



Case No. SCSL-2003-01-T

THE PROSECUTOR OF
THE SPECIAL COURT
V.
CHARLES GHANKAY TAYLOR

TUESDAY, 9 MARCH 2010
9.30 A.M.
TRIAL

TRIAL CHAMBER II

Before the Judges:

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

For Chambers:

Mr Simon Meisenberg

For the Registry:

Ms Rachel Irura
Ms Zainab Fofanah

For the Prosecution:

Mr Nicholas Koumjian
Mr Mohamed A Bangura
Ms Maya Dimitrova

For the accused Charles Ghankay
Taylor:

Mr Courtenay Griffiths QC
Mr Morris Anyah
Ms Kathryn Hovington

1 Tuesday, 9 March 2010

2 [Open session]

3 [The accused present]

4 [Upon commencing at 9.30 a.m.]

09:29:02 5 PRESIDING JUDGE: Good morning. We will take appearances
6 first, please.

7 MR KOUMJIAN: Good morning, Madam President. Good morning,
8 your Honours. Good morning, counsel opposite. For the
9 Prosecution this morning, Mohamed A Bangura, Maja Dimitrova and
09:33:10 10 Nicholas Koumjian.

11 MR GRIFFITHS: Good morning, Madam President, your Honours,
12 counsel opposite. For the Defence today, myself Courtenay
13 Griffiths, with me Mr Morris Anyah of counsel and we are joined
14 today by Ms Kathryn Hovington of counsel, a legal assistant with
09:33:30 15 our team.

16 Madam President, before we commence can I indicate that I
17 had colour copies of just the photographs from the book we were
18 looking at last week. So I have only caused the photographs to
19 be photocopied. And once I finish going through the text, I will
09:33:55 20 revisit four photographs which are so much clearer in colour.

21 PRESIDING JUDGE: Thank you, Mr Griffiths. We appreciate
22 that. Can I inquire before I remind the witness of his oath
23 whether the protective measures are in place?

24 MS IRURA: Your Honour, the protective measures are in
09:34:18 25 place.

26 PRESIDING JUDGE: Mr Witness, good morning. You are going
27 to continue with your testimony this morning and I am required to
28 remind you that you are still under oath to tell the truth.

29 THE WITNESS: Yes.

1 PRESIDING JUDGE: Thank you.

2 WITNESS: DCT-125 [On former oath]

3 EXAMINATION-IN-CHIEF BY MR GRIFFITHS: [Cont'd]

09:34:49 4 Q. Last week, Thursday, we were looking at the booklet "The
5 World Mathaba", do you recall that?

6 A. Yes.

7 Q. And we had reached page 28 of this document. Could the
8 witness please be shown the translation?

09:35:29 9 PRESIDING JUDGE: Mr Griffiths, could you remind us where
10 to locate this document again.

11 MR GRIFFITHS: It's the translation of the booklet which
12 you should have in a separate bundle.

13 PRESIDING JUDGE: This is under tab 2 of the Defence
14 bundle?

09:36:03 15 MR GRIFFITHS: Yes, it is:

16 Q. Could we go to page 28, please. Now, Mr Witness, do you
17 have that page on your screen?

18 A. Yes, sir.

09:36:26 19 Q. We had reached resolution number 12 at the top of the page
20 and you see that it reads:

21 "Imperialism, racism and Zionism are a permanent terrorism
22 for the small nations. These powers use extreme forms of
23 terrorism in occupied Palestine, in Namibia, in South Africa.
24 Thus, to have an armed struggle to counteract terrorism does not
09:36:54 25 constitute a form of terrorism like the imperialists claim. It
26 is a sacred combat which acquires its legitimacy because it is
27 based on the right to self-defence.

28 The congress confirms that the real terrorism is the one
29 practiced by neo-colonial powers and the United States.

1 They invest their military, political, financial and
2 logistics potentials in this terrorism. They want to extend
3 their domination on the people and to subject them to their will.
4 State terrorism is characterised by the behaviour of the American
09:37:38 5 administration: It militarily invades Grenada, Lebanon, Chad,
6 and threatens to invade the great Jamahiriya and Nicaragua. It
7 undertakes provoking operations, deploys warships, organises
8 regime overthrow and assassinations of the revolutionary leaders
9 of the whole world, deploys its military bases and its atomic
09:38:08 10 weapons, plunders the economic resources of the people,
11 disfigures their culture and puts their existence in danger."

12 Now, Mr Witness, we see there a definition of terrorism.

13 A. Yes.

14 Q. Is that a definition to which you subscribe?

09:38:30 15 A. Yes. It's a definition to which the Mathaba subscribes to,
16 and I also subscribe to the same definition.

17 Q. If we can then just look briefly at the other parts of - at
18 13, we see if we skip a few lines:

19 "The congress highly appreciates the victories obtained by
09:39:08 20 the masses in Africa, in Asia and South America ..."

21 And then at 14 we see reference to the arms race,
22 deployment of nuclear missiles, environmental concerns, so on and
23 so forth, yes?

24 A. Yes.

09:39:26 25 Q. And let's go over the page, please, to number 15 at the top
26 of that page:

27 "The United Nations, as it currently exists, is not only an
28 organisation to help the governments, but also an organisation
29 stripped of any capacity to act because of the right to veto that

1 the United States of America has, since the foundation of the
2 United Nations, against the causes and the interests of the small
3 nations. This is why the congress asks for the creation of a new
4 international organisation which will incarnate the will of the
09:40:05 5 small people. This organisation will be a platform where the
6 good and the truth will appear, where the voice of the
7 imperialist hegemony will disappear. The congress asks for the
8 abolition of the right of veto, a right which neutralises the
9 decisions of the small nations."

09:40:27 10 Now, again, Mr Witness, is that a view of the United
11 Nations which you share?

12 A. Yes, I totally share this view.

13 Q. And was it a view held by many of those who were members of
14 the Mathaba?

09:40:43 15 A. Yes, this is the general view of all the members of the
16 Mathaba.

17 Q. Do you still subscribe to that view of the United Nations?

18 A. I do.

19 Q. [Microphone not activated] then we see number 16, which I
09:41:13 20 don't propose to go through. Now, we see next, Mr Witness, a
21 number of resolutions. Now, what was the procedure adopted in
22 order to arrive at these resolutions?

23 A. Popular voting.

24 Q. And who had the right to vote?

09:41:39 25 A. The members of the different commissions that were set up
26 during the congress.

27 Q. Now, we see that it reads as follows:

28 "The congress took the following decisions:

29 The congress has decided to use the speech of the

1 international revolutionary Muammar al-Gaddafi as bases for the
2 workshop of the second congress of the World Mathaba. The
3 members of the congress engage to put the lesson of this speech
4 into practice. They declare that the international revolutionary
09:42:19 5 Muammar al-Gaddafi is the leader of world revolution and that he
6 directs the revolutionary fights against imperialism, Zionism,
7 racism, reactionism and fascism.

8 Secondly, creation of an internationally revolutionary
9 force for the fight against imperialism, Zionism, racism,
09:42:42 10 reactionism and fascism incarnating the principle of the
11 legitimacy of the right to self-defence."

12 And then over the page, please:

13 "The creation of an international front which will include
14 the people, the small nations, the revolutionary movements, the
09:43:00 15 political movements and the progressive movements, the popular
16 revolutions in the world with the aim of fighting international
17 hegemony.

18 4. To confront the global strategy of the enemy, strategy
19 within which the roles are divided between the imperialism, the
09:43:21 20 Zionism and the fascist and dictatorial regimes, the congress has
21 decided to support the liberation movements which are fighting
22 for their cultural identity, the right to repossess their land
23 and to live in peace, away from the colonialist danger and the
24 nuclear terror?

09:43:41 25 5. Because of the convergence of the common objectives
26 within the fights of the members of the Mathaba, the forces that
27 are participating in this congress decide:

28 (a) to envisage among themselves meetings, conferences, and
29 intellectual dialogues;

1 (b) to publish circulars, reports, organs of information
2 which will provide information on the members and on the
3 activities;

4 (c) to exchange flyers;

09:44:13 5 (d) to create collective cultural camps;

6 6. Organise every month, or whenever it is necessary,
7 political activities represented by world conferences,
8 revolutionary demonstrations, festivals of freedom and
9 solidarity."

09:44:35 10 Now, Mr Witness, before we come finally to that telegram at
11 the end, can I ask you this: Was there anything clandestine or
12 secretive about the meetings of the Mathaba?

13 A. There is nothing clandestine and secret about the meetings
14 of the Mathaba, because all the meetings of the Mathaba are
09:45:05 15 televised worldwide.

16 Q. You will appreciate that it is suggested that you and the
17 others gathered at the Mathaba were engaged in terrorist
18 activities?

19 A. There is no mechanism that has been established for us to
09:45:27 20 engage into terrorist activities. The mechanism that is
21 established within the Mathaba is for organising meetings,
22 conferences and intellectual dialogues to raise the level of
23 conscienceness of the oppressed people of the world.

24 Q. I am not going to refer you to the telegram at the end, but
09:46:04 25 now that we have the colour photographs, could we turn to these,
26 please, just briefly. And I am only interested in three pages.
27 Could we, first of all, look at the page with "41" in the bottom
28 right-hand corner. Now, we looked at this photograph last week,
29 Mr Witness. Do you recall that?

1 A. Yes.

2 Q. Do you recognise someone in that top photograph?

3 A. Yes. Just below the Arabic writing, the gentleman in the
4 traditional African dress, who is Mr Ali Kabbah, the leader of
09:47:23 5 the Sierra Leone revolution - Pan-African revolutionary movement.

6 Q. Do we need the particular individual to be pointed out
7 again? Are we all aware of who we are looking at?

8 PRESIDING JUDGE: Just to be safe, I think the witness
9 should point on the overhead.

09:47:45

10 MR GRIFFITHS:

11 Q. Change places for this exercise, please. Who is Ali
12 Kabbah?

13 A. This is Ali Kabbah.

14 Q. [Microphone not activated]

09:48:34

15 PRESIDING JUDGE: Please repeat that with your microphone
16 on.

17 MR GRIFFITHS:

18 Q. Can we please now go to page 45. The person in the bottom
19 photograph is a man called Dr Manneh, isn't it?

09:49:06

20 A. Yes, sir.

21 Q. [Microphone not activated]

22 PRESIDING JUDGE: Mr Griffiths, if you don't activate your
23 microphone, the page is not reflected on the record, I am afraid.

24 MR GRIFFITHS:

09:50:06

25 Q. Can we please go to page 71. The man in the traditional
26 shirt to the right of the top photograph, who is that?

27 A. That is Mr Ali Kabbah, the leader of the Sierra Leonean
28 Pan-African revolutionary movement.

29 Q. And in the bottom photograph we see a man called Dr Manneh

1 shaking hands with Muammar al-Gaddafi, don't we?

2 A. Yes, sir.

3 Q. Could you return to your seat now, please. We can all now
4 put this document away; we will not be referring to it again.

09:51:41

5 Now, we spent a little time going through that booklet,
6 Mr Witness. Mr Witness, the sentiments expressed in that
7 booklet, are they reflective of the politics and attitude of the
8 Mathaba?

9 A. That is correct.

09:52:02

10 Q. Now, you have indicated in that booklet in two photographs
11 a man called Ali Kabbah?

12 A. Yes.

13 Q. How well did you know that man?

14 A. I know him.

09:52:26

15 Q. Did you hold discussions with him?

16 A. Yes, I do.

17 Q. Did you meet with him on a regular basis at the Mathaba?

18 A. At every Mathaba conference. I meet with him very
19 regularly.

09:52:42

20 Q. What was Ali Kabbah like?

21 A. Ali Kabbah is a revolutionary like me, cool hearted. He
22 knows what - he is engaged in the struggle for liberation of the
23 Sierra Leonean people.

24 Q. And what were his politics?

09:53:01

25 A. Ali Kabbah is a Pan-African revolutionary freedom fighter
26 like me.

27 Q. Did he share your Marxist political leanings?

28 A. Yes, sir.

29 Q. As far as you're aware, was there contact between

1 Charles Taylor and Ali Kabbah at the Mathaba?

2 A. At the Mathaba, anybody who is present at - during the -
3 how do you call it - the international conferences or the
4 conferences organised by the Mathaba, we meet each other at the
09:53:39 5 conferences.

6 Q. But I asked for a specific reason, Mr Witness. As far as
7 you're aware, did Charles Taylor meet with Ali Kabbah?

8 A. Not to my knowledge. Because meeting - a leader meeting
9 another leader is something that is outside of the Mathaba
09:54:06 10 framework.

11 Q. Was there ever an occasion when you, Charles Taylor and Ali
12 Kabbah sat down to discuss strategies regarding West Africa?

13 A. Never. We only sit and discuss on politics concerning our
14 respective countries and the Mathaba and Pan-Africanism.

09:54:33 15 Q. Apart from Ali Kabbah, did you meet any other Sierra
16 Leoneans in the Mathaba?

17 A. The only Sierra Leonean I met in the Mathaba during that
18 time was Ali Kabbah's assistant, who is called Cleo Hansile. The
19 late Cleo Hansile.

09:54:53 20 Q. Could you provide us with a spelling of that name, please.

21 A. C-L-E-O, Cleo; Hansile, H-A-N-S-I-L-E, if I'm not mistaken.

22 Q. Did you meet a man called Foday Sankoh in Libya?

23 A. I don't know who Foday Sankoh is during the time I was in
24 Libya, and I have never met him in Libya.

09:55:22 25 Q. When was the first time you met Foday Sankoh?

26 A. The first time I met Foday Sankoh was in Liberia.

27 Q. Where in Liberia?

28 A. I met Foday Sankoh in Gbarnga.

29 Q. When was that?

1 A. It was at a time when I went to visit His Excellency
2 President Taylor at the Executive Mansion in Gbarnga.

3 Q. Can you help us with a year? If you can't, don't worry.

4 A. I can't remember the year.

09:56:04 5 Q. To your knowledge, did Charles Taylor meet Foday Sankoh in
6 the Mathaba?

7 A. No. Because if he had met him, as a member founder of the
8 Mathaba and a member of the executive, I would have known that he
9 has met Foday Sankoh. But Foday Sankoh is not a leader to take

09:56:32 10 part in the Mathaba - how do you call it - conferences. It's
11 only political - revolutionary leaders who are members of the
12 executive of the Mathaba who participate in the Mathaba
13 conferences.

14 Q. Did you ever meet Foday Sankoh at Camp Tajura?

09:56:53 15 A. I have never met Foday Sankoh at Camp Tajura, because I
16 don't know who Foday Sankoh was during my stay in Libya.

17 Q. Did there come a time when you left Libya?

18 A. Yes. I left Libya and went to Ghana.

19 Q. How long did you stay in Ghana?

09:57:16 20 A. I stayed in Ghana for just six to eight months.

21 Q. Why did you go to Ghana?

22 A. I went to Ghana with my colleagues to try to implement our
23 programme we had at hand of infiltrating our colleagues to a
24 country for mass mobilisation and preparations for our - how do
09:57:40 25 you call it - revolution.

26 Q. Did you manage to achieve that aim whilst in Ghana?

27 A. No, we couldn't. We had to return back to Libya.

28 Q. After you went back to Libya, did there come a time when
29 once again you left Libya for somewhere else?

1 A. Yes. We left Libya and went to Burkina Faso.

2 Q. When you went to Burkina Faso, did your colleagues go with
3 you?

4 A. Yes, they went with me, some of them went with me, some of
09:58:16 5 them were sent on a mission and we were based in Burkina Faso.

6 Q. Where in Burkina Faso were you based?

7 A. Ouagadougou, the capital city.

8 PRESIDING JUDGE: Mr Witness, just wait for the question to
9 be completed before you speak. And, Mr Griffiths, is it possible
09:58:36 10 to have time frames for some of these events. It would be
11 helpful.

12 MR GRIFFITHS:

13 Q. Can you recall now when it was that you left Libya to go to
14 Ghana?

09:58:50 15 A. We left Libya to go to Ghana in '86.

16 Q. And, help me, when did you return - you said you were there
17 for eight months?

18 A. Yes.

19 Q. Did you return to Libya in the same year?

09:59:16 20 A. The same year, yes.

21 Q. Having returned to Libya, how long did you stay there
22 before you went to Burkina Faso?

23 A. We didn't stay for a long time. We were there and we left
24 in '87 to Burkina Faso. By that time we were organising for our
09:59:39 25 fourth congress in Burkina Faso which took place in 1988.

26 Q. When you left Libya to go to Burkina Faso, did you leave
27 with the Liberians?

28 A. We never knew the Liberians' programmes, so we left on our
29 own. We were pursuing our own programme.

1 Q. Why did you go to Burkina Faso?

2 A. We went to Burkina Faso to pursue our revolutionary
3 programme.

4 Q. Who housed you whilst you were in Burkina Faso?

10:00:19 5 A. We were housed by the Burkina revolutionary brothers.

6 Q. Did you meet up with any Liberians in Burkina Faso?

7 A. The only person I met in Burkina Faso, Liberian, is His
8 Excellency President Charles Ghankay Taylor.

9 Q. Did you meet with any of his men in Burkina Faso?

10:00:51 10 A. I didn't meet with anybody else because I was not in
11 contact with any other Liberian except Charles Taylor.

12 Q. As far as you are aware, was there contact between your
13 colleagues and Mr Taylor's men in Burkina Faso?

14 A. No, there were - the only contacts that existed between our
10:01:14 15 group and the group of His Excellency President Taylor is between
16 me and President Taylor.

17 Q. Were you aware that Mr Taylor was planning to invade
18 Liberia?

19 A. I was not aware because he never told me.

10:01:35 20 Q. Did you not plan the invasion of Liberia jointly with
21 Mr Taylor?

22 A. We are not terrorists. We are freedom fighters. So every
23 movement has its own independence to organise independently and
24 to execute their programme independently. We are not an
10:01:56 25 organised terrorist group.

26 Q. How did you first learn of the Liberian revolution?

27 A. I first learned of the Liberian revolution over the radio,
28 BBC.

29 Q. Where were you and your colleagues when you became aware of

1 the launch of the revolution?

2 A. We were in Burkina Faso. I was in my house. I just came
3 from a trip from Algeria.

4 Q. After the launch of the Liberian revolution, did you see
10:02:29 5 Charles Taylor?

6 A. I saw Charles Taylor a few days after the launch of the
7 Liberian revolution.

8 Q. Where did you see him?

9 A. I saw him in Burkina Faso when he came to brief the
10:02:43 10 Burkinabe authorities of the confusion between him and Prince
11 Johnson who deserted his group, because Prince Johnson had
12 violated the sacred principle and the oath they took among all
13 the Liberian revolutionaries that no Liberian revolutionary
14 should kill a comrade.

10:03:07 15 Q. And this Prince Johnson - you say he had violated the
16 sacred principles - what in fact had he done?

17 A. He killed his fellow comrades during the liberation
18 struggle.

19 Q. And what did he do after that, this man Prince Johnson?

10:03:25 20 A. He deserted the group in fear that he would be arrested and
21 court-martialed.

22 Q. And did he form another group?

23 A. He formed the INPFL.

24 Q. Now, when you learnt of this, did you speak to
10:03:45 25 Charles Taylor about it?

26 A. When I learnt of it, I went to Charles Taylor and I spoke
27 to him and offered our revolutionary solidarity to secure him
28 during the struggle in Liberia.

29 Q. By "offering our revolutionary solidarity", what are you

1 talking about?

2 A. I am talking about securing him, providing bodyguards for
3 him during his movements inside and outside of Liberia. Because
4 we - I personally, after discussions with our group, we have
10:04:24 5 noticed that his life is threatened and, since there is a split
6 within his movement, we decided that we should provide him with
7 the security to safeguard his life.

8 Q. But he had his own men, his Liberians?

9 A. Yeah, the confusion was there.

10:04:46 10 Q. I don't understand you.

11 A. There was this tribal confusion because Prince Johnson is
12 Gio and many people - some of the people deserted along with
13 Prince Johnson. So for us, with our experience, we told our
14 brother, President Charles Taylor, that your life is threatened
10:05:04 15 so you have to secure your life.

16 Q. So why would he need Gambians to secure his life?

17 A. We don't have any interest in Liberia and we are not
18 challenging Charles Taylor. This is why we offered him neutral
19 protection, neutral security.

10:05:21 20 Q. What was his reaction?

21 A. At the beginning he refused because he said he didn't want
22 to - how do you call it - the Liberian revolution to be
23 regionalised, to spill over, because people might interpret it
24 wrongly, that we are being taken to Liberia as mercenaries to
10:05:39 25 fight alongside the NPFL. This was why he refused.

26 Q. Was the word you mentioned "regionalised"?

27 A. Yes.

28 Q. And when you say spill over, spill over where?

29 A. To neighbouring countries, like people might think we want

1 to use it as a springboard - that our group wants to use our
2 participation in Liberia as a springboard to attack our place,
3 our country.

4 Q. Now, at the time, as far as you were aware, was the
10:06:16 5 {redacted} government aware of your presence in Burkina Faso?

6 A. The {redacted} government is aware of our presence in
7 Burkina Faso. They are aware of anywhere I go because they are
8 well equipped and they are well financed and they are not
9 comfortable whilst I move freely to organise the people, to
10:06:35 10 conscientise the people for us to regain our lost independence
11 and dignity caused by the {redacted} brutal invasion.

12 Q. Now, when Mr Taylor spoke of regionalising the conflict --
13 PRESIDING JUDGE: Mr Griffiths, I don't know if there is a
14 part that will require redaction because there is information
10:07:01 15 that came out during the private session and I think you ought to
16 examine that last answer carefully, perhaps with the assistance
17 of your colleagues.

18 MR GRIFFITHS: Line 18, I think we should remove the first
19 person singular and perhaps replace it with "we".

10:07:45 20 PRESIDING JUDGE: I would have removed the country referred
21 to.

22 MR GRIFFITHS: Very well.

23 PRESIDING JUDGE: But, I mean, it's up to you.

24 MR GRIFFITHS: Perhaps if we remove the name of the country
10:08:15 25 so it reads "the government".

26 PRESIDING JUDGE: Yes. Madam Court Officer, if you look at
27 page 19, where the answer, "The" - and then there is a country -
28 "government is aware of our presence". So the name of that
29 country should be redacted. But also four lines below that, "the

1 brutal invasion", the name of that country also should be
2 redacted. I think that should take care of the protective
3 measures in place.

4 Madam Court Officer, am I clear? Thank you. Please
10:09:20 5 proceed.

6 MR GRIFFITHS:

7 Q. Now, what was your ability to travel at that time?

8 A. My ability to travel at that time was I could travel freely
9 because I had many contacts with friends and comrades worldwide
10:09:48 10 who really were sympathetic to our cause.

11 Q. Now, at the time that you were having this discussion with
12 Charles Taylor in Burkina Faso, help us, in West Africa at that
13 time, taking the countries one by one, in Ghana, who was the
14 President?

10:10:15 15 A. The President at that time was Flight Lieutenant Jerry John
16 Rawlings.

17 Q. How had he come to power?

18 A. Rawlings came to power by a coup d'etat.

19 Q. At this time, who was President of Guinea?

10:10:36 20 A. Which Guinea?

21 Q. Guinea-Conakry.

22 A. The President of Guinea-Conakry by that time was
23 Lansana Conte, General Lansana Conte, who also took power through
24 a coup d'etat.

10:10:53 25 Q. What about The Gambia?

26 A. The Gambia was foreign imposition, a foreign country was in
27 The Gambia that supported the deposed President whom they brought
28 back to power.

29 Q. What about Sierra Leone, who was in --

1 A. It was a military junta.

2 Q. What was the name of the President at the time?

3 A. Joseph Saidu Momoh.

4 Q. How had he come to power?

10:11:26 5 A. He came to power by military means.

6 Q. At this time, what was the attitude of these military
7 leaders who had seized power through coups towards the civilian
8 uprising launched by Charles Taylor?

9 A. It was a big threat to their survival and - how do you call
10:11:51 10 it - their continuous reign over the people - power in
11 West Africa.

12 Q. Why was it a threat?

13 A. Because we have shifted from the coup d'etats to a popular
14 uprising.

10:12:10 15 Q. Now, following that meeting with Charles Taylor that you
16 have just told us about in Burkina Faso, did Charles Taylor
17 remain in Burkina Faso?

18 A. No, he had to go back to - how do you call it - as leader
19 to oversee the revolutionary struggle that has begun in Liberia.

10:12:35 20 Q. Did he accept your offer of assistance at that time?

21 A. The first time he didn't accept until we had to put
22 pressure on him and reason with him and that was the time he
23 accepted.

24 Q. Let's take matters in stages. Did you see Charles Taylor
10:12:49 25 again in Burkina Faso?

26 A. I saw him again in Burkina Faso when he came to
27 Burkina Faso.

28 Q. And did you speak to him again about the same issue?

29 A. I raised the same issue to him and we had a very lengthy

1 debate, frank, and then he accepted our offer. But only he
2 insisted and he made it clear that only - and only - we go to
3 Liberia to take care of his security and nothing else, because he
4 doesn't want anybody to start accusing him that he has brought in
10:13:25 5 mercenaries to fight along the NPFL.

6 Q. When he left on that occasion, did any of your colleagues
7 accompany him?

8 A. He went with some of my colleagues.

9 Q. In due course, did all of your colleagues go to Liberia?

10:13:45 10 A. No, we were a movement. Not all of us went to Liberia.
11 From time to time those - some will go, some will come back, some
12 will go to our country for mass mobilisation on missions. But
13 the majority of those whom we have selected were always with
14 His Excellency President Taylor.

10:14:07 15 Q. Can you give us an idea of how many of your colleagues went
16 to Liberia to provide security for Charles Taylor?

17 A. Roughly 20.

18 Q. Did they all travel in one batch, or in more than one
19 batch?

10:14:26 20 A. No. As I said, they never travelled in one batch. They
21 went in - how do you call it - in different stages.

22 Q. By what means did they travel from Burkina Faso to Liberia?

23 A. They travelled by road through Ivory Coast to Liberia.

24 Q. What about yourself? Did there come a time when you went
10:14:54 25 to Liberia?

26 A. Yes. As leader of the group, my colleagues were there, so
27 I am compelled to go and see them, to encourage them.

28 Q. Can you help us with a date when you went to Liberia.

29 A. I went to Liberia in '90 or '91.

1 Q. In which year?

2 A. I think it's '91.

3 Q. 1991?

4 A. Yes.

10:15:36 5 Q. Why did you go to Liberia?

6 A. I went to visit my colleagues and to get firsthand
7 information on the development of the Liberian revolution.

8 Q. Where in Liberia did you go to?

9 A. I went to Tappita and then to Buchanan.

10:16:29 10 Q. On your arrival in Liberia, what did you think? What was
11 your view of the Liberian revolution?

12 A. It was a people's revolution. The masses were fighting for
13 their rights. The masses wanted to seek - to seize power and to
14 develop their country.

10:16:57 15 Q. Did you see evidence of tribalism?

16 A. There was no evidence of tribalism because the belief
17 system of the NPFL, according to what I got from Charles Taylor
18 during all the discussions I had with him, was a liberation
19 struggle.

10:17:22 20 Q. Did you see evidence of victimisation or revenge?

21 A. It is not the line of the NPFL. But, as you know, even
22 with these American imperialist wars that they have aggressed
23 many countries, there are always signs of tribalism, signs of
24 victimisation, you name it.

10:17:47 25 PRESIDING JUDGE: Mr Witness, I don't think the answered
26 the question. The question was simply: When you went to
27 Liberia, did you evidence of victimisation --

28 THE WITNESS: There was no evidence of victimisation --

29 PRESIDING JUDGE: Let me finish. Do not interrupt when I

1 am speaking, please. The question was asked - and you didn't
2 answer it - Did you see evidence of victimisation or revenge?

3 THE WITNESS: There was no evidence of victimisation or
4 revenge.

10:18:21 5 MR GRIFFITHS:

6 Q. For how long did you stay in Tappita?

7 A. I stayed in Tappita for two weeks.

8 Q. Where did you go from there?

9 A. To Buchanan in Grand Bassa County.

10:18:39 10 Q. Why did you go to Buchanan?

11 A. Because His Excellency President Taylor was based in
12 Buchanan at that time.

13 Q. For how long did you remain in Buchanan?

14 A. On my first trip I stayed in Buchanan for three weeks and
10:18:59 15 went back to Burkina Faso.

16 Q. Did you return to Liberia?

17 A. Yes, I returned to Liberia.

18 Q. To where in Liberia did you return?

19 A. I returned to Buchanan.

10:19:14 20 Q. For how long did you remain in Buchanan on this occasion?

21 A. On this occasion I was there for a period of three months.

22 PRESIDING JUDGE: Is there a time frame for this second
23 visit?

24 MR GRIFFITHS:

10:19:30 25 Q. When was - in which year was it that you returned to
26 Buchanan from Burkina Faso?

27 A. End of '91, '92.

28 MR GRIFFITHS: Madam President, I think we will have to go
29 into a brief private session to deal with the work done by the

1 witness in Buchanan, because it may well identify him.

2 PRESIDING JUDGE: Yes. Does the Prosecution object?

3 MR KOUMJIAN: No, your Honour.

4 PRESIDING JUDGE: For the members of the public listening,
10:20:15 5 we are going to go into a brief private session whereby you can
6 look into the Court, but you can't hear what is being said for
7 the purpose of the protection of this witness's identity.

8 Madam Court Officer.

9 [At this point in the proceedings, a portion of
10 the transcript, pages 36784 to 36790, was
11 extracted and sealed under separate cover, as
12 the proceeding was heard in private
13 session.]

14

15

16

17

18

19

20

21

22

23

24

25

26

27

28

29

1 [Open session]

2 MS IRURA: Your Honour, we are in open session.

3 MR GRIFFITHS:

4 Q. From your dealings with the civilian population, did you
10:36:49 5 receive reports of rape?

6 A. All activities and all problems that the displaced
7 civilians were confronting, the reports always comes to my office
8 and I have never ever received any report of any rape during the
9 time I was in Liberia.

10:37:08 10 Q. Was rape a systematic practice of the NPFL?

11 A. I have never heard of any systematic system of rape by the
12 NPFL fighters.

13 Q. What about the use of torture by the NPFL fighters, was
14 that commonplace?

10:37:32 15 A. Not in the areas which was liberated where I was operating.
16 I don't know behind liberated areas - behind the liberated lines,
17 I don't know.

18 Q. Did you become aware of any - of extrajudicial killings as
19 a practice by the NPFL?

10:37:57 20 A. As to my knowledge, the NPFL as a liberation movement
21 fighting to liberate the Liberian people, I have never heard of
22 any extrajudicial killings. The only thing I heard in Liberia
23 was any fighter who violated the law was taken to a court martial
24 and was dealt with correctly.

10:38:23 25 Q. What was Charles Taylor's attitude towards offences like
26 rape, murder, looting, arson and so on committed by NPFL
27 fighters?

28 A. He was very firm and very strict on those, how do you call
29 it, crimes.

1 Q. At this time, Mr Witness, were you working closely with
2 Charles Taylor?

3 A. I was far away from Charles Taylor but I was coordinating
4 with Charles Taylor. I was briefing him on all what we on the
10:39:02 5 civilian side were doing.

6 Q. So did you have much contact with him?

7 A. The only times I used to have contacts with His Excellency
8 President Charles Ghankay Taylor was every Saturday when he comes
9 to Buchanan because my {redacted} was married in Liberia,
10:39:25 10 the husband was working at Bong Mines, so she also was displaced
11 with her husband. So His Excellency President Taylor comes to
12 Buchanan, {redacted} used to cook for her, because even the
13 cooking of the food of His Excellency Charles Taylor was done by
14 my colleagues. So His Excellency President Taylor would come to
10:39:44 15 Buchanan for {redacted} to cook for her and on Sundays he goes
16 to church. So this is the time, Saturdays and Sundays before he
17 goes back to the front, when I used to brief him on all what we
18 are doing on the civilian front.

19 PRESIDING JUDGE: Mr Griffiths, do you reckon that relation
10:40:11 20 should be redacted or is it not necessary? The witness appears
21 to agree with me. So, Madam Court Officer, if you could redact
22 the reference to the relation completely, where the relation of
23 the witness appears. In various places he has referred to a
24 relation. For the members of the public listening, please, you
10:40:46 25 are not to repeat that relation outside of the Court.

26 MR GRIFFITHS:

27 Q. Mr Witness, you were telling us about Charles Taylor
28 meeting with you every Saturday. Now, help us with this: Were
29 you ever aware of Charles Taylor giving an order to kill?

1 A. Never.

2 Q. To burn down people's houses?

3 A. Never.

4 Q. To rape?

10:41:32 5 A. Never.

6 Q. To loot?

7 A. Never. Maybe if that has happened, it would be an isolated
8 incident without Charles Taylor's knowledge.

9 Q. Was there a system of discipline within the NPFL?

10:41:58 10 A. The NPFL was well disciplined back way from Libya, since
11 they were taking their training until they came to Burkina Faso
12 and until they launched their revolution, like any other movement
13 in Africa.

14 Q. During your time in Liberia, were you involved in military
10:42:33 15 decision making?

16 A. I am not a military officer, so I don't take part in any
17 military decisions. Because I am also a leader of another
18 movement, so I don't have the right to interfere with the
19 internal military affairs of another movement, especially the
10:42:50 20 NPFL.

21 Q. Have you ever received military training?

22 A. I have never, ever received military training. The only
23 training I received was to be a priest, and I rebelled against
24 the Catholic order.

10:43:09 25 Q. Have you ever provided military training to others?

26 A. I provided military training for others within the
27 framework of the Mathaba.

28 Q. Did you personally ever provide military training to
29 anyone?

1 A. I am not a military expert. I am not trained. I cannot
2 train any other person.

3 Q. Did you ever provide advice to Charles Taylor regarding
4 military tactics?

10:43:44 5 A. Never. The only advice I ever gave to His Excellency
6 President Taylor is based on mass mobilisation and political
7 thinking.

8 MR GRIFFITHS: [Microphone not activated]. I apologise for
9 not having alerted Madam Court Manager of this, but would it be
10:44:53 10 possible to put before the witness exhibit P-54. I have a clean
11 copy of it, which might save time. We can't use my copy because
12 as I understand it, there are some details on this document which
13 could identify a Prosecution witness, and I am told that there is
14 a copy which has been appropriately redacted. [Microphone not
10:47:00 15 activated]. I am only interested in the top half of this
16 diagram. Does everybody have it?

17 PRESIDING JUDGE: Yes, we do.

18 MR GRIFFITHS:

19 Q. Now, Mr Witness, do you see this diagram?

10:47:17 20 A. Yes.

21 Q. You see that it is headed "NPFL command structure around
22 1990th-1991"?

23 A. Correct.

24 Q. Do you see that it has Charles Taylor being the leader?

10:47:34 25 A. Yes.

26 Q. Now, listen very carefully. You notice that two
27 individuals are listed to the right as being military advisers to
28 Charles Taylor, yes?

29 A. Yes.

1 Q. As far as you are aware, were any of those two individuals
2 ever military advisers to Charles Taylor?

3 A. Those two individuals were never, ever military advisers to
4 President Taylor. The first person, whose name is Foday Sankoh,
10:48:13 5 is never a military adviser to Charles Taylor, to my knowledge.
6 The second person, Dr Manneh, is not a military officer, and he
7 was never a military adviser to Charles Taylor, and he never was
8 part of this chart.

9 Q. Thank you. Can we put that away, please. Now, one of the
10:48:59 10 names you have just mentioned, Foday Sankoh, you told us earlier
11 that you met him for the first time in Liberia, is that right?

12 A. Yes, Liberia in Gbarnga.

13 Q. Where in Gbarnga?

14 A. At the Executive Mansion.

10:49:15 15 Q. On how many occasions did you meet him in Gbarnga?

16 A. I met Foday Sankoh once, and I saw him for the first time
17 in Gbarnga. It was the late Domingo Ramos who pointed Foday
18 Sankoh to me, that: That is Foday Sankoh, who is the rebel
19 leader of the Sierra Leonean group we had over there called RUF.

10:49:47 20 The second time I met Foday Sankoh was inside the Executive
21 Mansion. I was told, and he himself confirmed, that he came to
22 see His Excellency President Charles Taylor. That was the second
23 time I saw him face to face.

24 Q. Now, I want to deal with those two things - those two
10:50:09 25 incidents separately; do you follow me?

26 A. Yes, sir.

27 Q. The first occasion when you say he was pointed out to you
28 by one Domingo Ramos --

29 A. Yes.

1 Q. -- was that in Gbarnga?

2 A. That was in Gbarnga, yes.

3 Q. Where in Gbarnga was that?

4 A. Inside the Executive Mansion grounds.

10:50:33 5 Q. Grounds?

6 A. Yes.

7 Q. So was it actually in the building, or was it outside the
8 building?

9 A. Outside the building.

10:50:40 10 Q. And did you speak to Foday Sankoh on that occasion?

11 A. Never. I only asked His Excellency President Taylor, I am
12 told that the gentleman there is called Foday Sankoh, and what is
13 he doing? He is the leader of the rebel group in Sierra Leone.

14 What is he doing here? And the reply I got from His Excellency

10:51:02 15 Taylor was that he called Foday Sankoh to discuss security
16 matters with him.

17 Q. You mentioned the second occasion when you saw Foday Sankoh
18 inside the Executive Mansion?

19 A. Yes.

10:51:21 20 Q. Yes?

21 A. Yes, in the waiting

22 Q. On that occasion did you speak to him?

23 A. We only exchanged greetings. I didn't speak to him.

24 Q. When you say you exchanged greetings, first of all, did you
10:51:37 25 approach him, him approach you, or what?

26 A. No, it was the late Jackson who came to call me that I
27 should answer His Excellency President Taylor, who told me, "Do
28 you know this gentleman sitting?" I said, "Well I was introduced
29 to this gentleman by late Domingo, long time." He said, "This is

1 Foday Sankoh." So he took me to Foday Sankoh. I greeted him. I
2 shook hands with him, and then I left and went to see His
3 Excellency President Taylor.

10:52:10 4 Q. Apart from those two occasions, have you ever seen Foday
5 Sankoh?

6 A. I never saw Foday Sankoh. I never sat with Foday Sankoh.
7 I never discussed with Foday Sankoh. I wish I could have
8 discussed with him to know his political orientation, but I never
9 had the chance.

10:52:24 10 Q. Now, speaking of the RUF and the war in - and the war in
11 Sierra Leone, by what means did you first become aware of that
12 conflict?

13 A. I was aware of that conflict through BBC, Focus on Africa.

10:53:01 14 Q. Now, when you met or were - or Foday Sankoh was pointed out
15 to you on those two occasions, had the conflict in Sierra Leone
16 already begun?

17 A. Yes, the conflict already began in Sierra Leone. I never
18 knew Foday Sankoh before the conflict in Sierra Leone.

10:53:21 19 Q. Can you help us with a year in which you met Foday Sankoh
20 on those two occasions?

21 A. Late '91, '92.

22 Q. Did Charles Taylor ever introduce Foday Sankoh to you?

10:53:55 23 A. Charles Taylor never introduced Foday Sankoh to me. To my
24 knowledge and to the way I deal with Charles Taylor, I noticed
25 that it is an issue of internal matter. It's an internal matter
26 of the NPFL, and he has never discussed that issue with me on -
27 Foday Sankoh's issue.

28 Q. What do you know about Foday Sankoh's ideology and the
29 ideology of the RUF?

1 A. I know nothing of Foday Sankoh's ideology, because I have
2 never discussed politically with Foday Sankoh. I knew - I didn't
3 know Foday Sankoh before he - how do you call it - launched his
4 revolution. The only person I knew and I had discussions with is
10:54:31 5 Ali Kabbah. He shared the same views with me.

6 Q. Are you aware of an RUF publication called Footpaths to
7 Democracy?

8 A. Yes, I read the publication Footsteps to Democracy.

9 Q. When?

10:54:52 10 PRESIDING JUDGE: Mr Griffiths, if I may interrupt. The
11 record shows an answer which is the exact opposite of what the
12 witness said. He said, "I didn't know Foday Sankoh before - how
13 do you call it - he launched his revolution." This is what
14 should be in the record.

10:55:12 15 THE WITNESS: Can I state: I knew him only after when he
16 launched his revolution.

17 PRESIDING JUDGE: Thank you. Please proceed. That's
18 accurate now.

19 MR GRIFFITHS: That should be changed to "I didn't know".

10:55:41 20 Q. Now, when was it that you read that publication?

21 A. I read that publication at very late 1996, '97, if I am not
22 mistaken.

23 Q. And as a revolutionary yourself, what did you think of that
24 publication?

10:56:09 25 A. Revolutionary rhetoric. Because I cannot see any
26 technical - technicalities that would prove to me that it would
27 be implemented in Sierra Leone.

28 Q. Now, the NPFL set up a government in Gbarnga, did they not?

29 A. Yes, the NPRAG. The National Reconstruction Assembly

1 Government.

2 Q. Now, did that government publish any documentation, any
3 manifesto, as to its aims?

4 A. The philosophy of the NPRAG by His Excellency President
10:56:57 5 Charles Ghankay Taylor.

6 Q. Did you read that?

7 A. I read that publication.

8 Q. What did you think of it?

9 A. That publication is a political instrument to empower the
10:57:09 10 Liberian people.

11 Q. What did it cover?

12 A. It covered the political aspect, economic aspect and the
13 social aspect.

14 Q. How would you rate that document in comparison to the RUF
10:57:32 15 document you have just talked about?

16 A. There is a big difference between the NPRAG government
17 document and the RUF document. The NPRAG document was an
18 instrument put in place to assure to the Liberian people the
19 smooth functioning of the then established government, whilst the
10:58:08 20 RUF is just mere revolutionary thoughts.

21 Q. Did there come a time when you left Liberia?

22 A. I left Liberia because I was sick. I left in late 1992,
23 '93.

24 Q. And where did you go?

10:58:39 25 A. I went to the Ivory Coast at Danane. At the border town of
26 Ivory Coast called Danane.

27 Q. We have encountered that name before.

28 A. Exactly.

29 Q. And why did you go to Danane?

1 A. I went to Danane for medical treatment.

2 Q. Did you return to Liberia thereafter?

3 A. I returned to Liberia, if my memory is correct, twice.

4 Q. And on each of those occasions, for how long did you remain
10:59:21 5 in Liberia?

6 A. The first time I went I stayed in Liberia for 10 days,
7 roughly two weeks.

8 Q. Can you help us with a year?

9 A. '94.

10:59:39 10 Q. And the second occasion, for how long did you stay?

11 A. I stayed there for one week.

12 Q. And in which year was that?

13 A. '95, before the elections.

14 Q. What was the purpose of those two visits?

10:59:58 15 A. The purpose of those two visits was to see His Excellency
16 President Ghankay Taylor.

17 Q. When was the last time you saw him?

18 A. My second trip was the last time I saw President
19 Charles Ghankay Taylor. I never saw him any more.

11:00:17 20 Q. And that was in 1995?

21 A. Correct.

22 Q. Have you seen or spoken to him since 1995?

23 A. Never.

24 Q. Now, on the occasion when you went to the Ivory Coast to
11:00:41 25 Danane for medical treatment, did your colleagues go with you?

26 A. No. Let me bring you back. The two occasions I went to
27 Liberia to try and see His Excellency President Ghankay Taylor I
28 couldn't see him so I had to come back to Danane. And when I was
29 in Danane I didn't go with my colleagues. My colleagues remained

1 because they were there on a mission to protect His Excellency
2 President Taylor. And I was sick, I had to leave and go to seek
3 for treatment and this was why I was in Ivory Coast.

11:01:32 4 Q. After you went to Danane, did you remain in contact with
5 your colleagues who remained in Liberia?

6 A. They always come and go. And four of them were always with
7 me for my protection. And one of the secretary-general - the
8 executive secretary of our movement was the one who was
9 responsible for the security of the border post of Liberia called
11:02:04 10 Loguato. His name is Fams Cauley.

11 Q. Now I just want to clarify something. On those two
12 occasions when you went back to Liberia for a period of 10 days
13 and a week respectively, on either of those two occasions, did
14 you see Charles Taylor?

11:02:25 15 A. I was unable to see Charles Taylor.

16 Q. So when was the last time you saw Charles Taylor?

17 A. It was on my last trip - how do you call it, my last visit
18 to Charles Taylor. I saw him but I never spoke to him. I saw
19 him pass the place where I was lodging.

11:02:46 20 Q. And in what year was that?

21 A. In '95.

22 Q. Did you speak to him on that occasion?

23 A. No. No.

24 Q. Now, you mentioned someone called Fams Cauley. First of
11:03:12 25 all, could you help us with a spelling of the name, please?

26 A. His name is Famara but he uses Fams, F-A-M-S C-A-U-L-E-Y.

27 Q. And you mentioned that he was based at a place called
28 Loguato?

29 A. Yes, Loguato.

1 Q. For what reason was he based there?

2 A. As a security officer. He was responsible for the security
3 of Loguato because that is the entry and exist of His Excellency
4 President Taylor when he wants to go out of Liberia to peace
11:03:49 5 negotiations and to trips abroad.

6 Q. And was Fams Cauley presence at that point for any other
7 reason?

8 A. It was only for security reasons.

9 Q. Was anyone, in like fashion, stationed on the Guinean
11:04:14 10 border?

11 A. On the Guinean border, yes, but he is not one of my
12 colleagues.

13 PRESIDING JUDGE: I don't understand that answer. "Was
14 anyone, in like fashion, stationed on the Guinean border?" Like
11:04:35 15 fashion what?

16 THE WITNESS: I think maybe was there anybody from my
17 country among my colleagues.

18 MR GRIFFITHS: Yes:

19 Q. Was there?

11:04:44 20 A. No.

21 Q. How long in total did you spend in Liberia during that
22 period?

23 A. Which period?

24 Q. From when you first left Burkina Faso until you went to
11:05:06 25 Danane for medical treatment, just give us a rough idea of how
26 long you spent in Liberia during that period.

27 A. If we are to sum up the months I stayed in Liberia, maybe a
28 period of let's say two years.

29 Q. What did you get out of that period that you spent in

1 Li beria?

2 A. The work we had - we did - the civil work we did in Liberia
3 and the protection of His Excellency President
4 Charles Ghankay Taylor and this was what we got from Liberia.

11:05:49 5 Q. Did you receive any financial reward?

6 A. We didn't go to Liberia as mercenaries to work in Liberia.
7 We never received any financial reward in Liberia. All my
8 colleagues who were in Liberia had to find their own means of
9 survival, like any other Liberian in Liberia. Even myself, I was
10 surviving on what we organised with other Liberian civilians.

11:06:12 11 And His Excellency President Taylor had never given any money to
12 anybody else.

13 PRESIDING JUDGE: Mr Witness, are you saying your
14 colleagues were serving as security personnel for nothing; they
15 were not paid salaries?

11:06:31 16 THE WITNESS: We are revolutionary Pan-Africans. We were
17 not paid any salary. Like the Liberians were not paid of any
18 salary. Can I come in?

19 MR GRIFFITHS:

11:06:52 20 Q. Of course.

21 A. Yes, if we were paid by His Excellency President
22 Charles Ghankay Taylor, I would have - I am telling you that we
23 would have accepted to go to Chad when the Chad, Goukouni Oueddei
24 requested the Mathaba to assist him in the fight in Chad to fight
11:07:11 25 the French imperialists who were supporting Hissene Habre's
26 regime in that time. Because the Libyans were giving money to
27 these Niger Touareg rebels and the Mali Touareg rebels to go and
28 fight in Chad, but we refused because we were not mercenaries.
29 We are Pan-Africani sts. We are freedom fighters.

1 Q. I now want to ask you about one or two individuals. Do you
2 know someone called Ibrahim Bah?

3 A. Yes, I know Ibrahim Bah. He is one of our colleagues.

4 Ibrahim Bah was an Islamic scholar. He went to Libya as an

11:07:58 5 Islamic student and it was in Libya that we met with him and we
6 recruited him and he joined the training in Tajura. He was never
7 a military officer. He was an Islamic scholar.

8 Q. When you left Liberia to go to Danane, what became of him?

9 A. Even before I left Liberia to go to Danane, Ibrahim got

11:08:28 10 lost from Liberia. And the news we got concerning him was that
11 he was up and down, in and out of Liberia and going to Sierra
12 Leone, without my orders and without His Excellency
13 President Taylor's orders.

14 Q. What was he going in and out of Sierra Leone for? What was
11:08:58 15 the purpose of that?

16 A. He never told anybody what he was doing. Me, his leader,
17 he never told me anything else. And I can assure you that he
18 didn't tell anything to His Excellency President Taylor. He was
19 acting on his own.

11:09:21 20 Q. What kind of a lifestyle did he have?

21 A. He is that traditional Fulani leader who will always live
22 lavishly with griots around him, singing and dancing around him.
23 This is the way he was living.

24 Q. Was that word griots?

11:09:53 25 A. Traditional narrators.

26 Q. How do you spell it?

27 A. Griots, G-R-I-O-T-S.

28 Q. As far as you are aware, what was Charles Taylor's attitude
29 towards Ibrahim Bah?

1 A. To my knowledge, I know nothing of any, how do you call
2 it - Ibrahim having any relations with Charles Taylor.

3 Q. Did any of your colleagues ever suggest to you how it was
4 that Ibrahim Bah could afford this lavish lifestyle you describe?

11:10:46 5 A. No. Nobody told me anything of Ibrahim because he isolated
6 himself at that time from the group.

7 Q. Is that group yourself and your colleagues?

8 A. Yes, please.

9 Q. Now, I want to ask you about another name. Have you ever
11:11:23 10 met a man called Mike Lamin?

11 A. Never. I don't know his name. I have never seen a man
12 like that.

13 Q. The next person I want to ask you about is a man called
14 Suwandi Camara. Does that name mean anything to you?

11:11:46 15 A. Suwandi Camara is the {redacted}.

16 Q. Where was he born?

17 A. Suwandi Camara is born in {redacted}, in the {redacted},
18 the {redacted}.
19 Seven miles from my hometown, {redacted}.

11:12:14 20 Q. Now, some spellings, please. {Redacted}?

21 A. {Redacted}.

22 Q. And you say it's seven miles from where you were born in
23 {redacted}?

24 A. Yes, please.

11:12:31 25 PRESIDING JUDGE: Mr Griffiths, is this information that
26 should have been in private session? Is this material for
27 redaction?

28 MR GRIFFITHS: Well --

29 PRESIDING JUDGE: It will remain on the record but

1 confidentially, if you think so.

2 MR GRIFFITHS: Perhaps through an excess of caution perhaps
3 we ought to redact the family connection.

4 THE WITNESS: And even the village - the towns.

11:13:04 5 PRESIDING JUDGE: I think the purpose would be served by
6 redacting the names of the locations mentioned completely - all
7 the locations mentioned - for the security of the witness and --

8 MR GRIFFITHS: And what about the family connection at line
9 12?

11:13:29 10 PRESIDING JUDGE: If you want to, we can redact that as
11 well. Madam Court Officer, yes. Thank you. Please proceed.

12 MR GRIFFITHS:

13 Q. Is that individual younger or older than you?

14 A. He is younger than me.

11:13:46 15 Q. As far as you're aware, did he attend school?

16 A. He attended {redacted} primary school.

17 Q. What did he do for a living after he completed his
18 education?

19 A. He is a trained gendarme. When the - when our neighbours -
11:14:18 20 the {redacted} military forces invaded our country and they
21 occupied our country, in restructuring our armed forces they
22 created what was called the gendarmerie, so he was trained as a
23 gendarme.

24 PRESIDING JUDGE: I think there is some other redaction
11:14:42 25 that needs to be done. The reference to perhaps - I think the
26 reference to the country of {redacted}, I think, would cover it.
27 The reference to "{redacted} would protect". Please redact the
28 name {redacted}.

29 Members of the public listening in, please, you are not to

1 repeat these matters that I order the redaction of outside of the
2 Court. Thank you.

3 And Mr Witness, I have to caution you. You know what your
4 answers are; we don't know. But we can't, you know, keep up with
11:15:50 5 the redactions. You have got to take care in how you answer for
6 your own protection.

7 THE WITNESS: Okay.

8 MR GRIFFITHS:

9 Q. Mr Witness, did that man remain in the job of a gendarme?

11:16:06 10 A. No, he left the country to go to Libya as an immigrant
11 worker, but later he was deported from Libya and came to Mali,
12 Bamako, where members of our group who went in the mobilisation
13 of our colleagues for our struggle and for the fourth congress in
14 Burkina Faso met him, and they brought him over to Burkina Faso.
11:16:39 15 This is how he joined our group. He was never trained in Tadjura.
16 He was never trained in Tinning March.

17 Q. Was he ever trained in Libya?

18 A. Never. He was only trained in that country - in our
19 country as a gendarme.

11:16:59 20 Q. Now, when he went to Libya, was he - was his presence in
21 Libya official?

22 A. He went as a clandestine immigrant worker. This was why
23 when he was arrested, since he was not having any residence and
24 permit - and work permit, he was deported out of Libya.

11:17:27 25 Q. Whilst he was in Libya, did you ever meet with him?

26 A. I never knew that he was even in Libya.

27 Q. When did you find out that he was in Libya?

28 A. When he came to Burkina after the congress during your
29 family discussions, telling me: Oh, this happened in the

1 country, this happened with our family, that's the time I knew he
2 was in Libya as an illegal immigrant worker.

3 Q. So just so that we are clear about it, when did - in which
4 country did you first come across this man?

11:18:04 5 A. Not me in person, but the organising committee that went to
6 mobilise our people and to organise for our congress met him in
7 Bamako, the capital city of Mali, and this was how he was
8 recruited and brought to Burkina Faso.

9 Q. Did you meet him in Burkina Faso?

11:18:29 10 A. I met him in Burkina Faso two days before the congress.

11 Q. Did he accompany your colleagues to Liberia?

12 A. He went to Liberia. I think it was on the - he went with
13 the third batch to Liberia.

14 Q. He went with the third batch?

11:18:50 15 A. Yes.

16 Q. When he went to Liberia, with whom did he travel?

17 A. He travelled with some of his colleagues.

18 Q. Did he travel with you?

19 A. He didn't travel with me; he didn't travel with
11:19:10 20 His Excellency President Taylor. He went with some of his
21 colleagues who went to Liberia.

22 Q. By what mode of transport did he, that man, travel to
23 Liberia?

24 A. He travelled from Burkina Faso to Yamoussoukro by train,
11:19:31 25 and from Yamoussoukro to Liberia by road.

26 Q. Did he fly from Burkina Faso to the Ivory Coast?

27 A. He went by train. He went along with some of our
28 recruits - the members of our group we recruited in our country
29 who were recruited by the present Head of State, who was then

1 also a gendarme in our country and was a member of our group by
2 that time.

3 Q. Whilst in Liberia, where was that man based?

4 A. That man was based at Loguato with Fams Cauley.

11:20:34 5 Q. I'll come back to that man later, but I want to ask you
6 about one or two other personalities. Do you know Moses Blah?

7 A. I have seen Moses Blah. I don't know him in person.

8 Q. Did you ever meet Moses Blah in Libya?

9 A. I never knew Moses Blah in Libya. I never met him in
11:21:20 10 Libya. And I will repeat again that in Libya, I didn't meet any
11 other Liberian or any other combatant who went there for training
12 except their leaders, that is, I met Charles Taylor and I met
13 Ali Kabbah.

14 Q. I want now to ask you about some specific evidence which
11:22:13 15 has been placed before this Court about you. Do you follow me?

16 A. Right.

17 PRESIDING JUDGE: Mr Griffiths, I don't know if you plan to
18 do this in open session. If you do, perhaps you might think of
19 redacting the reference to "you" or you might think of doing it
11:22:43 20 in closed session. I don't know.

21 MR GRIFFITHS: I think we will need to go into private
22 session for this passage. And, in fact, it will be quite an
23 extensive passage.

24 PRESIDING JUDGE: For the members of the public listening,
11:23:13 25 we are going to go into private session for the protection of the
26 witness.

27 [At this point in the proceedings, a portion of the
28 transcript, pages 36810 to 36900, was extracted and sealed under
29 separate cover, as the proceeding was heard in private session.]

1 [Whereupon the hearing adjourned at 4.30 p.m.
2 to be reconvened on Wednesday, 10 March 2010 at
3 9.30 a.m.]
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29

I N D E X

WITNESSES FOR THE DEFENCE:

| | |
|--------------------------------------|-------|
| DCT-125 | 36764 |
| EXAMINATION-IN-CHIEF BY MR GRIFFITHS | 36764 |