



Case No. SCSL-2003-01-T

THE PROSECUTOR OF
THE SPECIAL COURT
V.
CHARLES GHANKAY TAYLOR

TUESDAY, 20 MAY 2008
9.30 A.M.
TRIAL

TRIAL CHAMBER II

Before the Judges:

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

For Chambers:

Mr William Romans
Ms Carolyn Buff

For the Registry:

Ms Rachel Irura

For the Prosecution:

Mr Stephen Rapp
Ms Brenda J Hollis
Ms Maja Dimitrova

For the accused Charles Ghankay
Taylor:

Mr Courtenay Griffiths QC
Mr Terry Munyard
Mr Morris Anyah
Ms Logan Hambrick

1 Tuesday, 20 May 2008

2 [Open session]

3 [The accused present]

4 [Upon commencing at 9.30 a.m.]

09:31:54 5 PRESIDING JUDGE: Good morning. I note appearances are as
6 before.

7 MR GRIFFITHS: Good morning, your Honour, counsel opposite.
8 Appearances are as yesterday.

9 PRESIDING JUDGE: Mr Rapp?

09:32:10 10 MR RAPP: That is correct, your Honour.

11 PRESIDING JUDGE: If there are no other matters I will
12 remind the witness of his oath.

13 Mr Witness, I again remind you this morning, as I've done
14 on other mornings, that you have taken the oath to tell the
09:32:21 15 truth, the oath continues to be binding on you and you must
16 answer questions truthfully.

17 THE WITNESS: Your Honour.

18 PRESIDING JUDGE: Very well. Please proceed, Mr Griffiths.

19 WITNESS: MOSES ZEH BLAH [On former oath]

09:32:36 20 CROSS-EXAMINATION BY MR GRIFFITHS: [Continued]

21 Q. Good morning, former President.

22 A. Good morning.

23 Q. Yesterday, when we concluded the proceedings, I was asking
24 you about your knowledge of certain alleged contacts between the
09:32:47 25 Liberian government and the RUF. Do you recall that?

26 A. Yes, sir.

27 Q. I just want to ask you a few more details about that
28 situation, please. Is it right that prior to the RUF invasion of
29 Sierra Leone in May 1991, that NPFL fighters along the Sierra

1 Leonean border were trading peacefully with both the Sierra
2 Leonean security force and civilians along those border towns?
3 Do you recall that?

09:33:31 4 A. I wouldn't know, because my assignment was in the south
5 eastern region of Liberia during the years 1991/1992.

6 Q. So you had no knowledge, did you, of the situation that
7 existed along the border between Sierra Leone and Liberia in
8 1991/1992?

9 A. I wouldn't know.

09:33:56 10 Q. Were you aware, for example, of social contact between NPFL
11 soldiers and Sierra Leonean security forces involving, for
12 example, the organisation of football matches?

13 A. I wouldn't know at the particular time 1991 and 1992. As
14 you know, where I was on my assignment in Liberia is far away
09:34:30 15 from the Sierra Leone border, that is the end of Liberia along
16 the Liberian-Cote d'Ivoire border and that is too far away from
17 where you are talking about.

18 Q. But were you not involved in any discussions with senior
19 NPFL officers regarding the situation?

09:34:51 20 A. Not to my knowledge.

21 Q. During the course of those radio communications which you
22 were privy to, when mention was made of Kuwait, did you not hear
23 other discussions taking place?

24 A. I told you that I heard about Kuwait when I was in Gbarnga
09:35:14 25 and my radio operator said that people were coming from Kuwait
26 and I wanted to know what Kuwait was and we put it in a joke form
27 and he said, "Oh, you are a big man, you should know about Kuwait
28 and when we said Kuwait we are talking about Sierra Leone." By
29 then I did not know about trade that went on between the two

1 countries, that I don't know. Before the war I'm aware of trade
2 between Sierra Leone and Liberia where people used to go and buy
3 monkey meat, fresh meat and some other things, but that was
4 before the war. But during this particular time you are making
09:35:52 5 mention of, no.

6 Q. Very well. Can I ask you about one other detail then which
7 you might have been aware of. Do you recall President JS Momoh
8 of Sierra Leone ordering his forces to push the NPFL 28 miles
9 into Liberia?

09:36:16 10 A. I remember. I can recall that.

11 Q. And that was said by President Momoh some time in 1991
12 before RUF forces entered Sierra Leone. That's right, isn't it?

13 A. You are correct.

14 Q. Now I want to move on to another topic, please, and that is
09:36:47 15 the election which took place in 1997. Now, you campaigned, as
16 you told us yesterday, during that election, did you not?

17 A. Yes.

18 Q. And it took some while to organise the elections, didn't
19 it?

09:37:09 20 A. Yes. It was a difficult thing to do.

21 Q. And all the major factions involved in the prior conflict
22 made preparations for the forthcoming elections by declaring that
23 they would dissolve their armed wings and reconstitute themselves
24 as political parties.

09:37:35 25 A. You are correct.

26 Q. And former President Taylor, Alhaji Kromah from ULIMO-K and
27 George Boley all announced their intention to stand for election
28 in May 1997. That's right, isn't it?

29 A. You are correct.

1 Q. However, the elections were postponed until 19 July 1997
2 because the necessary legislation and logistics were not in place
3 in order to enable the original May deadline. That's right,
4 isn't it?

09:38:21 5 A. You are correct.

6 Q. In any event, when the elections did in fact occur they
7 passed by peacefully, didn't they?

8 A. You are correct.

9 Q. And those elections were monitored by independent foreign
09:38:36 10 observers, including the Carter Centre and representatives of the
11 European Union. That's right, isn't it?

12 A. You are correct.

13 Q. All those foreign observers declared the elections to be
14 free and fair with no significant irregularities. That's right,
09:39:00 15 isn't it?

16 A. You are correct.

17 Q. And Charles Taylor was elected President with the NPP
18 gaining 21 of the 26 seats in the senate and 49 of the 64 seats
19 in the House of Representatives. That's right, isn't it?

09:39:18 20 A. You are correct.

21 Q. So effectively a landslide victory was won by the NPP. Is
22 that right?

23 A. You are correct.

24 Q. They were fully democratically endorsed by the people of
09:39:36 25 Liberia?

26 A. You are correct.

27 Q. And thereafter constituted the legitimate government of
28 that sovereign country, do you agree?

29 A. You are correct.

1 Q. Now the results of that election were accepted by all sides
2 who were involved in that election, weren't they?

3 A. You are correct.

09:40:16

4 Q. Now, just to pause there for a moment. Now at the time
5 when the NPP of which you were a member took over the government
6 in July 1997, the economy was in a parlous state, wasn't it?

7 A. You are correct.

8 Q. Effectively, as a country, Liberia was bankrupt?

9 A. You are correct.

09:40:41

10 Q. So that one of the immediate concerns was to generate
11 income for the country and get the economy back on its feet,
12 would you agree?

13 A. I agree with you.

09:41:08

14 Q. And a further important consideration was to rebuild the
15 Armed Forces of Liberia?

16 A. You are correct.

09:41:32

17 Q. Because the primary concern about the Armed Forces of
18 Liberia was that one of the legacies of the Doe regime was that
19 the Armed Forces of Liberia were dominated by Krahn's, Doe's
20 tribe. That's right, isn't it?

21 A. You are correct.

22 Q. And it was important to diversify the armed forces to make
23 them more acceptable to the country as a whole. That's right,
24 isn't it?

09:41:45

25 A. You are correct.

26 Q. Now do you recall that in January 1998 the defence ministry
27 demobilised and retired more than 2,400 soldiers, including many
28 senior officers?

29 A. You are correct.

1 Q. But one consequence of that was that in May 1998 several
2 retired and demobilised soldiers went on the rampage in protest
3 at not receiving retirement benefits. Do you remember that?

4 A. You are correct. I remember.

09:42:29 5 Q. But in that same month the government announced plans, did
6 it not, to establish a national social policy for former
7 factional fighters which would provide them with, amongst other
8 things, medical treatment and also educational opportunities.
9 That's right, isn't it?

09:42:56 10 A. You are correct.

11 Q. And as a result many former combatants received free
12 education, including up to university level. That's right, isn't
13 it?

14 A. You are correct.

09:43:09 15 Q. And also a new centre was set up to provide vocational
16 training for former combatants. That's right, isn't it?

17 A. Yes, you are correct.

18 Q. Now dealing with the security situation which faced the
19 government on taking power in 1997, in reality the only effective
09:43:50 20 force in the country at that time was ECOMOG, wasn't it?

21 A. You are correct.

22 Q. Which at that stage numbered somewhere in the region of
23 10,500 primarily Nigerian troops deployed throughout the country.
24 That's right, isn't it?

09:44:11 25 A. You are correct.

26 Q. And they were effectively in charge of security and
27 supporting the government both before and after the July
28 elections?

29 A. You are correct.

1 Q. And in effect ECOMOG, at least in the initial months after
2 the elections, were also primarily responsible for policing
3 within Liberia. That's right, isn't it?

4 A. You are correct.

09:44:46 5 Q. But there were several instances of ECOMOG soldiers abusing
6 their power, torturing and on occasions killing former combatants
7 and civilians?

8 A. You are correct.

9 Q. And that caused some outrage within Liberian generally,
09:45:09 10 didn't it?

11 A. You are correct.

12 Q. But nonetheless, despite those atrocities committed by the
13 ECOMOG troops, they were able to exercise control in most regions
14 throughout Liberia?

09:45:29 15 A. You are correct.

16 Q. And one of the main strategies they adopted was to
17 establish firm buffer zones between the various pre-election
18 factions. That's right, isn't it?

19 A. You are correct.

09:45:46 20 Q. But despite the fact that there had been these free
21 elections and some disarmament had been achieved there was still
22 an underlying tension throughout the country, wasn't there?

23 A. You are correct.

24 Q. Now, do you recall that at this stage the ECOMOG commander
09:46:18 25 was one General Victor Malu?

26 A. You are correct.

27 Q. Now let's just get a flavour, shall we, of what life was
28 like in that post-election Liberia. I wonder if the witness
29 could be shown MFI-25, please. Now this is a newspaper article

1 which you were shown during the course of your evidence-in-chief
2 and, despite all the limitations we recognised yesterday about
3 journalism in Monrovia and the fact that not everything reported
4 can be taken at face value, we observe that this is an edition of
09:47:45 5 the Daily Times published on Friday 24 July 1998. I would like
6 to invite your attention, please, to two articles on this page.
7 Firstly the article at the bottom:

8 "Speakers Lament Societal Ills. Commenting on
9 sociopolitical concerns with emphasis on human rights at the
09:48:19 10 on-going national conference being held in Virginia, several
11 speakers claim that the country is retrogressing, attributing
12 this negative trend to corruption, low wages, nepotism,
13 illiteracy, insecurity and human rights violations, among
14 others."

09:48:40 15 Then this:

16 "Taking the podium during the second day's session chaired
17 by President Charles Taylor, who also served as moderator,
18 Mr Joseph Korto, Chairman of the United Liberian Association in
19 the Americas ... told delegates and observers that there exists a
09:49:01 20 serious problem of distrust between the government and the
21 governed, but that we all must learn from the political past in
22 order to learn lessons for the future.

23 He observed that Liberians are living in a political
24 culture where the leader is more concerned about how long he will
09:49:23 25 remain in power, and not how history will remember him.

26 Mr Korto said the only way for Liberians to unite is to
27 change their old value of destructiveness and develop new ones
28 for a better tomorrow.

29 He said unless we begin to believe that what is wrong with

1 us is us, the dream of the new golden future will be but a mere
2 illusion."

3 Can I pause there. Two observations hopefully you can
4 assist me with. Firstly, do you recall this conference?

09:50:06 5 A. Except for newspapers, I am aware of this conference and I
6 know who Joseph Korto is.

7 Q. Now the second thing is it would appear from this newspaper
8 report that speakers at this conference were somewhat critical of
9 the government and indeed of the President, would you agree?

09:50:33 10 A. I agree with you.

11 Q. But you note it's a measure of the free speech which
12 existed in Liberia at the time that, despite that criticism, it's
13 Charles Taylor himself who was chairing the conference. That's
14 right, isn't it?

09:50:52 15 A. Yes, you are correct.

16 Q. So, can we conclude from that that Charles Taylor was the
17 type of President who was willing to accept criticism and was
18 prepared to foster and develop free speech within Liberia?

19 A. Yes.

09:51:25 20 Q. Thank you. Now the second article that I would like to
21 invite your attention to, please, is the one in the middle of the
22 page headed "Guns, Rice traded For Diamonds". Do you see that?

23 A. Yes, I have seen it.

24 Q. Let's just take a moment and remind ourselves of its
09:51:42 25 contents, please:

26 "It would appear as if, in spite of efforts by the
27 Governments of Liberia and Sierra Leone to foster and promote
28 cordial ties between the two sister republics ..."

29 Pause there. And it's right, is it not, that the

1 Charles Taylor government was seeking to foster good relations
2 with the neighbouring country of Sierra Leone? Is that right?

3 A. You are correct.

4 Q. And it goes on:

09:52:15 5 "... there are some elements in this country bent on sowing
6 seeds of discord and engaging in acts which might have the
7 potential of destabilising the sub-region.

8 This was brought to light mostly in Sierra Leone second's
9 largest city, Bo, where the captured rebels of the ousted
09:52:39 10 AFRC/RUF military junta disclosed that they received supplies of
11 rice and arms from Liberia in exchange for diamonds.

12 The captured rebels made the disclosure in response to
13 questions from Lieutenant Colonel Thomas Dempsey, the Defence and
14 Military Attache at the United States Embassy near Monrovia, who
09:53:16 15 recently accompanied ECOMOG force commander Major General Timothy
16 Shelpidi, on a four-day routine appraisal visit to Sierra Leone.

17 They told General Shelpidi and party that the gruesome
18 atrocities being perpetrated by them are being committed with a
19 view to pressuring for the release of RUF leader Foday Sankoh,
09:53:41 20 who is presently awaiting trial in Nigeria on charges of
21 illegally bringing arms into that country."

22 I think we can pause there. Now, again do you remember
23 that kind of newspaper reporting about certain elements within
24 Sierra Leone and Liberia? Do you remember that?

09:54:05 25 A. I remember. Your Honours --

26 PRESIDING JUDGE: Yes, Mr Witness, did you want to say
27 something?

28 THE WITNESS: No, I'm clearing my throat. I'm sorry.

29 MR GRIFFITHS:

1 Q. So that just gives us something of a flavour of the nature
2 of post-election Liberia. Now can I move on and deal with one
3 other topic. I wonder if the witness could be shown MFI-28.
4 Could we have up on the screen - this is a copy of the Liberian
09:55:14 5 constitution - page 12 of 24, please. Now, we note at Article 51
6 these are the powers of the Vice-President:

7 "There shall be a Vice-President who shall assist the
8 President in the discharge of his functions. The Vice-President
9 shall be elected on the same political ticket and shall serve the
09:55:53 10 same term as the President. The Vice-President shall be
11 President of the senate and preside over its deliberations
12 without the right to vote, except in the case of a tie vote. He
13 shall attend meetings of the cabinet and other governmental
14 meetings and shall perform such functions as the President shall
09:56:13 15 delegate or deem appropriate; provided that no power specifically
16 vested in the President by the provisions of this constitution
17 shall be delegated to the Vice-President."

18 Question 1: Were you, when you were Vice-President,
19 familiar with this statement of your powers?

09:56:38 20 A. Yes, I should know.

21 Q. So you appreciated then, did you, that one of your primary
22 functions was to assist the President in the discharge of his
23 functions? You knew that?

24 A. Yes, the political functions, yes.

09:56:59 25 Q. Did you assist President Taylor in that way?

26 A. Well, let me elaborate on this law. The law also says that
27 if the President deems it necessary the President will invite you
28 if your assistance is needed, he had the right to request your
29 assistance, but if he doesn't you cannot force it, because he is

1 the head of government according to law.

2 Q. But I'm asking a very simple question, former President.
3 Did you assist President Taylor in the discharge of his
4 functions?

09:57:42 5 A. Except the President deemed it necessary that I should
6 assist, but as President of the senate I had two positions at
7 that time. I was busy with the senate and as president of the
8 senate and the executive, so most of the functions of the
9 President he did himself. But it's not necessary that as
09:58:05 10 Vice-President you move just into the President, but except he
11 requested your duty.

12 Q. Let me ask a different question then.

13 A. Yes.

14 Q. Did President Taylor ever request your assistance in the
09:58:21 15 discharge of his functions?

16 A. On many occasions. Like when there was confusion up
17 country I will go there to settle disputes, land disputes and
18 other disputes in the country, yes, yes.

19 Q. So the answer to my original question then is that you did
09:58:44 20 assist President Taylor in the discharge of his functions.

21 A. It is not necessary except he wanted me to, because he had
22 the greatest power of the government.

23 Q. We see also within that article of the constitution that
24 the Vice-President "shall attend meetings of the cabinet". Did
09:59:09 25 you do that?

26 A. During his presidency it was so difficult, it was not like
27 a normal government. I agree with the constitution, but I was
28 busy in the capital trying to - like what you said, the
29 government was shaky because there were some other confusions

1 around the country, lawlessness was everywhere and most of the
2 time I was in Buchanan, I was in Lofa, trying to ensure that
3 things were in place, so I was even absent from some cabinet
4 meetings.

09:59:49 5 Q. But you did attend, when you could, cabinet meetings?

6 A. Yes, yes, if it was necessary, if I was in Monrovia.

7 Q. Did you also travel abroad as a representative of the
8 President?

9 A. Yes, like I said, again when it is necessary. When the
10:00:14 10 President deemed it necessary that I should go, I would go.

11 Q. And did you also attend government meetings?

12 A. Where?

13 Q. In Monrovia.

14 A. I said I was very occupied up country because of the
10:00:35 15 security situations and the problems that we had in the country,
16 so in most of the meetings I was absent because I was up country
17 trying to ensure that the lawlessness in the country was reduced.
18 So it was not possible that I attended the series of various
19 meetings that you are talking about.

10:00:58 20 Q. Would you agree, in summary, that according to the
21 constitution of Liberia the role of the Vice-President was an
22 important and crucial one?

23 A. I know it's important. I agree with you that it's
24 important, but equally so it is the President that chose the
10:01:25 25 Vice-President. You had no power. He needed to bring you
26 forward to the legislature and then say that, "This is my running
27 mate", and that is to say that you are under his direct
28 instruction and as Vice-President you had no power. You cannot
29 declare a war, you cannot give principle instructions to anybody

1 without the consent of the President and that is known in the
2 country. The President of the country, according to our
3 constitution, is the overall boss, that everybody in the country
4 - except the branches of government like the judiciary, like in
10:02:05 5 one area that I will come back to in the constitution that you
6 are referring to. I was Vice-President of Liberia and on the
7 side of the executive. I took instructions when the President
8 deemed it necessary and in the Capitol where I was the President
9 of the senate, now I'm just quoting my law correctly, I was so
10:02:31 10 busy in the building of the Capitol that I did not avail myself
11 in cabinet meetings because the Capitol Building was a very tough
12 area to work. Being law makers, they were terrible people, they
13 had big problems.

14 Q. Now, in addition to being Vice-President you were of course
10:02:55 15 a special commando, weren't you?

16 A. Yes, I agree with you.

17 Q. And you also held the rank of lieutenant general, didn't
18 you?

19 A. You are correct.

10:03:11 20 Q. And indeed you had the code name Scorpion, didn't you?

21 A. You are correct.

22 Q. And you headed a battalion called the Scorpion battalion?

23 A. No.

24 Q. Didn't you?

10:03:29 25 A. No.

26 Q. Former Vice-President, didn't you? Former President,
27 didn't you?

28 A. No, no, no, no.

29 Q. Were you never in charge of a battalion --

1 A. No, never. Never, never, never.

2 Q. But, in any event, you held a fairly high military rank,
3 didn't you?

4 A. I agree with you.

10:03:54 5 Q. Now can I pause for a minute and just deal with one point
6 I've just been alerted to. Did you chair a committee on light
7 and water within the government?

8 A. Yes, that was as Vice-President of Liberia. It's
9 mandatory.

10:04:16 10 Q. Now, were you also known as "the no nonsense general"?

11 A. No.

12 MR GRIFFITHS: Can the witness please be shown our Defence
13 bundle behind divider 2, please:

14 Q. Do you recognise that photograph, former President?

10:05:31 15 A. It is not too clear except that I am seeing a five star
16 general standing and --

17 Q. I wonder if the witness could move to the projector,
18 please, and just indicate who the five star general is he's
19 talking about.

10:05:51 20 A. Yeah, it's the former President Taylor that I am seeing
21 here. It is clear.

22 Q. And do you also recognise anybody else in that photograph?

23 PRESIDING JUDGE: Mr Griffiths, there's two photographs on
24 this thing of mine.

10:06:08 25 MR GRIFFITHS: There is only one on the projector at the
26 minute, the top one. I was coming to the second one in a moment:

27 Q. Apart from President Taylor, former President, do you
28 recognise anybody else in that photograph?

29 JUDGE SEBUTINDE: It would be helpful if the witness could

1 actually move and indicate with a pen.

2 THE WITNESS: Yes, let me see.

3 JUDGE SEBUTINDE: [Overlapping speakers]. Starting with
4 the five star general, please.

10:06:50 5 THE WITNESS: Okay, this is the former President Taylor.
6 This is General Moses Blah.

7 MR GRIFFITHS:

8 Q. Yes?

9 A. And this is General Gibba, Momoh Gibba; the foreign
10:07:13 10 minister, Monie Captan. Then none that I can remember here now.

11 Q. In fact, I've put you at a disadvantage unnecessarily,
12 former President. I have the original of that photograph here so
13 perhaps it might assist all of us if I handed you the original.
14 My apologies.

10:07:48 15 A. Thank you.

16 Q. Now, President Charles Taylor is the person in the middle
17 carrying the walking stick.

18 A. Yes, you're correct.

19 Q. The person to his left wearing the red hat is you?

10:08:06 20 A. Yes.

21 Q. It's gone off the screen. The tall --

22 JUDGE LUSSICK: Mr Griffiths, the witness is actually in
23 that photo to the President's right, not his left.

24 MR GRIFFITHS: To the President's right, your Honour, yes.
10:08:28 25 To the left as we look at it, but to the President's right, yes?

26 THE WITNESS: Yes, this is Moses Blah.

27 MR GRIFFITHS:

28 Q. The tall gentleman in the combat fatigues to the left of
29 President Taylor is General Gibba?

- 1 A. Yes.
- 2 Q. How do you spell that, please?
- 3 A. D-J-I-B-A [sic].
- 4 Q. Now, the gentleman behind with the beard and wearing what
10:09:05 5 looks like a Mao suit, that's foreign minister Monie Captan?
- 6 A. You are correct.
- 7 Q. M-O-N-I-E C-A-P-T-A-N. Yes?
- 8 A. You are correct.
- 9 Q. Let me show you a second photograph, please.
- 10:09:27 10 A. We have not finished the naming of those on this picture.
11 I have seen another fellow here with a white shirt. Who is that
12 person?
- 13 Q. Dr Jonathan Taylor?
- 14 A. You are correct.
- 10:09:39 15 Q. Minister of state?
- 16 A. You are correct.
- 17 Q. That's the person in the white jacket to the right of the
18 photograph as we look?
- 19 JUDGE SEBUTINDE: Would you please point, Mr Witness.
- 10:09:53 20 Point to this person.
- 21 THE WITNESS: Person with this white.
- 22 MR GRIFFITHS:
- 23 Q. Now do you recall the occasion which is recorded in this
24 photograph, former President?
- 10:10:09 25 A. No.
- 26 Q. Well, let me complete the series of photographs in case it
27 jogs your memory. This is the second photograph I'd like you to
28 look at, please. This is the one at the bottom of the first
29 page, your Honours. Would your Honours give me a moment, please?

1 PRESIDING JUDGE: Yes.

2 MR GRIFFITHS:

3 Q. My apologies, former President, and my apologies, Madam
4 Court Officer. Could we put the initial photograph up again,
10:11:22 5 please, I am sorry. Now you've identified President Taylor,
6 General Gibba, the foreign minister and Dr Jonathan Taylor who
7 was a minister of state, wasn't he?

8 A. Yes.

9 Q. Just behind you in that photograph in the white is Richard
10:11:56 10 Flomo, isn't it, who was minister of the interior?

11 A. You are correct.

12 Q. Yes?

13 A. Yes, you are correct.

14 Q. Can we now go, please, to the second photograph. Now, in
10:12:25 15 this photograph the person to the left - no, I'm sorry, it's the
16 wrong photograph on the screen. It should be this one for that
17 photograph. I'm sorry. Now you recognise yourself in that
18 photograph to the right of the photograph, don't you?

19 A. Yes.

10:12:54 20 Q. To your right in that photograph is the chief of the
21 defence staff?

22 A. Yes.

23 Q. What is his name? General Konna?

24 A. Yes, Konna. Kpakpa Konna.

10:13:13 25 Q. Could you spell the name for us, please?

26 A. K-P-A-N-A - K-P-A-K-P-A K-O-N-N-A.

27 Q. Thank you. Now putting all of this together - and it
28 appears that this photograph is taken on the same occasion - we
29 have present the President, the Vice-President, the minister of

1 state, the foreign minister and the chief of the defence staff.

2 So here we have most of the most important ministers of state,
3 don't we?

4 A. Yes, you are correct.

10:14:03 5 Q. Including yourself?

6 A. Yes, you are correct.

7 Q. Now, help us. Can you remember what this meeting was
8 about?

9 A. No, I can't remember. This is normal. It is normal that
10:14:18 10 when the President is around - when the President is around and
11 as second in command I'm also around, but this does not look like
12 it was in a meeting. It looks like it was on his farm and other
13 government officials go around him. I don't think it was in a
14 meeting because nobody is sitting down except that it might have
10:14:49 15 been a standing meeting, but this position does not depict us
16 sitting in a meeting. The President is around and higher
17 government officials are around him. That is how I look at it.
18 I can't recall that this was a meeting, except if you can
19 elaborate.

10:15:06 20 Q. Well, let me just conclude the four photographs. This is
21 the next one. This is the second page within your bundles, your
22 Honours. Right. Can we go through the same exercise, please,
23 identifying who we see in the photograph?

24 A. Yes. First is former President Taylor shaking hands with
10:15:41 25 Alfred Flomo, the minister of interior, and this is Moses Blah,
26 the Vice-President, and at the back is one of the aide-de-camps
27 to the President. I cannot identify him, but I can see.

28 Q. Now, was it - let's look at the very last photograph of the
29 four. Now, who do we have in this photograph now? Can we just

1 go through the same exercise again, please, indicating?

2 A. This is the bodyguard to the President, this is President
3 Taylor, this is the chief of staff and this is Moses Blah,
4 Vice-President.

10:17:00 5 MR GRIFFITHS: Right, thank you. Before I continue, your
6 Honours, can I have these photographs marked for identification,
7 please.

8 JUDGE SEBUTINDE: Sorry, what is the name of the chief of
9 staff again?

10:17:13 10 MR GRIFFITHS: General Konna.

11 PRESIDING JUDGE: There are four photographs, I will give
12 them A, B et cetera and one common number and they are marked for
13 identification I think it is MFI-29?

14 MS IRURA: MFI-30, your Honour.

10:17:33 15 PRESIDING JUDGE: 30. So MFI-30A is the first photograph
16 identified by the witness; MFI-30B is the second photograph
17 identified by the witness; MFI-30C is the third photograph; and
18 MFI-30D is the fourth photograph identified by the witness.

19 MR GRIFFITHS: Thank you, your Honours. If, Madam Court
10:18:17 20 Officer, you can retain possession of the originals, please.

21 PRESIDING JUDGE: It's the originals you are having marked
22 for identification, Mr Griffiths?

23 MR GRIFFITHS: I'm having the originals marked for
24 identification.

10:18:31 25 PRESIDING JUDGE: Very well, we will note that.

26 MR GRIFFITHS:

27 Q. Now before we leave the photographs, is there any
28 significance in the fact that you are wearing military uniform in
29 that photograph?

1 A. Yes.

2 Q. What's the significance?

3 A. I was in the former army of NPFL as inspector general when
4 Taylor became President. He was commander-in-chief of the army
10:19:21 5 and the second in command, as Moses Blah was, I was also wearing
6 the uniform.

7 Q. So when you say "as second in command, as Moses Blah was",
8 does that reflect your significance in terms of decision making
9 on military matters?

10:19:49 10 A. No, when it comes to the commander-in-chief being present I
11 had no power over the army. He made the decision, he gave direct
12 instructions as commander-in-chief of the army, which means that
13 he controlled the army of Liberia. Wearing the army uniform does
14 not make me the commander of the army, or commander-in-chief of
10:20:17 15 the army.

16 Q. Now it also meant, didn't it, that you on occasions would
17 carry out military operations?

18 A. Wearing a military uniform does not mean that I will carry
19 on military uniforms, but if the pictures were brought before me
10:20:58 20 I will show you the bodyguard of the President who was also in
21 military fatigue. What does that indicate in the sense that you
22 look at it too? This was a bodyguard, an ordinary bodyguard to
23 the President, wearing military uniform. He was not carrying out
24 military functions. He was just a bodyguard to the President.

10:21:21 25 Q. Can we just for a moment forget about the photographs. I
26 am asking you now in general terms as Vice-President did you on
27 any occasions carry out military operations?

28 A. I will say no, because in the civilian government I had no
29 authority over the army which is out of the question and we were

1 going by the Liberian constitution. I would not have power over
2 anybody holding arms as Vice-President of the country. That was
3 the sole responsibility of the President. He had the right over
4 the army as commander-in-chief. And then you have seen him in
10:22:13 5 the photograph, you saw Kpaka Konna, he was the chief of the army
6 and he took direct orders from the President of the army, in the
7 normal government, not the Vice-President.

8 Q. Very well.

9 A. The Vice-President is the President of the Liberian Senate
10:22:38 10 and he is the second in a civilian government. He works with the
11 executive being the Vice-President of the country. That is far
12 from military operations.

13 JUDGE SEBUTINDE: Mr Witness, are you saying that despite
14 the rank of general that you carried and the uniform that you
10:23:00 15 wore you had no authority at all in the army?

16 THE WITNESS: At that time I had, but at that time I was
17 Vice-President and I did not have authority over the army. If I
18 did that, then I was going out of track. I was Vice-President
19 and President of the Liberian senate in normal government. If
10:23:22 20 you see me wearing this uniform we had just returned from war
21 from the NPFL and most of the time we wore our uniforms and we
22 were big men in government and so nobody would question that, but
23 I was not performing a military duty at that time I was wearing
24 that uniform. Our constitution does not say that, your Honour
10:23:49 25 judge. In a normal government, no Vice-President has power over
26 the army. If you did, you would be arrested.

27 MR GRIFFITHS:

28 Q. Very well. Let me ask you about a related matter then. On
29 Thursday of last week, 15 May, you told us this - page 10003 of

1 the transcript. In June 2003 you told us you were living in a
2 rented house in Paynesville City, Congo Town, on a road called
3 Duport Road. Is that right?

4 A. Yes.

10:24:39 5 Q. Apart from living in Duport Road did that road have any
6 other significance for you?

7 A. What does that question mean?

8 Q. Apart from living in that road did that particular location
9 have any other significance for you?

10:25:04 10 A. Not that I know of. I rented a house and I lived there at
11 Duport Road, but I don't know how many years ago Duport Road came
12 into being and besides me there are so many other people living
13 along that road and it is called Duport Road. Besides having my
14 residence in the area, I have no other significance of me living
10:25:30 15 there. It is a house that I have there when I am going to sleep,
16 but besides that I don't think it has any greater meaning in
17 terms of what you are talking about.

18 Q. Does the name Operation Grasshopper have any significance
19 for you?

10:25:52 20 A. No, no, no.

21 Q. Are you aware of any evidence regarding you and Operation
22 Grasshopper given to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission in
23 Monrovia?

24 A. No, not at all. Not at all. I told you that I was far
10:26:21 25 away from the place when former President Taylor became President
26 and I am far away from that question that you are bringing. In
27 fact, when I was inspector general of the NPFL I was referred to
28 as a weak inspector general, I was quiet, I did not move like a
29 soldier. So I don't know what Grasshopper means and I don't know

1 who might have given me that kind of assignment, because I was
2 regarded as a weak general and a weak President.

3 MR GRIFFITHS: Can the witness please be shown page 6,
4 behind divider 1 of the Defence bundle, please:

10:27:32 5 Q. Have you seen this publication before?

6 A. No.

7 Q. You will see that it begins, "Staggering confessions
8 continue to emerge at the public hearings of the Truth and
9 Reconciliation Commission in Monrovia." You will see this

10:27:52 10 publication is dated 22 January 2008. Just above the photograph
11 - can we move down, please - you will see reference is made to
12 Operation Grasshopper. Do you see that?

13 A. Yes, I have seen it.

14 Q. Can we turn to the next page, page 7, please. Middle of
10:28:17 15 that page:

16 "Testifying further, witness Debleh disclosed that the
17 former President of Liberia, Colonel Moses Z Blah, personally
18 supervised the execution of the NPFL Grasshopper operation in
19 Duport Road."

10:28:48 20 A. This is a blatant lie. I must say it's a lie. We will get
21 to it when the time comes. I have never controlled any group of
22 armed men, or nor been involved in a war like this. The Liberian
23 people have condemned this fellow. I did not bring a copy of the
24 newspaper. This is a lie. It is a categorical lie that this man
10:29:10 25 put together here and even Nyundueh Monkomana, about drinking a
26 bucketful of blood and Nyundueh Monkomana never fought in the
27 war, what is the position of drinking a bucketful of blood? This
28 is a lie. I have responded to it to the TRC and they are waiting
29 for me and more evidence will have to come, because I was not a

1 soldier, a full soldier to execute people. I was the
2 Vice-President and the inspector general. I never fought, I was
3 supervisor for units. Inspector general was a supervisor who
4 made sure that people did not loot or steal unlawfully, so I
10:29:57 5 don't think this is something - this paper is not a question. It
6 is a newspaper and I told you about Liberian newspapers before.
7 The journalists will only write to make more money. Debleh is
8 waiting for TRC to come back and he has to clarify on this news.

9 Q. So you have heard about Operation Grasshopper before?

10:30:17 10 A. No, I don't know about Operation Grasshopper. I don't know
11 anyway. I was assigned in Cape Palmas during the NPFL days and
12 where I came from on Duport Road, to stay on Duport Road, I came
13 to Duport Road when I became ambassador to Libya and Tunisia and
14 just for a house for my family to stay while I was away. So it
10:30:48 15 was not during the war when I was on Duport Road, so this is a
16 blinking lie coming from Debleh. It's a blinking lie. It's a
17 black lie.

18 Q. How is it on the transcript we have you saying, "I have
19 responded to it ...", line 14, "... to the TRC"? How could you
10:31:07 20 respond to something that you didn't know anything about?

21 A. I went to the TRC and registered that I will come to the
22 TRC when it is time for me to come, because they are waiting on
23 me and that all of - they said, "All of you that had position in
24 this country, including the President, will have to go to the
10:31:29 25 TRC", and I accepted to go, so that was what I was referring to.
26 But I must go to the TRC.

27 Q. Former President, I asked you right at the outset --

28 A. And no question was asked about Debleh talking about
29 Grasshopper. This thing was saying in the newspaper and I have

1 to go to TRC and I told them I'm willing to go whenever they call
2 me and, after completing my engagement, I will have to come.
3 That was what I was telling you about. I have never heard about
4 Grasshopper group, I have never heard about a battalion, or a
10:32:06 5 fighting force, I have never. In the whole of NPFL they will
6 tell you that I never did. I was just an inspector general and
7 an adjutant general, or an inspector general. I never fought, I
8 never killed anybody, I never shot anybody. It's not to my
9 knowledge.

10:32:26 10 Q. I'm still trying to understand though, how could you
11 respond to something that you told me a short while ago you
12 didn't know anything about?

13 A. No, no, no. What I said was that I have gone to the TRC -
14 the English is not correct, I must take it back, but I'm telling
10:32:44 15 you I went to TRC after seeing this paper and told them that I
16 have to register to come to the TRC for clarification because it
17 has been written and I am prepared to go. I did not mention
18 about blood drinking, or killing somebody, execution, which I
19 never took part in in the NPFL days.

10:33:05 20 Q. I asked you a very simple question.

21 A. Yes.

22 Q. And you can try and clarify the situation.

23 A. Yes.

24 Q. Before I asked you about Operation Grasshopper, had you
10:33:16 25 heard that this man was making allegations about you and Duport
26 Road?

27 A. This man did not - when I saw the newspaper - not even this
28 one. It said I was in Cape Palmas in Maryland, I led a troop and
29 we killed civilians and what not and that was why I went there.

1 I have just seen this one here in this Court. I didn't see this
2 article anywhere in Liberia. What I saw was another article that
3 I was in Grand Gedeh and that I was his commander, which was a
4 lie. I will tell you again about Debleh. Debleh is a criminal
10:34:02 5 who was in Buchanan and his father is called - I will call his
6 name. He was one of the child soldiers. He had stolen in Cape
7 Palmas from some people. I arrested him and put him in jail
8 because he looted the plantation. He looted the plantation, the
9 Firestone plantation there. At that time he was too small to be
10:34:24 10 stealing and I punished him there at Cape Palmas. Debleh was not
11 a soldier. Debleh was not assigned to anybody. Debleh was in no
12 force called Grasshopper. This was a little boy. His father had
13 stolen somewhere before and his hand was chopped off during the
14 war. I will call his name to you. These are the kind of people
10:34:46 15 you are talking about here. I told you the newspaper is not
16 credible. They just write and write to sell papers, that's all.
17 Don't take this thing serious. As I'm telling you, this is a lie
18 just put together.

19 Q. Will you be giving evidence to the Truth and Reconciliation
10:35:08 20 Commission to refute this suggestion made against you?

21 A. When it's necessary, when I'm called upon. That was what I
22 told them. Any accusation I am willing to stand against. Some
23 people might not go because Nyundueh Monkomana told me he was not
24 going because it's nonsense to him, but I said that it was not
10:35:32 25 nonsense because it has to do with my reputation and other people
26 in Liberia who will come to say who Moses Blah is: He was never
27 a fighter, he never led any group of fighters to anywhere. So
28 this is a blinking lie. This is just a mere newspaper article.
29 You cannot take it anywhere because this case has not been

1 investigated.

2 Q. So I take it then that as soon as you get back to Monrovia
3 you will be anxious to appear before this commission and refute
4 and deny this allegation?

10:36:07 5 A. If it is necessary. If it is my turn to go, I will go. I
6 told them I was engaged. After my engagement I will have to go
7 to the TRC. This is just a little bit, there are other things
8 that I have to go to clarify. It hasn't got to do with killing.
9 Whatever I am asked at the TRC I will answer and I will be glad
10:36:31 10 to do so and I will be in Liberia. There will be witnesses
11 present.

12 Q. Let's leave that topic then and move on to another one.
13 There's a couple of small topics that I'd like to clear up with
14 you, please, before we go on and deal with more substantial
10:36:59 15 matters.

16 A. Good.

17 Q. For a moment can we have a talk about Small Boy Units,
18 please, SBUs, yes?

19 A. Yes.

10:37:11 20 Q. Now, the war inevitably caused the displacement of
21 thousands of people within Liberia, didn't it?

22 A. Yes, I agree with you.

23 Q. And one consequence was that literally hundreds of young
24 people started following the fighting men around, is that true?

10:37:44 25 A. Yes, you are correct.

26 Q. And in due course it was decided to incorporate them into
27 the formation. That's right, isn't it?

28 A. You are correct.

29 Q. And for the most part they volunteered to join the NPFL,

1 didn't they?

2 A. You are correct.

3 Q. And in due course they were assimilated into the formation,
4 the NPFL, is that correct?

10:38:22 5 A. Come again with the question.

6 Q. In due course they became assimilated into the NPFL?

7 A. Yes.

8 Q. Did you have a Small Boy Unit attached to you?

9 A. Yes.

10:38:42 10 Q. For how long?

11 A. Up to now.

12 Q. What, you still have a Small Boy Unit now?

13 A. No, let me elaborate. I had a Small Boy Unit. This was a
14 fellow whose brother was killed in Kakata. On inspection I found
10:39:16 15 them on the campus of EWR, but the lady was also fighting for the
16 NPFL, but this boy was very small. The sister that I met the boy
17 with said, "This boy, we saw him and he was crying around. We
18 took him few weeks ago and he's been under training." So I said,
19 "No, this is a very small boy. Let him come and be with me.

10:39:41 20 I'll care for him. I will take care of him", and I took him. He
21 is called Tamba Alie from Bong Mines and he also was trained as a
22 Small Boy Unit and he was turned over to me. Then when NPFL had
23 been dissolved I told him that he has to be with me so that he
24 can go to school because he was too little. He cannot be here
10:40:06 25 and not going to school which was not good for his own future.

26 This was why I said he was staying with me by now, but there is
27 no longer a Small Boy Unit because NPFL is dissolved.

28 Q. Very well.

29 JUDGE SEBUTINDE: How old was this boy when he first came

1 to you?

2 THE WITNESS: Tamba Alie was 13. He was small. He was
3 very, very small.

4 MR GRIFFITHS:

10:40:33 5 Q. And when he came at age 13, did he undertake any training?

6 A. He has undergone military training before I got him. I
7 should call it training - what was happening was that it was not
8 full training. How can you do training for three or four days a
9 week and you become a military man? When I saw him in this

10:41:01 10 condition, I liked him and I decided to take him and I took him

11 and he's been with me. What also happened was that when
12 President Taylor came to Monrovia this lady came back to me and
13 said, "Turn this boy over. He's now big", I think he was about
14 20 at that time, "He can retrain for another unit." Then they

10:41:20 15 were trained again, he left me and he went to this girl who had
16 earlier given him to me. He worked for a unit - I will recall
17 the unit's name - and he was assigned to Mrs Taylor's house. He
18 was the commander of the unit there. At that time he was a big
19 guy now and he could handle himself. Later the unit was

10:41:51 20 dissolved and he decided to come back to me and go to school.

21 So, this is the fellow I'm talking about.

22 Q. Now just to finish off with this topic, former President,
23 at the time that you had a Small Boy Unit attached to you did you
24 have any moral concerns about that?

10:42:16 25 A. Yes. This is why I took him away from shooting, because he
26 could not even handle the gun that was given to him. He was with
27 me as a Small Boy Unit, which I must agree to, but he was not
28 fighting because I was not a fighting man. I was not on the
29 battlefield. I was just an inspector ensuring that things go

1 right. And his being with me, going from place to place in the
2 car, he was not fighting anyone because he couldn't run at the
3 time. When you are fighting a guerilla war you need to fight,
4 you need to run, so he was so little to do such a job.

10:42:56 5 Q. So, tell me can you help us by articulating the moral
6 concerns you had about this?

7 A. That's what I'm saying. I took him from the war. If he
8 had stayed in the war he would have died because he was so
9 little. He was a little boy. That was why I took him. I saved
10:43:14 10 him.

11 Q. Now help me, please. Throughout the Liberian civil war,
12 did you ever express concerns about the use of Small Boy Units to
13 anyone?

14 A. Well, this is another difficult thing to do. When you
10:43:33 15 bring this kind of question to me it's like you want to see me
16 die. This was a military unit, or a military command, that had
17 their own regulation. They had their rules. What power at the
18 time did I have to go into a big unit to say, "Look, these are
19 small boys. You don't have to keep them. I am breaking the unit
10:43:58 20 down"? I could be fined, or taken to the tribunal to be charged.

21 There are millions of Small Boys Units. I said in my statement
22 earlier that coming to the Small Boys Unit, some were not
23 voluntarily coming, some were caught during battles. If you
24 captured a town and there were small boys running up and down,
10:44:21 25 they took some of them. Even some girls. They were small girls
26 at the time. Some are in Monrovia working for the United Nations
27 and doing other jobs. So they were not all coming in
28 voluntarily, even though some of them came voluntarily. But
29 there were people who were forced, who were taken away in the

1 name of assisting them and later we found them as Small Boys
2 Unit.

3 Q. How many boys were in your Small Boy Unit?

10:44:56

4 A. No. I took this one little boy because I liked him and I
5 wanted to help him, but he was from the Small Boy Unit. I must
6 admit that. He was trained as a Small Boy Unit.

7 Q. But earlier you told us that you were in charge of a Small
8 Boy Unit?

9 A. No, no, no, no, no. I am in charge?

10:45:14

10 Q. Were you never in charge of a Small Boy Unit?

11 A. I was - the only job I had in NPFL was that I was the
12 inspector general. Besides that, I had no other position in
13 NPFL.

10:45:29

14 Q. Well, let's clarify the situation then. Were you ever
15 commander of a Small Boy Unit?

16 A. Never. Never. Never.

17 Q. Well, that clarifies that.

18 A. No, never. Never.

10:45:42

19 Q. The final question I want to ask you on this topic is this,
20 you see, because I'm helpfully reminded by my learned friend,
21 Mr Munyard, that earlier at page 33 of the transcript, line 13,
22 this question is asked of you, "Did you have a Small Boy Unit
23 attached to you?" Answer, "Yes."?

24 A. Yes.

10:46:03

25 Q. "For how long?" "Up to now"?

26 A. Yes.

27 Q. That was your answer a few minutes ago, but now you're
28 telling us that you didn't?

29 A. No.

1 Q. And what I'd like to know is which of those two accounts is
2 right?

3 A. I agree that there was a boy from the Small Boy Unit that I
4 took, I didn't say no, but I was never a commander of a Small Boy
10:46:29 5 Unit. You don't command Small Boy Unit. When they are attached
6 to you you use them to be with you, but not in my case in fact.
7 The Small Boy Unit I had was this one boy and he was not going to
8 war, he was not shooting at anybody, but I did not deny that I -
9 I told you, "Yes, I had a Small Boy Unit attached to me", but I
10:46:48 10 was not the commander of a Small Boy Unit. The Small Boy Units
11 had their own commander.

12 Q. One final question on this topic and it's this. As
13 inspector general, did you not consider it appropriate to voice
14 your concerns about the use of children of this age - of that
10:47:12 15 kind of age - in military capacities? Did you not consider it
16 appropriate to do so?

17 A. You are asking a question and during the war that could
18 have taken my life away. That kind of question that you are
19 asking is dangerous to my being as a human being. During war,
10:47:31 20 where the war is raging, people had - people had people to
21 promote the war to carry on fighting. What power, apart from
22 being an inspector general, would I have on a unit that has its
23 own commander and taking direct instruction from somebody who did
24 not take this boy and say this, that? I was not in court and
10:47:57 25 judging the war. I was not implementing the Geneva Convention at
26 the time. We were all fighting. So if you say why didn't I stop
27 the Small Boy Unit, that I didn't want the war to be fought, I
28 would have been arrested for that.

29 Q. So you were aware at the time of the Geneva Convention,

1 were you?

2 A. I had known that ever since when I was a little boy.

3 Q. You see, the simple question I'm asking is not whether you
4 could have single-handedly disbanded these units. What I am
10:48:34 5 asking is did you not consider it appropriate to raise the topic
6 in discussion with, for example, your fellow Special Force
7 officers? Did you not consider it appropriate to bring it up in
8 discussion?

9 A. On many occasions, I will say it again. Even looting and
10:48:56 10 raping and things like that, I had preached that to most of the
11 commanders. I have been all over Liberia where NPFL was fighting
12 and I warned the people not to rape, not to loot, that I have
13 seen people taking some people's wives forcibly and I had to
14 release them. I did my job. I should. To the limits that
10:49:20 15 you're talking about, you are putting my life in danger.

16 Q. Very well, let me move on to another topic then. During
17 the course of your examination-in-chief you were asked about the
18 finance ministers within the Taylor government.

19 A. Yes.

10:49:37 20 Q. I want to put some names to you to see if you agree. Elie
21 Secabe [sic]?

22 A. Selebe.

23 Q. Selebe?

24 A. Yes, Selebe.

10:49:47 25 Q. He was the first finance minister, wasn't he?

26 A. Yes.

27 Q. Can you spell the surname for us, please?

28 A. S-E-L-E-B-E, Selebe.

29 Q. And the second finance minister was John Bestment, do you

1 remember that?

2 A. Yes, I heard his name. Yes, I heard his name.

3 Q. Then came Nathaniel Barnes?

4 A. Yes, that I remember.

10:50:22 5 MR GRIFFITHS: One moment, your Honour:

6 Q. In fact Selebe used to work for the IMF before he became
7 finance minister, didn't he?

8 A. You are correct.

9 Q. And the final finance minister was a chap called Charles
10 Bright, do you remember that?

10:50:46

11 A. Yes.

12 Q. Now, another topical together.

13 PRESIDING JUDGE: Just for purposes of record,

14 Mr Griffiths, IMF is the International Monetary Fund.

10:51:01 15 MR GRIFFITHS: Your Honour, yes:

16 Q. Now, another small topical together. On Wednesday during
17 your evidence-in-chief - and this is at page 9836 of the
18 transcript - you spoke of receiving orders and the signature was
19 in green ink, do you remember that?

10:51:24 20 A. Come again.

21 Q. On Wednesday, when you were giving evidence, you told us
22 that you would receive orders from the President and his
23 signature would be written in green ink?

24 A. Concerning what, because I received a lot of orders?

10:51:43 25 Q. All I'm interested in is the colour of the ink that he
26 would sign his signature in. He used green ink for his
27 signatures, didn't he?

28 A. When it was an important matter.

29 Q. And the only reason I'm asking you, former President, is

1 not because I'm going to show you any document. It's just that
2 we will be able to identify documents bearing his signature
3 because his signature should be in green ink, shouldn't it?

10:52:19 4 A. When the matter is important. When it is official and it
5 is important it must be - he must sign in green ink. If there
6 are other matters that he did not consider important he could
7 sign in ordinary ink, blue or black, or any colour, but when the
8 matter is very, very important, that is when you will see the
9 green ink and seeing the green ink means that it's an order from
10:52:43 10 the commander-in-chief.

11 Q. One other small matter. You used to refer to former
12 President Taylor as Zieh, didn't you?

13 A. As who?

14 Q. Zieh spelt Z-I-E-H?

10:53:09 15 A. Oh, yes. Zieh, Zieh, Zieh. Yes, Zieh. You want a
16 definition of that name? Zieh is brother-in-law. Zieh.

17 Q. Z-I-E-H?

18 A. Yes, Zieh. Zieh is a name given to any brother-in-law,
19 whether you're married to my sister or I'm married to his sister,
10:53:33 20 but when you say Zieh you know exactly who you are talking about.
21 He is my brother-in-law.

22 Q. And that's how you used to refer to him?

23 A. Yes, I called him Zieh. Officially I called him former
24 President Taylor right now, but on a different note if we meet
10:53:47 25 and tried to discuss I will say "Zieh". This is not in public,
26 because I will not disrespect my President.

27 Q. Okay, that was just a small point of clarification. I'm
28 glad you find it amusing. Now, former President, one other
29 topic. Amputations. Now you appreciate, don't you, that the

1 conflict in Sierra Leone was scarred by the use of the amputation
2 of limbs in military operations? You know that, don't you?

3 A. Yes, I've heard that.

4 Q. When you went to the amputee camp in Monrovia you found it
10:54:32 5 deeply upsetting, didn't you?

6 A. In Sierra Leone, yes, in Freetown.

7 Q. Sorry, my fault. You found it deeply upsetting, didn't
8 you?

9 A. Yes.

10:54:40 10 Q. And that kind of behaviour was not a feature of the
11 Liberian civil war, was it?

12 A. You are correct.

13 Q. I just want to ask you about another matter now, please. I
14 wonder if the witness could be shown MFI-22C. Before we come to
10:56:26 15 the photograph, one final question on the matter of amputations:

16 Were you aware of any amputations throughout the war in Liberia?

17 A. Not to my knowledge.

18 Q. None at all?

19 A. Not at all.

10:56:48 20 Q. Now MFI-22C, just for a matter of clarification, you told
21 us that the individual in the white uniform with the gold braided
22 hat, immediately behind President Taylor, was Musa N'jie.

23 A. Yes.

24 Q. That's actually Momoh Gibba, isn't it?

10:57:29 25 A. No.

26 Q. Are you sure?

27 A. I'm sure.

28 Q. Do you know who I mean? The man in the white suit with the
29 gold braided hat, who can be seen over the right shoulder of

1 President Taylor. That's Momoh Gibba, isn't it?

2 A. No, because the photo I'm seeing is not clear. Momoh Gibba
3 was aide-de-camp and N'jie was aide-de-camp and chief of the
4 aide-de-camp, so they were all wearing the same uniform, because
10:58:04 5 the person I'm looking at now is shorter. Momoh Gibba is a very
6 tall and huge man and this one looks like N'jie. That's the
7 uniform all of them used, but this is N'jie.

8 MR GRIFFITHS: I'm not going to press that any further. I
9 just wanted some clarification if it was possible. I wonder now,
10:58:36 10 Madam Court Officer, if you could helpfully please put up for me
11 MFI-29, behind, your Honours, divider 10:

12 Q. Now, this was a document you told us that you were familiar
13 with, so just for the purpose of clarity I wonder if you could be
14 shown the page which bears the printed number at the top

10:59:37 15 00031465. Under subsection (c) of that code could you help us,
16 please, as to what "informatory material" means?

17 A. I have seen the (c). What it says here, "To protect all
18 documents which are top secret, confidential or informatory
19 material."

11:00:20 20 Q. That is what I am trying to seek your assistance on. What
21 does "informatory material" mean?

22 A. Well, these are top secrets of documents, that's all, that
23 you would need some information from.

24 Q. Such as? Are you able to help us? Given that this is a
11:00:44 25 document you're familiar with, I was hoping that you'd be able to
26 help us with it. Can you help us with it?

27 A. I have been familiar with documents. That does not mean
28 that I was in the security section, but I know exactly what the
29 document is. So to read it at length as you're thinking about, I

1 think you would be the best person to do that. Let me know
2 exactly what it is because I was not an SS person.

3 Q. Very well, let's move on from that. Do you remember during
4 the course of your evidence-in-chief you told us about an
11:01:24 5 incident involving Benjamin Yeaten and the massacre of some
6 ex-combatants on a bridge at the Mahare River? Do you remember
7 that?

8 A. I remember that very well.

9 Q. Now, on that topic of ex-combatants, which we've touched on
11:01:45 10 earlier and I said I'd return to, the government leased
11 properties around Monrovia to accommodate ex-combatants, didn't
12 they? Do you remember that?

13 A. What I remember is that ex-combatants forced themselves
14 into people's houses. Once the houses were empty and they saw
11:02:15 15 that nobody was around, they entered it.

16 Q. So you don't know of any government scheme to lease
17 properties for their accommodation?

18 A. That I wouldn't know.

19 Q. But you accept that they were provided with medical care?

11:02:31 20 A. Yes, they go to hospital and they seek medical attention
21 with the help of government.

22 Q. They were also provided with food, subsistence and money?

23 A. Yes, yes, at times when they were getting food and all of a
24 sudden it stopped. And as I'm speaking to you, like you are
11:03:01 25 talking about a house, my party headquarters in Monrovia, the
26 ex-combatants forced their way into the building and nobody dared
27 go into that building. Before I came here it caused a very
28 serious problem. This house was not provided, but they had to
29 force themselves into the building.

1 Q. Very well, but there was also a location, and in fact it
2 was the largest accommodation provided for ex-combatants, in
3 Sinkor near Congo Town junction. Do you remember that?

4 A. No.

11:03:43 5 Q. Where several hundred ex-combatants lived, Sinkor. Do you
6 remember that?

7 A. What I can remember is the area which you're talking about
8 by Sophie Icecream. I have seen several ex-combatants, groups of
9 people, when I go to the restaurant to buy icecream for my

11:04:09 10 children. At one time, even before I came into this place, there
11 was some tension there, they wanted money. I wondered how they
12 got there. Apparently they were there in a house, but I was --

13 Q. It's just by Spriggs Payne airfield, isn't it, that
14 location, or close to it?

11:04:43 15 A. No, where I am talking about it is further down going to -
16 how do you call this place?

17 PRESIDING JUDGE: Just pause, Mr Witness, while I clarify.
18 Mr Griffiths, you've referred to Sinkor and the witness has
19 referred to Sophie Icecream. Which one is the one that is near
11:05:10 20 Spriggs Payne airport?

21 MR GRIFFITHS:

22 Q. Perhaps, witness, you can help us. Sinkor, is that the
23 same place as Sophie Icecream?

24 A. Yes.

11:05:20 25 Q. And is it close to Spriggs Payne airfield?

26 A. Yes, you are correct.

27 Q. Let's move on to another topic, please: Arms. If I
28 understand your evidence correctly, you have knowledge of four
29 arms shipments, don't you? Let me enumerate them for your

1 assistance.

2 A. Good.

3 Q. There is the first shipment, which you arranged the
4 transport for, from Cote d'Ivoire to Liberia right at the start
11:05:54 5 of the conflict, remember?

6 A. I agree with you.

7 Q. When because of a misunderstanding you were arrested under
8 suspicion of having diverted those arms to Prince Johnson, but
9 when the matter was clarified you were reinstated and thereafter
11:06:15 10 you organised for three truck loads of arms from Cote d'Ivoire to
11 be delivered to Liberian forces within Liberia. Am I correct?

12 A. You are correct, but the term in which we just spoke I have
13 to elaborate. Would you allow me, please?

14 Q. Of course.

11:06:42 15 A. What I said in my testimony was that I had gone to bring
16 these arms over and they were at certain locations. I delayed in
17 doing that because of lack of funds. Somebody misquoted me, or
18 misunderstood what I told them. So we came back to the camp at
19 Gborplay - he came back to the camp at Gborplay and told the
11:07:10 20 commander-in-chief, Mr Taylor, that the arms I had gone to bring
21 have been diverted to Prince Johnson, which was not the case.

22 The arm was there, but there was no money to bring them. It had
23 been arranged - I don't know who arranged the arms, but I was
24 there to bring the arms, which I must admit, but I didn't arrange
11:07:29 25 it. I didn't know how it got there.

26 Q. Now, the second shipment you told us about --

27 A. Yes.

28 Q. -- by way of shorthand let me refer to it as the ram
29 shipment.

1 A. Yes.

2 Q. When the ram came on the plane with the weapons, yes?

3 A. Yes.

4 Q. And where did they come from? Burkina Faso, yes?

11:08:00 5 A. Yes.

6 Q. When was that shipment? Can you help us, give us a rough
7 time?

8 A. It's very difficult to say now. When was that?

9 Q. Were you ambassador at the time, were you Vice-President at
11:08:12 10 the time, or were you inspector general at the time?

11 A. I was ambassador at the time.

12 Q. Okay. That shipment came into Roberts airfield, is that
13 right?

14 A. Yes, you're correct.

11:08:31 15 Q. And was later stored at an arms dump in Monrovia?

16 A. You are correct.

17 Q. The third shipment you told us about was when an aeroplane
18 crashed at Roberts international airfield, you went out there to
19 investigate and met with two white men carrying Ukrainian
11:09:02 20 passports, is that right?

21 A. Yes, I did not go in there to investigate the crash.

22 Q. The fourth shipment you told us about was a shipment which
23 came in just prior to President Taylor stepping down and that was
24 seized by UNMIL forces at Roberts international airfield, is that
11:09:31 25 right?

26 A. You are correct.

27 Q. And those are the only four arms shipments you know about,
28 yes, is that right?

29 A. You are correct. I didn't limit my seeing of arms

1 shipments to those four. I was in the NPFL and the war was
2 fought for a very long time. I know when we started to fight
3 with shotguns, knives, machetes and other things. So when you
4 talk about arms shipment, to limit to my knowledge to that I
11:10:11 5 would have to think about. But those four were mentioned in my
6 testimony, I'll agree with you.

7 Q. And one of things you told us last week was that you were
8 unaware of any shipments by air to the NPFL, is that right? Do
9 you want me to remind you of the passage in your testimony?

11:10:39 10 A. No, no, no, I'm thinking. I want to answer your question
11 directly. How would I be unaware when I sat on the plane and the
12 consignment was in the plane? What I said was that I had to go
13 to Ouagadougou on a different mission. Upon my arrival I saw
14 Musa Cisse and Grace Minor. They were on another mission, but
11:11:05 15 later it was discovered that there was a shipment on a flight
16 that was supposed to come to Monrovia and for the government and
17 I went and we sat in the plane and the plane brought us to
18 Monrovia, and I took my ram along on the plane. But I did not go
19 for the shipment of arms in Cote d'Ivoire. I went with a message
11:11:34 20 to the President of Burkina Faso. That was when I mentioned -
21 then I mentioned the German government.

22 Apparently people had gone there on a different mission,
23 but they didn't tell me what that mission was, but then we saw
24 these arms and the arms were at the airport, "Oh, you can go
11:11:54 25 along with this cargo", and Grace Minor refused to go because she
26 didn't want to ride on that plane, such a plane, so we came to
27 Monrovia with that plane, but we did not go to arrange for arms
28 and ammunition. We went on the mission to talk, to carry a
29 message to the President of Burkina Faso.

1 Q. It's entirely my fault. I should have read the whole
2 passage to you. It's at page 9902 of the transcript from
3 Thursday of last week. You were asked this question:

4 "Q. Let me just go back for a moment and I know we covered
11:12:42 5 some of this yesterday, but before the Taylor presidency
6 and before you were ambassador, when the NPFL controlled,
7 as you said, 90 per cent of Liberia, did shipments come in
8 by air to the NPFL forces?

9 A. No, not that I know of."

11:13:06 10 Do you remember telling us that last Thursday?

11 A. Yes. Shipments coming by air in NPFL area, no.

12 Q. And that was the truth?

13 A. Except if I'm caught up with the timing in between, then I
14 apologise. I can't remember when this happened. It was quite a
11:13:33 15 long time what you are talking of, pretty close to 20 years ago,
16 so I have problem with the timing.

17 Q. I'm reminding you of what you told us and just seeking to
18 clarify that that's your recollection of the time when the NPFL
19 controlled 90 per cent of the country: That you have no
11:13:54 20 recollection of any arms coming in by air during that period.
21 That was your recollection last Thursday. Is it still your
22 recollection now?

23 A. Yes, yes.

24 Q. Now, the final question that I want to ask on this topic,
11:14:08 25 former President, is this: Would it be fair to say that
26 throughout your time and involvement with the NPFL and later with
27 the Taylor government, arms were in short supply for the fighting
28 forces in Liberia? Would you agree with that?

29 A. Yes, I agree with you.

1 Q. And it was always a major concern, particularly after the
2 United Nations Security Council imposed an arms embargo. It was
3 always extremely difficult to arm the military forces and the
4 police within Liberia. That's true, isn't it?

11:15:02 5 A. You are correct.

6 Q. I want to move on to another topic now, please. Now, do
7 you recall the name Johnny Paul Koroma? Former President, do you
8 recall the name Johnny Paul Koroma?

9 A. Yes, yes, yes.

11:15:55 10 Q. Who was he?

11 A. Johnny Paul Koroma was the leader of the junta in Sierra
12 Leone. I do not know in detail, but I just know him to be the
13 leader of the junta forces in Sierra Leone.

14 Q. Do you recall that there was a time when it was said that
11:16:20 15 Johnny Paul Koroma was being held prisoner by the RUF?

16 A. No, I cannot recall that.

17 Q. Do you recall at some stage, in an effort to progress the
18 peace situation in Sierra Leone, former President Taylor arranged
19 for Johnny Paul Koroma to come to Monrovia for peace talks?

11:16:56 20 A. You are correct.

21 Q. And former President Taylor was intimately involved in that
22 peace process, wasn't he?

23 A. You are correct.

24 Q. And Johnny Paul Koroma came to Liberia in late August 1999.

11:17:14 25 Do you recall that?

26 A. You are correct.

27 Q. Shortly thereafter, Foday Sankoh came to Liberia in
28 September 1999.

29 A. You are correct.

1 Q. And reconciliation talks were conducted, chaired by
2 President Taylor, between Sankoh and Johnny Paul Koroma in
3 Monrovia.

4 A. You are correct.

11:17:43 5 Q. Were you party to any of those discussions?

6 A. I knew that they were in Monrovia, but I did not go to the
7 meeting.

8 Q. And you appreciated that the purpose of their presence in
9 Monrovia was to foster peace in Sierra Leone? You knew that,
10 didn't you?

11:18:05

11 A. Yes, yes, I will agree, to bring peace to the people of
12 Sierra Leone, which is correct.

13 Q. And it was President Taylor who was seeking to broker that
14 peace.

11:18:17

15 A. You are correct.

16 Q. And President Taylor had organised that process in
17 conjunction with President Kabbah of Sierra Leone.

18 A. You are correct.

19 Q. So that Kabbah knew that both men were in Monrovia for that
20 purpose, didn't he?

11:18:40

21 A. You are correct.

22 Q. Thereafter Sankoh and Johnny Paul Koroma returned to
23 Freetown on a flight together, didn't they? Do you remember
24 that?

11:19:01

25 A. No, I cannot remember, but I heard of a flight. Was it on
26 a helicopter? On a helicopter, I remember that.

27 Q. It's not a detail that I'm going to quibble over, but it
28 was an aeroplane and not a helicopter. I'm not going to quibble
29 over that though because it's not an important detail.

1 A. Okay.

2 Q. But you do recall them travelling back to Sierra Leone?

3 A. To Sierra Leone. That's correct, that's correct.

4 Q. And this was all part of the process which led up to the
11:19:35 5 Lome Accord. Do you remember that?

6 A. Yes, you are correct. You are correct.

7 Q. Now, at some later stage, if I understand your testimony,
8 you heard that Johnny Paul Koroma had died in Liberia. You heard
9 a rumour to that effect.

11:20:01 10 A. Yes, I heard the rumour as I told you. I heard the rumour
11 and the operators said that these men were killed in the Liberian
12 forest between Sierra Leone and Liberia. So it didn't come out
13 in detail to me. It was nothing to my knowledge, or to the
14 knowledge of the government, so we took it as that.

11:20:27 15 Q. Now, would it be fair to say that you cannot be certain
16 whether the rumours you heard about Johnny Paul Koroma's death
17 are indeed correct? You can't be certain about that, can you?

18 A. No, because those were rumours. That's why they are called
19 rumours. Rumours cannot be certain until you are on the scene
11:20:48 20 and you know the details of how it happened, like in the cases of
21 other people where I should have known.

22 Q. Now another topic: Benjamin Yeaten. You first encountered
23 him in Camp Tajura in Libya, didn't you?

24 A. Yes.

11:21:15 25 Q. At which stage he was aged about 15 and you were a grown
26 man to him because you would have been about 38 or 39 at the
27 time.

28 A. I agree.

29 Q. So effectively he was a boy to you?

1 A. Yes, I agree.

2 Q. But he was also a Gio from Nimba County like yourself,
3 wasn't he?

4 A. I agree.

11:21:45 5 Q. So you both had that in common?

6 A. I agree.

7 Q. However, over time Benjamin Yeaten came to wield a lot of
8 power in Liberia, didn't he?

9 A. I agree with you.

11:21:59 10 Q. He became so powerful indeed that you felt that he'd lost
11 respect for you, even though you were Vice-President?

12 A. I agree. I agree with you 100 per cent.

13 Q. And you weren't happy about that situation, were you?

14 A. No.

11:22:28 15 Q. Because, let us understand, culturally in Africa people are
16 taught to show respect for age, aren't they?

17 A. You are correct.

18 Q. And you thought that Benjamin Yeaten was quite
19 disrespectful because he was a boy to you.

11:22:51 20 A. You are correct. He used to wash my clothes.

21 Q. And in many ways you came to resent him, didn't you?

22 A. You are correct.

23 Q. Because in many ways there came a stage where many people
24 in Liberia considered that Yeaten felt that he was above the law.

11:23:20 25 A. You are correct.

26 Q. And that perception had this consequence, did it not: That
27 Yeaten would on occasions act autonomously without any direct
28 orders from Charles Taylor, the President?

29 A. That I wouldn't say.

1 Q. Would it be fairer to put it in this way: That because of
2 his power it would often be assumed that actions taken by him
3 were being sanctioned by the President? Would that be a fairer
4 way of putting it?

11:24:07 5 A. What really happened was that Benjamin was the SS director.
6 He was not reporting to me on his day to day activities, so I
7 wouldn't know whether he acted on his own, or he acted on the
8 orders of the President. But he had grown so powerful and could
9 do anything to anybody.

11:24:29 10 Q. And one consequence of that, would this be fair, was that
11 people would not question his authority? Would you agree?

12 A. I agree with you.

13 Q. Because people would often assume that he was acting on the
14 President's behalf even if he was not. Would you agree?

11:25:01 15 A. I agree 100 per cent, 100 per cent.

16 Q. Now help me with this: When you were acting President of
17 Liberia, did you give Benjamin Yeaten leave of absence to leave
18 Liberia?

19 A. When? When I was acting President?

11:25:41 20 Q. You were acting President, yes.

21 A. No, when I became President. It was then that happened.

22 Q. But you did give him leave to leave Liberia?

23 A. I agree 100 per cent when I was President of Liberia.

24 Q. So he left Liberia with your full consent?

11:26:02 25 A. That I agree. When Benjamin left Liberia I gave Benjamin
26 leave to see his family in Cote d'Ivoire and I had reasons
27 because Benjamin was not in court, there was no complaint to the
28 government about Benjamin, he was a free SSS director. When I
29 was President he was not SS director. I did not sack him. He

1 wanted to see his family and I allowed him to go. There was no
2 case pending in the Courts for Benjamin to be questioned about
3 after President Taylor had left. So as far as I'm concerned he
4 was a free man and it was on that ground that I gave him
11:26:52 5 permission to go and see his family.

6 Q. Now I want to move on to another topic, we can begin it
7 before the morning break: Sam Bockarie. One or two preliminary
8 matters, please. Firstly, when did you first become aware of Sam
9 Bockarie?

11:27:23 10 A. Well, we have come to dates again and time, but Sam
11 Bockarie, to my knowledge, when he crossed from Luguato and came
12 to Nimba County, at that time I was travelling from Monrovia to
13 my village for the very first time. I got to know that Sam
14 Bockarie had entered the country, but there was a large column of
11:28:06 15 vehicles, arms and ammunition, from Luguato, Kamplay, Ganta and
16 leftwards to Saclepea where they were based and what I knew was
17 that he had just passed when I took that highway and the common
18 people knew me to be the Vice-President of Liberia. There were a
19 lot of people passing with arms, Sierra Leonean entering with
11:28:39 20 arms, "Do you know that Sierra Leoneans were entering with arms?"
21 On my way to my village I stopped by the cocoa plantation where
22 Sam Bockarie was and Harrison Karnwea - I don't know, but he was
23 there. I usually stopped to Harrison Karnwea to ask for fuel,
24 gasoline, to top up my vehicle before I left. It was at that
11:29:03 25 time that I saw Sam Bockarie and Harrison came to me and said
26 that, "We've got a stranger here and it was Benjamin who brought
27 this stranger here. You see my place, I don't even sleep there,
28 I sleep to my friend's until they can leave." Then I got my fuel
29 and left. So I knew that he was there.

1 MR GRIFFITHS: I note the time, your Honour, and I need to
2 develop this topic in a bit more detail. I wonder if that might
3 be a convenient moment.

4 PRESIDING JUDGE: Yes, I think that would be an appropriate
11:29:34 5 time to adjourn. Mr Witness, we will do as other days and take
6 the mid-morning break now. We will adjourn the Court until 12
7 o'clock. Please adjourn court.

8 [Break taken at 11.30 a.m.]

9 [Upon resuming at 12.02 p.m.]

11:54:59 10 PRESIDING JUDGE: Please proceed, Mr Griffiths.

11 MR GRIFFITHS: May it please your Honour:

12 Q. Former President, before we adjourned I was asking you
13 about Sam Bockarie, yes?

14 A. Yes.

12:02:20 15 Q. You were telling me that your first knowledge of him was
16 when he crossed into Liberia from Cote d'Ivoire with a large
17 force of armed men, is that right?

18 A. Yes.

19 Q. Now, let us pause there for a moment, please. Prior to
12:02:41 20 that incident, had you heard the name Sam Bockarie or Mosquito?

21 A. Yes.

22 Q. Had you known of him as a leader or commander within the
23 RUF?

24 A. Yes.

12:03:04 25 Q. And in what context had you heard the name mentioned prior
26 to that crossing into Liberia from Cote d'Ivoire?

27 A. I heard from - it was another rumour. It was rumoured then
28 that Sam Bockarie was in Cote d'Ivoire fighting against the new
29 forces from government or so and he got into trouble with the

1 people of Cote d'Ivoire. Some people - I don't know exactly what
2 the story was, but he was in Cote d'Ivoire and he was at the
3 border and was trying to cross into Liberia. Not until the
4 people saw the convoy passing and, as I said, it was in Ganta
12:04:02 5 that I was told - that the man called, "Sam Bockarie has just
6 passed here with a large column of military people with arms and
7 ammunition." When I was on my way to my farm, Toweh Town, and
8 stopped by at Cocopa, former superintendent of Nimba, who was the
9 manager on my farm, who usually gave me fuel, gasoline, for my
12:04:34 10 car, it was then that I saw Bockarie himself on the plantation in
11 Harrison Karnwea's house. Harrison tried to explain to me that
12 it was Benjamin who brought the man, but he did not know why he
13 was there. He said it was Benjamin who brought the man and he
14 was lodging here with him until he goes where he was going. He
12:04:58 15 would be with him. So that day I went to my farm. That was the
16 very first day to meet him. It was on that day that I went to my
17 farm and came back. I never stopped and went on to Monrovia. I
18 went on to Monrovia.

19 Q. Yes, what I am trying to focus on at this point, former
12:05:18 20 President, is this: Was there a time prior to all of that when
21 you became aware of Sam Bockarie in Sierra Leone and his
22 activities in Sierra Leone? We will come to the Cote d'Ivoire in
23 a minute. I am trying to pinpoint now any knowledge you might
24 have had of Bockarie's activities with the RUF in Sierra Leone
12:05:49 25 prior to the Cote d'Ivoire. Did you have any knowledge of that?

26 A. Yes, yes.

27 Q. What did you know about him in terms of Sierra Leone?

28 A. Let's forget about Sierra Leone too, because Sam Bockarie I
29 told you was in Monrovia. I met him in Benjamin Yeaten's house

1 and he was riding in his Nissan patrol jeep. I knew who
2 Sam Bockarie was, his position in Sierra Leone with the RUF.

3 PRESIDING JUDGE: Mr Witness, you can't really say, "Let's
4 forget about it", you have to answer the question. The question
12:06:24 5 was: What did you know about him, being Sam Bockarie, in terms
6 of Sierra Leone? You understand that question?

7 THE WITNESS: I am sorry. I am sorry, your Honour. I knew
8 about him being a rebel leader in Sierra Leone.

9 MR GRIFFITHS:

12:06:40 10 Q. And doing what in Sierra Leone?

11 A. When you are a rebel you will be fighting to overthrow your
12 government. He was there fighting.

13 Q. And whilst he was there fighting in Sierra Leone, did you
14 have any contact with him?

12:06:58 15 A. No, no, I had no contact with Sam Bockarie, no.

16 Q. During that period when he was fighting in Sierra Leone,
17 did you know of any contact between Monrovia and Sam Bockarie?

18 A. No, not to my knowledge.

19 Q. Specifically, when he was fighting in Sierra Leone did you
12:07:26 20 know of any contact between Charles Taylor and Sam Bockarie?

21 A. I wouldn't know.

22 Q. In any event, you first encounter him in Monrovia in
23 company with Benjamin Yeaten, is that right?

24 A. Yes.

12:07:53 25 Q. And if I understand what you told us last week correctly,
26 you were first driving down Tubman Boulevard and saw him but did
27 not speak to him and then you met him at Benjamin Yeaten's
28 address, is that right?

29 A. Yes, you are correct.

1 Q. And the next time you saw him was when he entered with a
2 large convoy of armed men, is that right?

3 A. You are correct, in Cocopa. You are correct.

4 Q. That is the sequence of events. We have got it now.

12:08:35 5 A. Yes, you are correct.

6 Q. Now, now that we have established that chronology, when
7 Bockarie arrived in - no, let me start earlier. Bockarie had
8 been fighting with rebel forces in the Cote d'Ivoire just prior
9 to that, hadn't he, is that right?

12:09:08 10 A. Yes, I knew he was in the Cote d'Ivoire fighting. We heard
11 the news, we heard rumours. Cote d'Ivoire is not far away from
12 Liberia, so I should know some of the things that were happening
13 there. People coming from markets and other places gave news
14 whom they saw and what was happening, yes.

12:09:28 15 Q. And, furthermore, a lot of that fighting in Cote d'Ivoire
16 was occurring just across the border from where you originate in
17 Nimba County. That's right, isn't it?

18 A. You are correct.

19 Q. Now Bockarie was alleged to have killed a rebel leader
12:09:46 20 called Doe in the Cote d'Ivoire?

21 A. You are correct.

22 Q. As a consequence of that, he was being chased by Ivorian
23 rebels who wanted to kill him and so he fled with his forces into
24 Liberia. That is right, isn't it?

12:10:06 25 A. You are correct.

26 Q. Now the force that he entered Liberia with was a very large
27 force, wasn't it?

28 A. You are correct.

29 Q. And they were heavily armed?

1 A. You are correct.

2 Q. And it was of major concern to the Liberian government that
3 in effect this foreign force led by a foreigner had entered on to
4 Liberian territory. It created a security issue, didn't it?

12:10:42 5 A. You are correct.

6 Q. As a consequence of that, as you told us last Thursday,
7 President Taylor was consulting with his ministers as to what to
8 do about this problem. That's right, isn't it?

9 A. You are correct.

12:11:01 10 Q. And one of the persons he consulted was you?

11 A. You are correct.

12 Q. Your suggestion was that Bockarie ought to be arrested and
13 expelled from the country?

14 A. You are correct.

12:11:18 15 Q. Because it just wouldn't do to have such a large, heavily
16 armed foreign force on Liberian territory. That's right, isn't
17 it?

18 A. You are correct.

19 Q. Now the concern was that any attempt to force Bockarie's
12:11:46 20 small army out of the country might result in bloodshed. That
21 was a major concern, wasn't it?

22 A. Well, he was in our territory, in Liberian territory, and
23 he could be controlled at any time, because his forces that he
24 had were not greater than the Liberian army, so that was
12:12:12 25 something that could be controlled.

26 Q. Now it was decided, was it not, that he was to be arrested
27 at all costs including, if necessary, the use of force?

28 A. I was not part of this decision that was made in that
29 direction you just mentioned. I didn't know it has been decided

1 that he should be arrested. That I don't know of.

2 Q. Former President, are you honestly telling us that you were
3 unaware that a decision was made to arrest Bockarie?

4 A. I was not in that conversation.

12:13:06 5 Q. Tell me. The plantation at which you say you saw Bockarie
6 with that large convoy of vehicles which were parked up - do you
7 remember the occasion?

8 A. The occasion was that when he was entering - he had
9 entered. When he entered he alone was in Cocopa and the convoy
12:13:32 10 and the fighting men with their wives moved on to Saclepea and
11 went to a little town at the back of Saclepea in Karwean. They
12 were based in an old school building. That was where they were
13 and Bockarie was also in Cocopa with only a few bodyguards living
14 in Harrison Karnwea's house.

12:14:07 15 Q. Help me, please, with this: Those locations you have just
16 mentioned, are they in Nimba County?

17 A. Yes, they are.

18 Q. That means they are in your home county, yes?

19 A. Yes, you are correct.

12:14:26 20 JUDGE SEBUTINDE: Mr Griffiths, we really need a spelling.
21 I know we have Saclepea, but there is another place, Karwean or
22 somewhere that he mentioned.

23 THE WITNESS: Yes, Karwean.

24 JUDGE SEBUTINDE: Which is spelt like the name of Harrison,
12:14:39 25 the other name?

26 MR GRIFFITHS:

27 Q. How do you spell Karwean, please?

28 A. It is K-A-R-W-E-A-N. Karwean.

29 JUDGE SEBUTINDE: And what is the surname of Harrison?

1 THE WITNESS: Karnwea. Harrison Karnwea.

2 MR GRIFFITHS:

3 Q. And how do you spell that, please?

4 A. K-A-R-N-W-E-A.

12:15:17 5 Q. Okay. So the situation was Bockarie and his forces are
6 located in your home county. That's right, isn't it?

7 A. Yes. At separate locations, yes.

8 Q. Now were you not at that time assigned to Nimba County to
9 ensure that MODEL did not progress in Nimba County beyond Tapita?

12:15:58 10 A. No, I had returned to Monrovia at the time. I was only
11 visiting that area.

12 Q. Was there an occasion when you were assigned to Nimba
13 County to arrest the advance of MODEL who had captured Tapita
14 where your house was located?

12:16:23 15 A. I was not assigned. I was concerned to go to Nimba because
16 the war was approaching my home town and there was a lot of
17 killing and fighting in my area. That was when I went to my home
18 town, Monrovia - I mean Tapita, where my house was located.

19 Q. Right. There was an occasion, was there not, when because
12:16:49 20 of MODEL's advances you went to Nimba County because Tapita, your
21 home town, had been captured by MODEL, is that right?

22 A. Yes, I went there for the safety of my people, for me to
23 take them to safety. I had gone to Tapita to bring the - my
24 relatives and other friends of mine that were living there.

12:17:18 25 Q. And am I right that this was occurring at or about the same
26 time that Sam Bockarie was in Nimba County?

27 A. No, it was a little bit before. It was a little bit before
28 the war got serious in Nimba County. When Sam Bockarie arrived,
29 the news of the war was approaching Nimba County, especially

1 Ganta. The LURD was still in Guinea, finding their way to attack
2 Ganta.

3 Q. But we are talking about a matter of weeks separating the
4 two events, aren't we?

12:18:09 5 A. Yes, it was during a very short period of time.

6 Q. Because what I am suggesting to you is this: That rather
7 than you voluntarily going to Nimba County, you had been assigned
8 to Nimba County to deal with a specific situation. That's the
9 truth, isn't it?

12:18:34 10 A. No, when you say the word "assigned", as Vice-President of
11 Liberia I don't know what you are talking about when you say,
12 "assigned".

13 Q. Let me develop it a little further then.

14 A. Yes.

12:18:49 15 Q. As inspector general you would not be involved in actual
16 combat operations, would you?

17 A. No.

18 Q. One of your duties and responsibilities, though, would be
19 to assess the situation on the ground and report back to the
20 President, or the leader. That's right, isn't it?

12:19:09 21 A. Yes.

22 Q. So, for example, a commander might make the statement that
23 a particular area was clear of rebels and it would be your job to
24 go to that area, assess the situation and decide whether or not
25 the commander was indeed telling the truth. Would that be fair?
26 That would be one of your responsibilities?

12:19:29 27 A. Well, that was done occasionally, because we are talking
28 two things here. You said inspector general. The period we are
29 talking about right now is the period of being a Vice-President

1 of a country. Then you going into combat, that is what I can't
2 understand for a Vice-President of a country to go to war, to
3 supervise the war, so I don't know. I cannot get the statement -
4 the connection in the statement.

12:20:15 5 Q. At the time that we are talking about you were a major
6 general, weren't you?

7 A. I was major general in the defunct NPFL and Vice-President
8 of Liberia.

9 Q. Yes. You were a lieutenant general at the time, weren't
12:20:46 10 you? Sorry, my fault.

11 A. Yes, lieutenant general and Vice-President of Liberia.

12 Q. And in the capacity of lieutenant general you were
13 instructed to go to Nimba, were you not, and secure the peaceful
14 surrender or forced arrest of Bockarie? That is right, isn't it?

12:21:12 15 A. No, no, no, no, no, never.

16 Q. Let's pause for a minute then and see if you can help me
17 with another aspect of the Sam Bockarie story.

18 A. Yes.

19 Q. Do you recall now that Sam Bockarie initially left Sierra
12:21:40 20 Leone in December 1999 and stayed in Liberia until about 2001?

21 A. Yes.

22 Q. And then he left Liberia and went to Burkina Faso for
23 another year or so. Do you remember that?

24 A. You are correct.

12:22:02 25 Q. It was following his sojourn in Burkina Faso that he then
26 fought in the Ivorian civil war up to about April or May 2003.
27 That's right, isn't it?

28 A. You are correct.

29 Q. And it's then in about April or May of 2003, coincidentally

1 with incursions from MODEL from the Ivory Coast, that he entered
2 Liberia from the Cote d'Ivoire. That is right, isn't it?

3 A. You are correct.

12:22:46

4 Q. So the incidents we are talking about now are occurring
5 round about May 2003. That's right, isn't it?

6 A. You are correct.

7 Q. And this is the period when Bockarie is killed. It is
8 round about this time, isn't it? We will come to the exact date
9 in a moment, but have I got the chronology of events correct?

12:23:09

10 A. You are correct.

11 Q. Thank you.

12 A. You are correct.

13 Q. Now what I'm suggesting, you see, former President, is that
14 you were instructed to go and secure the surrender of Bockarie

12:23:36

15 and that you thereafter reported that he had died in a fire fight
16 with several Liberian government forces. Isn't that the truth?

17 A. I disagree with you. I disagree. That was not the case.

18 Q. Because if I understand the account you gave us last week,
19 you were given an account of Bockarie's death by Benjamin Yeaten?

12:24:15

20 A. Yes.

21 Q. You did not have first-hand knowledge of how he had died
22 from what you told us last week, is that right?

23 A. You are correct.

24 Q. And amongst the matters you told us last week was this:

12:24:33

25 You told us that you had heard third-hand, via a bodyguard to
26 Yeaten, who told your bodyguard, who in turn told you that
27 Bockarie had been strangled, is that right?

28 A. That is the ending of the statement. We have to go back to
29 what I said. You are talking about the ending of my statement.

1 Something has to happen first before he was strangled.

2 Q. Well, let's just take matters in stages then. The account
3 you gave us last week was along these lines: Late one night
4 whilst you were at your address --

12:25:24 5 A. Good.

6 Q. -- word came that a large convoy was heading towards your
7 address, yes?

8 A. You are correct.

9 Q. In due course Benjamin Yeaten arrived accompanied by
12:25:37 10 Sam Bockarie, is that right?

11 A. Yes, you are correct. A group of soldiers with him.

12 Q. Also within the party was Yeaten's wife and Bockarie's wife
13 and a third unidentified woman who was tall in stature.

14 A. You are correct.

12:26:02 15 Q. Having fed and watered them with your whisky, they left.

16 A. You are correct.

17 Q. Later that same night word came to you of heavy fighting on
18 the border, is that right?

19 A. No, no, it was on that night when a bodyguard of Benjamin
12:26:37 20 Yeaten came and met my bodyguard on guard that night that there

21 was a mission. We went on the mission and the mission failed and
22 my bodyguard asked what the mission was and he said, "Are you a

23 small boy? Are you not a soldier? We went on a mission and the
24 mission failed and we don't know, but the situation will not be

12:27:00 25 good." So when the bodyguard came I was sleeping already. He

26 knocked at my door. When I came out he said, "Look, there is
27 something going on at the border." This boy who told me this

28 thing didn't tell me in detail. He said it was not good that we
29 stayed in this town, so I went and put on my clothes and we took

1 off for Monrovi a.

2 Q. And you took off for Monrovi a because there was a concern

3 --

4 A. Yes.

12:27:33 5 Q. -- that the fighting occurring on the border might reach
6 your address and for your own safety you decided to head to
7 Monrovi a?

8 A. You are correct.

9 Q. And just so that we complete the chronology, thereafter, en
12:27:49 10 route to Monrovi a, you encounter Benjami n Yeaten, is that right?

11 A. Yes, in a saw mill camp where he was based.

12 Q. At that location Yeaten tells you to go and look in the
13 back of a pick-up, am I right?

14 A. You are correct.

12:28:16 15 Q. You, with one of your bodyguards, go and look in the
16 pick-up and you see the body of Sam Bockarie laid on his back
17 wearing the same combat uni form you had seen him wearing on the
18 previous night, am I right?

19 A. You are correct.

12:28:42 20 Q. Lying beside Bockarie's prostrate body was another body,
21 that of one of Bockarie's guards who had been beheaded.

22 A. You are correct.

23 Q. Does it follow from what I have said that you were able to
24 view Bockarie's body at close range?

12:29:00 25 A. You are correct.

26 Q. Help me, please: What injuries did you note to his body?

27 A. I did not turn the body around, but I did not see bullet
28 marks on his front. He was lying on his back. I did not see
29 bullet wounds all over his body. I didn't have the time to

1 inspect the body, because I was quite astonished because
2 Sam Bockarie had passed my location when I heard this. I was not
3 informed of this kind of thing that was going to happen and when
4 I asked Benjamin, after seeing the body, that is the question
12:30:00 5 then I asked Benjamin, "What happened?", and he said, "The ideas
6 you were bringing is not good, that we should turn Sam Bockarie
7 over to the Government of Sierra Leone. He would expose the
8 government. So the best thing was what we did." I was not
9 happy, because it was not my plan, I was not in the plan. When
12:30:22 10 such a big thing happens I should know, I should be informed, so
11 I decided to leave immediately.

12 Q. I am sorry to interrupt you, former President, but I
13 understand that account and my question was limited in nature.

14 A. Yes. Can you give it?

12:30:42 15 Q. My question was simply this: On that occasion when you
16 first saw the body of Sam Bockarie, you did not notice any
17 injuries to the body?

18 A. No, from the front, from his face. I did not turn the body
19 around to see whether there was any shooting, to see if there
12:31:03 20 were any bullet wounds on his body.

21 Q. Indeed, what you told us was this and this was what you
22 told us last week, Thursday: That in due course you were
23 informed that Bockarie had been "choked to death". That was your
24 words. That is page 9992 of the transcript, and again at 9994 of
12:31:33 25 the transcript, "In this fighting that killed Sam Bockarie,
26 because he was grabbed and choked to death at the time." Do you
27 remember telling us that? Do you remember telling us that last
28 Thursday?

29 A. When you jump into the middle of the question that - I was

1 not there when he was choked. The only thing I saw was
2 Sam Bockarie, his corpse was in the car and Benjamin told me the
3 idea I had about arresting Bockarie and turning him over to the
4 Government of Sierra Leone wasn't the right idea. That was what
12:32:13 5 I knew of, but I was not present when the killing took place. I
6 wouldn't know whether he was shot. The announcement you are
7 talking about was a Liberian government announcement.

8 Q. What I am asking you about, former President, is the
9 evidence you gave us last week.

12:32:36 10 A. Yes.

11 Q. Do you recall telling us last week that the information you
12 received as to the cause of death was that he had been strangled?
13 Do you remember telling us that last week?

14 A. Yes, that was the information I got.

12:32:53 15 Q. So as far as you were aware, Bockarie had been strangled to
16 death. That was the information you had.

17 A. That is the information. Bockarie had been killed and I
18 saw the body and I tried to enquire how and that was the
19 explanation I got from Benjamin Yeaten, that the idea I was
12:33:17 20 trying to introduce was not good, we cannot send this man to
21 Freetown, we will be in trouble likewise and this was the only
22 way we can present this matter.

23 Q. Can you help me, please, with this. I would like the
24 witness, please, to be shown the Defence bundle behind divider 3.

12:33:54 25 As that is being put up on the screen, were you aware that a post
26 mortem was conducted on Bockarie's body, an autopsy was conducted
27 on Bockarie's body? Were you aware of that?

28 A. No.

29 Q. Let me ask you the question again. Were you aware that an

1 autopsy was conducted on Bockarie's body?

12:34:32 2 MR RAPP: Excuse me, your Honour, just by way of
3 clarification, the particular exhibit indicates autopsy number 1
4 on the alleged body of Special Court indictee. It does not
5 identify the body.

6 MR GRIFFITHS: Well, let's see what the document says:

7 Q. Let's turn to page 2 of that document, please. My learned
8 friend is absolutely right, "Autopsy on the alleged body of a
9 Special Court indictee, date 2 June 2003, deceased's name Samuel
12:35:24 10 Bockarie, alias Mosquito", and then various other details are
11 given. Can we put up the next page, please, "Present at the post
12 mortem: Dr Anthony Quaye, chief government pathologist in
13 Liberia. Also present: Mr Tariq Malik, chief evidence unit,
14 Office of the Prosecutor, Special Court; Mr Wayne Bastin,
12:35:56 15 criminal analyst, Office of the Prosecutor, Special Court; Maxine
16 Marcus, investigator, Office of the Prosecutor, Special Court."

17 Were you aware of this post mortem conducted in the
18 presence of three officers attached to the Office of the
19 Prosecution in this Special Court of Sierra Leone?

12:36:27 20 A. I said no. I am just seeing this document here in this
21 court.

22 Q. Turn over to the next page, please, "Findings, history:
23 Allegedly involved in a gun battle and was shot dead along with
24 three bodyguards on the morning of the 6 May 2003. This
12:36:49 25 information was not and has still not been substantiated." Yes?

26 A. You are correct.

27 Q. Then if we move quickly then to page 11, please, and we see
28 at the top of that page, "Neck musculature: No evidence of
29 bruising." Do you see that?

1 A. I have seen it. I have seen the writing.

2 Q. And then when we go on to page 13, please, "Diaphragm:
3 There were two bullet holes each measuring 3 centimetres in
4 diameter." Do you see that?

12:38:15 5 A. I have seen it.

6 Q. And then when we go on finally to the commentary, which
7 begins on page 16:

8 "The history indicates that this solidly built and
9 well-nourished, muscularly fit male subject suddenly died on the
10 morning of 6 May 2003 following gun shot wounds he received on
11 that fatal day. At autopsy this young man had no evidence of a
12 pre-existing disease process or injury to cause or accelerate his
13 death, or cause him to suddenly and unexpectedly collapse on the
14 morning of 6 May 2003.

12:39:05 15 External examination revealed a total of five entrance
16 wounds and four exit wounds. The four entrance wounds were
17 located on the left side of the chest wall. Three of the exit
18 wounds were located on the back. The fourth exit wound was
19 located on the right abdominal flank anterolaterally. These
12:39:31 20 wounds have already been described. The fifth entrance wound was
21 located on the anterior aspect of the right pelvis, but no exit
22 wound was identified?"

23 Pause there. What that suggests is this: Four bullets had
24 entered his chest from the front and one had entered his pelvis
12:39:57 25 equally from the front. Now the point I ask is this: The body
26 you saw laying on its back in the back of that pick-up, did you
27 notice any bullet wounds to the chest of that individual?

28 A. I did not. I told you my concern was that this man was
29 killed. It was very, very surprising to see a man who had passed

1 through the previous evening to see his body in a car. I was a
2 little bit - I was a little bit concerned and I didn't check the
3 body, I didn't turn it, I never touched the body, I was a little
4 bit at a distance from the body and I decided to come and take

12:40:47 5 I leave of Benjamin to come to Monrovia. I did not check the body.

6 Q. Help me, former President. You as a military man --

7 A. Yes.

8 Q. -- would recognise gunshot wounds, wouldn't you?

9 A. Yes.

12:41:06 10 Q. Help me, please. How could you have missed gunshot wounds
11 to the chest?

12 A. That's what I'm saying. I was a little bit astonished. I
13 didn't look at the body. I didn't inspect the body. I didn't
14 take the clothes off to see where the bullet passed, what

12:41:25 15 position he was shot at. These are things I did not check.

16 My concern at the moment when this man was killed, because
17 he was lying on his back as a dead - as a corpse - so to come
18 down and start investigation in the bush when hundreds of armed
19 men were everywhere, I did not think it was proper.

12:41:46 20 Q. But, as you have told us, he was wearing the same uniform
21 you had seen him wearing the night before?

22 A. Exactly so. Exactly so.

23 Q. So help me, please. How would you have missed the bullet
24 wounds to that uniform?

12:42:04 25 A. Well, I didn't see that wound you are mentioning. I saw
26 the man with the same vest. He was not in full military uniform.
27 He had on a military vest. The vest like it was, like I saw it
28 that night, I did not see the vest off his body. The vest was in
29 the same way that I saw the previous night. That was what I

1 could recognise. That's what I'm talking about.

2 Q. And you still maintain, do you, that you had nothing to do
3 with the transport of Bockarie's body back to Monrovia?

4 A. I told you I took off - when I saw this body I came to the
12:42:45 5 car and took off immediately and the body of this Bockarie came
6 and passed me by. Let me tell you one thing. I told you again
7 to how we discovered this body. The car had left my village in
8 the night. When I saw this convey of soldiers only that morning
9 we hid my car in the bush, because we didn't know what was
12:43:11 10 happening. We were so confused and for my safety the security
11 guards said in a town called Flumpa that I should go in the bush
12 when the cars were passing. We did not know the intention of
13 those who were passing by. It was only that morning that we
14 discovered in the Saw Mill Camp when my car was pulled over by
12:43:33 15 Benjamin's bodyguards - we went into the camp where the pick-up
16 was parked with this body inside.

17 So, I mean, if I am concerned with the body, I will be the
18 one to escort the body from where he was killed and brought to
19 the Saw Mill Camp and when I saw the body I was a little bit
12:43:53 20 disturbed and I left and the pick-up followed. I saw the
21 pick-up. The pick-up followed up. I passed the pick-up by and
22 they passed me. I followed, I passed the pick-up and they passed
23 me by, because I was running to town to find out from the
24 President whether he had given any instruction to the President -
12:44:09 25 sorry, to Benjamin Yeaten for Sam Bockarie to be killed. And
26 what he told me, as I said in my report, in my testimony, was
27 that this was not the Vice-President thing. It was a military
28 business and I will only expect the military people to come and
29 tell me what happened.

1 Q. Does the name Lawrence Wamah mean anything to you, spelt
2 W-A-M-A-H?

3 A. Lawrence Wamah?

4 Q. He had the nom de guerre Bon-Go-Ray, B-O-N hyphen G-O
12:44:52 5 hyphen R-A-Y.

6 A. Yes, yes, I remember Bon-Go-Ray.

7 Q. He was an SSS personnel, wasn't he?

8 A. No.

9 Q. Was he your personal bodyguard?

12:45:12 10 A. Whose personal bodyguard? Me? No, I never --

11 Q. Was he your special bodyguard then?

12 A. No, I never had Bon-Go-Ray with me fighting with me.

13 Never. From the beginning of the NPFL up to now the bodyguard I

14 had with me, they are still with me. Some died in the process of

12:45:33 15 the war, but I have not - I have not owned any bodyguard or

16 assigned with me called Bon-Go-Ray.

17 Q. Does the name Jusu Momo mean anything to you, J-U-S-U
18 M-O-M-O?

19 A. No.

12:45:53 20 Q. Are you sure?

21 A. I am 100 per cent sure.

22 MR GRIFFITHS: Could the witness be shown, please, the
23 document behind divider 4:

24 Q. Let me read this document to you slowly so that the full
12:46:16 25 import of it can be understood:

26 "I, the undersigned, Jusu Momo, being duly sworn depose and
27 state as follows, to wit:

28 1. That during the early part of the year 2003, I was in
29 charge of the Samuel A Striker Funeral Services located on Tubman

1 Boulevard, Sinkor, Monrovia, Liberia because the
2 proprietor/executive officer, Mr Samuel A Striker II had
3 travelled out of the country.

12:46:59 4 2. That during the period referred to above, one Mr Eugene
5 Nagbe, then chief of office staff for then Vice-President Moses
6 Blah, at about 4:30 p.m. brought three dead bodies in a pick-up
7 truck belonging to Vice-President Moses Blah, and deposited the
8 same at the Samuel A Striker Funeral Services with the
9 instruction from the said Vice-President Blah that no-one should
12:47:23 10 take photography of them.

11 3. That the bodies with were identified as Sam Bockarie,
12 and two other men.

13 4. That although no-one was allowed to take photograph of
14 the bodies, the ambassador of Sierra Leone, His Excellency
12:47:40 15 Patrick Foyah, was allowed, and did take photographs of the
16 bodies.

17 5. That the above information is true and correct to the
18 best of my knowledge and belief.

19 Done in the city of Monrovia, county of Montserrado,
12:47:57 20 Republic of Liberia this 14th day of May, AD 2008."

21 Pausing there, do you know the Samuel A Striker Funeral
22 Services on Tubman Boulevard?

23 A. Yes, I know Samuel Striker Funeral Services.

24 Q. Now that you have been reminded of these details, does the
12:48:16 25 name Jusu Momo mean anything to you?

26 A. This is completely false. I am not connected and my chief
27 of office staff could explain better to you. I do not know about
28 giving instructions to carry a body to Striker's home. When I
29 was told that it is a military business I left the whole

1 investigation, because it was military business.

2 PRESIDING JUDGE: Mr Witness, the question was does the
3 name Jusu Momo mean anything to you?

4 THE WITNESS: No, sir.

12:48:51

5 MR GRIFFITHS:

6 Q. Does the name Eugene Nagbe mean anything to you?

7 A. He was my chief of office staff.

8 Q. So that part of this document is correct then, is it?

12:49:07

9 A. No, it is not correct. The statement in the document - the
10 document that I have given instruction to carry the bodies is
11 incorrect.

12 Q. Did you have a chief of staff called Eugene Nagbe; yes or
13 no?

14 A. I agree with you.

12:49:22

15 Q. Did you at that time own a pick-up truck?

16 A. No, I never had a pick-up. I went in my jeeps, Nissan
17 Patrol, two jeeps, one black and one silver.

18 Q. Did you instruct your chief of office staff to take three
19 bodies to that funeral parlour?

12:49:45

20 A. I said no, hundred per cent no.

21 Q. Did you further instruct that no photographs be taken of
22 the body?

23 A. I said no. I had no concern with the body afterwards.

24 Q. Did you at or about that time have cause to speak to the
25 ambassador of Sierra Leone, Patrick Foyah?

12:50:07

26 A. No, no. At no time - the problem with the body had nothing
27 to do with me. I have not called the Sierra Leonean ambassador,
28 no.

29 Q. Did you know of the Sierra Leonean ambassador, Patrick

1 Foyah?

2 A. Come in again.

3 Q. Did you know of him?

4 A. If I know him?

12:50:33 5 Q. Yes.

6 A. Yes, I know him. He is in Monrovia as an ambassador of
7 Sierra Leone.

8 Q. Help me. Can you provide us with a credible reason why
9 this Jusu Momo would want to lie about you?

12:50:53 10 A. This is a blinking lie. I don't know who Jusu Momo is.
11 People who are connected with me will tell you that we do not
12 know who Jusu Momo is. I don't know. I don't have to lie. I am
13 not a liar. I agree with you that Eugene Nagbe has worked with
14 me as my office staff, my chief of office staff. But Jusu Momo
12:51:17 15 no, hundred per cent no.

16 I don't know about this document. I told you again and I
17 repeat when I came out of Nimba and when I asked the President
18 that Benjamin Yeaten brought a body in Saw Mill Camp which was
19 Sam Bockarie's he said, "This was a military business. You don't
12:51:37 20 talk about it. This is not any of your business". That was when
21 I stopped to talk about this body until I am seeing this document
22 here today. No Jusu Momo had been connected with me. No way.
23 No way. No way. Jusu Momo does not know me as Moses Blah. He
24 must know me to be President and Vice-President of Liberia, but
12:52:00 25 to see me as Moses Blah, no, hundred per cent no.

26 Q. Let me try my question again. Given what you tell us that
27 this Jusu Momo is not somebody you know, can you help as to why
28 such a man would, to quote you, have a motive to tell a blinking
29 lie about you? Can you help us with that?

1 A. Maybe they wanted something to be presented here. I don't
2 know what - why they didn't bring a defence minister to present a
3 body who was killed in war or conflict with soldiers, according
4 to them. It would have to be the Vice-President. I mean this -
12:52:47 5 you cannot connect this as a human being, as an educated person
6 to say that the Vice-President was involved and they had given
7 instruction. Why not the defence minister?

8 Q. Help me --

9 A. Yes.

12:53:02 10 Q. And I just want to understand what your case is on this,
11 you see? Does your account regarding this document amount to
12 this: That it is completely false and this Jusu Momo has quite
13 deliberately and wickedly fabricated this account about you? Is
14 that your case?

12:53:24 15 A. I must admit this document is false, has been falsely
16 prepared. This document has nothing to do with me. I have not
17 instructed my office staff to take a body to a funeral home and I
18 do not know anything. I do not know anything about this body. I
19 am just seeing this document in this Court.

12:53:47 20 Q. Now you note from the bottom of the document, don't you,
21 that it was sworn before witnesses in Monrovia?

22 A. Yes, that doesn't mean anything to me. [Indiscernible]
23 going to the notary public does not mean anything to me.

24 Q. You appreciate that when a document such as this is sworn
12:54:10 25 it is sworn on the holy book, is it not? You appreciate that,
26 don't you?

27 A. Some people swear on the Bible, they are not Christians.
28 They do not even respect what they are swearing on. Not me,
29 because I am Christian. I am not a liar.

1 Q. Your case is - and I am anxious you see to be clear what
2 your case is - that this man has quite deliberately and wickedly
3 chosen to swear this lie about you.

4 A. This is a blinking lie and it has to be proven beyond all
12:54:50 5 reasonable doubts that this man has lied. This is a wicked lie.
6 I should put it rightly.

7 Q. You see, former President, what I suggest to you is very
8 simple. I suggest that you were much more intimately involved
9 with the situation regarding Sam Bockarie than you have made out.

12:55:17 10 A. No.

11 Q. That is the real truth, isn't it?

12 A. No.

13 Q. Before I move on though, can you help me with something
14 that I mentioned to you right at the outset. Can we please go
12:55:35 15 behind divider 1 and can we look at page 4 of that document,
16 please. Have we got it? I wonder if we could move it down a
17 little bit to highlight the sentence at the bottom. Now, this is
18 a report of an interview conducted with you by Star Radio.

19 A. Yes.

12:56:29 20 Q. We see the last two lines, "Mr Blah said he could not
21 actually say who killed Bockarie but was sure he saw the Sierra
22 Leonean rebel leader in the company of Yeaten before his death."
23 Is that the truth?

24 A. You are correct. You are correct.

12:56:51 25 Q. Does it follow from that then that you haven't got a clue
26 who killed Sam Bockarie?

27 A. Sam Bockarie's body was in a pick-up and it was shown to me
28 by Benjamin Yeaten and previously Sam Bockarie --

29 JUDGE SEBUTINDE: Mr Witness, before you continue, please

1 answer the question. Is it true that you haven't got a clue, an
2 idea, as to who exactly killed Sam Bockarie?

3 THE WITNESS: Your Honour, sir, no.

4 MR GRIFFITHS:

12:57:22 5 Q. And equally does it follow that you haven't got a clue why
6 Sam Bockarie was killed?

7 A. That I wouldn't say. I don't know.

8 Q. Let's move on to another topic, please. Last Wednesday,
9 during the course of your testimony, when you were being asked
10 questions by my learned friend opposite - this is page 9874 of
11 the transcript, your Honours. This was just before 3 o'clock in
12 the afternoon last Wednesday. This exchange took place:

13 "Q. And were elections ever organised?

14 A. Yes, the election was organised later. Later there was
12:58:42 15 an election and at this time everybody took part and they
16 saw it and President Taylor won in 1997.

17 Q. Before we go up to that date, during the time that this
18 seven member government was in effect did you ever travel
19 anywhere with Taylor during that time?

12:59:03 20 A. Yes, I travelled at one time to Togo and when I went to
21 Togo there was a little bit of confusion again from the RUF
22 and we had to go to Togo and Foday Sankoh was there. The
23 President of Togo was there. The President of Togo was
24 there and intervened to bring peace to that country and
12:59:26 25 they wanted President Taylor to be there and he was there
26 also to take part in that committee."

27 Then my learned friend said, "Let's not talk about that."

28 Well, I would like to talk about that. Did you go to Togo for
29 peace talks?

1 A. Yes.

2 Q. In order to bring about peace in which country?

3 A. To bring peace in Sierra Leone.

4 Q. And I certainly want to talk to you about that and

13:00:03 5 President Taylor's involvement. Why had President Taylor gone
6 with you to Togo?

7 A. You have to put the question right to me. When you say
8 gone with me --

9 Q. Why had you gone with President Taylor to Togo?

13:00:23 10 A. You are correct now. To bring peace to the neighbouring
11 country of Sierra Leone.

12 Q. And what did those peace talks actually involve?

13 A. When you say "involve", in terms of what?

14 Q. Let's take it in stages. Firstly, who had organised those
13:00:45 15 peace talks in Togo?

16 A. It was the Togolese President, Eyadema.

17 Q. And at that time what was the situation in neighbouring
18 Sierra Leone?

19 A. There was confusion. I did not know in details what the
13:01:09 20 confusion was, but I was instructed by my President that we
21 should go to Sierra Leone to settle peace between two or three
22 forces in Sierra Leone that were in the confusion. So that was
23 how we went.

24 Q. And President Taylor was one of the moving forces behind
13:01:29 25 those peace talks, wasn't he?

26 A. Yes.

27 Q. Do you recall now that this was in 1999?

28 A. I cannot remember the date.

29 Q. In any event, do you recall a time when President Taylor

1 was asked to become a member of the Committee of Four in Sierra
2 Leone in 1998?

3 A. I remember that.

4 Q. What was the Committee of Four?

13:02:15 5 A. To bring peace to the neighbouring country. That is to my
6 knowledge.

7 Q. Who were the other three?

8 A. In the Mano River basin there was Liberia, Sierra Leone and
9 Guinea.

13:02:33 10 Q. It is right, is it not, that former President Taylor was
11 asked by his colleagues in ECOWAS to personally take charge of
12 the Sierra Leonean situation and try and bring peace to that
13 country?

14 A. That is correct. That is correct.

13:03:00 15 Q. In fact, there was a joke going the rounds at the time,
16 wasn't there, that because Taylor was a former rebel leader he
17 knows how to deal with rebels. Do you remember that joke?

18 A. I remember that.

19 Q. And it is right, is it not, that thereafter Taylor worked
13:03:18 20 in consultation with his colleagues in ECOWAS, the United Nations
21 and other diplomatic representatives in and out of Liberia to
22 bring peace in Sierra Leone, is that right?

23 A. I agree with you on that.

24 Q. It was as part of that process, was it not, that you were
13:03:40 25 sent as President Taylor's special envoy to Sierra Leone. That
26 is right, isn't it?

27 A. Yes, I got the instruction to go to Sierra Leone.

28 Q. And also to Mali, is that right?

29 A. Yes.

1 Q. And various other countries in order to deliver messages
2 and to hold discussions with the leaders of those neighbouring
3 countries about the advancement of peace in Sierra Leone. That
4 is right, isn't it?

13:04:29 5 A. I agree with you 100 per cent.

6 Q. And the Liberian government, through President Taylor,
7 provided diplomatic assistance and other facilities in order to
8 engender that peace process. That is right, isn't it?

9 A. That is not to my knowledge.

13:04:46 10 Q. Do you recall that in order to facilitate that process
11 President Taylor provided a satellite phone to Sam Bockarie to
12 facilitate contact between him and Taylor in Monrovia. Do you
13 remember that?

14 A. Not my knowledge.

13:05:07 15 Q. Do you recall equally that as part of that process he
16 provided air and land transportation for RUF individuals in order
17 to facilitate the peace process?

18 A. Not to my knowledge.

19 Q. You must, of course, remember though the provision of a
13:05:31 20 guesthouse in Monrovia for RUF personnel?

21 A. I remember that.

22 Q. Why was that done?

23 A. I wouldn't know. The intention for which that was done is
24 that she will come from the President who provided those

13:05:55 25 facilities, but I was not consulted by the movement and I did not
26 know anything about that.

27 Q. Help me, please: Was that guesthouse provided during this
28 peace process that President Taylor was advancing? Was it?

29 A. It was during that period.

1 Q. And it was as part of that process, wasn't it?

2 A. Well, I would say no again. It was provided and I saw that
3 it was provided, but I did not know the intention.

4 Q. Do you recall that in December 1998, also as part of this
13:06:48 5 process, President Taylor closed the border with Sierra Leone?

6 A. Yes, I remember.

7 Q. And do you recall that that border remained closed up until
8 2 October 1999 as a measure to put pressure on the RUF to begin
9 discussions that would lead to peace? Do you remember that?

13:07:17 10 A. I remember that.

11 Q. And do you recall that that 2 October date corresponds with
12 the date in 1999 when Foday Sankoh and Johnny Paul Koroma left
13 Monrovia together for Freetown, to join the government of
14 President Kabbah in order to implement the Lome agreement. Do

13:07:47 15 you remember that?

16 A. I remember that.

17 Q. Do you recall that Mrs D Musuleng Cooper, the former
18 Liberian foreign minister, served as President Taylor's envoy to
19 Lome from May 1999 until July 1999 when the Lome Accord was
13:08:10 20 signed? Do you remember that?

21 A. I remember that. D Musuleng Cooper.

22 MR GRIFFITHS: The spelling of that name, your Honours, is
23 "D", as in the letter of the alphabet. Musuleng is
24 M-U-S-U-L-E-N-G.

13:08:27 25 THE WITNESS: L-I-N [sic].

26 MR GRIFFITHS: And Cooper, C-O-O-P-E-R. I am helpfully
27 reminded by my learned friend, Mr Munyard, that her first name is
28 Dorothy.

29 THE WITNESS: "D", yes.

1 MR GRIFFITHS:

2 Q. Now do you further recall that between 5 July 1999 and
3 midnight on 6 July of the same year President Taylor joined his
4 colleagues Obasanjo, Compaore, Kabbah and Eyadema to finalise the
13:09:27 5 Lome agreement as problems had arisen with Foday Sankoh. Do you
6 remember that?

7 A. Yes, I remember that.

8 Q. Because do you recall that Sankoh at the last minute was
9 threatening not to agree with certain points which had been
13:09:40 10 discussed. Do you recall that?

11 A. I remember that.

12 Q. Do you recall that the midnight oil had to be burnt in
13 order to secure his final agreement. Do you recall that?

14 A. Please come again.

13:09:58 15 Q. Do you recall that you had to work through the night in
16 order to secure his final agreement?

17 A. I am thinking. It has been a long time.

18 Q. I will move on, former President, because those fine
19 details at the end of the day don't matter a great deal, okay?
13:10:31 20 But in any event you can confirm, can't you, that in the lead up
21 to that Lome agreement President Taylor had worked extremely hard
22 not only to bring the parties together but to secure peace in
23 Sierra Leone. Do you agree that?

24 A. I agree with that. I agree with you.

13:11:08 25 Q. Now on that same note I want to move on, please, to another
26 topic. Now we were helpfully provided by the Office of the
27 Prosecutor in anticipation of your evidence with a helpful bundle
28 of exhibits. Could I invite your Honours' attention to that
29 bundle of exhibits, please, and I wonder if the witness could be

1 provided with a bundle of those exhibits, okay? Can I invite
2 everyone's attention first of all please behind divider 1. That
3 should be a document bearing the logo of the United Nations
4 headed "Security Council", am I right? And can I invite
13:13:00 5 attention, please, to the page which has the printed number at
6 the top 4206, yes? And I want to particularly bring to your
7 attention, former President, paragraphs 29, 30 and 31 and seek
8 your assistance with them.

9 "There are reports that many of the fighters supporting the
13:13:50 10 former junta in the east are in fact Liberian nationals. The
11 monitoring group of the Economic Community of West African States
12 believes it has identified some of the dead combatants as
13 Liberians after clashes with junta elements and has reportedly
14 captured more than 100 Liberian fighters in the vicinity of
13:14:14 15 Kailahun and in Kono District.

16 On 5 May 1998, President Taylor wrote to me deprecating the
17 'disturbing allegation' that the Government of Liberia was
18 involved in the conflict in Sierra Leone and stressing his
19 commitment to the maintenance of peace in the region. President
13:14:36 20 Taylor informed me that he had proposed to the chairman of ECOWAS
21 that ECOMOG cordon off the border between the two countries, and
22 said he would welcome the concurrence of the United Nations with
23 his suggestion that United Nations monitors be deployed in the
24 border area.

13:14:56 25 On 7 May 1998, the Liberian government issued a policy
26 statement reaffirming that it would not permit its territory to
27 be used to destabilise any neighbouring country and stating that
28 President Taylor had approved the deployment of an ECOMOG
29 observer unit at the border between Liberia and Sierra Leone in

1 Lofa County, Liberia".

2 Pause there. Firstly, in May 1998 you recall now, don't
3 you, that President Taylor was involved in setting up the
4 meetings which eventually led to the Lome agreement? That's
13:15:45 5 right, isn't it?

6 A. You are correct.

7 Q. Do you recall the suggestion made by President Taylor to
8 the then United Nations Secretary-General, Kofi Annan that troops
9 should be deployed along the border between Liberia and Sierra
13:16:07 10 Leone to reassure the world of Liberia's non-involvement in the
11 conflict in Sierra Leone? Do you recall that?

12 A. You are correct.

13 Q. Were you involved in the discussions which led up to that
14 suggestion by President Taylor?

13:16:30 15 A. I am aware of this discussion, but I was not in the meeting
16 and we all welcomed this idea.

17 Q. And can we move on, please, to page 4215. Paragraph 78,
18 please. This is a paragraph taken from a section in this
19 document headed "Proposed action to be taken by the United
13:17:29 20 Nations". Paragraph 78 reads as follows:

21 "The deployment of ECOMOG troops at the border with Liberia
22 could help lay to rest allegations of the influx of arms or the
23 provision of armed assistance to the junta by foreign forces. I
24 commend the Government of Liberia for its policy statement
13:17:52 25 reaffirming that it will not permit its territory to be used to
26 destabilise any neighbouring country."

27 Question: Were you aware of that policy statement, former
28 President?

29 A. Yes.

1 Q. Thank you. Could I now invite everyone's attention,
2 please, behind divider 21. Do you remember this document?
3 Perhaps if the whole document is illuminated so that the witness
4 can see what appears at the bottom of it. Do you remember this?

13:19:01 5 A. I have not seen this document.

6 Q. Well, let's have a look at some of its contents and see if
7 it jogs your memory.

8 A. I think that would be good.

9 Q. If we turn first of all, please, to the second page. You
13:19:25 10 will see it is headed:

11 "Liberia's response to allegations of her involvement in
12 the Sierra Leone civil war and dismisses such accusations as an
13 international conspiracy spearheaded by the United States and
14 Britain in an attempt to internationally isolate, economically
13:19:44 15 destroy and politically destabilise the government of the
16 Republic of Liberia. Presented by the deputy minister of
17 information, J Milton Teahjay, London, United Kingdom, January
18 26, 1999."

19 First of all, did you know of that deputy minister of
13:20:08 20 information?

21 A. Very well.

22 Q. Now do you recall there being a major concern within the
23 ranks of the Liberian government at or about this time in 1999?
24 Note the date; January 1999. Now that would have been the same
13:20:31 25 year that former President Taylor was involved in setting up the
26 Lome agreement which was signed in July of that year, do you
27 remember?

28 A. I agree with you.

29 Q. Now do you recall that at or about the same time there were

1 accusations primarily emanating from the United States and
2 Britain that Liberia was funding the RUF rebels in Sierra Leone?
3 Do you remember that?

4 A. You are correct. I remember.

13:21:05 5 Q. Now this was at a time, was it not, when within Liberia
6 itself Liberian forces were having to contend with the successor
7 to ULIMO, LURD. Do you remember later that same year? Do you
8 remember?

9 A. I agree with you.

13:21:28 10 Q. And do you recall at that time that Liberia was having
11 difficulty arming its own troops? Do you remember?

12 A. I remember.

13 Q. Now it is at that time of shortage and penury in Liberia
14 that it was being suggested by the United States and Britain that
13:21:53 15 Liberia was nonetheless sending arms to neighbouring Sierra
16 Leone. Former President Blah, at that point in your country's
17 history did you in Liberia have the wherewithal to be sending
18 arms to foreign forces? Did you have it?

19 A. No, there were no arms at the time.

13:22:17 20 Q. And it continues:

21 "The government of the Republic of Liberia has, over the
22 past few months, come under intense international pressure
23 largely spearheaded by the governments of the United States and
24 Britain asserting, inter alia, that Liberia is fuelling the
13:22:38 25 Sierra Leonean crisis by supplying arms to the AFRC/RUF rebels
26 fighting to overthrow the government of President Tejan Kabbah.
27 Liberia has also been accused of secretly committing fighting
28 forces on the side of the rebels and has allegedly granted safe
29 haven to some top AFRC/RUF officials in Monrovia.

1 The Liberian government has categorically and repeatedly
2 denied any military involvement in Sierra Leone. Liberia has
3 also rejected and described as ridiculous the notion that she
4 will be involved in attempts to destabilise any of her neighbours
13:23:25 5 including Sierra Leone. The Liberian government has gone beyond
6 mere denials and has proposed numerous options by which the
7 allegations of her involvement could be disproved including,
8 among other things, the constitution of a joint UN/ECOMOG border
9 patrol contingent to monitor troops movement, and the setting up
13:23:53 10 of an international board of inquiry by the United Nations
11 secretary-general to investigate these accusations."

12 Now do you recall those options being suggested to the
13 international community, former President?

14 A. I remember.

13:24:20 15 Q. And you see it continues:

16 "At the core of the onslaught against Liberia by the United
17 States and Britain is the demonstrated failure and unquestionable
18 inability of the two countries to evidentially prove their
19 allegations against Liberia. Despite repeated challenges to
13:24:41 20 authenticate their claims, the British and Americans have only
21 relied on rumours, speculations and a massive disinformation
22 campaign intended to internationally isolate, economically
23 strangulate and diplomatically destroy Liberia and, by so doing,
24 to successfully disintegrate ECOMOG which has earned the success
13:25:07 25 story of an African capacity to solve an African military problem
26 in Liberia, culminating in the ushering in of a broad based
27 democratically elected government headed by Charles Taylor as
28 President."

29 Now, having reminded you of those passages, do you now

1 recall this document?

2 A. Yes, I remember. I remember.

3 Q. What in effect this document was, was a spirited attempt by
4 that small West African country to try and dispel the multitude
13:25:54 5 of rumours built up in the international consciousness by the
6 United States and Britain. That is right, isn't it?

7 A. You are correct in a sense.

8 Q. Because you there in that small country in West Africa were
9 at this time subjected to a massive propaganda campaign by the
13:26:19 10 United States and Britain, weren't you?

11 A. Well, what I mean, I said, is that we were defending
12 ourselves at that time and whether it was a propaganda - because
13 there were rumours coming up that Liberian government was
14 attacking in Sierra Leone and that was the conflict, but of
13:26:43 15 course this was not the case. I wouldn't say Britain and America
16 were on the propaganda against the Liberian government. I will
17 not conclude like that.

18 Q. Can we swiftly move on to behind divider 25, please. You
19 will see that this is a letter dated 10 July 1998 and it is from
13:27:46 20 the permanent representative of Nigeria to the United Nations,
21 addressed to the President of the Security Council. If we move
22 on you will see that attached to that, as an annex, is a joint
23 communiqué of a meeting co-hosted by the chairman of the Economic
24 Community of West African States and the Head of State of the
13:28:18 25 Federal Republic of Nigeria, General Abubakarr, and it was issued
26 on 2 July 1998 at Abuja. Do you see that?

27 A. Yes, I have seen that.

28 Q. Now, you will see that this annex records the following
29 event, that:

1 "On 1 July 1998, at the initiative of the Secretary-General
2 of the United Nations, Mr Kofi Annan, the chairman of the
3 Economic Community of West African States and Head of State of
4 the Federal Republic of Nigeria, General Abubakarr, hosted a
13:29:01 5 meeting between President Ahmad Tejan Kabbah of Sierra Leone and
6 President Charles Ghankay Taylor of Liberia."

7 And it goes on in paragraph 3:

8 "The Heads of State of Sierra Leone and Liberia, in the
9 presence of the chairman of the Economic Community of West
13:29:23 10 African States and the Secretary-General, reached agreement on
11 the following points:

12 (a) They strongly condemned the continued rebel activities
13 in Sierra Leone, as well as the horrendous atrocities that had
14 been committed there;

13:29:42 15 (b) They were determined to co-operate to promote an end
16 to the fighting in Sierra Leone and to foster peace and security
17 in the subregion;

18 (c) They reaffirmed the non-aggression protocol of 1986."

19 And I don't read the rest, but if we go over the page we
13:30:02 20 will see that that is a document signed by Charles Taylor,
21 President of Liberia, the Head of State of the Federal Republic
22 of Nigeria, Ahmad Kabbah and Kofi Annan. Do you recall this
23 document?

24 A. Yes.

13:30:26 25 MR GRIFFITHS: Would that be a convenient point, your
26 Honour?

27 PRESIDING JUDGE: Yes, I was just about to ask you,
28 Mr Griffiths, if that is a convenient point as we are now up to
29 the normal lunch break.

1 Mr Witness, we will now be adjourning for our normal lunch
2 break. We will be resuming court at 2.30.

3 THE WITNESS: Yes, your Honours.

4 PRESIDING JUDGE: Please adjourn court until 2.30.

13:31:03 5 [Lunch break taken at 1.30 p.m.]

6 [Upon resuming at 2.32 p.m.]

7 PRESIDING JUDGE: Please proceed, Mr Griffiths.

8 MR GRIFFITHS: I am grateful, your Honour. May it please
9 your Honours, I wonder if I can seek the assistance of the Court
10 Officer:

14:32:20

11 Q. Before the break, former President, we were looking at a
12 document behind divider 25 signed by the former President of
13 Liberia, Charles Taylor. Do you recall that?

14 A. Yes.

14:32:44

15 Q. You recall that?

16 A. Yes.

17 Q. We spent a little time going through that document.

18 I would like us now, please, to move on and look at a further
19 document in this bundle behind divider 26. This, as the covering
14:33:11 20 letter shows, is a letter dated 5 July 2001 from the Permanent
21 Representative of Liberia to the United Nations addressed to the
22 Secretary-General. If we go over to the next page, annexed to
23 that letter we see this document and I would like us just to go
24 through it quickly, please. You will see midway down the
14:33:42 25 page appears the subheading "Demands stated in paragraph 2(a) and
26 b of resolution 1343", and we see it reads as follows:

27 "Pursuant to its policy of disengagement, the Government of
28 Liberia to date remains completely and totally disengaged with
29 the Revolutionary United Front ... The policy of disengagement

1 was adopted on 12 January 2001 due to misunderstanding of the
2 Government's contacts with both the RUF and other parties to the
3 Sierra Leonean conflict, which contacts were open and publicly
4 maintained under the mandate of the Economic Community of West
14:34:33 5 African States ... and for the sole objective of promoting
6 regional peace and stability.

7 1.1 The Liberian-Sierra Leonean land border has also
8 remained closed since March 2001, and is daily patrolled by
9 security personnel for effective monitoring. The Government is
14:34:54 10 pleased to report that besides the arrest of seven diamond
11 smugglers ... there has been no other material incident reported
12 by our patrols.

13 1.2 The point has to be made that although the closure of
14 the border is not mandated by resolution 1343 ... the Government
14:35:14 15 thought it appropriate as further evidence of its stated policy
16 of disengagement."

17 It goes on to refer to a further suggestion made by the
18 Liberian Government for the United Nations and ECOWAS to patrol
19 the border and then it continues:

14:35:34 20 "1.3 It is hoped that the continued implementation of (a)
21 the policy of disengagement, (b) the closure of the border and
22 (c) the request for international patrol and monitoring of the
23 closed border, as well as the absence of any evidence of the
24 Government's contact with RUF, direct or indirect, should be
14:35:52 25 enough evidence that the Government has severed all links with
26 RUF."

27 When we go over the page we will see in paragraph 1.4 this
28 reference is made:

29 "With respect to the Expulsion Order ... the Government of

1 Liberia acknowledged the concern expressed in your first report
2 in respect of what you referred to as the untidy handling of the
3 expulsion of RUF members, especially Sam Bockarie. However, and
4 notwithstanding the unfounded speculations and rumours that this
14:36:34 5 may have generated, the Government reiterates and reaffirms its
6 earlier statement that Sam Bockarie did indeed leave Liberia and
7 is no longer in the country."

8 If we jump to 1.7, we see there is further reference there
9 to Sam Bockarie:

14:36:56 10 "In this regard, the Government invites the Security
11 Council (a) to investigate in any way possible the rumours and
12 unverified reports ... of Mr Bockarie's continued presence in
13 Liberia, and (b) to request the assistance of Member States in
14 ascertaining the possible presence of Sam Bockarie in their
14:37:16 15 territories."

16 It goes on to then say at paragraph 2 that the Government
17 continues to maintain the ban placed on the importation of
18 uncertified diamonds. Now, can we pause there for a moment. Do
19 you recall that ban on the importation of uncertified diamonds
14:37:37 20 being imposed by the government of Charles Taylor?

21 A. I agree.

22 Q. And do you recall that the other measures referred to in
23 this letter to the Security Council were measures adopted by the
24 Liberian Government under Charles Taylor in order to meet
14:37:58 25 international criticism of what was claimed to be his contact
26 with the RUF? Do you remember this?

27 A. I remember.

28 Q. And the final document in this bundle I want to refer your
29 attention to, please, is behind divider 28. Now again this is a

1 further letter dated 6 January 1999 from the Charge d'Affairs of
2 the permanent mission of Liberia to the United Nations and it is
3 addressed to the President of the Security Council. I think we
4 can deal with this document quite briefly. Go to the second
14:38:55 5 page, please, paragraph 2:

6 "The Government of Liberia wishes to inform the Security
7 Council that it is in no manner or form supporting the Armed
8 Forces Revolutionary Council/Revolutionary United Front forces in
9 Sierra Leone, and that it continues to abide by all existing
14:39:22 10 Security Council resolutions and embargoes. The failure and
11 inability of those parties accusing Liberia to produce any
12 evidence or proof is sufficient grounds to warrant such
13 accusations as not credible and speculative."

14 If we jump to the next paragraph:

14:39:44 15 "It is important to note that while accusing Liberia of
16 supporting the rebels both ECOMOG and the Government of Sierra
17 Leone have also accused white mercenaries and certain senior
18 military officers of the Sierra Leonean army in Freetown."

19 I read no further so far as this document is concerned.
14:40:08 20 Now, help us, please, former President. The documents I have
21 referred you to, do they generally express the mood prevalent in
22 Liberia at the time about the various United Nations resolutions
23 and also the various accusations being made against the
24 government of Charles Taylor? Do they properly reflect the mode
14:40:38 25 within the country at the time?

26 A. Yes.

27 MR GRIFFITHS: Now, your Honours, can I pause for a moment
28 and engage in some housekeeping. The first document that
29 I referred to before lunch behind divider 1, can I ask that that

1 be marked for identification, please. That is the document
2 headed "United Nations Security Council" dated 9 June 1998.

14:41:23 3 PRESIDING JUDGE: That is a 17 page document with the title
4 "United Nations" and the subheading "Security Council 5th report
5 of the Secretary-General in the situation in Sierra Leone." It
6 is marked for identification MFI-31

7 MR GRIFFITHS: The next document, your Honours, is behind
8 divider 21, a document headed "Liberia's response to accusations
9 of her involvement in the Sierra Leone civil war.

14:42:04 10 PRESIDING JUDGE: That is a seven page document entitled
11 "Liberia's response to allegations of her involvement in the
12 Sierra Leone civil war" and it becomes marked for identification
13 MFI-32.

14 MR GRIFFITHS: I am grateful. The next document, your
14:42:22 15 Honour, is behind divider 23.

16 PRESIDING JUDGE: That is a four page document containing a
17 cover sheet headed "United Nations", subheading "Security
18 Council, letter dated 22 March 2001 from the permanent
19 representative of Liberia" and annexed thereto is a four
14:43:07 20 page document, making a total of five pages, and it becomes
21 marked for identification MFI-33.

22 MR GRIFFITHS: I am grateful. The next document, your
23 Honours, is behind divider 25.

24 PRESIDING JUDGE: That is a three page document with a
14:43:41 25 cover sheet headed "United Nations", subheading "Security
26 Council, letter dated 10 July 1998 from the permanent
27 representative of Nigeria to the United Nations" and annexed
28 thereto is a two page report. That is marked for identification
29 MFI-34.

1 MR GRIFFITHS: I am grateful. Then behind divider 26, your
2 Honour.

3 PRESIDING JUDGE: This is a seven page document with a
4 cover sheet headed "United Nations Security Council, letter dated
14:44:42 5 5 July 2001 from the permanent representative of Liberia to the
6 United Nations" and annexed thereto is a report of five pages.
7 It becomes marked for identification MFI-35

8 MR GRIFFITHS: Very well.

9 PRESIDING JUDGE: Please continue, Mr Griffiths.

14:45:50 10 MR GRIFFITHS:

11 Q. Right, I want to move on and deal with another topic now,
12 please. Now we have mentioned these names before, but I would
13 like now to put them - fit them within the chronology of events.

14 In 1999 a rebellion against Charles Taylor's government began in
14:46:23 15 northern Liberia led by a group calling itself Liberians United
16 for Reconciliation and Democracy, more commonly known as LURD.
17 That's right isn't it?

18 A. You are correct.

19 Q. And LURD thereafter were responsible for committing some
14:46:44 20 grave atrocities within Liberia, weren't they?

21 A. You are correct.

22 Q. And it's also right, is it not, that LURD was allied to and
23 controlled by the Guinean government?

24 A. You are correct.

14:47:02 25 Q. I wonder if we can turn, please, to the Defence bundle
26 behind divider 1 at page 20. This is a document, a briefing
27 paper created by Human Rights Watch headed "Weapons sanctions,
28 military supplies, and human suffering." Okay? If we go over
29 the page, please, to page 21 and we see in the introduction these

1 words:

2 "In early November the United Nations Security Council is
3 due to consider a new UN investigative report on violations of
4 the sanctions regime in Liberia, including violations of an arms
14:48:30 5 embargo imposed on all parties in Liberia. The embargo has been
6 a spectacular failure, with terrible consequences for the people
7 of Liberia. Despite the embargo originally imposed in 1992 and
8 given new life in 2001..."

9 Then if we jump to the next paragraph:

14:48:51 10 "The weapons flows have fuelled successive military
11 campaigns including the mid-2003 battle for Liberia's capital.
12 There thousands of civilians were caught up in the crossfire
13 during three separate waves of attacks on the city as the
14 Liberians United for Reconciliation and Democracy rebel group
14:49:20 15 battle forces loyal to then President Charles Taylor."

16 Then it goes on:

17 "Both the rebels and Taylor's forces used the lull in the
18 fighting to try to obtain more weapons from abroad. When LURD
19 received fresh supplies in July via Guinea it renewed the
14:49:39 20 offensive."

21 If we go over the page:

22 "The Government of Guinea, which facilitated the illicit
23 supply of mortar rounds, bears an important measure of
24 responsibility for the atrocities. It has long provided military
14:50:01 25 and logistical support for LURD - despite LURD's documented
26 record of committing violations of international humanitarian law
27 amounting to war crimes and serious human rights abuses. Human
28 Rights Watch's most recent investigation of Guinea-LURD ties and
29 their human cost indicates that the Guinean ministry of defence

1 imported munitions from Iran in mid-2003 and arranged for these
2 to be forwarded to LURD. This resupply via Guinea, LURD sources
3 have confirmed, made possible their final rebel assault on
4 Monrovia."

14:50:49 5 Skip a couple of lines:

6 "Also allegations that Guinean peacekeepers serving in
7 Sierra Leone facilitated illicit weapons flows to LURD earlier in
8 the year and these allegations merit investigation. Through its
9 support for LURD, Guinea has made itself complicit in LURD's
10 atrocities. Guinea, which serves as an elected member of the
11 Security Council in 2002-2003, also has made a mockery of United
12 Nations sanctions and the presumed role of the Security Council
13 in enforcing them. Yet Guinea sits on the Security Council
14 Liberia Sanctions Committee as it evaluates the future of the
15 Liberia sanctions regime.

14:51:41 16 Until recently Guinea enjoyed the strong public backing of
17 the United States, a permanent member of the Security Council.
18 Guinea is a recipient of US military aid, and while US officials
19 insist the weapons fired on the US embassy compound had not been
14:52:03 20 provided to Guinea by the US, the incident reveals the danger of
21 irresponsible military aid and inadequate monitoring on the part
22 of the United States."

23 Can we go over the page, please. Bottom paragraph:

24 "The Movement for Democracy in Liberia (MODEL) also
14:52:30 25 benefits from the support of regional allies. MODEL is the
26 smaller of the two rebel factions fighting Taylor's forces and it
27 draws on support from the Cote d'Ivoire. Witnesses have told
28 Human Rights Watch that the Cote d'Ivoire government recruited
29 fighters for its own conflict with the promise that they could

1 'keep their arms and take them back to Liberia to fight Taylor'."

2 The document goes on to detail how arms supplied to both
3 LURD and MODEL by those foreign powers were used in the attack
4 upon the democratically elected Government of Liberia.

14:53:18 5 Now were you aware of that foreign support for both LURD
6 and MODEL, former President?

7 A. Yes.

8 Q. And you appreciated, didn't you, that on occasions the
9 Guinean army provided artillery support for LURD in their attacks
10 on Liberia? That's right, isn't it?

11 A. Yes.

12 Q. Now as a consequence of that Guinean support LURD was able
13 to consolidate its control of northern Liberia, in particular
14 Lofa County, wasn't it?

14:53:57 15 A. You are correct.

16 Q. And with them consolidating their control in that part of
17 the world, in early 2003 MODEL, the Movement for Democracy in
18 Liberia, backed by the Ivorian government, emerged in southern
19 Liberia and achieved some rapid successes in terms of controlling
20 Liberian territory. That is right, isn't it?

21 A. You are correct.

22 Q. So, in effect the democratically elected government of
23 Charles Taylor was being besieged by these foreign funded forces.
24 That is right, isn't it?

14:54:45 25 A. You are correct.

26 Q. At a time when the Liberian Government was having
27 difficulty in defending itself because of the arms embargo.
28 Again that is right, isn't it?

29 A. You are correct.

1 Q. And so by the summer of 2003 - and we are talking about
2 July 2003 - effectively the democratically elected Government of
3 Liberia was besieged in a small area around Monrovia, wasn't it?

4 A. You are correct.

14:55:26 5 Q. And so we had this situation where Monrovia was being
6 subjected to mortar and artillery attack in those months leading
7 up to former President Taylor stepping down, is that right?

8 A. You are correct.

9 Q. Now that shelling of Monrovia was totally indiscriminate,
14:55:56 10 wasn't it?

11 A. Yes, it was.

12 Q. And people were dying. That's right, isn't it?

13 A. You are correct.

14 Q. At about that time there were actually three United States
14:56:10 15 warships patrolling the coast of Liberia, wasn't there?

16 A. You are correct.

17 Q. Whilst American US helicopter gunships were circling over
18 Monrovia. That's right, isn't it?

19 A. You are correct.

14:56:29 20 Q. And there were even reports that US helicopters were
21 delivering arms and ammunition, in particular 60 millimetre and
22 81 millimetre mortar rounds, to LURD fighters in Brewerville,
23 Virginia, New Kru Town and the general area of the port of
24 Monrovia. That's right, isn't it?

14:56:53 25 A. You are correct.

26 Q. And by that stage MODEL had captured the provinces of
27 Maryland, Sinoe, Grand Gedeh, Grand Kru and River Gee. That's
28 right, isn't it?

29 A. You are correct.

1 Q. And by that stage even your home in Tapita had been
2 captured by the rebels?

3 A. You are correct.

14:57:30

4 Q. Now it was at or about this time, was it not, that
5 President Taylor went to Ghana, is that right?

6 A. You are correct.

7 Q. For peace talks?

8 A. You are correct.

14:57:49

9 Q. Now whilst he was away it is right, isn't it, that you
10 spoke to officials at the United States Embassy?

11 A. They spoke to me.

12 Q. But whichever way round it occurred, in the context of the
13 situation I have described you were speaking to the Charge
14 d'Affairs at the US Embassy, yes?

14:58:22

15 A. Yes.

16 Q. This was whilst President Taylor was out of the country, is
17 that right?

18 A. Yes.

14:58:35

19 Q. Whilst the capital of the country was being besieged by all
20 these foreign backed forces, yes?

21 A. Yes.

14:59:01

22 Q. Now I just want you to pause for a moment, former
23 President, and let me ask you this. Bearing in mind the American
24 presence in and around Liberia at the time, what would you think
25 if you were President Taylor and you heard that your
26 Vice-President was speaking to the very people besieging his
27 capital at the time? If you were in his shoes, what would you
28 think?

29 A. If I had been in his shoes at the time the best thing to do

1 was to investigate why I was speaking to those people to find out
2 the fact and at that time I was speaking to the Americans.

3 Q. Let me remind you of something, shall we? I wonder if the
4 witness could be shown MFI-28 and could the witness be shown
15:00:06 5 page 16 of that document, please. You will see that Article 76
6 of the Liberian Constitution provides:

7 "Treason against the Republic shall consist of:

8 (1) levying war against the Republic;

9 (2) aligning oneself with or aiding and abetting another
15:00:43 10 nation or people with whom Liberia is at war or in a state of
11 war;

12 (3) acts of espionage for an enemy state;

13 (4) attempting by overt act to overthrow the Government,
14 rebellion against the Republic, insurrection and mutiny;

15:01:03 15 (5) abrogating or attempting to abrogate, subverting or
16 attempting or conspiring to subvert the Constitution by use of
17 force or show of force or any other means which attempts to
18 undermine this Constitution."

19 Now I am going to ask you bluntly, former President, in the
15:01:20 20 situation in which you were speaking to the American Charge
21 d'Affairs, would you blame President Taylor for considering that
22 possibly an act of treason? Could you blame him?

23 A. I could blame him when it has to do with how I spoke to the
24 Charge d'Affairs. These are different kinds of things you are
15:01:49 25 reading here. I spoke, I answered questions to the Charge
26 d'Affairs of the United States Embassy. I did not just speak, as
27 I said in my statement.

28 Q. Did they say to you during that conversation that
29 Charles Taylor would not be coming back to Liberia?

1 A. No, no. They did not say, no.

2 Q. Did they say in that conversation that you should take over
3 the government?

15:02:24

4 A. No, they did not say so. They never talked to me on taking
5 over government.

6 Q. Did they say to you at any stage that you would have
7 American backing if you did?

8 A. No, no. They never discussed taking over government with
9 me whilst President Taylor was away, no.

15:02:42

10 Q. Help me with this. Prior to that time, had you had similar
11 conversations with any officer attached to the US Embassy?

12 A. No, not at all.

13 Q. Can you help us as to why it was that you were targeted as
14 the person to whom they wanted to speak at that critical time?

15:03:06

15 A. It was because as Vice-President - and I will repeat to you
16 again about my statement. What was discussed at the time has
17 nothing to do with the coup d'etat. What they said - the Charge
18 d'Affairs who I did not know in person called and said, "Is this
19 the Vice-President?", I said, "Yes". He said, "President Taylor
20 is out of Monrovia and the notorious ATU were on the rampage

15:03:35

21 moving from point to point. How do we control them tonight?" My
22 response to the Charge d'Affairs was, "Don't be afraid. I am
23 here, Benjamin Yeaten who is here, Benjamin Yeaten is also here
24 and we are trying to control the situation and the President will
25 be returning." That was my response to the man. We did not
26 discuss coup d'etat.

15:04:03

27 Q. But help me, please. Would you not agree that it was
28 somewhat insensitive of you to be having such conversations with
29 representatives of a government publicly committing to removing

1 your President from power? Did you not think it was
2 inappropriate for you at that time to be speaking to them?

3 A. The conversation was not related to the role of government.
4 He was purely concerned with his security and embassy. What

15:04:52 5 he said I will repeat, "The notorious ATU are out there. We know
6 them for their behaviour. They will be harassing and
7 intimidating people for the night. Will there be control over
8 them?" I said, "Yes, there will be control because Benjamin
9 Yeaten, who is the SS director, a very strong man in the
15:05:12 10 government, is out there and I am also out here, not sitting
11 down."

12 Q. Do you understand the point I am seeking to make here?
13 Former President, it is not that I am suggesting that you were in
14 some way attempting to make a coup. I am just asking you to
15:05:32 15 pause for a moment, step outside your own shoes and look at what
16 you did at that point from the standpoint - the vantage point -
17 of President Taylor. Could you understand why he would be
18 suspicious of you when he returned from Ghana?

19 A. The point is still not clear. If I were in his shoes the
15:05:57 20 best thing to do at the time was to find out what was said to the
21 American Embassy, how did the conversation go. He cannot just
22 come and arrest a Vice-President and have him disgraced. The
23 American people are there, they are liable and they should be
24 contacted and say, "What was discussed with my Vice-President
15:06:22 25 whilst I was away?", but this was not done.

26 Let me remind you, please, before you come up with your
27 question, what happened was that even the ministers - the cabinet
28 ministers - had come to me to go on radio to announce to the
29 public that the President had been indicted in Ghana. I refused

1 on the grounds that I did not have the authority to go to a radio
2 station and talk about my government when the President has not
3 instructed me to do so. Isn't that in line with the government?
4 Benjamin Yeaten, who was also a police, went on radio and
15:07:06 5 announced about the President. Was that fair to me for a
6 policeman, SS director, to go on the national radio to talk on
7 behalf of the President? Who gave him the authority to make such
8 an announcement?

9 Q. No doubt you felt insulted by that.

15:07:22 10 JUDGE SEBUTINDE: Mr Griffiths, I just wish to correct for
11 the record that the witness said, "Isn't that in loyalty with the
12 government?" Did I hear you say that, sir?

13 THE WITNESS: Yes, sir, your Honour.

14 JUDGE SEBUTINDE: Though it is written, "Isn't that in line
15:07:38 15 with the government?", it should be "... in loyalty with the
16 government?"

17 MR GRIFFITHS: Thank you, your Honour:

18 Q. Did you feel insulted by the fact it was Yeaten who made
19 that announcement?

15:07:56 20 A. It was against the State. It was not a personal thing to
21 me, but being the Vice-President of the country and the police,
22 who was just an ordinary bodyguard, going to a radio and talking
23 such an important thing to the world, to the Liberian people,
24 while I am present, I was not dead.

15:08:16 25 Q. In any event, moving on, you were arrested and placed under
26 house arrest, weren't you?

27 A. Yes.

28 Q. You were allowed visitors during the period that you were
29 under house arrest, weren't you?

1 A. My wife was allowed to see me, I agree.

2 Q. Did you not receive other visitors?

3 A. No, besides my wife.

4 Q. Your wife was given assurances, wasn't she, that the matter
15:08:52 5 would be fully investigated by President Taylor? She was given
6 that assurance, wasn't she?

7 A. By whom?

8 Q. By President Taylor.

9 A. That was at a later date. I had been in jail for about ten
15:09:10 10 days and I didn't know what was happening and that was when that
11 statement came to my wife. I don't know by what means. She told
12 me in prison.

13 Q. Well, you were not in prison. You were under house arrest.
14 That's right, isn't it?

15:09:28 15 A. It was a detention, a confinement.

16 JUDGE SEBUTINDE: Mr Witness, didn't you say yesterday that
17 your wife bribed her way to come and see you?

18 THE WITNESS: Yes, she was not allowed. She came back at a
19 later date when she came back by order of the President, but that
15:09:50 20 was after ten days. When she bribed her way to come and see me,
21 ten days. I was detained. Nobody knew where I was.

22 JUDGE SEBUTINDE: Because the question asked to you was
23 wasn't your family allowed to come and see you and you said your
24 wife was allowed to come and see you. So I am just seeking
15:10:08 25 clarification.

26 THE WITNESS: No. She came after ten days, but when she
27 came before the visit was bribed. She had to pay money to
28 somebody on duty at the time, because I had over 40 guards around
29 my detention place.

1 MR GRIFFITHS:

2 Q. Now the point is, and I don't want to dwell overlong on
3 this issue, but you were placed under house arrest in Joe Tuah's
4 house, weren't you?

15:11:03 5 A. You still consider this place to be a house arrest. The
6 condition was terrible. The house arrest, I couldn't move.
7 I was in a small room.

8 Q. It was in Joe Tuah's house, was it?

9 A. Yes, in Joe Tuah's house.

15:11:21 10 Q. And Benjamin Yeaten's house is right next to Joe Tuah's
11 house, isn't it?

12 A. I agree. I agree.

13 Q. So help me, how could your wife have bribed her way into
14 Joe Tuah's house? She would have to get past Benjamin Yeaten's
15:11:36 15 house, wouldn't she?

16 A. There is a way that you can pass by and enter into Joe
17 Tuah's house. There are so many routes leading to Joe Tuah's
18 house. You do not have to necessarily pass by Benjamin's house
19 to go to Joe Tuah's house.

15:11:55 20 Q. You see, I suggest that your wife was allowed to see you
21 from word go, but, as I indicated earlier, I am not going to take
22 up a great deal of time on that. In any event, the upshot of all
23 of this was that the government of Charles Taylor became totally
24 non-viable because of the pressure from the United States, the
15:12:26 25 pressure from LURD and MODEL and the attacks in Monrovia. That's
26 right, isn't it? The situation was no longer tenable. Do you
27 agree?

28 A. Well, I don't know how he was feeling at the time, but that
29 goes for everybody, including myself.

1 Q. But, in any event, that was the context in which it was
2 agreed that he would step down. That's right, isn't it?

3 A. I would not say which context that he was able to leave
4 office. He would have to say that.

15:13:11 5 Q. Now you knew, didn't you, you must have known --

6 A. No.

7 Q. -- the terms under which he had agreed to step down? Am
8 I right?

9 A. I did not even know when he was leaving - if he was leaving
15:13:31 10 Liberia. I did not know until at the Executive Mansion when the
11 announcement was made.

12 Q. Former President, your President is stepping down and going
13 abroad. You are about to take up the reins of government. Are
14 you honestly telling us that you didn't have a clue what the
15:13:56 15 terms upon which he was stepping down were?

16 A. Let me come again. If I tell you the kind of movement that
17 was going on in Liberia at the time you wouldn't ask that
18 question. I did not know that day President Taylor was leaving
19 that country to go into exile. I knew it at the Executive
15:14:19 20 Mansion when I was called upon and those Presidents came and in
21 his speech he said he was leaving, he shall be back and the

22 minister - the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court came in and
23 called me out of the group and said, "Look, you have to be sworn
24 in to become President of this country." We had gone there -

15:14:47 25 Nyundueh Monkomana and Moses Blah. President Taylor has favoured
26 Nyundueh Monkomana to be his successor. I was just - I didn't
27 know what my position would have been, either stay the
28 Vice-President or, according to our constitution, to take over
29 from President Taylor. This was the kind of condition I was in.

1 I was kind of confused.

2 MR GRIFFITHS: Your Honour, I wonder if I can be granted
3 one minute. Mr Taylor has said he wants to consult with me on a
4 matter.

15:15:26 5 PRESIDING JUDGE: Do you wish to withdraw?

6 MR GRIFFITHS: No, we should be able to do it - I am
7 grateful. I am grateful, your Honours:

8 Q. Now, former President, let me see if I can jog your memory
9 as to what actually occurred when power was handed over to you.

15:17:48 10 It's right, is it not, that a letter was written by President
11 Taylor addressed to the legislature, the House and the Senate,
12 informing them based on the constitutional procedure that on 11
13 August he would be resigning and you would be taking over? Do
14 you remember that?

15:18:14 15 A. That was not discussed.

16 Q. Are you saying you knew nothing at all about that?

17 A. I didn't know about Taylor's departure until it happened.

18 Q. Furthermore, a protocol was arranged, was it not, for the
19 handing over of power to you? Isn't that right?

15:18:42 20 A. There was no proper protocol to put in place. We had
21 visitors. We had three - four Heads of State in Liberia at the
22 time and there should be a protocol for that and they have come
23 purposefully to take the President out of Liberia.

24 Q. Was it not also the case that you were invited to

15:19:04 25 Charles Taylor's house and discussed with him the handing over of
26 power to you?

27 A. That I can't remember.

28 Q. Do you recall that a ceremony was held at the Executive
29 Mansion when he handed over the presidential sash to you in front

1 of the four visiting Heads of State?

2 A. I said that. I agree it happened. I was not informed.

3 Q. Are you honestly telling us that you turned up at the
4 Executive Mansion one day and lo and behold out of a blue sky

15:19:54 5 President Taylor suddenly put a sash round your neck and said,

6 "You're now President"? Is that what you are honestly trying to
7 get us to believe?

8 A. Usually they don't just put a sash round anybody's neck and
9 say you are a President. There is a procedure that you have to

15:20:12 10 go through. What happened was that we were two. The speaker of

11 the House of Representatives who is his friend, his friend

12 Nyundueh Monkomana was chosen as President after him. The

13 Legislature became very angry and the investigation was done.

14 You know, they were trying to see how best they could put it,

15:20:34 15 whether he should resign. A lot of things went on which I don't

16 want to dwell on, but it was not done willingly by President

17 Taylor to call me at his house and say, "You will take the place

18 of - the place in government as President. I am leaving today,

19 I am doing that."

15:20:54 20 I only knew he was leaving when we were in the executive -

21 in the parlour of the Executive Mansion. And this was done

22 hurriedly. Hurriedly, like somebody was on the run because the

23 Presidents were all consulting each other, "We've got to leave,

24 we've got to leave. If you refuse we will leave and we will

15:21:13 25 never come back here again". You know, that was the conversation

26 I was listening to among the Presidents. If he doesn't want to

27 go, they will go. That was what I was hearing. And something

28 happened hurriedly. He did that, but under pressure. It was not

29 previously discussed between him and me.

1 Q. Just so that I understand, and you remember, former
2 President, our discussion here today is being broadcast in
3 Liberia. The people of Liberia can listen to this and will know
4 what you're telling this tribunal. So let me ask you for the
15:21:49 5 last time: Are you telling us that you only knew that Taylor was
6 leaving on the day that he left? Is that what you want us to
7 believe?

8 A. Exactly, sir.

9 Q. Very well. That's your answer. You were aware that he was
15:22:09 10 going into exile in Nigeria, weren't you?

11 A. No.

12 Q. You were aware, weren't you, that part of the agreement for
13 him stepping down was that he would go into exile in Nigeria
14 where he would be left unmolested. You did know that, didn't
15:22:35 15 you?

16 A. No, what I knew was that he was leaving the country.
17 I didn't know his destination. That was what I knew. And he had
18 earlier refused, that he will fight from house to house until the
19 last man dies. That was the kind of statement that was coming
15:22:52 20 out of the mansion.

21 Q. And you knew nothing at all about him going to Nigeria,
22 nothing at all?

23 A. Yes, he left Liberia. He was going to Nigeria. I knew he
24 was going to Nigeria, but before then no.

15:23:12 25 Q. So help me, please. When did you discover that he was
26 going to Nigeria?

27 A. After he had gone to Nigeria.

28 Q. So when he was standing on the steps of that aeroplane at
29 Roberts international airfield in that iconic image broadcast

1 round the world, wearing that white safari suit you didn't have a
2 clue where he was going. Is that the truth?

3 A. How would I know to you yourself? The President was going
4 on a plane with four Presidents. He was the fifth one and they
15:23:51 5 were from various countries. So I should just conclude that
6 these five Presidents were taking this President to Nigeria or
7 Ghana or Nigeria or Mozambique? How would that be? These
8 Presidents were not living in one country. They had to go to
9 their own countries.

10 Q. So just so that I am clear, you didn't have a clue where he
11 was going?

12 A. No.

13 Q. It was only after the event that you, the Vice-President of
14 Liberia, suddenly discovered, "Whoops, he is in Nigeria". Is
15:24:31 15 that fair?

16 A. It is fair under those conditions. When Nyundueh Monkomana
17 was to become President after Taylor left, the constitution found
18 a way to put the Vice-President in place. You should understand
19 the situation.

15:24:48 20 Q. I wonder if finally the witness can be shown the Defence
21 bundle behind divider 5, please. You will see that this is a
22 transcript of a CNN news report of a press conference held by the
23 Presidents of Liberia and Nigeria and you see the date. Let's
24 just take a little time and go through this, please, in light of
15:25:46 25 your evidence that you were totally ignorant of what was going
26 on. This is a transcript, remember. President Obasanjo says,
27 and we can pick it up:

28 "And people will ask or may ask, why, again, why again?
29 Why again is because we have an unfinished job. And it doesn't

1 matter what sacrifices we have made in the past unless the job is
2 finished. Those sacrifices will amount to not much.

3 So, we take heed that, for now, the situation in this
4 country deserves the understanding of the world and the
15:26:28 5 understanding of the people of Liberia and, particularly, the
6 understanding of all those in West Africa.

7 When we met in Ghana last month, President Charles Taylor,
8 on his own free volition, said to us that he believes that he is
9 not the problem of Liberia. But if people believe that he is, he
15:26:53 10 was ready to make the sacrifice of stepping aside, so that those
11 who believe that they have a solution to the problem of Liberia
12 can bring that solution about.

13 And that, after some time, if that solution works, he will
14 thank God and thank the people who made it to work, that he
15:27:14 15 believe that, sooner than later, people will know that the
16 problem of Liberia is more than Charles Taylor.

17 Now, we took that very seriously, and we thought that we
18 worked out a program that will lead to gradual disengagement and
19 change of government in this country, not knowing that an
15:27:35 20 indictment was being slapped on him by the court in Sierra Leone.
21 That disturbed us a little bit. But then we decided that, yes,
22 even with that indictment, we must move ahead with finding a
23 durable solution to the problem of Liberia.

24 I want to take this opportunity to thank the international
15:27:56 25 community, because all by ourselves, alone, West African leaders,
26 we may have the men, we may have the personnel, but we may not
27 have adequate resources in material terms, in financial terms, to
28 be able to do what is necessary. Because President
29 Charles Taylor has been invited by Nigeria, and he has not

1 hesitated to accept that invitation.

2 But then how does the exit take place? We believe that the
3 exit should not take place in confusion. It should not take
4 place in such a way that it will lead to more bloodshed. We
15:28:38 5 believe that the transition should be orderly and peaceful. We
6 believe that we all have to join hands with the people of Liberia
7 to make the creation of peace, creation of resolution of conflict
8 and improvement of democracy the thing that we will be able to
9 achieve within a very, very short time.

15:29:00 10 I want to express my position to all the people of Liberia,
11 who are bearing the brunt of the destruction, the conflict, the
12 war, the valiance. May the soul of those who have lost their
13 lives in the process rest in perfect peace.

14 That we are here as brothers, as neighbours, as those who
15:29:20 15 feel that whatever is happening in Liberia today will happen
16 anywhere in Africa, and Liberia needs a lifeline to solve its
17 problem ... nobody provide that lifeline. Then, any other thing
18 that we are saying, we are (inaudible).

19 I found that the people of Liberia are not averse to a
15:29:44 20 multinational force to come in and help. And President
21 Charles Taylor is not averse to making the sacrifice of exiting
22 to give his country a chance of making peace.

23 Thank you very much."

24 Then your President:

15:29:59 25 "Well, I - after hearing you, I'm not sure if there's
26 anything much I can say. But I would just like to praise God
27 today, today being Sunday. I'm a Christian, and my brother is,
28 and to thank God for your safe arrival here, and I pray that God
29 will give you a safe arrival back home.

1 I want to express my thanks to ECOWAS, the EU, the
2 international community, and even more particularly to President
3 George Bush, that apparently has remained seized of the Liberian
4 crisis. We believe that the participation of the United States
15:30:39 5 right now is crucial in whatever way. We embrace it; we accept
6 it. We invite the United States to come full force and assist in
7 this process in bringing peace back to Liberia.

8 We believe that it is not unreasonable to request that
9 there be an orderly exit from power. We believe that this is
15:31:01 10 going to help in the long run, in the short run and the medium
11 term.

12 I want to thank again my brother, my big brother for
13 coming. As he mentioned, diplomatically, he has extended an
14 invitation. We have accepted the invitation. I think it's a
15:31:20 15 matter now of making sure that it is done using our brains, that
16 it is done properly, orderly, that no-one feels disenfranchised
17 and begins to act disorderly or disruptive in any way.

18 I think it is proper that we proceed gingerly and with
19 haste, because I did understand President Bush that things must
15:31:45 20 be done quickly, because as there's a window of opportunity, we
21 accept that window and we act hastily.

22 I want to thank you again, my dear brother.

23 I want to thank the international press. We're very sorry
24 that you have come here at this time of crisis. We hope that you
15:32:02 25 had come here earlier before we had all of this rigmarole, but
26 thank you anyway. We hope that you don't only come to Africa
27 when you have a crisis but at a time that we have peace."

28 Then there is a question:

29 "President Obasanjo, let me see if I get this right. Has

1 President Taylor accepted - he said he's accepted to come to
2 Nigeria. Does that mean temporary exile? And if so, what are
3 the conditions and the time frame?

15:32:42

4 President Taylor, if the region, ECOWAS, sends in
5 peacekeepers, is that a condition for you to step down and
6 leave?"

7 Then Obasanjo says this:

15:32:56

8 "Well, for me, yes, I have extended invitation on behalf of
9 the government and the people of Nigeria that President Taylor
10 has a safe haven in Nigeria any time he chooses to take advantage
11 of it. And, as you heard, he has said he has accepted.

15:33:28

12 As to conditions, maybe he would want to say that for
13 himself. But what we have discussed today is that, as you have
14 heard him say, it can be any time. The only thing is that it
15 must not lead to confusion, it must not lead to violence, it must
16 not lead to destruction. It must be smooth and orderly."

17 Then President Taylor:

15:33:49

18 "If I may just add, sometimes you hear buzz words coming -
19 what are the conditions? I consider that word 'condition',
20 because conditionality sometimes can be harsh.

21 What we're talking about are necessary actions to prevent
22 chaos and disruptions. And I think he's dealt with it, and
23 I think we ought to leave it at that.

24 Thank you very much.

15:34:04

25 Question: Thank you, gentlemen."

26 Then President Obasanjo says this:

27 "... if you are talking about conditions. The condition is
28 that Nigeria and I will not be harassed ...

29 TAYLOR: Yes.

1 OBASANJO: ... by anybody.

2 TAYLOR: Yes.

3 OBASANJO: For inviting President Taylor to Nigeria,
4 Nigeria will not be harassed by anybody or by any organisation,
15:34:32 5 or any country for showing this humanitarian gesture ...

6 TAYLOR: Exactly.

7 OBASANJO: ... and a gesture that is necessary for us to
8 solve the problem of this country.

9 Thank you very much."

15:34:45 10 Then there is a question:

11 "Are you insisting that ECOWAS, in your discussions,
12 revokes or puts aside the indictment order that he said was
13 slacked off?

14 OBASANJO: I'm not insisting on anything. I'm just saying
15:35:02 15 that I will not subject myself or my country to harassment.

16 Thank you."

17 Are you honestly saying that you didn't discover that he
18 was going until 11 August?

19 A. President Taylor at the time of his departure had decided
15:35:23 20 even to go to the Middle East. He had decided to go to other
21 countries. At the time fixed, there was no definite location
22 where he was moving. After he had put me in jail, maybe he
23 thought there was no confidence in me to discuss such matters
24 with me. So he could pity my condition at the time, just coming
15:35:51 25 out of jail with such a huge problem crowned on me, treason
26 charges, and that President will be closer to you to tell you
27 where he was going?

28 Q. Are you honestly telling us, bearing in mind the date of
29 this document, 6 July, over a month before he left, are you

1 saying you didn't have a clue until the day he left that you were
2 taking over?

3 A. No definite location he was heading to that was discussed
4 with me.

15:36:28 5 Q. Are you saying that you didn't know until the day he left
6 that you, Moses Blah, was taking over as President? Is that what
7 you want us to understand?

8 A. President Taylor at the time, I will tell you my brother,
9 nobody except his close associates will know to tell the world
15:36:51 10 that he was going to Nigeria, or going to Ghana, or going to
11 Libya, or anywhere he chooses, no.

12 Q. My question is very different. Are you saying you did not
13 know, you Moses Blah --

14 A. Yes.

15:37:05 15 Q. -- was going to be President until the day that Taylor
16 left? Is that what you want us to understand?

17 A. I would say no, because that is the same constitution that
18 will make me President if he leaves, which he denied, which he
19 refused. That his friend, Nyundueh Monkomana, will be President
15:37:29 20 instead of the Vice-President. What else do you want me to say?
21 I did not know.

22 Q. Very well. Very well. Because, you see, what I am
23 suggesting is that you knew full well, which is why there were
24 those repeated references in that transcript of the press
15:37:49 25 conference about a smooth transition leading to his departure.
26 You knew full well. And you further knew, I suggest, that he was
27 going into exile in Nigeria. You further knew, I suggest, that
28 the understanding was that in going into exile that indictment
29 which has been put out against him from the Special Court would

1 not have an effect; that in effect he would have immunity. You
2 knew all of that, didn't you?

3 A. No.

15:38:33

4 Q. And, you see, what I am suggesting is that it was an act of
5 betrayal which in due course led to his arrest and transfer to
6 Sierra Leone. That is the truth, isn't it?

7 A. Come again.

15:38:51

8 Q. It was an act of betrayal of the agreement when he was
9 handed over to the Sierra Leonean Government and arrested, do you
10 understand that?

11 A. Referring to who?

12 Q. Let's try Charles Taylor, your former President?

13 A. Yes.

15:39:04

14 Q. Let me try again. It was an act of betrayal when President
15 Taylor, contrary to the deal brokered with Obasanjo, was handed
16 over to the Sierra Leonean authorities and arrested. That's
17 right, isn't it?

18 A. No.

15:39:24

19 MR GRIFFITHS: That is all I ask, your Honours, but, your
20 Honours, there is a little housekeeping that I need to attend to
21 in relation to the Defence bundle of documentation. Could I ask
22 first of all, please, your Honours, that the material behind
23 divider 1 be collectively marked with one identification number?

15:39:54

24 PRESIDING JUDGE: Have we looked at each individual piece,
25 Mr Griffiths?

26 MR GRIFFITHS: Yes, we have, your Honour, yes.

27 PRESIDING JUDGE: I confess I haven't numbered or read,
28 counted up, just how many news reports, et cetera, there are in
29 this bundle under tab 1. Do you know?

1 MR GRIFFITHS: I can quickly let you know, your Honour.
2 There are six news reports and then there is the extract from the
3 Human Rights Watch briefing which begins at page 20.

4 PRESIDING JUDGE: I don't have the total number of pages.

15:40:53 5 MR GRIFFITHS: The total number of pages appears on the
6 last page, your Honour. It is 53.

7 PRESIDING JUDGE: 53, thank you. Mr Griffiths, what we
8 propose doing is we will give them one number, it will become 36,
9 but since there are several different news reports and a human
10 rights report within that, give each of those reports an A, B, C
11 number so they can properly be referred to if in the event
12 they're tendered they can be individually argued.

13 MR GRIFFITHS: All right. If we just go through quickly,
14 your Honour. If we start at page 1 that would be A which is the
15 AFP report.

16 PRESIDING JUDGE: So that is a one page document headed
17 "AFP, former Liberian Vice-President says he will testify in
18 Taylor trial" and that becomes MFI-36A.

19 MR GRIFFITHS: Then page 2 is a second report.

15:42:10 20 PRESIDING JUDGE: That is a two page document headed
21 "allAfrica.com" with a subheading "Liberia, Blah's testimony
22 hinges on doctor's report". It becomes MFI-36B.

23 MR GRIFFITHS: Page 4 then, your Honour.

24 PRESIDING JUDGE: A two page document headed "Star radio
15:42:39 25 Liberia - Taylor trial Blah subpoenaed". It becomes MFI-36C.

26 MR GRIFFITHS: Page 6 then, your Honour.

27 PRESIDING JUDGE: That is a three page document headed "The
28 Analyst", the subheading "Monkomana wanted bucket of blood". It
29 becomes MFI-36D.

1 MR GRIFFITHS: Page 9 then, your Honour.

2 PRESIDING JUDGE: That is a four page document headed "The
3 Christian Science Monitor" with the subheading "Liberian
4 President plans to step down, but what next?" It becomes
15:43:33 5 MFI-36E.

6 MR GRIFFITHS: Then we go to page 13, your Honour.

7 PRESIDING JUDGE: This is - I think it's four pages, please
8 correct me if that is not right.

9 MR GRIFFITHS: It is five pages, your Honour.

10 PRESIDING JUDGE: Five pages. Heading "Sierra Leone News
11 Archives - August 2003 - Sierra Leone Web", five pages, it
12 becomes MFI-36F.

13 MR GRIFFITHS: Then if we go to page 18.

14 PRESIDING JUDGE: This is a two page document headed
15:44:36 15 "International Herald Tribune opinion" with the subheading
16 "Peacekeeping and diplomacy, why Liberia is a turning point for
17 Africa". It becomes MFI-36G.

18 MR GRIFFITHS: I am grateful. Then the final document,
19 your Honour, is the extract from the - which begins at page 20,
15:45:05 20 from a Human Rights Watch briefing paper dated 3 November 2003.

21 PRESIDING JUDGE: That is a 22 page document headed "Human
22 Rights Watch" dated 3 November 2003 with a subheading "Weapons
23 sanctions, military supplies, and human suffering". It becomes
24 MFI-36H.

15:45:32 25 MR GRIFFITHS: Now, your Honours, dealing with matters
26 chronological ly, the photographs behind divider 2 have already
27 been marked for identification as MFI-30.

28 PRESIDING JUDGE: Yes, A to D.

29 MR GRIFFITHS: Your Honour, yes. If we can then move,

1 please, to behind divider 3 which is a 24 page document headed
2 "Autopsy report".

3 PRESIDING JUDGE: That is a 24 page document headed "The
4 Central Laboratory Services", et cetera, subheading "Autopsy
15:46:27 5 report". It becomes MFI-37.

6 MR GRIFFITHS: Then behind divider 4, please, your Honour,
7 a one page document.

8 PRESIDING JUDGE: That is a one page document headed
9 "Affidavit of Jusu Momo". It becomes MFI-38.

10 MR GRIFFITHS: Then behind divider 5, the document to which
11 I have just recently referred.

12 PRESIDING JUDGE: That is a three page document headed
13 "CNN.com", the subheading "Transcripts" and it becomes MFI-39.

14 MR GRIFFITHS: Finally, your Honours, behind divider 6.

15 PRESIDING JUDGE: This is a six page document headed "In
16 the High Court of Justice, Queen's Bench Division" with a
17 subtitle "Between Charles Taylor and Times Newspapers" and it
18 becomes MFI-40.

19 MR GRIFFITHS: That completes it, your Honour.

15:48:15 20 PRESIDING JUDGE: That completes your cross-examination,
21 Mr Griffiths?

22 MR GRIFFITHS: Your Honour, yes.

23 PRESIDING JUDGE: Thank you. Re-examination, Mr Rapp?

24 MR RAPP: Thank you, Madam President. May it please your
15:48:29 25 Honours.

26 RE-EXAMINATION BY MR RAPP:

27 Q. Witness, good afternoon.

28 A. Good afternoon.

29 Q. Yesterday Defence counsel asked you a question where he

1 noted that you had been reimbursed medical and other expenses in
2 January of 2008, but nonetheless you wouldn't go testify without
3 a subpoena. You responded discussing your security. Could you
4 tell us with precision what security problems you had that
15:49:01 5 required attendance?

6 A. In my community in Liberia nowadays there are a lot of
7 armed robberies at night and this is the rainy season and what
8 I wanted was that I have a compound with several entrances and
9 gates and they needed to be manned at night. We don't have
15:49:32 10 electricity in Monrovia except you put on a generator and it's
11 not every day that you will have fuel to keep the generator
12 running. So we needed real serious security guards at my
13 premises. And because of the leaflets and threats on me that
14 I was coming here to testify, that made it very dangerous for me.
15:50:04 15 That was the kind of security I needed.

16 Q. Witness, you mentioned this example of leaflets. Were
17 there any other specific threats taken or delivered to you?

18 A. Besides the leaflets, the threats that now surround me in
19 Liberia are from two persons. One is from Mr Benoni Urey and the
15:50:36 20 other is from one Mr Sandoh Johnson. Sandoh Johnson had promised
21 that he will have his men in the streets and that my vehicle
22 would be attacked and burnt and that my children would be
23 kidnapped in school and that is Sandoh Johnson's side.

24 On the side of Benoni Urey, he was going to take me to
15:51:03 25 court upon my arrival because I testified that the maritime
26 affairs in Liberia did not report any money to me or the finance
27 ministry and as it was said everything was paid in advance,
28 according to him, and so that made him angry and as I am sitting
29 here I think the writ is ready and waiting for me at the airport.

1 So those are the reasons I was referring to.

2 JUDGE SEBUTINDE: Sorry, you said maritime what?

3 THE WITNESS: The former maritime commissioner, Benoni
4 Urey.

15:51:44 5 MR RAPP:

6 Q. Has anyone taken any action on these threats?

7 A. Yes. About three/four days ago my daughter was beaten by
8 two men whilst coming from school and police - the police are
9 after the case, but I have not got any reports from them yet.

15:52:05 10 Q. Witness, you testified in response to the Defence that
11 while you were in training at Libya at times Taylor went to
12 training. What did you mean by that?

13 A. I was in training and Taylor too was in the training and he
14 was he visiting the training and he sometimes went to the
15:52:26 15 training ground and would spend a day there and he will know the
16 weapons and he will give the instructions that we were to deal
17 with. And that was not on a single occasion. It was sometimes
18 two - one time or two times a week. Sometimes within the month.
19 So it was - and every time training, although it was not - he was
15:52:52 20 not present day to day during the training, but we considered him
21 on the roster as being number one in the training, so he is 001.

22 Q. You said he knew the weapons. How did you know that?

23 A. The weapons were displayed and he will see how we would
24 disassemble and assemble and he was there and he was seeing them
15:53:23 25 and he tried them. He saw all the weapons that we learnt on and
26 he knew about them. He was not a day to day trainer, but he was
27 there while we were training. He used to come there. He was
28 just like a chief. The training was lighter sometimes or heavier
29 sometimes, but he did not actually go through the obstacles and

1 hurdles that we went, but actually he used to come there at
2 Tajura. That was why we included him on the list as 001.

3 Q. Defence counsel asked you about the shipment of arms that
4 were transported later in the three trucks from Cote d'Ivoire to
15:54:03 5 Liberia. Who had been holding those arms in Cote d'Ivoire for
6 the NPFL and Taylor?

7 A. The contact was directly the defence minister at that time,
8 Colonel Kofi, and that was the only contact point that I knew.
9 These arms were kept at the gendarmerie barracks in Cote D'Ivoire
15:54:30 10 in Abidjan.

11 Q. Did you visit or inspect the weapons at any time?

12 A. Where they were kept, no. I did not go there until the day
13 of removal.

14 MR RAPP: I think we need to spell gendarmerie.

15:54:50 15 G-E-N-D-A-R-M-A-R-I-E, I believe:

16 Q. Now, witness, Defence counsel put it to you that Isaac Musa
17 was a coward and you agreed and that caused his replacement at
18 the beginning of the war. What positions did he hold thereafter
19 for the NPFL?

15:55:14 20 A. Isaac Musa, he came in later after running away from war
21 and went back to the Cote D'Ivoire. He came in and he was in
22 Kakata as some kind of commander in charge of the town, the
23 provincial city of Kakata. Isaac was there and he was in control
24 of the town, trying to ensure things were in order there.

15:55:48 25 Q. Did he hold a position later on for the NPFL, other than
26 that one?

27 A. Yes, when Taylor became President he became military
28 advisor to the President. Military advisor to the President.

29 Q. Witness, the Defence also asked you about, or put it to you

1 that there was training at Tiaplay, just inside of - I guess that
2 is Benjamin Yeaten's home town, just inside of Liberia. Are you
3 familiar with that training programme?

4 A. No, excuse me, it was not in Benjamin's town. They are
15:56:33 5 almost called the same town, Tiaplay. Tiaplay is different from
6 Tehplay. It was a training programme headed by Prince Johnson.

7 JUDGE SEBUTINDE: I think we need to get these spellings
8 then, because I think the word has consistently been spelt the
9 same.

15:56:53 10 MR RAPP:

11 Q. Yes, let's be sure we understand. What was the name of the
12 town at which this first training facility was established?

13 A. Benjamin Yeaten's town is called Tiaplay, T-I-A-H-P-L-A-Y
14 [sic]. The T-I and the T-E. T-E-H-P-L-A-Y, Tehplay, that was
15:57:25 15 where the training was taking place, but Tiaplay is Benjamin
16 Yeaten's home town. That is where he is from.

17 Q. I am sorry about the confusion. How were you aware or what
18 do you know about that training programme that was in the place
19 spelt secondly, the one that began T-E-H?

15:57:46 20 A. I always say I should know. The training started when
21 I was in Cote D'Ivoire trying to bring these weapons. There is a
22 bush road from Cote D'Ivoire coming down to Danane and coming to
23 Tiaplay, the town I just called where the training was taking
24 place, where people used to take the back road to come to the
15:58:14 25 training camp. They would in turn pretend they were coming to
26 market in Cote D'Ivoire and they will take the bush road to go
27 back into Liberia through that road. I met some of them whilst
28 I was in Cote D'Ivoire and they told me they were going to
29 Tehplay, that was where they were training and that Prince

1 Johnson was the one training them, and that was how I managed to
2 know.

3 MR GRIFFITHS: I am sorry to interrupt my learned friend,
4 but now that we know that there are these two places I wonder if
15:58:42 5 it is possible for someone to indicate where they are in relation
6 to each other for clarification purposes. I don't know if it is
7 possible. If there is a map available, say, which could be
8 shown.

9 PRESIDING JUDGE: There is an exhibit map of Liberia.
15:58:55 10 I don't have my copy with me, unfortunately.

11 MR GRIFFITHS: Your Honour, we have got this big book of
12 maps here which I am happy to hand to my learned friend if
13 possible to assist us.

14 MR RAPP:

15:59:20 15 Q. Witness, before we get to that, so we don't lose time, at
16 the time that this training was established you said you were in
17 Cote D'Ivoire. Where in Cote D'Ivoire were you located?

18 A. I was in Danane. I had come to Danane and, whilst I was in
19 Abidjan waiting for this thing to bring the consignment, I came
15:59:44 20 to Danane on one occasion to get some food stuff for my sister to
21 go back. That was when I knew that there was a serious training
22 going on there and I saw a group of boys coming from Danane and
23 they said they were going to Tehplay for training. That was how
24 I managed to know.

16:00:06 25 Q. And just for curiosity, how far apart in miles are Tehplay
26 and Tiaplay, the two towns?

27 A. They are very far away. When you talk about Tiaplay, then
28 you talk about Butuo. That is way - it is down, down the north.
29 When you talk about Tehplay, where the training was taking place,

1 it is like around central Liberia, but it is closer to the border
2 of Cote D'Ivoire.

3 Q. Now at the time that this training was established there,
4 was Charles Taylor in Liberia?

16:00:44 5 A. Yes, Charles Taylor was in Liberia, but in Gborplay. That
6 was where he was based. And Prince Johnson had gone to Tehplay
7 and he was recruiting his own men under the first pretension that
8 he was still fighting for Taylor and that the boys should come
9 and join him. After he got sufficient men, that was when he
16:01:13 10 announced that he had broken away and he was fighting his own war
11 and then the training in Tehplay stopped. They all left.

12 Q. Was there any training conducted by Taylor's own force, or
13 his faction?

14 A. There was serious training in Gborplay where Taylor was
16:01:35 15 based. There was everyday training. People were recruited and
16 voluntarily trainees were coming in in thousands from various
17 locations in Nimba County for them to be trained to fight.

18 Q. You mentioned in your testimony involuntary recruits, so to
19 speak, or involuntary conscripts that were part of the NPFL.

16:02:01 20 Were they trained?

21 A. Yes, the voluntary people were trained. When they were
22 conscripted again, they were trained. When they fought the war
23 they went far into the country, they caught people, they were
24 forced and if they were strong they had to bring them to join the
16:02:19 25 NPFL, but mostly it was voluntary.

26 Q. Witness, you have talked about the establishment of this
27 headquarters in Gborplay and Taylor being in Gborplay. In the
28 period before the establishment of the headquarters in Gborplay,
29 was Taylor always in Liberia after the initial invasion on 24

1 December 1989?

2 A. No, he was based in Cote D'Ivoire and he would come in and
3 go out. He will come in and ensure that the place was safe for
4 the time being and then he will go and come back until he made
16:02:57 5 sure that the place was safe. We were surrounded by our
6 fighters.

7 Q. Witness, the Defence counsel put it to you yesterday that
8 Liberia's borders with other countries were artificial, dividing
9 ethnic groups and you couldn't stop movement across the border
16:03:18 10 and monitor such movements. You agreed that that was two years
11 back. Later he put it to you that ULIMO effectively cut off the
12 border with Sierra Leone, effectively controlling the border, and
13 you agreed with that. So, I want to be clear what is true. Is
14 it possible during the time that we are discussing in this case
16:03:37 15 to control borders?

16 A. The border that I am concerned about that I know of I can
17 say something about is the border between Cote D'Ivoire and
18 Liberia. That is not far from my home. But where you are
19 talking about, the border of Sierra Leone, it is very, very far
16:03:55 20 away from me and I did not know the real different towns and the
21 marking [sic] systems on that border, but I knew at a point in
22 time that the border was closed.

23 Q. Let's first of all talk about the border that you are
24 familiar with, the border between Cote D'Ivoire and Liberia.

16:04:15 25 A. Yes.

26 Q. Was it possible during the time of the conflict in the
27 early 1990s to control passage back and forth across that border?

28 A. That border was wide open and anything could come into
29 Liberia through that border and then go back into Cote D'Ivoire.

1 It was wide open. It was clear.

2 Q. Now earlier today Defence counsel asked - read you, or read
3 out, some United Nations reports and talked about an offer by, or
4 a proposal by, President Taylor to close access to the border
16:04:54 5 between Sierra Leone and Liberia in order to bring pressure on
6 the RUF. How did you know - when you said that you agreed with
7 that, that that proposal had been made, how did you know that
8 that would bring pressure on the RUF?

9 A. That was a statement I read and I saw the statement. It
16:05:15 10 was a newspaper. It was discussed by journalists. It was on
11 radios and by the Kiss FM radio and some other newspapers. That
12 was how I knew that that happened.

13 Q. Now, witness, in terms of your own knowledge of borders in
14 the area from the information that you have, would it have been
16:05:38 15 possible in 1998 to close the border between Sierra Leone and
16 Liberia?

17 A. Well from my own knowledge I am not acquainted with these
18 borders, but that was what they said on radios and the newspaper,
19 that the border had been closed and that the border was being
16:06:04 20 closed to put pressure on the rebels from Sierra Leone to disarm.
21 That was what was on the news and on the radios, so that was what
22 I agreed with. It was purely on radio. I did not go to the
23 border to see whether it was closed or open, but in the case of
24 the Cote D'Ivoire border I can assure you that when I went to the
16:06:27 25 border there I crossed over the border myself, I went to Cote
26 D'Ivoire and I came back to Liberia. It was not closed. It was
27 open.

28 Q. You went to which border to cross?

29 A. Cote D'Ivoire. Cote D'Ivoire border.

1 Q. The Cote D'Ivoire border. We are not talking there in your
2 answer about Sierra Leone. So, witness another question. You
3 were asked about the 1996 assassination attempt against Taylor
4 and you said that General Jackson was killed in that incident.

16:07:00 5 A. Yes, sir.

6 Q. What groups - and then there was discussion of the security
7 situation at the time. What groups were fighting at the time of
8 that incident?

9 A. There were just some gunmen that belonged to the former
16:07:20 10 ULIMO-J, because there were Krahn, there were rebel, there were
11 Mandingos in the seven man government and they were all housed in
12 the Executive Mansion. But the most aggressive group was the
13 ULIMO-J. They were never satisfied. They still wanted to fight
14 and Roosevelt Johnson's group. So we concluded that the gunmen
16:07:48 15 were never cut down, so we concluded that Roosevelt Johnson's men
16 tried to shoot at President Taylor and the bodyguard got killed
17 and some other people got wounded.

18 Q. In the period after that incident was there open conflict
19 with ULIMO-J, the Roosevelt Johnson group?

16:08:08 20 A. Yes, later there was a conflict. A serious conflict.

21 Q. And in that conflict what side did ULIMO-K fight on?

22 A. ULIMO-K had decided to come over to our side, the NPFL
23 side, and J was all by themselves and Alhaji Kromah had come to
24 former President Taylor's side.

16:08:41 25 Q. And leading up to the period to 1997, for how long a period
26 was ULIMO-K on the side with Taylor and the NPFL?

27 A. It was quite a long time and what happened was that when
28 Alhaji Kromah got scared because of the volume of fire in
29 Monrovia, he went on foot to Guinea. He passed through Bomi

1 Hills, went through the bushes and he ended up into Guinea and it
2 took a long time.

3 Q. So in terms of the number of years, or months, if you can
4 give us any --

16:09:27 5 A. No, less than two years. Less than two years.

6 Q. Witness, Defence counsel asked you about an NPFL member, or
7 soldier, named Zulu who was investigated. Do you know what he
8 was accused of?

9 A. Zulu - Luka Zulu was a very hostile fellow and I observed
16:09:58 10 that when I was inspector general that Zulu was a very big
11 lawless man. He did not respect law. He took people's
12 properties illegally. He did so many illegal acts and he was
13 wanted for investigation, Luka Zulu. He was also a commander of
14 that area at the time, Naama area.

16:10:25 15 Q. Would you spell the name of that area?

16 A. N-A-A-M-A.

17 Q. N-A-A-M-A?

18 A. Yeah, Naama.

19 Q. And what county is that in?

16:10:38 20 A. That is in Bong County.

21 Q. Who conducted the investigation?

22 A. I wouldn't know. We attempted bringing him and he jumped
23 back into the bush and the armed men who went, the former
24 President said, "Okay. Just forget about him, I will find a way
16:10:57 25 to catch him myself". At the time of the investigation I was no
26 longer there, I had gone to the upper counties, but I knew when
27 he was arrested.

28 Q. After his arrest do you know what the result in his case
29 was?

1 A. No, I knew when he was arrested. I did not know the result
2 of the investigation.

3 JUDGE SEBUTINDE: Is Luka L-U-K-A?

4 THE WITNESS: C-A.

16:11:30 5 JUDGE SEBUTINDE: L-U-C-A?

6 THE WITNESS: Yeah, Luka. Luka Zulu.

7 MR RAPP:

8 Q. Witness, Defence counsel also asked you about the case of -
9 I think it was John Namayan who was accused of raping a 13 year
10 old girl. Was that the individual? Who was the individual
11 accused of raping the 13 year old girl?

12 A. John Wonnah. I said I did not know about that.

13 Q. And you don't know what the result of that - you never
14 heard of that particular case?

16:12:01 15 A. No, never. John Wonnah. He was one of the Special Forces.

16 Q. Defence counsel asked you about the massacre of 500 or 600
17 people in the Harbel at Carter Camp and noted that a UN
18 commission later said that it was the Liberian army who committed
19 this act and you said you knew that?

16:12:29 20 A. Yes, yes.

21 Q. And that's correct that that was what the report said.
22 Have you seen any reports of any Truth and Reconciliation
23 Commission testimony regarding the killings at Camp Carter in
24 Harbel?

16:12:46 25 A. No, what I heard was that there was an investigation going
26 on in the area and that there was wide news - there was news
27 about Carter Camp massacre and later the United Nations
28 investigators went in there and when they came out with their
29 report and they held the central government responsible for that.

1 The government was responsible for that.

2 Q. And were you involved in that investigation at all?

3 A. No, not at all.

16:13:20

4 Q. Do you know any of the facts regarding the incident at Camp
5 Carter from personal knowledge?

6 A. No, not at all.

16:13:38

7 Q. The Defence asked you a number of questions about your role
8 in the NPFL and as inspector general. Let's start first as
9 inspector general. As inspector general did Charles Taylor treat
10 you as if you were at the centre of the NPFL?

16:14:07

11 A. Well, my job was very crucial and difficult. The
12 difficulty in my job was that I had a limit and I was inspector
13 general responsible for crimes committed in the NPFL controlled
14 areas, but then the limits came when the Executive Mansion Guard
15 involved in criminal activities. I needed to get permission from
16 the Executive Mansion or from the commander-in-chief before
17 approaching them. So that made my job very difficult. There
18 were certain people that I could get hold of and there were
19 certain people that I could not, because they were attached to
20 the commander-in-chief.

16:14:28

21 Q. Let me just ask something specific. As inspector general
22 were you involved in high level meetings regarding operational
23 matters in the NPFL?

16:14:48

24 A. No. When there were matters of criminal nature, that is
25 people raping women, looting, illegal killings, house break in,
26 any criminal thing, you know, unlawful behaviours, within our
27 controlled areas I had right to investigate, but with military
28 plannings, no.

29 Q. You have discussed your knowledge of Dopee Menkarzon and it

1 was Christopher Varmoh in Sierra Leone. Were you present at any
2 meetings in which Taylor gave any orders to those men in regard
3 to Sierra Leone or any other operations?

4 A. No. I will say no. What I knew, when Foday Sankoh came to
16:15:36 5 Gbarnga and told me that he had gone to Gbarnga to talk to
6 President Taylor at that time, that his boys that he sent to help
7 him were misbehaving and looting and raping and burning down
8 houses, taking people's property away. And then who else was
9 there? Christopher Varmoh and Dopoe Menkarzon were the

16:16:02 10 commanders and those were the troops that were sent in there and
11 some other people had told me also - my radio operator told me
12 that Dopoe Menkarzon was also in there in Kuwait fighting.

13 Q. Now when Sankoh in this thing you just discussed came with
14 his report were you invited into the meeting with Taylor to
16:16:21 15 discuss that with him?

16 A. No.

17 Q. Why not?

18 A. Because the operation was in Sierra Leone and I was not
19 inspector general for Sierra Leone and those were high level
16:16:34 20 military matters. They were highly placed military matters, so
21 it was not my - it was not in line with my duties.

22 Q. Were you present in meetings regarding obtaining or
23 supplying arms and ammunition?

24 A. No.

16:16:52 25 Q. Were you present in any meetings regarding secret
26 operations?

27 A. No.

28 Q. Now let's just step up to the period of time that you were
29 ambassador from 1997 to 2000, ambassador to Libya and Tunisia.

1 At that time were you involved in meetings on operational matters
2 at a high level?

3 A. No.

16:17:22

4 Q. Involved in any discussions regarding Sierra Leone during
5 that time period at meetings with the President?

6 A. No. What I was told on one occasion was that Gaddafi had
7 asked that I should tell my President that he should distance
8 himself from Foday Sankoh and Foday Sankoh was not behaving right
9 and that he will get in trouble with the international community

16:17:48

10 and that I told him; that Gaddafi was not satisfied with his
11 friendship with Foday Sankoh.

12 Q. Did you ever discuss with Charles Taylor the invasion of
13 Freetown in January 1999?

14 A. No.

16:18:04

15 Q. Were you present at any meetings during the time you were
16 ambassador at a high level regarding arms and ammunitions and
17 their supply or distribution?

18 A. No.

16:18:28

19 Q. In terms of any secret operations, did you participate in
20 any meetings to discuss secret operations by the Government of
21 Liberia between '97 and 2000?

22 A. No, that was purely a security matter.

23 Q. Now let me just step up to the last three years when you
24 were Vice-President from 2000 to 2003. Again during that time
16:18:45 25 period were you involved in any high level meetings regarding
26 operational matters?

27 A. I will say no. I was involved in meetings having to do
28 with State matters, things that had to do with Liberia like
29 conflicts in the counties, like in Sinoe. Like there was a

1 conflict in Sinoe and he sent me there between meeting
2 [indiscernible] and the superintendent of that county, and
3 I would only go to upper counties to decide matters and there
4 were no secret matters that I will take part in their discussions
16:19:30 5 at that time because they were highly military.

6 Q. Would you have been involved in any meetings regarding the
7 situation in Sierra Leone with Charles Taylor?

8 A. I have said no for that over and again.

9 Q. This is during the period when you were Vice-President, the
16:19:51 10 answer is no?

11 A. No.

12 Q. And then regarding during the period you were
13 Vice-President regarding arms and ammunition?

14 A. When I became Vice-President I was very far from arms and
16:20:11 15 ammunition and I was purely doing the State matters, like being
16 President of the Senate and I had a lot of occupations,
17 investigation in the Senate. I don't think I had time to go to
18 the President and talk about arms.

19 Q. Witness, did Charles Taylor ever discuss diamonds with you
16:20:39 20 at all?

21 A. Not at all. Not at all.

22 Q. Would he have had such a discussion with you given the
23 nature of your relationship?

24 A. Would he what?

16:20:52 25 Q. Would he have had such a discussion with you? Would you
26 have expected him to have such a discussion with you?

27 A. Yes, but it never happened. He never did. He never
28 discussed anything concerning diamonds with me.

29 JUDGE SEBUTINDE: Mr Blah, could you face the judges and

1 please speak in the microphone.

2 THE WITNESS: Okay. Sorry. I am sorry, your Honour, your
3 Honour, judge. I am talking him. I am sorry. That is why I was
4 looking directly at him.

16:21:24 5 MR RAPP:

6 Q. Witness, the Defence counsel asked you questions about
7 ex-combatants in Liberia and housing in Monrovia. I wanted to be
8 clear. We had some confusion about areas and places. There was
9 a Sophie's and a Sinkor, but I particularly recall you saying in
10 your testimony that you recalled seeing ex-combatants block the
11 road in the Sinkor area. Did you say that?

12 A. Yes, they were all in the streets and as I am speaking to
13 you they are still there in Monrovia. They are everywhere
14 begging for money. Sometimes they jump on cars. As long as they
15 recognise you to be one of the chief during the fighting they
16 will harass you, but I did not see the house in which they were
17 living.

18 Q. Just to be clear, because you are talking I think about the
19 present and I wanted to take you back to the period of time
20 before Mr Taylor left the presidency, and during that period of
21 time did you see ex-combatants in this area in Sinkor where the
22 Defence had indicated that there may have been some kind of
23 housing for them?

24 A. They are there. They were there. They were there in large
25 groups, but then I see them about ten, 15 on the roads sometimes,
26 but nobody would know where they live. It is difficult. Some
27 are living with relatives and they have a point where normally
28 they will meet. They sit down, they discuss and sometimes harass
29 people in the street. But I have not seen the house that was

1 provided for them by government. No, I have not seen that.

2 Q. Now, witness, the Defence showed you a particular article
3 in regard to a conference in Liberia in 1998 and asked you
4 questions about free speech during the Charles Taylor presidency.

16:23:30 5 Are you familiar with Star Radio in Liberia?

6 A. Yes, I am familiar with Star Radio.

7 Q. And in 2000 do you know what - do you recall what happened
8 to Star Radio?

9 A. Star Radio was closed down by the government and they were
16:23:49 10 closed down, they went away. It is only now that they are coming
11 on again and they have started broadcasting again.

12 Q. And do you know why they were closed down?

13 A. Well, I wouldn't know the details. They were
14 anti-government and government decided to close down the station.

16:24:10 15 Q. Who was in charge of the government at the time that they
16 were closed down?

17 A. Charles Taylor.

18 Q. Are you familiar with Radio Veritas in Liberia?

19 A. Yes.

16:24:22 20 Q. And do you know who owned this radio station?

21 A. It is the Catholic churches in Liberia. It is a Catholic
22 radio.

23 Q. And do you know what happened to Radio Veritas in 2000?

24 A. No, I don't know.

16:24:37 25 Q. Are you familiar - I think you mentioned earlier the New
26 Democrat newspaper. Are you familiar with that paper?

27 A. Yes.

28 Q. And do you know what happened to that newspaper during the
29 Charles Taylor presidency?

1 A. No.

2 Q. Do you know a man by the name of Suah Deddeh?

3 A. Suah Deddeh, yes. Suah Deddeh.

4 Q. And that would be spelt S-U-A - excuse me, I will start

16:25:08 5 over again. S-U-A-H, D-E-D-D-E-H.

6 A. Yes, Deddeh. Suah Deddeh.

7 Q. And do you know what his position was during the

8 Charles Taylor presidency?

9 A. Suah Deddeh was nobody. Suah Deddeh's father had position

16:25:27 10 in Taylor's government. He was one of the fighters in the south

11 eastern region when I was inspector general, and Suah Deddeh was

12 one of the child soldiers behind his father and he was dragging

13 his arms from place to place. His father did not have good

14 character and every time he was in prison I detained him,

16:25:52 15 I arrested him, he hijacked some Americans at the plantation.

16 That was how I came to know Suah Deddeh. He was not a big man.

17 He was a small boy, but his father had a bad behaviour.

18 Q. Are you familiar with a journalist by the name of Sorious

19 Samora?

16:26:20 20 A. Soria [phon]?

21 Q. Sorious Samora?

22 A. No.

23 Q. Do you remember a group of journalists from CNN, or BBC,

24 coming to Monrovia in 2000?

16:26:30 25 A. Yes, I think I remember. I think, but I can't be clear

26 about it because a lot of journalists came in 2000 and when

27 I became Vice-President a lot of journalists visited my office

28 who wanted to enquire about this, about that and --

29 Q. Let me just ask you more directly, if I might be permitted.

1 Do you know of any situations of foreign journalists being
2 detained in Liberia?

3 A. Yes, yes.

4 Q. And when did that happen?

16:27:17 5 A. That was in 2000 and, if I am not mistaken, some
6 journalists were detained but later released. I did not know the
7 story in detail, but journalists were held and they were later
8 detained - I mean released.

9 Q. Well, as you say, you don't know the story in detail. Do
16:27:43 10 you know why the journalists were detained?

11 A. I can't tell. I can't tell you that, I am sorry.

12 Q. Now, witness --

13 JUDGE SEBUTINDE: Can we please have a spelling of Sorious
14 Samora.

16:27:55 15 MR RAPP: Okay, S-O-R-I-O-U-S is the first name and the
16 last name is Samora, S-A-M-O-R-A:

17 Q. Witness, during the time of Taylor's presidency, radio in
18 Liberia did it broadcast on which bands? Shortwave, FM, which
19 bands were used?

16:28:26 20 A. They were on FM bands. Kiss FM, that was the only popular
21 radio at that time - radio station at the time.

22 Q. Well prior to the Taylor presidency, had there been
23 shortwave radio stations in Liberia?

24 A. Yes, ELBC. That is the nation's radio.

16:28:50 25 Q. And did that shortwave radio station continue in Liberia
26 during the Taylor presidency?

27 A. No, they were actually operating on a low basis and
28 Taylor's own radio station was the most popular radio at that
29 time. At one time government had planned to close down the

1 radio, but the public outcry was that, "Why should the government
2 close the government radio and put Taylor's radio up?", so he
3 withdrew the plan, that that would not happen.

4 Q. Were you familiar with the Liberian communication network?

16:29:39 5 A. Yes.

6 Q. And who owned the Liberian communication network?

7 A. Communications network, I think it was ELBC.

8 PRESIDING JUDGE: Mr Rapp, I am watching the time here. We
9 have already had some indication that we are just about up to
10 time.

16:29:59

11 MR RAPP: Well, I think I probably have a total of 30
12 minutes of redirect and then of course we have exhibits to take
13 care of on both sides.

14 PRESIDING JUDGE: And there are other matters to be dealt
15 with. Yes, in the circumstances then I think it would be
16 appropriate.

16:30:08

17 JUDGE SEBUTINDE: Could we at least have the acronym ELBC
18 specified, please.

19 MR RAPP:

16:30:19 20 Q. Yes, would you tell us what does ELBC stand for?

21 A. It is Liberian Broadcasting Corporation. EL is always a
22 Liberian code for the air, something in the air. Even our
23 flights, the Liberian planes, they have EL, so the EL has to do
24 with air and so that is the Liberian Broadcasting Corporation.

16:30:46

25 PRESIDING JUDGE: Mr Witness, we are going to adjourn for
26 the afternoon. We will resume court tomorrow at 9.30. Again
27 I remind you that whilst you have taken the oath you should not
28 discuss your evidence with anyone else, do you understand?

29 THE WITNESS: Your Honours, sir.

1 PRESIDING JUDGE: Very good. Please adjourn court until
2 9.30 tomorrow.

3 [Whereupon the hearing adjourned at 4.30 p.m.
4 to be reconvened on Wednesday, 21 May 2008 at
5 9.30 a.m.]

16:31:26

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I N D E X

WITNESSES FOR THE PROSECUTION:

MOSES ZEH BLAH	10236
CROSS-EXAMINATION BY MR GRIFFITHS	10236
RE-EXAMINATION BY MR RAPP	10354