ordered for the attack to be
- 12:42:22 15 carried out, but I did not know about amputations and it was on
  - 16 my return that I later heard that people's fingers were
  - 17 amputated. But what I knew about the attack was that it was a
  - 18 plan that was agreed upon between Maada Bio and Mr Sankoh.
  - 19 Q. And you said that was agreed upon when they met in
- 12:42:50 20 Yamoussoukro; correct?
  - 21 A. Yes, that was what I understood.
  - 22 Q. Only one problem with your testimony on that, Mr Sesay:
  - 23 The meeting in Yamoussoukro between Bio and Sankoh took place
  - 24 after the elections, so you're lying about that, isn't that true?
- 12:43:15 25 A. Well, if the meeting if the election of President Kabbah
  - 26 took place if the election took place before the meeting
  - 27 between Mr Sankoh and Maada Bio, then how could Maada Bio have
  - 28 gone there to serve as the head or chairman of the NPRC if
  - 29 President Kabbah was President in Sierra Leone at that time? You

- 1 cannot have two chairmen heading a meeting but from two different
- 2 governments. At the time Mr Sankoh, if that early '96, when he
- 3 and Maada Bio met, I recall that Maada Bio sent some of his
- 4 ministers, because at that time Tom Nyuma was the under-secretary
- 12:44:14 5 of defence, he sent some other ministers and some other military
  - 6 personnel who had already arrived in Yamoussoukro before Maada
  - 7 Bio's arrival and by then Maada Bio was chairman of the NPRC, so
  - 8 how could he have been chairman of NPRC at the same time
  - 9 President Kabbah, President of the SLPP, for the same
- 12:44:40 10 Si erra Leone.
  - 11 Q. Mr Sesay, you were caught in your lie about this, and I am
  - 12 going to show you exactly how. First, if we could have a look at
  - 13 tab 7.
  - 14 MR CHEKERA: Madam President, while counsel is looking at
- 12:45:30 15 that, in light of Mr Sesay's hesitation to go into his private
  - 16 medical history, could I ask that the reference to his ailment be
  - 17 redacted.
  - PRESIDING JUDGE: Where do you get the impression he was
  - 19 uncomfortable? I just asked him and he said he had no problem to
- 12:45:47 20 answer. He was willing to strip before a public court.
  - 21 MR KOUMJIAN:
  - 22 Q. Mr Sesay, this is the Sierra Leone News for March 1996 and,
  - 23 if we look at the date of 25 March, it states:
  - "Talks had begun in Yamoussoukro between Brigadier Julius
- 12:46:21 25 Maada Bio and an RUF Leader Foday Sankoh." And it goes on to
  - 26 describe that:
  - 27 "Sankoh told Bio, 'We are tired of being in the forests.
  - 28 Do you think we are happy?' He questioned whether Bio was really
  - 29 committed to ending the war. 'Why do you come in combat uniform?

- 1 This was supposed to be a peace conference. We are ready for
- 2 peace, are you?"
- 3 If we turn the page we see excuse me, let's go back to
- 4 the first page, the next entry for the 26th, above it, for the 26
- 12:47:05 5 March:
  - 6 "Peace talks ended in Yamoussoukro Tuesday without a
  - 7 permanent truce accord but Foday Sankoh has agreed to meet
  - 8 President Elect Ahmad Tejan Kabbah to continue the peace process,
  - 9 according to an official communique. The second day of talks
- 12:47:29 10 focused on a role for the rebels in the civilian government."
  - 11 Let's look behind tab 8, please. This, Mr Sesay, is the
  - 12 African elections database, and the page for elections in
  - 13 Sierra Leone. If we go to page 3 of 5, we see what everyone
  - 14 knows, in the middle of that page:
- 12:48:26 15 "In the 1996 elections, the first round was held 26 and 27
  - 16 February 1996. The second round was held 15 March 1996 when
  - 17 Maada Bio met with Foday Sankoh on 25 and 26 March, Kabbah was
  - 18 President Elect, the elections were over with."
  - 19 So when you say that the agreement was made to disrupt the
- 12:48:59 20 elections with Maada Bio in Yamoussoukro when Sankoh met him,
  - 21 you're lying, because the elections had already taken place.
  - 22 PRESIDING JUDGE: Sorry, Mr Koumjian, you've lost us. We
  - 23 were you referred to a page, I don't know what page you're
  - 24 referring to.
- 12:49:17 **25** MR KOUMJIAN:
  - 26 Q. On tab 8, page 3 of 5, in the middle. It states:
  - 27 "February/March 1996, presidential election. First round
  - 28 (26-27 February 1996). Second round (15 March 1996)."
  - 29 So ten days before the Yamoussoukro talks began, the second

- 1 round of the election was completed. Mr Sesay, you lied to the
- 2 judges, telling them that it was an agreement with Maada Bio and
- 3 Yamoussoukro that led to stop elections. The elections were over
- 4 with by then.
- 12:50:13 5 A. Well, maybe my memory did not serve me well, but I have no
  - 6 reason to lie because before the meeting in Yamoussoukro between
  - 7 Mr Sankoh and Maada Bio, Mr Sankoh and Maada Bio used to have
  - 8 discussions on the radio. On many occasions they had
  - 9 discussions. So if I had not heard that Mr Sankoh and Maada Bio
- 12:50:41 10 had the plans to stop elections until the peace process went
  - 11 through I wouldn't have said that. And Maada Bio too was had a
  - 12 viewpoint, together with his followers, that the peace should be
  - achieved before election, and those arguments had been going on
  - 14 in Freetown. That was what led to demonstrations, like Bintumani
- 12:51:04 15 I, Bintumani II. And when the people demonstrated against the
  - 16 army in Freetown because people said there should be election
  - 17 before peace and the army was saying that peace before election.
  - 18 So I have no reason to lie about that.
  - 19 Q. Mr Sesay, you have every reason to lie about that, just as
- 12:51:23 20 you were lying about the fact that you didn't know that Foday
  - 21 Sankoh ordered amputations in that operation. You are trying to
  - 22 exonerate the RUF, for which you were a high commander, for their
  - 23 role in this brutal campaign to amputate people because they
  - 24 chose to vote. Isn't that true?
- 12:51:42 25 MR CHEKERA: Mr Sesay didn't say Foday Sankoh did not order
  - amputations, there is a distinction between amputation of hands
  - 27 and fingers, and I think that's where the evidence differs and
  - that's where Mr Sesay disagrees.
  - 29 PRESIDING JUDGE: I don't think that Mr Sesay said Sankoh

- 1 ordered amputation of fingers, did he?
- 2 Did you, Mr Sesay? Mr Sesay, did you say amputation of
- 3 fingers?
- THE WITNESS: Yes, my Lord, I said fingers were amputated
- 12:52:23 5 during the attack that Mr Sankoh ordered. They amputated
  - 6 people's fingers in Magburaka and they told them that they should
  - 7 not take part in the election.
  - 8 PRESIDING JUDGE: Stop it. Mr Sesay, the question I asked
  - 9 you was: Did you say that Mr Sankoh ordered the amputation of
- 12:52:39 10 fingers or did you not?
  - 11 THE WITNESS: It was Mr Sankoh who gave the orders. He
  - said they should amputate people's fingers because he gave the
  - 13 orders to attack after --
  - 14 THE INTERPRETER: Your Honours, could the witness be asked
- 12:52:57 15 to repeat that area slowly.
  - 16 PRESIDING JUDGE: Anyway, your evidence was not spoken out
  - 17 to us because you're too fast. Repeat your evidence.
  - 18 THE WITNESS: My Lord, I said it was Mr Sankoh who gave
  - 19 orders for the attack that people's fingers were amputated. And
- 12:53:25 20 he said no, no, Mr Sesay, and he asked me the question.
  - 21 PRESIDING JUDGE: Pause. And I think you know exactly what
  - 22 I am asking. Do not take us for fools. I am not asking about
  - 23 the order to attack. I am asking about the order to amputate
  - 24 fingers. Who gave that order, if you know?
- 12:53:47 25 THE WITNESS: My Lord, it was Mr Sankoh who gave the
  - 26 orders.
  - 27 MR KOUMJIAN:
  - 28 Q. Mr Sesay, that is very clear now; that you are saying that
  - 29 Foday Sankoh gave orders to amputate fingers.

- 1 A. Yes, because --
- 2 Q. Let's go to what you said at page 90 --
- 3 A. It was Mr Sankoh who gave orders for the attacks, and after
- 4 the crimes had been committed, he did not take actions against
- 12:54:22 5 anybody. So --
  - 6 Q. This is what you said at page 90 on my LiveNote, line 9. I
  - 7 asked you, I said:
  - 8 "Q. You have denied what other witnesses said, that there
  - 9 was an order from Foday Sankoh to amputate people's hands
- 12:54:45 10 who had voted; is that right? Do you deny that, correct?
  - 11 A. I said it was Mr Sankoh who ordered for the attack to
  - be carried out, but I did not know about amputations, and
  - it was on my return that I later heard that people's
  - fingers were amputated. But what I knew about the attack
- 12:55:04 15 was that it was a plan that was agreed on between Maada Bio
  - 16 and Mr Sankoh."
  - 17 Mr Sesay, you haven't said, until the last three minutes,
  - 18 for the first time you have admitted that you knew that Foday
  - 19 Sankoh gave orders to amputate fingers. You haven't been
- 12:55:27 20 truthful to the Court before that, correct?
  - 21 A. Well, it was Mr Sankoh who gave the orders, and he heard
  - that people's fingers were amputated. So, had he not given
  - 23 orders for the attacks to stop elections, they wouldn't have
  - 24 attacked. So when he gave the orders, and at the end of the day
- 12:55:50 25 those who committed the crimes, he did not take any actions
  - 26 against them, so we can say that he gave orders for the crimes
  - 27 that those people committed.
  - 28 PRESIDING JUDGE: Mr Sesay, when you say Foday Sankoh gave
  - 29 orders to stop the election, exactly what was the nature of that

- order? How were people's how were the RUF supposed to stop the elections?

  THE WITNESS: It was to attack, attack and destabilise the
- 4 elections programme. And it was during that cause that those
- $12\!:\!56\!:\!28-5$  amputations were carried out, when they amputated people's
  - 6 fingers.

11

- 7 PRESIDING JUDGE: Yes, but what do you mean "destabilise
- 8 the election programme"? How?
- 9 THE WITNESS: My Lord, if people were carrying out peaceful 12:56:47 10 elections and you came and opened fire against them, everybody
  - 12 PRESIDING JUDGE: So was that the order that was given?

will run away and stop everything that they were doing.

- 13 THE WITNESS: That was the order, to stop the election so
- 14 that the election will not take place, the voting should not go
- 12:57:08 15 on. And it was during that cause that the RUF amputated people's
  - 16 fingers. That was what I knew.
  - 17 MR KOUMJIAN:
  - 18 Q. Let's look at the testimony from 14 April 2010, this year,
  - 19 39017. There is a question at about line 15 and line 12
- 12:58:28 20 perhaps line 14. The question was:
  - "Q. To do whatever they could to stop the elections. And
  - 22 what, in practical terms, did that involve?
  - 23 A. Well, we learned later that in practical terms that
  - 24 actually involved cutting people's hands and burning
- 12:58:52 25 polling booths and so on."
  - And down the page, at line 24, the witness was asked:
  - "Q. And where was Foday Sankoh when he gave that order?
  - 28 A. By then Foday Sankoh was in Zogoda."
  - 29 Mr Sesay, did you learn that there was a meeting of

- 1 commanders in Zogoda where Foday Sankoh ordered Operation Stop
- 2 Elections?
- 3 A. Well, I knew that Mr Sankoh held a meeting at Zogoda with
- 4 commanders before they travelled to Ivory Coast, but I was not on
- 12:59:37 5 the ground to have followed up whether it was during that meeting
  - 6 that he actually ordered for that operation, but I know that he
  - 7 was the one that ordered the attacks to stop elections in
  - 8 Si erra Leone.
  - 9 Q. Some testimony was read to you from Isaac Mongor where he
- 12:59:57 10 talked about attending the commanders being called to a meeting
  - in Zogoda where Operation Stop Election was ordered. It was also
  - 12 read to you what Mr Isaac Mongor said about hearing a radio
  - 13 conversation between Foday Sankoh and Charles Taylor before that
  - 14 meeting.
- Do you have any reason to dispute that there was a meeting
  - 16 of where commanders were called to Zogoda where Foday Sankoh
  - 17 gave the order for Operation Stop Elections? Do you have any
  - 18 reason to dispute that?
  - 19 A. Yes, because some of the people who were present at the
- 13:00:38 20 meeting, like Peter Vandi, who attended the meeting, all of them
  - 21 travelled, that is during the meeting of the commanders, all of
  - 22 them travelled to Abidjan, and Peter Vandi did not tell me that.
  - 23 And my name came up during the meeting, that on my return I
  - 24 should be investigated. That was discussed in the meeting. But
- 13:01:00 25 Peter Vandi did not tell me that it was during that meeting that
  - 26 Mr Sankoh ordered for the operations to attack and stop
  - 27 elections. And that was a general meeting wherein commanders and
  - 28 civilians came from Kailahun. They all went and held a meeting
  - 29 at Zogoda before Mr Sankoh travelled to the Ivory Coast.

- 1 Let's look at the testimony of another Defence witness, Martin George, on 22 April 2010, at page 39718. I will start 2 reading from the last five lines. He said: 3 4 It was Sankoh speaking. He was telling us. we should disrupt the peace - I mean, the election because 13:02:13 5 he said Kabbah did not want peace. He said he wanted So he said we should sabotage that 7 election before peace. particular election." 8 Then going to the next page, five lines down, he was asked: "Q. Can you tell us how you understood what Foday Sankoh's 13:02:38 10 instructions were? 11 12 That was the second meeting he called. The first meeting was about Rutile, and the second meeting was about 13 14 that peace - that election meeting that he called. He 13:02:57 15 called the meeting and we held the forum in Zogoda with various jungle commanders, and it was then that he gave his 16 17 orders what should be done on the date set for the election, and that order was implemented. 18 19 Were you present at the meeting he called? 13:03:21 20 Yes, I went to the meeting. I told you that from Ngolahun Vaama, any meeting that was called, all 21 22 commanders were supposed to report there and to know what was going on. So I was at the meeting." 23
  - 26 A. I don't know about the meeting. I only knew I only heard

So, Mr Sesay, isn't it true you heard about this meeting

27 that it was Mr Sankoh who ordered the Operation Stop Election.

where Foday Sankoh ordered Operation Stop Elections?

28 That's what I know.

24

13:03:45 25

29 Q. I want to move on, then, to another topic, and that is what

- 1 you talking about purchasing ammunition, the RUF purchasing
- 2 ammunition from ULIMO, December 1996 to May, up to the coup, and
- 3 I want to begin by reading from the testimony of Mr Taylor from
- 4 22 September 2009, page 29312. But before I start reading from
- 13:05:07 5 that, Mr Sesay, while that is being brought up, Mr Sesay, ULIMO
  - 6 that you purchased that the RUF purchased ammunition from, it
  - 7 was the ULIMO-K faction, correct?
  - 8 A. Yes.
  - 9 Q. And the RUF began those purchases in late 1996, correct?
- 13:05:33 10 A. Yes.
  - 11 Q. And it happened up until approximately the coup, with the
  - 12 AFRC coup, correct?
  - 13 A. Yes, and it continued in '98 for some few months.
  - 14 Q. So it continued into 1998, during the time that
- 13:05:56 15 Charles Taylor was President, correct?
  - 16 A. Yes, between April and July '98.
  - 17 Q. Charles Taylor was in control of the country of Liberia,
  - 18 correct?
  - 19 A. Yes.
- 13:06:16 20 Q. And even when these purchases started in December 1996, or
  - 21 Late 1996, this was the time of disarmament in Liberia, correct?
  - 22 A. No. At that time the disarmament had not commenced in
  - 23 Lofa, where ULIMO was present.
  - 24 Q. In December 1996, just seven, eight months before the
- 13:06:41 25 elections, you're saying disarmament had not commenced in Lofa?
  - 26 A. Well, you were not there. Sam Bockarie and others went
  - 27 there to Foya. ULIMO was in arms. At that time disarmament had
  - 28 not started. At the time that I at the time that those who
  - 29 carried out the disarmament, that is ECOMOG, when they deployed

- 1 in Foya at the border, that was around March of '97. So in
- 2 December '96, January, February, ECOMOG troops had not been
- 3 deployed in Foya.
- 4 Q. Mr Sesay, at the time let's start in December 1996, when
- 13:07:27 5 these purchases began was ULIMO-K an ally of Charles Taylor, or
  - 6 an enemy of Charles Taylor, or how would you describe them?
  - 7 A. Well, at that time they were enemies to Mr Taylor,
  - 8 according to us who were in the Kailahun District. That was our
  - 9 understanding in December of '96.
- 13:07:52 10 Q. Now, Mr Sesay, were you aware of fighting in Monrovia in
  - 11 April of 1996?
  - 12 A. No. I was not aware of what was happening in Monrovia. I
  - only knew of what was happening in Kailahun and the Liberian
  - 14 border.
- 13:08:09 15 Q. Were you aware that in April of 1996, the NPFL, together
  - 16 with ULIMO-K, attacked Roosevelt Johnson's forces in Monrovia?
  - 17 A. Well, I have just answered the question. I said I did not
  - 18 know what was happening in Monrovia. I knew what was happening
  - 19 at the border, between us and ULIMO.
- 13:08:36 20 Q. Now, during the time that Charles Taylor was President, you
  - 21 understood that ULIMO-K was largely Mandingo, correct?
  - 22 A. Yes, even when they were fighting, that is what I knew.
  - 23 Q. And the Mandingos had always been largely opposed to
  - 24 Charles Taylor, would you agree?
- 13:09:05 25 A. I was not aware. I wasn't an NPFL member.
  - 26 Q. Let me ask you this as an RUF commander: As an RUF
  - 27 commander if your enemies, for example, the Kamajors, lost
  - ammunition or gave up, sold their ammunition, did that help you,
  - 29 the RUF?

- 1 A. Ask the question again.
- 2 Q. As an RUF commander would you have liked to have seen the
- 3 Kamajors lose ammunition?
- 4 A. Yes, because when they lose ammunition they won't be able
- 13:09:48 5 to fight me any longer.
  - 6 Q. So when ULIMO sold ammunition to the RUF, Charles Taylor
  - 7 benefitted in two ways, didn't he?
  - 8 A. Well, I can't say Mr Taylor benefitted because at the time
  - 9 the contact started with ULIMO it was before the disarmament.
- 13:10:15 10 And during the disarmament, the trade in ammunition continued
  - 11 with ULIMO till the coup. So if the ULIMO did not surrender
  - 12 ammunition they would sell that to the RUF.
  - 13 Q. Mr Sesay, the ammunition that was let's take the
  - 14 ammunition during the time Charles Taylor was President that you
- 13:10:39 15 said was buried. By Charles Taylor facilitating the sale of that
  - 16 ammunition to the RUF, he benefitted in two ways. His enemies
  - 17 lost ammunition, that being ULIMO-K, and his friends, the RUF,
  - 18 gained ammunition. Isn't that true?
  - 19 A. No. At the time that Sam Bockarie sent Kennedy to go and
- 13:11:08 20 buy that ammunition it was not to Mr Taylor's knowledge, because
  - 21 Kennedy knew the ex-ULIMO fighters and he was buying that
  - 22 ammunition from them and at night he would transport them over
  - 23 into Sierra Leone.
  - 24 Q. Mr Sesay, you have told us about how the NPFL excuse me,
- 13:11:27 25 the AFL under President Charles Taylor, the Armed Forces of
  - 26 Liberia, were able to control the border. When Sam Bockarie left
  - 27 they stopped anyone from passing except Ibrahim Bah. So tell me,
  - 28 how was it that Kennedy was able to go, base in Voinjama, buy
  - 29 ammunition and take it back across the border without the support

- 1 of the Charles Taylor's security forces?
- 2 A. Well, you can't say because there was business between us
- 3 and the border guards of the AFL it's Mr Taylor, no. It is the
- 4 border guards and the RUF. Because even the machine that Mike
- 13:12:22 5 Lamin sold to Bob Dixon, Mr Taylor was not aware of that.
  - 6 Q. Mr Sesay, the first purchases you said in December 1996,
  - you claim that there were two ULIMO generals that you know of who
  - 8 were involved; correct?
  - 9 A. Yes.
- 13:12:45 10 Q. And both of them that you named are people you know
  - 11 testified in this case, Varmuyan Sherif and Abu Keita; correct?
  - 12 A. Well, I knew of Abu Keita because I saw his name in the
  - 13 newspapers. I saw him conduct an interview with one newspaper.
  - 14 Q. Mr Sesay, do you know where Varmuyan Sherif was in December
- 13:13:15 15 1996?
  - 16 A. Varmuyan Sherif was in Voinjama and Lofa.
  - 17 Q. Well, let's see what Charles Taylor says about that. If we
  - 18 could have the transcript of 22 September 2009, page 29312. I am
  - 19 going to read the last six lines. Mr Taylor testified:
- 13:13:48 20 "Well, in 1996, there was a situation we have on the
  - 21 records here of the attempt on the part of the government at the
  - 22 time to arrest Roosevelt Johnson because of an alleged murder at
  - 23 the time. During that time Alhaji Kromah was on the Council of
  - 24 State and his senior people were there. Mohamed Let me say
- 13:14:11 25 Mohamed. Varmuyan Sherif was brought into the mansion, into the
  - 26 Presidency at the time by Alhaji Kromah. He was one of the most
  - 27 senior generals brought in at the time and he worked in the SSS.
  - 28 That's Varmuyan Sherif. So because of the six-man collective
  - 29 Presidency at the time, a senior position in the SSS, that meant

- 1 that those individuals were exposed to all of us. That's how I
- 2 got to know Varmuyan Sherif, when Alhaji myself and George Boley
- 3 and those names are all on the record, your Honour sat on the
- 4 Council of State, okay, and that's how I got to know him at that
- 13:14:55 5 particular time and he was the most senior ULIMO general that
  - 6 worked in the Presidency."
  - 7 So, Mr Sesay, in 1996, Varmuyan Sherif was working at the
  - 8 Executive Mansion in Monrovia. He wasn't based in Lofa County.
  - 9 A. Well, if he was not based in Lofa County but he used to
- 13:15:18 10 come there. He used to transact business with the RUF and at
  - 11 that time the ULIMO headquarters was Voinjama.
  - 12 Q. Mr Sesay, let us me move on to another subject. Let's talk
  - 13 about the Abidjan Accord. Foday Sankoh never intended to keep
  - the peace when he signed that accord; correct?
- 13:15:47 15 A. No, he meant it. He meant it at the initial stages.
  - 16 Q. Because at the same time he was signing the accord he was
  - 17 sending, and you told us about this, Jonathan Kposowa to buy
  - 18 ammunition from ECOMOG in Liberia; correct?
  - 19 A. Yes.
- 13:16:13 20 Q. So while on one hand he's signing a peace accord, on the
  - other hand he has a delegation out to buy ammunition in violation
  - of the peace accord; correct?
  - 23 A. But when President Kabbah too was going to sign the peace
  - 24 accord his army and the Kamajors were attacking and dislodging
- 13:16:38 25 RUF bases and killing RUF fighters, so was it not the same thing?
  - 26 Q. Your answer is yes, at the time that Foday Sankoh signed
  - 27 the accord he was violating the accord, sending a delegation to
  - 28 buy ammunition; correct?
  - 29 A. That's what I testified to, that it was because of the

- 1 attacks that the attacks that were made on the RUF, that was
- 2 why Mr Sankoh was making arrangement to buy ammunition so that
- 3 the RUF can defend themselves.
- 4 Q. Mr Sesay, between the time of Top Final and the Abidjan
- 13:17:18 5 Accord how much contact did Foday Sankoh have with Liberia? How
  - 6 many trips did he make to Liberia, first of all?
  - 7 A. Say that again.
  - 8 Q. Between Top Final and the signing of the Abidjan Accord,
  - 9 November 30, 1996, how many trips did Foday Sankoh make to
- 13:17:41 10 Li beri a?
  - 11 A. Well, after the Top Final I was not aware of Mr Sankoh
  - 12 going to Gbarnga, but I was aware of Mr Sankoh going to Kolahun
  - 13 to his other wife called Louisa. But when the ULIMO continued
  - 14 advancing, since then he was not going to Liberia.
- 13:18:12 15 THE INTERPRETER: Your Honour, can he kindly repeat the
  - 16 last bit of it.
  - 17 PRESIDING JUDGE: Mr Sesay, can you please answer the
  - 18 question, if you know. Okay. Don't talk about things you
  - 19 haven't been asked. The question very simply is: How many trips
- 13:18:26 20 did Foday Sankoh make to Liberia between Top Final and the
  - 21 signing of the Abidjan Accord on November 30, 1996? The answer
  - 22 should consist of a number, a number of trips.
  - THE WITNESS: Well, my Lord, I was not aware of Mr Sankoh
  - 24 going to Gbarnga, but I was aware of Mr Sankoh going to one
- 13:18:53 25 village near Kolahun, I think it is Massambolahun which is the
  - 26 home town of his wife. I did not know whether he went there two
  - 27 or three times. I can't remember.
  - 28 PRESIDING JUDGE: Is Massambolahun in Liberia?
  - 29 THE WITNESS: Yes, ma'am.

- 1 PRESIDING JUDGE: Then answer the question asked, please.
- 2 How many trips did he make to Liberia?
- THE WITNESS: My Lord, I said I can't recall. I can't
- 4 recall whether it was two or three times that he went there. I
- 13:19:24 5 can't be specific. But he used to go to Louisa's village.
  - 6 MR KOUMJIAN:
  - 7 Q. So after Top Final, after the problems with the Liberians
  - 8 in Top 20, Top 40, Foday Sankoh was still travelling to NPFL
  - 9 territory to visit this woman, at least two or three occasions;
  - 10 correct?
  - 11 A. Yes, in Massambolahun.
  - 12 Q. I don't think we have that spelling on the record and I
  - don't know if anyone Mr Sesay, do you know how to spell it? We
  - 14 will try to have someone look it up if not.
- 13:20:03 15 PRESIDING JUDGE: Mr Interpreter, do you have a clue how to
  - 16 spell this location?
  - 17 THE INTERPRETER: Yes, I do have one.
  - 18 M-A-S-S-A-M-B-O-L-A-H-U-N.
  - 19 PRESI DI NG JUDGE: Thank you.
- 13:20:21 20 MR KOUMJIAN: Thank you very much.
  - 21 Q. So, Mr Sesay, your testimony is after ULIMO occupied
  - 22 Lofa County, the border area, Foday Sankoh and that would have
  - 23 been 1993 is that correct, sir, when ULIMO closed off the
  - 24 border?
- 13:20:42 25 A. No, part of '92. That was when ULIMO captured Zorzor and
  - 26 cut off the supply line. No vehicle used to come from Lofa to
  - 27 Gbarnga. And in '93 they captured the last town at the border,
  - that is Mendekoma.
  - 29 Q. Thank you. And once again we note, Mr Sesay, that you're

- 1 talking about late 1992, correct? You said this is when ULIMO
- 2 captured Zorzor, that was late 1992, November or December, would
- 3 that be correct?
- 4 A. Well, it was in late '92. I can't remember the month, but
- 13:21:26 5 it was in late '92.
  - 6 Q. And it was after Top 20, Top 40 and the withdrawal of the
  - 7 NPFL; correct?
  - 8 A. Yes. After that.
  - 9 Q. And I note the words that you used. You said, "That is
- 13:21:46 10 when ULIMO captured Zorzor and cut off the supply line." So even
  - 11 after the withdrawal of the NPFL the RUF still had a supply line
  - 12 from Gbarnga to Kolahun to Kailahun; correct?
  - 13 A. No. RUF hadn't a supply line during the time the NPFL were
  - 14 in Sierra Leone in the RUF territory. That was the supply route,
- 13:22:14 15 but when they were withdrawn it was not a supply line any longer
  - 16 because ammunition supply Mr Sankoh was not bringing in
  - 17 ammunition supply any longer.
  - 18 Q. These were the words you used, Mr Sesay. You said: "No,
  - 19 part of 1992, that is when ULIMO captured Zorzor and cut off the
- 13:22:33 20 supply line." That's because you know the RUF continued to
  - 21 receive supplies from Charles Taylor even after the withdrawal of
  - 22 the NPFL; correct?
  - 23 A. No. That's not correct, because after the withdrawal of
  - the NPFL, Mr Sankoh no longer received supplies from Mr Taylor.
- 13:22:56 25 Q. Now after the supply line was cut, or the border was cut
  - off, Foday Sankoh, it's your testimony, made no further trips to
  - 27 Liberia, correct, until Lome, is that right?
  - 28 A. I am not aware of Mr Sankoh meeting Mr Taylor in Gbarnga
  - 29 any longer until they met in Lome. That is what I was aware of.

- 1 Q. So you're saying it could have happened, but you wouldn't
- 2 know --
- 3 JUDGE DOHERTY: Excuse me, Mr Koumjian. Mr Sesay, on each
- 4 occasion the question is Liberia and on each occasion you answer
- 13:23:38 5 Gbarnga. There is more than Gbarnga in Liberia. Please answer
  - 6 correctly.
  - THE WITNESS: There is only one Gbarnga, my Lord.
  - 8 JUDGE DOHERTY: Yes, but all of Liberia is not Gbarnga.
  - 9 THE WITNESS: Yes, my Lord, you're right.
- 13:24:00 10 MR KOUMJIAN:
  - 11 Q. So, Mr Sesay, are you saying that you cannot testify to
  - 12 these judges whether or not Foday Sankoh went to Liberia after
  - 13 the border was closed before Lome negotiations began?
  - 14 A. Well, after ULIMO had captured the whole of Lofa County,
- 13:24:27 15 Mr Sankoh never went to Liberia. But before ULIMO captured the
  - 16 entire Lofa County, when they cut off the supply route before
  - 17 they cut off the supply route, Mr Sankoh never went deep into
  - 18 Liberia any Longer. When ULIMO captured Zorzor, Mr Sankoh only
  - 19 used to go to Massambolahun, Louisa's mother's village, and when
- 13:24:55 20 Louisa was there her mother was there. That's about 10 miles, 10
  - 21 to 12 miles to the Sierra Leone border.
  - 22 MR KOUMJIAN:
  - 23 Q. Now up to the Abidjan Accord, what contacts, in 1995-1996,
  - 24 other than those that I have read to you this morning about the
- 13:25:18 25 | Launching of Footpaths and the trips by the external delegation
  - 26 to Gbarnga and Ghana, what contacts are you aware of that Foday
  - 27 Sankoh had with Liberia, specifically Monrovia, what contacts did
  - 28 he have in Monrovia?
  - 29 A. I was not aware of Mr Sankoh having contacts in Monrovia.

- 1 Q. In fact, Mr Sankoh probably had never been to Monrovia
- 2 because, even at the time of Camp Naama, Monrovia was occupied by
- 3 the Doe forces and ECOMOG. It wasn't occupied by the NPFL before
- 4 the RUF invasion of Sierra Leone. Correct?
- 13:26:10 5 A. Well, those soldiers, ECOMOG and Prince Johnson's troops
  - 6 were in Monrovia. That is what we used to hear when we were in
  - 7 Naama.
  - 8 Q. And did you ever hear of Foday Sankoh being in Monrovia?
  - 9 A. He was not going I did not hear about Monrovia, but he
- 13:26:34 10 used to go to Harbel, Kakata which are close to Monrovia.
  - 11 Q. And he hadn't gone at all to Liberia since 1993, you told
  - 12 us, or since late 1992 when Lofa cut off the border when ULIMO
  - 13 cut off the border correct?
  - 14 A. Yes, I said from '92, when ULIMO cut off the border, he
- 13:26:58 15 never went deep into Liberia any longer.
  - 16 Q. So I want to ask you about this mission that you told us
  - 17 about where Foday Sankoh sent Kposowa to buy ammunition from
  - 18 ECOMOG in Liberia you have told us how important ammunition was
  - 19 to the RUF's military operations. At that time ammunition was
- 13:27:23 20 needed. Correct?
  - 21 A. Yes, but the group that was in Pujehun, for the group that
  - 22 was in Pujehun District.
  - 23 Q. So it was very critical to get ammunition so that the RUF
  - 24 could continue to fight; is that right?
- 13:27:45 25 A. Yes.
  - 26 Q. Now, Kposowa was sent to Monrovia to buy the ammunition
  - 27 from an ECOMOG officer. That's correct, isn't it?
  - 28 A. Yes, Mr Sankoh told us that he had sent Kposowa to make
  - 29 contact with ECOMOG to buy ammunition.

- 1 Q. But Kposowa had been based in Ivory Coast and had been in
- 2 Camp Naama and Sierra Leone, he didn't have contacts in Monrovia,
- 3 did he?
- 4 A. Kposowa was a teacher in Monrovia before he became a part
- 13:28:32 5 of the RUF. He had been living in Liberia, Monrovia for many
  - 6 years.
  - 7 Q. Kposowa was sent with Saye Boayue B-O-A-Y-O-U, Saye
  - 8 S-A-Y-E Sankoh sent Saye Boayue with Kposowa to buy the
  - 9 ammunition: isn't that correct?
- 13:28:58 10 A. I was not aware of that. What Mr Sankoh told us in
  - 11 Kailahun, when he came in November of '96, he was explaining;
  - 12 that is what I heard directly from Mr Sankoh himself.
  - 13 Q. This Court heard testimony that it was Saye Boayue that was
  - 14 sent with Kposowa, and Kposowa was given the orders to follow, to
- 13:29:27 15 do what Saye Boayue told him to do, in order to get this
  - 16 ammunition I believe I am pronouncing it wrong Saye Boayue -
  - 17 and I am referring to testimony from 1 June 2010, page 41756,
  - 18 just as a reference isn't that true, Mr Sesay: Kposowa was
  - 19 sent with another man and the other man was the one that had all
- 13:30:02 20 the arrangements with the ECOMOG?
  - 21 A. Well, Mr Sankoh did not tell us that, when he came to
  - 22 Kailahun and Giema. What he told me, Sam Bockarie and the
  - 23 others, he said he sent Kposowa to make contact to buy ammunition
  - 24 from ECOMOG in Monrovia. That is what he told us.
- 13:30:25 25 Q. Have you heard of, Saye Boayue? Have you heard that name
  - 26 before?
  - 27 A. I don't know this name.
  - 28 Q. Well, some other Defence witnesses do, so let's look at the
  - 29 testimony of 25 March 2010, page 37984.

- 1 PRESIDING JUDGE: Mr Koumjian, in view of the time, can we
- 2 continue this after the luncheon break? We will reconvene at
- 3 2.30 to continue.
- 4 [Break taken at 1.30 p.m.]
- 14:29:16 5 [Upon resuming at 2.30 p.m.]
  - 6 PRESIDING JUDGE: Good afternoon. Mr Koumjian, please.
  - 7 MR KOUMJIAN:
  - 8 Q. Good afternoon, Mr Sesay.
  - 9 A. Yes, good afternoon, sir.
- 14:31:16 10 Q. When we broke for Lunch, we were talking about Foday Sankoh
  - 11 sending a mission to go buy ammunition from ECOMOG. And,
  - 12 Mr Sesay, you know that the ECOMOG that Foday Sankoh sought to
  - 13 buy ammunition from was based in Monrovia, correct?
  - 14 A. Yes. They were in Monrovia.
- 14:31:44 15 Q. And you --
  - 16 A. It was --
  - 17 Q. I'm sorry, did I cut you off? You were saying they were in
  - 18 Monrovia.
  - 19 A. Yes.
- 14:31:55 20 Q. And you had told us that Foday Sankoh had not been, to your
  - 21 knowledge, to Monrovia, correct?
  - 22 A. Yes. During the time that I was in Naama, and the time
  - that I was in the RUF to this time that we are referring to.
  - 24 Q. I also told you that this Court has heard evidence that
- 14:32:25 25 Foday Sankoh sent you said Kposowa, and that Kposowa was
  - 26 accompanied by Saye Boayue, an NPFL officer. And I promised -
  - 27 you said you didn't know he was NPFL. So I was about to read
  - 28 some testimony to you.
  - 29 So if we could have testimony, please, from 25 March 2010,

- 1 page 37984.
- 2 PRESIDING JUDGE: This was the evidence of a witness who
- 3 testified openly?
- 4 MR KOUMJIAN: Yes, this is the evidence of John Vincent.
- 14:33:49 5 Thank you.
  - 6 Q. I'm going to read from the top, John Vincent said:
  - 7 "A. In 1990, after Bong Mines had been captured by the
  - 8 NPFL, later one of the Special Forces, called Isaac Boayue,
  - 9 was deployed there as a commander not Isaac, Saye, Saye
- 14:34:20 10 Boayue, he was deployed there as the commander for the NPFL
  - in Bong Mines."
  - Then if we could have the testimony of another Defence
  - 13 witness, from 19 May 2010, page 41167.
  - 14 PRESIDING JUDGE: This was the evidence of another Defence
- 14:34:59 15 witness who testified openly?
  - MR KOUMJIAN: Yes. Well, we can check if it was open.
  - 17 It's DCT-2 I can't read it, sorry, 279.
  - 18 PRESIDING JUDGE: I think it's 228.
  - 19 MR KOUMJIAN: 228, thank you.
- 14:35:21 20 Q. And going to page 41167, beginning at line 9, the witness
  - 21 sai d:
  - 22 "Q. March, April 1990 you're in Bong Mines, you go there
  - with James Galakpai. Who, if anyone, is in command of Bong
  - 24 Mines for the NPFL?"
- 14:35:46 25 At that time the witness said, and I believe there has been
  - 26 an errata issued on this, if someone could check it. The witness
  - 27 sai d:
  - 28 "A. C Boy and the commander was in charge."
  - 29 And it's later Mr Anyah, the Defence attorney, says:

- 1 "Madam President, I believe the name is on the record
- 2 previously, Saye Boayue."
- 3 So, Mr Sesay, do you know why Jonathan Kposowa would be
- 4 sent with an NPFL Special Forces commander to buy ammunition from
- 14:36:22 5 an ECOMOG officer in Monrovia?
  - 6 A. Well, I did not know.
  - 7 Q. Well, Mr Sesay, were you aware that Charles Taylor has told
  - 8 this Court that he had experience in sending his commanders to
  - 9 buy weapons or ammunition from ECOMOG commanders in Liberia?
- 14:36:52 10 Were you aware of that?
  - 11 A. I was not with the NPFL but we heard news that ECOMOG used
  - 12 to sell ammunition because even Mr Sankoh when he came, that is
  - 13 what he told us; he sent he sent Kposowa to go and buy ammunition
  - 14 from ECOMOG. And Mr Sankoh himself told us that in the Kailahun
- 14:37:17 15 District, but he did not mention that he sent Kposowa with Saye
  - 16 Boayue.
  - 17 MR KOUMJIAN: Your Honour, I'm told that there was an
  - 18 errata issued and the C Boy in the transcript I read has been
  - 19 changed to Saye, S-A-Y-E, Boayue.
- 14:37:37 20 I should have started with this. Your Honours, it was
  - 21 brought to my attention that I have not marked for identification
  - some of the tabs that we previously used.
  - 23 And in order of their use, those were tab 9, 7 and 8. Tab
  - 24 9, being the list of Cote d'Ivoire departments and cities.
- 14:38:27 25 PRESIDING JUDGE: The data contained in the Cote d'Ivoire
  - 26 department and cities statistics consisting of three pages, that
  - 27 is MFI-17.
  - 28 MR KOUMJIAN: Thank you.
  - 29 PRESIDING JUDGE: What was the next group of --

- 1 MR KOUMJIAN: The next were tab 7 and then tab 8. Tab 7
- 2 being the Sierra Leone news from March 1998, I believe I referred
- 3 only to the first page, to the entries for 25 March and 26 March.
- 4 PRESIDING JUDGE: Right. The Sierra Leone news, March '96,
- 14:39:12 5 consisting of you referred only to the first page?
  - 6 MR KOUMJIAN: Correct.
  - 7 PRESIDING JUDGE: That's one page of four, that is MFI-18.
  - 8 MR KOUMJIAN: And then tab 8 is the African elections
  - 9 database, which consists, I believe, of four pages and I referred
- 14:39:44 10 well, I believe page 1, which has the title and then also page
  - 11 3, I referred to, which has the dates of the Sierra Leone 1996
  - 12 presidential elections, rounds 1 and 2. I would ask for page 1
  - 13 and 3 of that document.
  - 14 PRESIDING JUDGE: Very well. That is the African elections
- 14:40:07 15 database consisting of pages 1 and 3. That is MFI-19.
  - 16 MR KOUMJIAN: Thank you.
  - 17 Q. Now, Mr Sesay, going back to the purchase of ammunition or
  - 18 attempt to purchase ammunition from ECOMOG in Monrovia, let me
  - 19 just summarise what you've said. Foday Sankoh had never been, to
- 14:40:40 20 your knowledge, to Monrovia, and you say the RUF had no contacts
  - 21 that you knew of at that time with the NPFL or Liberia, correct?
  - 22 A. Yes.
  - 23 Q. But Saye Boayue, a man whose name has been mentioned in
  - 24 evidence as being part of that delegation sent to buy the
- 14:41:07 25 ammunition, has been identified by two Defence witnesses as an
  - 26 NPFL Special Forces. And Charles Taylor has told this Court that
  - 27 he, Charles Taylor, would buy ammunition from ECOMOG officers.
  - 28 Mr Sesay, it's obvious, isn't it, that the deal with ECOMOG was
  - 29 arranged through Charles Taylor and the NPFL? Isn't that true?

- 1 A. Well, I did not know of that. What I know and what
- 2 Mr Sankoh told us is what I'm explaining. That is what I heard
- 3 from Mr Sankoh, that he sent Kposowa to go and buy ammunition
- 4 from ECOMOG.
- 14:41:59 5 Q. I want to move on to the arrest of Foday Sankoh in Nigeria.
  - 6 When Foday Sankoh was arrested, that was in March of 1997,
  - 7 correct?
  - 8 A. I think so.
  - 9 Q. And so it was just a few months after he had signed the
- 14:42:20 10 Abidjan Peace Accord, correct?
  - 11 A. Yes.
  - 12 Q. When Foday Sankoh was arrested, he was still able to
  - 13 communicate to you, to the RUF, correct, in the beginning?
  - 14 A. Yes, through Abidjan.
- 14:42:41 15 Q. So he was in communication through telephone and then that
  - 16 would be forwarded to you by radio, correct?
  - 17 A. Yes.
  - 18 Q. Now, when Foday Sankoh was arrested, there was an
  - 19 announcement by Philip Palmer to the international media that
- 14:43:07 20 there was a change of Leadership in the RUF, correct?
  - 21 A. Yes.
  - 22 Q. And this announcement was met with support from various
  - 23 parts of the international community, such as the United Nations,
  - the President of Guinea, Cote d'Ivoire and even Nigeria helped to
- 14:43:36 25 transport the external delegation to meet with the RUF fighters
  - 26 by flying them to Guinea, isn't that true?
  - 27 A. Well, I did not know about the involvement of the UN flying
  - them from Ivory Coast to Guinea, nor the Nigerian government.
  - 29 I only knew about the Guinea government, they gave them passage

- 1 and they supported the idea. That is the only thing I knew, and
- 2 the Government of Sierra Leone.
- 3 Q. The Government of Sierra Leone also supported the idea of a
- 4 change of leadership in order to implement the Abidjan Accord,
- 14:44:21 5 correct?
  - 6 A. Yes. The Government of Sierra Leone was in support of the
  - 7 idea to change the leadership.
  - 8 Q. Now, what did you hear from Charles Taylor at that time?
  - 9 A. I did not hear anything from Mr Taylor.
- 14:44:45 10 Q. What did you hear from Musa Cisse about this change of
  - 11 I eadershi p?
  - 12 A. I did not hear anything from Musa Cisse. I was in
  - 13 Kai I ahun.
  - 14 Q. At this time, Mr Taylor would have been in Monrovia on the
- 14:45:03 15 Council of State, on the collective presidency. Did you hear
  - anything from the Liberian collective presidency about the change
  - 17 of Leadership?
  - 18 A. No. I did not know.
  - 19 Q. In fact, there would be no reason there was no support
- 14:45:27 20 from Charles Taylor or any of his surrogates for the external
  - 21 delegation for this change of leadership, would you agree?
  - 22 A. Please repeat the question.
  - 23 Q. Do you know of any support that Charles Taylor gave to
  - 24 Palmer and the other external delegates to implement this change
- 14:45:54 25 of Leadership so that the Abidjan Accord could go forward?
  - 26 A. No, I did not know.
  - 27 Q. And in fact, Charles Taylor had no reason to support the
  - 28 external delegates because Foday Sankoh had passed the message to
  - 29 you, the RUF, that Sam Bockarie should take orders from

- 1 Charles Taylor while Sankoh was in detention, correct?
- 2 A. No. I did not hear such an instruction.
- 3 Q. When Foday Sankoh was in detention, in order to preserve
- 4 the loyalty of you and the other RUF commanders, he handed out a
- 14:46:57 5 series of promotions and you were one of those promoted, correct?
  - 6 A. Yes. Not only Sam Bockarie and me. He promoted Mike
  - 7 Lamin, Isaac, Dennis Mingo, Gibril Massaquoi, Peter Vandi.
  - 8 Q. All the top commanders who would be most influential were
  - 9 promoted, correct?
- 14:47:29 10 A. Not all of them. He promoted some. Some of them were not
  - 11 promoted.
  - 12 Q. Well, you've named some of them; Sam Bockarie, Issa Sesay,
  - 13 Mike Lamin, Superman, Dennis Mingo that is, Gibril Massaquoi and
  - 14 Peter Vandi, correct?
- 14:47:45 15 A. Yes.
  - 16 Q. Now, where was Sankoh when he made these promotions?
  - 17 A. He was in Nigeria when he communicated through Abidjan and
  - 18 Abidjan sent the radio message to Buedu, Sam Bockarie's radio.
  - 19 Q. That's the truth. I accept that, Mr Sesay. But let's go
- 14:48:11 20 to your transcript of 6 July 2010, page 43779. You were asked,
  - 21 beginning on line 2 this is in your direct examination.
  - 22 Defence counsel asked you:
  - 23 "Q. Now, where was Sankoh when in March 1997 he authorised
  - these promotions?"
- 14:49:10 25 In your direct examination you said:
  - 26 "A. After he sent this promotion he was in Abidjan and
  - after a few days he travelled to Nigeria and was arrested
  - there.
  - 29 Q. Now, I want us to be quite clear about this, Mr Sesay.

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2 or was it, in fact, Charles Taylor? This one had nothing to do with Mr Taylor. It was 3 an RUF business. And Foday Sankoh was the CIC for the RUF. 4 So he was the one who thought it to himself that he should 14:49:43 5 give out promotions before he travelled to Nigeria together 6 with Steve Bio." 7 Now, Mr Sesay, you've just told us the truth which is that 8 9 these promotions came after Sankoh was arrested in Nigeria. 14:50:03 10 did you lie on 6 July and tell these judges that the promotions came before Sankoh travelled to Nigeria? 11 12 Well, I cannot recall everything I testified to during my 13 trial because those were many days back. But I recall that it 14 was Sankoh who made the promotions and it was in the month of 14:50:36 15 March 1997 that he sent the promotions. Mr Sesay, I know you're trying to wiggle on this. Let me 16 17 be clear. You've just told us this afternoon, consistent with what other witnesses have said, that the promotions were given 18 19 after Sankoh was arrested in Nigeria. In this very courtroom, in 14:50:58 20 this trial, just a little over a month ago, on 6 July 2010, in 21 the passage I just read, you said, when you were asked where 22 Sankoh was in March '97 when he authorised these promotions, you said, "After he sent this promotion, he was in Abidjan and after 23 24 few days he travelled to Nigeria." And then a few lines down, 14:51:26 25 you said, when asked if these promotions were the idea of 26 Charles Taylor, you said he had nothing to do with it. You said, 27 "Sankoh thought it to himself that he should give out promotions 28 before he travelled to Nigeria." So there is absolutely a clear 29 contradiction between what you've said this afternoon, that the

Who was it who ordered these promotions? Was it Mr Sankoh

- 1 promotions happened after his arrest, and what you said 6 July
- 2 when you claimed that Sankoh thought of these promotions and gave
- 3 them out before he travelled to Nigeria. Why the contradiction?
- 4 A. Well, I said it is not everything that I said during my
- 14:52:13 5 trial that I can recall. I cannot recall everything, but what I
  - 6 am saying --
  - 7 PRESIDING JUDGE: Mr Sesay, this has nothing to do with
  - 8 your trial. Both these testimonies are during this trial. This
  - 9 is not your trial. This is not your trial. What counsel just
- 14:52:30 10 read to you, both portions, arose during your testimony in this
  - 11 trial. Now, start your answer again, please.
  - 12 THE WITNESS: My Lord, the one that I recall, that he said
  - 13 happened was that Mr Sankoh sent these promotions before he
  - 14 travelled to Nigeria and the instruction that he sent from
- 14:52:57 15 Nigeria about Sam Bockarie, after the announcement of the coup,
  - 16 was to arrest Fayia Musa and others. But the promotions to us,
  - 17 the commanders, Mr Sankoh sent that before he travelled to
  - 18 Ni geri a.
  - 19 MR KOUMJIAN:
- 14:53:16 20 Q. So, Mr Sesay, you've changed your testimony from what
  - 21 you've said a few minutes ago. So let me read back to you what
  - 22 you said a few minutes ago. I asked you on my LiveNote, page
  - 23 120, line 14, "Now, where was Sankoh when he made these
  - 24 promotions? You said, "He was in Nigeria when he communicated
- 14:53:41 25 through Abidjan and Abidjan sent the radio message to Buedu,
  - 26 Sam Bockarie's radio." Now you're back to where you were 6 July,
  - 27 saying Foday Sankoh sent the promotions before he went to
  - 28 Nigeria. If that is the case, Mr Sesay, why did you say this
  - 29 afternoon --

- 1 A. That was a slip of tongue.
- 2 Q. It was a slip of tongue this afternoon? Well, let's look
- 3 at what you said in the RUF trial. If we could have the
- 4 transcript of 4 May 2007, page 64. Beginning at line 20, you
- 14:55:32 5 were asked by your Defence counsel:
  - 6 "Q. Now before we get to the junta, did you receive any
  - 7 promotion or new assignments before May 1997?"
  - 8 PRESIDING JUDGE: It's line 10, at least on my LiveNote.
  - 9 It's line 10, not 20.
- 14:55:52 10 MR KOUMJIAN: You're confirming my poor eyesight. Yes,
  - 11 line 10. Thank you. Let me read it again, please.
  - 12 Q. You were asked:
  - "Q. Now, before we get to the junta did you receive any
  - promotion or new assignments before May 1997?
- 14:56:10 15 A. Yes.
  - 16 Q. Could you explain how that happened, please, or what
  - 17 happened?
  - 18 A. Well, in March 1997, Foday Sankoh sent a radio message
  - 19 to Bockarie."
- 14:56:29 20 Now, listen carefully to this, Mr Sesay, your Defence
  - 21 counsel asked you:
  - "Q. Where was Foday Sankoh?"
  - 23 And you answered under oath in the RUF trial:
  - 24 "A. Well, at that time he had left to Abidjan and had gone
- 14:56:44 25 to Nigeria."
  - So the same as you said this afternoon when I first brought
  - 27 up this topic, Foday Sankoh sent the promotions after he had
  - 28 travelled to Nigeria. And that's the truth, isn't it?
  - 29 A. No. That is not the truth, because I was not the only

- 1 person who was promoted by Mr Sankoh. And the other ones are not
- on trial, but they all know that Mr Sankoh was in Abidjan when he
- 3 dished out those promotions and it was in March 1997.
- 4 Q. Mr Sesay, if everyone knows that Sankoh was in Abidjan, why
- 14:57:22 5 was it that on May 4, 2007, under oath in your own trial you said
  - the promotions came when Sankoh had left Abidjan and gone to
  - 7 Nigeria? And this afternoon, in front of these judges, when
  - 8 I asked you where Sankoh was when he sent the promotions, you
  - 9 said he was in Nigeria? Why is your testimony inconsistent both
- 14:57:49 10 between this trial and the RUF and even within this afternoon?
  - 11 A. But it wouldn't be easy for me to be perfect in explaining
  - 12 everything that happened during the war in just about a month or
  - 13 two. Whenever I explain those, there could be some minor
  - 14 mistakes, but we are referring to the same months with regards
- 14:58:23 15 the promotions, the same month, the same year. The only mistake
  - 16 there is that Mr Sankoh was in Abidjan.
  - 17 Q. The reason, I suggest to you, Mr Sesay, that on 6 July you
  - 18 lied and told Defence counsel that Foday Sankoh sent these
  - 19 messages before he travelled to Nigeria is because you know that
- 14:58:48 20 after his arrest in Nigeria, Sankoh was communicating through
  - 21 Charles Taylor, through the NPFL, and it was under the advice of
  - 22 his Big Brother Charles Taylor that these promotions were given
  - out. That's why you lied July 6 and are now going back to that
  - 24 lie, saying that the promotions came from Abidjan.
- 14:59:14 25 A. I have no reason to lie about that. There is no benefit I
  - 26 can achieve from that. What I know, and that is the actual
  - 27 story, because I was not the only one promoted. Mr Sankoh made
  - these promotions before he travelled to Nigeria, and when
  - 29 Mr Sankoh was in Nigeria, even when Philip Palmer announced the

- 1 coup, that is the change of Mr Sankoh's Leadership, Mr Sankoh
- 2 sent a message that Sam Bockarie should cajole them to come to
- 3 Kailahun and he should arrest them. And Mr Sankoh had his own
- 4 radio in could Cocody in Abidjan. He had his telephone there.
- 15:00:05 5 Those messages came from there when he was in Nigeria.
  - 6 Q. Well, I appreciate you saying that Foday Sankoh sent a
  - 7 message to lure the external delegation to RUF territory and
  - 8 arrest them, but you haven't answered the question why you're
  - 9 inconsistent about where the promotions where Sankoh was when
- 15:00:27 10 he made the promotions. Why is it that you're inconsistent about
  - 11 that, Mr Sesay?
  - 12 A. I said I did not remember that when I was testifying,
  - 13 because I do recall that after Mr Sankoh had gone to Nigeria, it
  - 14 was just few days when Philip Palmer and others decided to change
- 15:00:56 15 the leadership. So when Philip Palmer and others came to the
  - 16 border and we arrested them, Mr Sankoh had promoted us before
  - 17 that time. So this was a mistake that I made, but the RUF ranks
  - 18 knew that Mr Sankoh made those promotions before he travelled to
  - 19 Nigeria in March 1997.
- 15:01:20 20 Q. Mr Sesay, you're very experienced in court proceedings and
  - 21 we've seen in this trial that when someone asks you a question,
  - 22 you know if you don't remember, you can answer I don't remember,
  - 23 and you've done that many times, isn't that true?
  - 24 A. If I don't remember, what else would you want me to say?
- 15:01:45 25 I would just have to say, "I don't remember."
  - 26 Q. Very good, that's exactly what you should say. Why then
  - 27 did you say twice, both this afternoon and in the RUF trial, that
  - 28 Foday Sankoh made these promotions from Nigeria?
  - 29 A. But when I was testifying, during my case, after

- 1 I completed, my lawyer did not ask me about that and Prosecution
- 2 did not cross-examine me regarding that. Maybe I would have said
- 3 that was a mistake. The Prosecution did not ask me about that.
- 4 Q. Well, I asked you about it this afternoon. I just asked
- 15:02:27 5 you where Foday Sankoh was when he made the promotions and you
  - 6 said he was in Nigeria. Were you making that up? What changed
  - 7 in your memory between what you said a little after 2.30 and now?
  - 8 A. Because I recalled that Mr Sankoh was in Abidjan when he
  - 9 sent those promotions before he travelled. That is why I said
- 15:02:55 **10** it.
  - 11 JUDGE DOHERTY: Mr Koumjian, if we are moving on to another
  - 12 matter.
  - 13 Mr Sesay, I noticed that in two answers you referred to a
  - 14 coup and, given that this is 1997, when you use the word "coup",
- 15:03:17 15 are you referring to Philip Palmer's announcement or are you
  - 16 referring to the coup of the AFRC?
  - 17 THE WITNESS: My Lord, the AFRC is a coup. Philip Palmer's
  - 18 is a change of leadership. It was not a coup. I'm sorry about
  - 19 that.
- 15:03:40 20 JUDGE DOHERTY: I'm clear now on that point.
  - 21 MR KOUMJIAN:
  - 22 Q. Mr Sesay --
  - 23 PRESIDING JUDGE: Before we move. Mr Sesay, these
  - 24 promotions that we are talking about, was there a specific reason
- 15:03:53 25 for these promotions at this time?
  - THE WITNESS: Well, one was because Mohamed Tarawalli had
  - 27 gone missing in action and he was the former field commander of
  - 28 the RUF, and Mr Sankoh had seen that the RUF had been pushed into
  - 29 the Pujehun District. That's why he decided to send these

- 1 promotions to the commander in the Western Jungle sorry, the
- 2 Northern Jungle, that is the Kangari Hills and Kailahun those
- 3 are the only areas the RUF were. That is to encourage the
- 4 fighters, that was my understanding.
- 15:04:41 5 PRESIDING JUDGE: Thank you.
  - 6 MR KOUMJIAN:
  - 7 Q. When did Mohamed Tarawalli, Zino, disappear?
  - 8 A. He got missing in October to November 1996, between October
  - 9 to November, but it was in November that we got the news in
- 15:05:03 **10** Kailahun.
  - 11 Q. So this was at least this was four months before Sankoh
  - 12 was arrested, and, in those four months, no one had been
  - 13 promoted, correct?
  - 14 A. No. Mr Sankoh gave promotions when he came to Kailahun.
- 15:05:23 15 He promoted Sam Bockarie to major and battle group commander. He
  - 16 appointed him battle group commander because before that time
  - 17 there was no battle group commander and Mr Sankoh re-promoted me
  - 18 to major without assignment in November 1996 during his visit.
  - 19 Q. So it wasn't until March, after his arrest, isn't it
- 15:05:50 20 correct well, it wasn't until March 1997 that you say this
  - 21 round of promotions was made to you, Bockarie, Lamin, Peter
  - 22 Vandi, Superman, and I think you said Gibril Massaquoi all of
  - those were promoted by Foday Sankoh, correct, in March?
  - 24 A. Yes. Before he travelled to Nigeria.
- 15:06:18 25 Q. You've said twice during your trial and here this afternoon
  - 26 it was while he was in Nigeria. He gave those promotions through
  - 27 Liberia in order to ensure assure ensure that the RUF
  - 28 fighters remained loyal to him and did not accept the change of
  - 29 Leadership, correct?

- 1 A. No, no. Mr Sankoh gave those promotions even before the
- 2 change of leadership. He gave those promotions when he was in
- 3 Abidjan and Mr Sankoh had his own VHF radio in Abidjan. He had
- 4 it in the house in Cocody.
- 15:06:59 5 Q. If you're so certain of these details, Mr Sesay, why was it
  - 6 that you said, in the RUF trial: "Well, at that time, he had
  - 7 left Abidjan and had gone to Nigeria?" If this is so clear in
  - 8 your memory, why did you say that in the RUF trial?
  - 9 A. Well, I said I did not recall when I spoke, and when
- 15:07:22 10 I spoke my lawyer did not ask me, like you're asking me
  - 11 repeatedly, for me to recall that this, that I have said, is a
  - 12 mistake, and the Prosecutor did not cross-examine me on that for
  - 13 me to recall that, "Oh, that was a mistake that I made". But
  - 14 this that I'm saying is the fact, that Mr Sankoh promoted us
- 15:07:42 15 before he travelled to Nigeria.
  - 16 Q. Mr Sesay, the mistake that you made this afternoon, when
  - 17 you answered my question and said the promotions were from
  - 18 Nigeria, was you forgot about the lie that you had told on July
  - 19 6. That was the mistake you made, correct?
- 15:08:02 20 A. No, no, no. July 6 I did not tell lies. I made the
  - 21 mistake this afternoon.
  - 22 Q. Mr Sesay, did you support the change of Leadership away
  - 23 from Sankoh to appoint someone else?
  - 24 A. Well, at that stage, at that time, I was not in support.
- 15:08:31 25 Q. Why was that, Mr Sesay? Was it because of your promotion?
  - 26 Why was it that you did not support a change of leadership away
  - 27 from Sankoh?
  - 28 A. No, that was not it. You cannot ask a question and suggest
  - 29 a reason. That was not it. It was not for that, because

1	Mr Sankoh explained to me, when he visited in November, and when					
2	he went to Abidjan, we understood that when he visited us in					
3	November, he and the delegation, when the delegation had been in					
4	Freetown as part of the CCP, to monitor the ceasefire, the					
5	delegation had known that the government was violating the					
6	ceasefire and no action was being taken. They were not bringing					
7	out what the government was doing. I recall when Mr Sankoh said					
8	that the delegation					
9	[Technical difficulties]					
10	[Whereupon the hearing adjourned at 3.10 p.m.					
11	to be reconvened on Wednesday, 18 August 2010					
12	at 9.00 a.m.]					
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