



Case No. SCSL-2003-01-T

THE PROSECUTOR OF
THE SPECIAL COURT
V.
CHARLES GHANKAY TAYLOR

FRIDAY, 16 MAY 2008
9.30 A.M.
TRIAL

TRIAL CHAMBER II

Before the Judges:

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

For Chambers:

Mr William Romans
Ms Carolyn Buff

For the Registry:

Ms Rachel Irura

For the Prosecution:

Mr Stephen Rapp
Ms Brenda J Hollis
Ms Maja Dimitrova

For the accused Charles Ghankay
Taylor:

Mr Courtenay Griffiths QC
Mr Terry Munyard
Mr Morris Anyah

1 Friday, 16 May 2008

2 [Open session]

3 [The accused present]

4 [Upon commencing at 9.30 a.m.]

09:22:55 5 PRESIDING JUDGE: Good morning. Good morning, counsel.

6 Good morning. I note a change of appearance on the Defence Bar,
7 do I, Mr Griffiths?

8 MR GRIFFITHS: Good morning Madam President and counsel
9 opposite. Representation today is: Myself, Courtney Griffiths;
09:30:59 10 my learned friend, Mr Munyard; my learned friend, Mr Anyah; and,
11 new to the Court Ms Sanela Trzin, spelt T-R-Z-I-N for the benefit
12 of your Honours.

13 PRESIDING JUDGE: Thank you, Mr Griffiths, and we welcome
14 Ms Trzin to the Court. Mr Rapp, I note that your Bar is as
09:31:27 15 before.

16 MR RAPP: That is correct, your Honour.

17 PRESIDING JUDGE: Thank you. If there are no other matters
18 I will remind the witness of his oath? No.

19 Mr Griffiths, if I could request you to turn off your
09:31:38 20 microphone.

21 MR GRIFFITHS: I am sorry.

22 PRESIDING JUDGE: It is quite all right. It is just that
23 it interferes with the recording.

24 Mr Witness, good morning.

09:31:47 25 THE WITNESS: Good morning, your Honours.

26 PRESIDING JUDGE: I remind you again this morning that you
27 have taken the oath to tell the truth, that oath is still binding
28 on you and you must answer questions truthfully. You understand?

29 THE WITNESS: Your Honours.

1 WITNESS: MOSES ZEH BLAH [On former oath]

2 EXAMINATION-IN-CHIEF BY MR RAPP: [Continued]

3 Q. Good morning, witness.

4 A. Good morning.

09:32:07 5 Q. Witness, as we concluded yesterday we reached the point
6 where Charles Taylor had left as President and you had become
7 President. Before I go on to talk about the period of your
8 presidency, I did want to go back over some matters during
9 Taylor's years in Liberia and get some clarification. You had
09:32:30 10 told us yesterday that the NPFL grew; originally just a small
11 group in Libya and then eventually into thousands in Liberia. In
12 Liberia, how did the NPFL recruit its soldiers?

13 A. We had two groups recruitment. We had the voluntary
14 recruitment and we had people who were captured and forced into
09:33:03 15 the NPFL.

16 Q. You also spoke of a particular case, the case that you were
17 asked to investigate but were not able to, that involved the
18 girlfriend, Jeneh, of General Kpeh and I looked at the record and
19 I wasn't sure we have exactly what happened to each of them.
09:33:28 20 What happened to General Kpeh?

21 A. The general was arrested in Grand Gedeh by Cassius Jacobs
22 and was later executed.

23 Q. Do you know why he was executed?

24 A. He was executed because of his involvement with Mr Taylor's
09:33:58 25 brother, Nelson Taylor, who was ambushed and at that time he was
26 the commander in the area where the ambush took place.

27 Q. And the girlfriend, Jeneh, do you know what happened to
28 her?

29 A. Jeneh was also investigated and was arrested. I was not

1 there when she was investigated. She was arrested in Tapita and
2 was executed by one Faneia, the commander of Tapita at the time.

3 Q. And how do you spell Faneia?

4 A. F-A-N-E-I-A, Faneia.

09:34:44 5 Q. And why was she executed?

6 A. She was executed because she was a girlfriend Kpeh, the
7 commander at that time in Sinoe where the ambush took place and
8 the brother of President Taylor was killed in that ambush. She
9 was the girlfriend of Kpeh.

09:35:11 10 Q. Kpeh, the K-P-E-H?

11 A. Yes.

12 Q. You have mentioned several times an organisation called
13 ULIMO and the fights with ULIMO. When did, if you know, NPFL
14 begin to fight with ULIMO?

09:35:37 15 A. ULIMO started fighting against the NPFL and at the initial
16 stage it was immediately after the election. ULIMO was a group
17 that was dissatisfied and it had two factions. We had ULIMO-K
18 and ULIMO-J. The J belonged to the Krahn ethnic group and the K
19 was the Mandingo ethnic group. They were not satisfied with the
09:36:12 20 result of the election. That was why they jumped into the bush
21 against the NPP-led government and they started fighting.

22 Q. Witness, I believe there are several times you talk about
23 for instance when Cassius Jacob was I think executed for
24 desertion when ULIMO was allowed to take Gbarnga. When was that
09:36:37 25 particular event, the taking of Gbarnga by ULIMO?

26 A. Just give me time to recall. No, I can't recall the date,
27 but the event occurred that at one time when Mr Taylor left
28 Gbarnga to go to Cote d'Ivoire or some place, I don't know where,
29 and then ULIMO overran Gbarnga and captured the headquarters of

1 the NPFL at that time. And Cassius Jacob, being the commander,
2 fled to Ganta and he left. He deserted his post and he was
3 investigated and he was charged for desertion and he was
4 executed. I am sorry, I can't remember the exact time, but after
09:37:42 5 some time maybe later on I will recall and I will tell you, your
6 Honours, sir.

7 Q. Well, at that time was it ULIMO-K or J or just ULIMO?

8 A. At that time it was ULIMO-K that was very active on our
9 side. J was also in the making, but they were coming from the
09:38:04 10 Sierra Leone side. ULIMO-J was trained on the side of Sierra
11 Leone from Sierra Leone, but the ULIMO-K was coming from Guinea.
12 So ULIMO-K was closer to us at that time. So they were the K
13 that attacked Gbarnga.

14 Q. Well, at the time of this attack, was this before or after
09:38:27 15 Taylor became President?

16 A. Yes, yes, it was before Taylor became President. Sorry, I
17 am very, very sorry. At that time we were in Gbarnga. We were
18 still in Gbarnga and he became President when we moved to
19 Monrovia, so at that time he was in Gbarnga.

09:38:52 20 Q. So in terms of ULIMO's activities, I think earlier you said
21 that they began after the election. Is that correct?

22 A. Yes, I am sorry, I will repeat. They were preparing for
23 election and they did not want this election to take place. They
24 wanted to forcibly take over government and we were still waiting
09:39:14 25 for election. There was still confusion. I am very sorry.

26 Q. Now just in terms of the record and making sure that we
27 always know who "he" is in the record, there were questions that
28 I put to you on Wednesday in regard to your conversation with
29 Taylor as to Sankoh's visit. Your Honours, this is at page 9862

1 of the transcript and it appears at lines 18 to 29 and there is
2 about four "he"s in this paragraph and I just want to make sure
3 we know who "he" is, okay? And this is - you can remember this -
4 or it goes - to pick it up, "He was walking around his palace
09:40:09 5 where he lived in Gbarnga" and who was the "he"?

6 A. Taylor was walking around. Taylor was walking around his
7 garden in Gbarnga.

8 Q. "And I went close to him to salute him" and the "him" there
9 is?

09:40:27 10 A. It was Mr Taylor that I went close to.

11 Q. And then the transcript says, "Any conversation, he said he
12 didn't know earlier that Foday Sankoh had talked to me about this
13 matter"?

14 A. Taylor again.

09:40:43 15 Q. And then the next line is, "He said, 'Look, your man Foday
16 Sankoh is here'."

17 A. Taylor again.

18 Q. "And he is saying that the people are destroying his
19 people". Now who is that "he"?

09:41:06 20 A. That is Foday Sankoh.

21 Q. "Destroying his people, looting his property. He said,
22 'How could the war be fought'" Who is the "he" there?

23 A. Mr Taylor again.

24 Q. Okay.

09:41:20 25 "When you talk about a guerilla war there's destruction and
26 this is the type of thing - and this type of thing must happen if
27 you are fighting a war. You are not eating bread and butter, you
28 are fighting."

29 And then, "If he continues with such a report", who is the

1 "he" referred to there?

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

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

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

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

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

19 Is "Sinoe" what you meant to say?

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

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

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

1 Leone when they were bringing the looted items to Gbarnga. That
2 was where the name Kuwait came from, because Kuwait is an oil
3 country and it has money. So if you heard that somebody was
4 coming out of Kuwait it meant that they were coming out of where
09:43:59 5 there was money.

6 Q. And what was the source of these items that they were
7 bringing back, do you know?

8 A. What was the what?

9 Q. What was the source? Where had they obtained these items,
09:44:16 10 if you know? From whom?

11 A. I wouldn't know, but I saw the items coming from out of
12 there. I saw jeeps and vehicles, other cars. They all came from
13 Sierra Leone with Sierra Leonean licence plates on them.

14 Q. Okay. And while we're on the question of Sierra Leone, you
09:44:40 15 had testified yesterday in regard to your visit to Sierra Leone
16 when you were Vice-President and to visiting amputees and it's at
17 page 9664 of the transcript and there are multiple places in your
18 answer where you talk about saying that you were sorry. When you
19 returned to Monrovia, did you talk to Taylor about your visit in
09:45:04 20 Sierra Leone?

21 A. Yes, I told him, but I did not go into details that I
22 visited the amputees, but I simply said that I went to present
23 the document which was sent by him to be presented to President
24 Tejan Kabbah and that I did. I did not say, because the concern
09:45:33 25 was for me to deliver the letter and that I did. So I spoke to
26 him about the document that I have given the document to
27 President Sankoh as I was directed.

28 PRESIDING JUDGE: President who?

29 THE WITNESS: President Kabbah as I was directed, sorry.

1 Sorry, your Honours.

2 MR RAPP: Thank you very much, your Honour:

3 Q. Did Taylor say anything about your visit?

09:46:14

4 A. Yes, later he got the information that I went to the
5 amputees, but that I was not directed to do. He didn't say it to
6 me, but he was not happy because he had been my boss and I knew
7 when he was not happy, but he played me cool on that. He did not
8 ask me further. So he left alone.

9 Q. How did you know that he wasn't happy?

09:46:36

10 A. No, he did not query me about it and he did not ask further
11 questions like why I had to go there and who sent you there. So,
12 I mean, I just assumed that because he did not instruct me to go
13 there I knew he was not happy about it.

09:47:03

14 Q. Witness, you mentioned one of the Liberian Leaders that was
15 in Sierra Leone was a Dopoe Menkarzon. Did Dopoe have any other
16 name or any other nickname that he was called by to your
17 knowledge?

18 A. No, not that I can remember. Dopoe was just called Dopoe
19 Menkarzon throughout the war.

09:47:28

20 Q. And, witness, the - one final sort of clarification from
21 the record. Yesterday at pages 10032 and 10033 we have
22 questioning regarding this arms shipment that you said came in in
23 August. I believe we had the context of it being a few days
24 before Taylor's departure in August 2003 that was stopped by the
09:48:02 25 peacekeepers at the airport or prevented from being given to the
26 Liberians and I just want to be clear because I see morning,
27 evening, evening, morning in this answer. When did Taylor come?
28 Morning, evening, what time of the day, and when did the arms
29 come?

1 A. Taylor arrived at night. Late night. And the arms
2 shipment arrived early the following morning. Taylor arrived at
3 night and the shipment arrived early in the morning.

09:48:51 4 Q. Thank you very much, witness. Now just in terms of Taylor
5 and his control in the NPFL and government, just some general
6 questions so we have this absolutely clear. Before Charles
7 Taylor became President, when he was NPFL leader, who gave orders
8 to the fighters in the NPFL?

09:49:16 9 A. He was - before he became President he was called the
10 commander-in-chief of the NPFL and he was the only one that could
11 give orders for any operations. Nobody else but him, Taylor.

12 Q. When he became President, and we are talking about military
13 decisions, who made military decisions or gave military orders,
14 let me put it that way, when Charles Taylor was President of
09:49:43 15 Liberia?

16 A. He was again called the commander-in-chief. According to
17 the constitution of Liberia, once you are a President you are the
18 commander-in-chief and you take major decisions in military
19 matters.

09:50:00 20 Q. And the forces that Taylor had, or that the Liberian
21 government had under Taylor, how were the forces - the military
22 forces - organised? What kind of units were there in the
23 military during Taylor's presidency?

09:50:28 24 A. When Taylor was President we had the Liberian army. That
25 was organised, Liberian army, stationed at the Barclay Training
26 Centre in Monrovia. But then he had his forces like the
27 anti-artillery unit, like the ATU. The anti-artillery unit, the
28 ATU. It was a very powerful unit organised by him and they took
29 orders only from President Taylor and nobody else. And there

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

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

12 A. No.

13 Q. But what were those units?

14 A. They were at different locations and when he became
09:52:00 15 President there were still people who were in opposition, like
16 other citizens, other units, like other people from ULIMO-J and
17 ULIMO-K. They could not come to Gbarnga. They were still afraid
18 thinking that our forces like the Marine unit, artillery unit and
19 the various units of different kinds and different operations,
09:52:24 20 they were still there and they knew that they were in Gbarnga and
21 they were in different camps that we had, secret places in
22 Gbarnga and other parts of our controlled areas.

23 Q. Well, now, could the commander of one unit give orders to
24 the commander of another?

09:52:43 25 A. No, no, sir. This was a strong order. Even the commanders
26 did not take orders from me as inspector general and as even
27 Vice-President of Liberia. He was the sole commander of
28 everything, even the defence minister could not give orders.

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

1 Please finish your answer.

2 THE WITNESS: I said even the defence minister could not
3 give orders at that time. He was the sole commander-in-chief of
4 the entire operations of the army.

09:53:26 5 MR RAPP: Your Honour?

6 PRESIDING JUDGE: It is the two "he"s, Mr Rapp.

7 THE WITNESS: Sorry. Sorry, your Honours, sorry.

8 MR RAPP:

9 Q. The "he"s that you were referring to was Mr Taylor?

09:53:41 10 A. Was Mr Taylor. Mr Taylor was the "he". Mr Taylor gave the
11 orders.

12 Q. Now, yesterday, or it may even have been the previous day,
13 you had mentioned these organisations LURD and MODEL. When did
14 they become active in Liberia?

09:54:03 15 A. It was later. It was the latter part of Taylor's
16 presidency. That was when the name changed. The LURD group was
17 out of ULIMO-K and the MODEL came from the ULIMO-J. That happened
18 later and at that time his presidency was almost coming to an
19 end.

09:54:35 20 Q. And who was in charge, for the Liberian government, of
21 operations against LURD and MODEL?

22 A. The name was changed from NPFL and the sole commander at
23 that time - there were various commanders that I have just told
24 you about, they were in charge of each and every unit, but

09:55:03 25 Benjamin was the overall commander and he could move from unit to
26 unit and taking instructions and carrying messages from President
27 Taylor. He was also the biggest man that I could see at that
28 time.

29 Q. I think yesterday you were asked this question and you

1 answered a question in regard to Benjamin Yeaten and his power in
2 relation to the defence minister and I just want to be clear if
3 we had that question. How was Benjamin Yeaten's power, how did
4 that compare to the power of the defence minister?

09:55:46 5 A. Benjamin Yeaten grew so powerful that he did not even have
6 regard for the Vice-President of Liberia at that time and the
7 defence minister also was not considered to be anything in the
8 face of Benjamin Yeaten and his powers at that time.

9 Q. And who was the defence minister during Taylor's
09:56:08 10 presidency?

11 A. He was Daniel Chea.

12 Q. And while we are on that subject, I think yesterday you
13 told us in Bockarie's killing - the official announcement that
14 was made about Bockarie having been killed coming in from Cote
09:56:27 15 d'Ivoire with his bodyguards, who was the defence minister that
16 made that announcement?

17 A. It was still Mr Daniel Chea. He was still the defence
18 minister.

19 Q. Now, in regard to Benjamin Yeaten, you said that he became
09:56:46 20 very powerful. Did he become more powerful than Mr Taylor?

21 A. No, no, he wouldn't. He was more powerful than the
22 Vice-President and other ministers of government, but not more
23 powerful than Mr Taylor.

24 Q. Now, yesterday you talked about acts that Mr Yeaten was
09:57:07 25 involved in, like the killing of Dokie, or even the killing of
26 those disabled soldiers. Was Mr Yeaten ever punished for those
27 actions?

28 A. No, he was never punished and the matter was never
29 investigated.

1 Q. We talked about Benjamin Yeaten and yesterday we discussed
2 several other individuals that had different tasks under Taylor.
3 Just as a general thing, who did Taylor consult with the most
4 about decisions that he was to make?

09:57:57 5 A. There were other people in the government, like the leader
6 of our party at that time, like mostly he consulted with people
7 like the chairman of our party NPP, Cyril Allen, Cyril Allen, and
8 sometimes with the commissioner of maritime affairs, Mr Benoni
9 Urey, and sometimes he called himself prime minister, but it was
09:58:33 10 a joke. He said, "These are the prime ministers of this
11 government." That meant he was always with the President and he
12 was always consulted by the President and there were a few that I
13 cannot recall off head.

14 Q. Now, this Cyril Allen, when did his relationship with
09:58:52 15 Taylor begin, if you know?

16 A. From the days - I don't know how they met and how they
17 became very friendly, but they were best of friends. They were
18 friends for a very long time, according to what I observed
19 myself.

09:59:11 20 Q. And this Benoni Urey, the fellow you just said sometimes
21 jokingly was referred to as prime minister, when did Taylor's
22 relationship begin with him?

23 A. They had been old friends. They were very old friends.
24 They had been old friends. They had been old friends. Into your
09:59:33 25 question again, the speaker at that time, Nyundueh Monkomana, was
26 also consulted on matters relating to government at that time.
27 Those were very close friends of Mr Taylor that he could call on
28 any time for consultation.

29 Q. Who was the speaker you are referring to?

1 A. Nyundueh Monkomana.

2 Q. That is the fellow we talked about yesterday that --

3 A. Yes, sir.

4 Q. -- potentially might have been the Vice-President.

10:00:09 5 A. Yes, sir, the Vice-President. Yes, sir.

6 Q. Just to be clear, he was an individual that was someone I
7 think you said Taylor would have liked to have had as his
8 Vice-President, is that correct?

9 A. Yes, that was the fellow. Nyundueh Monkomana.

10:00:26 10 Q. Now, you mentioned yesterday a person, a Bell Dunbar, and
11 when did the relationship between Taylor and Bell Dunbar begin?

12 A. Bell was the friend of Taylor's wife that I know about and
13 she also came closer to President Taylor and grew up to be the
14 managing director of the Liberian refinery company, the petroleum

10:01:00 15 refinery company. Bell Dunbar.

16 Q. Again, when did that relationship begin, if you know?

17 A. No, I wouldn't say.

18 Q. Now, you had mentioned Grace Minor. When did the
19 relationship with Grace Minor begin, if you know?

10:01:20 20 A. I wouldn't know. They were old friends. From the
21 discussions that I listened to, they had been very old friends.

22 Q. You mentioned also a woman by the name of Kaddieyatu
23 Finlay. Do you know when that relationship began?

24 A. I wouldn't know but Kaddieyatu was a young girl and they
10:01:45 25 met before he became President, because they talked like old
26 friends anyway.

27 Q. Now, yesterday you told us that Nathaniel Barnes, who was
28 first finance minister, had been dismissed by Taylor. Who
29 succeeded Mr Barnes as finance minister?

1 A. One Mr Charles Bright.

2 Q. And when did, if you know, the relationship between
3 Mr Taylor and Bright begin?

10:02:25

4 A. No, I wouldn't know, but they were old friends. They were
5 old, old friends.

6 Q. Do you know what Mr Bright had been doing prior to himself
7 becoming finance minister?

8 A. No, I wouldn't know.

9 Q. Just one more question now we are talking about finances:

10:02:41

10 The Central Bank of Liberia, who was in charge of the Central
11 Bank of Liberia when Taylor was President?

12 A. The Central Bank of Liberia was headed by another friend of
13 Taylor who is Mr - please, I will call the name later.

10:03:13

14 Q. When you say a friend of Taylor, do you know how long he
15 had had a relationship with that individual?

16 A. Yes, they had been friends. What I am speaking from is
17 from my own observation. If you are talking to an old friend you
18 would know and, being Vice-President, and sometimes this

10:03:34

19 individual will come by him and then they will greet each other
20 like old friends, but in public due respect to the President will
21 be given, but in meetings in closed places, when they met with
22 the President they would talk like very old friends and they
23 discussed things. So that was how I looked at it, they were old
24 friends.

10:03:55

25 Q. And who appointed the head of the Central Bank of Liberia
26 during Taylor's presidency?

27 A. It was the President. It was President Taylor.

28 Q. Thank you for those answers. Let's now move to your own
29 presidency. Yesterday you told us about being sworn in office

1 and your comments on being sworn. What did you do about the
2 conflict in your country on assuming the presidency?

3 A. I became President within a week and I contacted ECOWAS to
4 get permission that I would be travelling through my neighbouring
10:04:47 5 countries to see how best we could live together as good

6 neighbours and I started with Sierra Leone. I spoke with Tejan
7 Kabbah and then I moved on to Guinea and I talked to Lansana
8 Conte and I tried to organise them to bring peace to my people in
9 Liberia and then on to Cote d'Ivoire, yes, and I talked to --

10:05:22 10 Q. I am sorry, I didn't mean to interrupt you. I was going to
11 ask you about each visit, but finish your answer with regard to
12 Cote d'Ivoire. Who did you talk to in Cote d'Ivoire?

13 A. I talked to Laurent Gbagbo, as President of Cote d'Ivoire,
14 and lastly I went to Ghana and the President of Ghana was then
10:05:48 15 the chairman of ECOWAS, and then on to Nigeria, because Nigeria
16 had played a major role in the war in Liberia. They had given us
17 great help, soldiers to ensure that peace returned to Liberia,
18 and I went to congratulate him for his effort in bringing peace
19 to our country.

10:06:15 20 Q. And who did you meet in Nigeria?

21 A. I met Obasanjo, President Obasanjo.

22 MR RAPP: Your Honours, if these aren't on the record we
23 can provide them. Obviously they are common names of Presidents:

24 Q. Let me just go back. You said Sierra Leone first. Do you
10:06:39 25 remember what you specifically said to President Kabbah?

26 A. I went to Sierra Leone. I met with Tejan Kabbah. He
27 welcomed me. I was received. We went to the State House and I
28 started message to him by saying that I am very, very sorry -
29 sorry, your Honours.

1 PRESIDING JUDGE: Mr Witness, it is just that everything is
2 recorded and it's best you speak into the microphone. I
3 appreciate there is a natural tendency to look at the person
4 speaking to you. It's not always easy to overcome.

10:07:19 5 THE WITNESS: Sorry.

6 PRESIDING JUDGE: Please continue.

7 THE WITNESS: Okay. Sorry, your Honours.

8 MR RAPP:

9 Q. Again just so we pick up that question and answer again,
10:07:28 10 what did you specifically say to President Kabbah of Sierra
11 Leone?

12 A. I told President Kabbah that it was not time for war during
13 my presidency and that I will try my best to bring peace to both
14 of us and I also promised that there would be no cross-border
10:07:50 15 attacks coming from my side into his country and he promised too
16 that he appreciated that I visited him and he said, "We are
17 neighbours, we are supposed to live together" and he promised to
18 come to Monrovia the following week to see me so that we could
19 discuss further on the peace in Liberia.

10:08:13 20 Q. I think when the microphone was moved you were saying
21 something about sorry, you said sorry. What was it that you were
22 precisely saying about your conversation with President Kabbah?

23 A. Yes, I was saying that it was not good that we fight and
24 that I met the war on and war was coming out of Sierra Leone and
10:08:36 25 from Liberia and I said that was not good and that we should stop
26 fighting. I was speaking from my own side as President of
27 Liberia, that it was not good to attack each other, I was not
28 investigating him, I told him that that would not happen and that
29 if it happened in the past I was sorry about it and that things

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

10:09:10 4 Q. I just want to be clear. Something had happened that you
5 were sorry for. What was it that you said you were sorry for?

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

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

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

28 Q. And what did President Conte say to you?

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

1 groups coming out of Guinea to fight in Liberia and then he said,
2 "Mr President, I welcome your visit, but you should do one thing
3 for me". He said, "Please allow your brothers, call them to you,
4 talk to them. Once you all start talking I will intervene".

10:11:18 5 That was what he promised me. And he admitted that there was a
6 group coming out of Guinea to fight against Taylor's government
7 and he further said that, "I will tell them" - I am sorry, excuse
8 me, that, "I will talk to them about attacking Liberia and they
9 will stop". And he said, "You have to do the same thing from
10:11:39 10 your side".

11 Q. Then you said you visited Cote d'Ivoire and saw President
12 Gbagbo.

13 A. Gbagbo

14 Q. Is that spelled G-B-A-G-B-0?

10:11:55 15 A. Yes, Gbagbo, yes.

16 Q. And what did you say to him?

17 A. When I went to Cote d'Ivoire I was received like a
18 President of my country and I was very happy and he was also
19 happy. He organised a press conference and he spoke first and he
10:12:19 20 said, "You have come here, I welcome you, but please let me
21 speak". Then I said, "You can go ahead to speak". What he said
22 was that something happened in the past which he did not like and
23 I said, "What was it?"

24 He said, "I will give you a parable" and I said, "What is
10:12:40 25 it, Mr President?" He said, "If your neighbour's house is on
26 fire would you put gasoline on the fire or would you bring water
27 to quench the fire?" And I asked him what that meant. Then he
28 said, "This message and this parable goes to the former President
29 of Liberia, Charles Taylor". He said, "Charles Taylor saw my

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

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

17 Q. Now just to be clear on the "he", this assurance that
18 no-one would cross the border even with a penknife from one
19 country to the other, who was saying that and what direction was
10:14:34 20 that, that border crossing that you were discussing?

21 A. I was talking directly from Liberia as President of
22 Liberia. From any direction that anybody could just imagine to
23 pass through to enter the country, I told him it will not be
24 possible. And exactly like I said I had people in position to
10:14:56 25 stop it. And even when market people were crossing I ensured
26 that they made proper checks to know why they were going to that
27 Cote d'Ivoire and I did the same thing on the borders into
28 Liberia and to that he agreed.

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

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

10:15:36 5 Q. Now do you know anything about what he was referring to,
6 the supposed gasoline that had been poured on the fire, according
7 to him, by President Taylor?

8 A. Yes, he simply said that if you had a neighbour and the
9 neighbour is in trouble, he is on his knees, what you should have
10:15:59 10 done was to go to him and hold him by his hands, lift him up to
11 ensure that he stood straight. But then he also said another
12 parable, that you should not go to step on his back to push him
13 down further, to drag him on the ground. Then he said that was
14 the former President Taylor. He said he was in trouble, people

10:16:24 15 were fighting against him, his own soldiers were fighting against
16 him, but Taylor did not stop that and that, instead of sending
17 soldiers into his country, he sent to fight him and he said he
18 did not like that and he said that is one thing he will never
19 forget and that, "Even though I welcome you as President of
10:16:45 20 Liberia into my country, but that particular incident I will
21 never forget it. It will take a long time to wipe that away from
22 my heart". And I kept saying to him, "Sorry, sorry, sorry. I
23 will do as I promised".

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

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

1 that took place in Liberia. Whatsoever had happened had
2 happened. Let bygones be bygones so that we would live as good
3 neighbours once again. And he said it was a good idea and he
4 congratulate me and he said I was doing well.

10:17:51 5 I also said I was on my way to Nigeria to talk to the
6 Godfather Obasanjo who had helped Liberia so much during war and
7 he tried to bring peace to my country and then I left and I went
8 on to Nigeria.

9 Q. And Kufuor is spelt K-U-F-U-O-R, is that correct?

10:18:15 10 A. Yes.

11 Q. And you told us you had met President Obasanjo in Nigeria
12 which I think is spelt O-B-A-S-A-N-J-O, is that correct?

13 A. Yes, Obasanjo, yes.

14 Q. I think you told us something about that conversation
10:18:26 15 already, but would you tell us precisely what you did say to him?

16 A. The conversation with?

17 Q. With the President of Nigeria, with Obasanjo?

18 A. At that time I was on my way to the Nigeria. I visited
19 Ghana first and I went to Obasanjo and I told Obasanjo that I
10:18:53 20 needed more help and that he had done well, peace is gradually

21 returning to Liberia and that he had done well even by taking

22 President Taylor to his country and that was for the sake of

23 peace, to bring peace to Liberia and I thanked him very much for

24 what he did. And I also explained to him that I had been talking

10:19:15 25 to my neighbours trying to reassure them that there would be no

26 more war coming out of Liberia to attack their countries and he

27 was very happy. He congratulated me and he said that was the

28 best thing a President should do in his region and that he said

29 he was trying too to live good with his neighbours and the

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

1 Sekou Conneh, had turned his vehicle and he was running back to
2 Bomi Hills where he came from and in that incident about three
3 people were killed. I took the bodies, I sent the bodies to
4 funeral homes and these people who were killed were market women.
10:24:45 5 They were not involved with war, only that they got killed during
6 crossfire and that discouraged the peace meeting for a while, and
7 later I rearranged for a latter date for peace talks to resume.
8 That was how I started bringing peace to Liberia.

9 Q. Now, I just want to be clear. The name of this LURD
10:25:09 10 leader, what was his name again?

11 A. His name is Conneh, Sekou Conneh.

12 Q. How is that spelled?

13 A. S-E-K-O-U, Sekou. C-O-N-N-E-H, Conneh.

14 Q. Now, you said there was a second peace meeting. What were
10:25:41 15 you able to accomplish after that second attempted peace meeting?

16 A. Well, I talked through legislators. I talked to the
17 ministers of my government and this time the meeting was held in
18 the Executive Mansion and I was able to convince Sekou Conneh to
19 come and the other commander of LURD who was also there, I will
10:26:13 20 recall his name later. We started talking peace and I told them
21 - I appealed to them that I was not here for power. The
22 presidency I am here for came out of the meeting in Ghana, that I
23 will only be here for 60 days as President and we will have to
24 elect our chairman who was - the chairman that was elected in
10:26:45 25 Ghana will have to come and I will turn over the presidency to
26 him for the sake of peace and we shall run a government until we
27 have an election in this country. They all accepted what I said.
28 I also promised them, I said, "For you to be to believe that you
29 have come here and that I invited you here for peace, I will

1 start disarming myself tomorrow. As we leave this conference
2 tomorrow morning, if you have any representatives to send to make
3 sure I will start voluntary disarmament. I will give over the
4 weapons of the government to ECOMOG - to ECOMIL, to have them
10:27:32 5 under their custody and I will be without arms and ammunition
6 because I am out for peace and I am expecting you to do the
7 same."

8 Judge, your Honours, can I use the restroom?

9 PRESIDING JUDGE: Mr Rapp, please have a seat.

10:27:53 10 THE WITNESS: Excuse me.

11 JUDGE SEBUTINDE: Mr Rapp, the witness before he rose
12 mentioned disarming and giving the weapons to somebody and I
13 wasn't sure exactly who or what that was.

14 MR RAPP: Thank you very much, your Honour:

10:32:33 15 Q. Witness, in your previous answer I think you were talking
16 about the disarmament process and then you mentioned an
17 organisation and I thought I heard the word ECOMIL. What were
18 you referring to?

19 A. Yes, a voluntary disarmament. I disarmed voluntarily, as I
10:32:52 20 promised the warring factions in the meeting. These arms were
21 given to the ECOMIL group from the United Nations. They were
22 responsible for the disarmament in Liberia later.

23 Q. I just want to be clear, because we have heard about ECOMOG
24 before.

10:33:14 25 A. No, sorry, ECOMOG was before then, before the war, before
26 the war ended.

27 Q. And yesterday we spelled out this word UNMIL, or UNMIL,
28 which was it, or was it a third group?

29 A. UNMIL was the last UN organisation that was responsible for

1 disarmament. As time went by they were changing the names.

2 There was ECOMOG, ECOMIL, then we had UNMIL. The UNMIL is the
3 one that is now in position in Liberia. They are all from the
4 United Nations.

10:33:55 5 Q. Just to be clear, at the time of this disarmament during
6 your presidency, was it UNMIL, or was it some other organisation
7 that the weapons were turned over to?

8 A. No, it was not UNMIL then. UNMIL came in later. When
9 peace was in place and I was ensuring that the peace holds, that
10:34:16 10 was when UNMIL started to supervise.

11 Q. In terms of your relationships with the United Nations, did
12 you have any contact with the United Nations yourself as
13 President?

14 A. Yes, the representatives of the Secretary-General of the
10:34:37 15 United Nations were in Liberia at the time and he had meetings
16 with me to ensure that the peace process was on course. He was
17 visiting me at my house to encourage me to put more pressure on
18 the fighting men and some men under my command, as commander
19 in-chief, were very hostile to the peacekeepers. What they were
10:35:14 20 saying was that they will disarm, but that the peacekeepers were
21 planning to attack and they will arrest them and I told them,
22 "No, that was not the intention." I told them the peacekeepers
23 were here to bring peace to Liberia. I was able to convince them
24 and some started to turn in their weapons from their various
10:35:39 25 places of assignment.

26 Q. During the course of your 60 day presidency, what happened
27 with the United Nations presence in Liberia?

28 A. Their presence - they were good, there was no trouble. I
29 tried to keep the situation calm as President. The relationship

1 was good. Nothing serious happened.

2 Q. And what about the numbers of United Nations peacekeepers
3 in Liberia, what happened with that during your presidency?

10:36:31

4 A. What I could remember was that the number increased and
5 some were brought over from Sierra Leone to augment the strength
6 of the men on the ground at the time. That's what I can
7 remember.

8 Q. Did you discuss this with the special representative?

10:36:49

9 A. Yes, we discussed. We discussed a lot of issues that I
10 cannot remember off head now. We had a lot of talks. There were
11 talks every time. There were meetings every time, talking, and
12 there were reports from everywhere in Liberia. I was head of
13 government as President and I was chairing meetings every day.
14 Every day there was a meeting to bring peace to Liberia.

10:37:14

15 Q. And, witness, a few moments ago you mentioned the
16 resistance among your soldiers to disarmament. Were you able to
17 persuade people to disarm?

10:37:40

18 A. In some instances I was able. In others I had to use force
19 on some of the fighting men. They didn't want to - President
20 Taylor had just left and some were still hostile to me. They
21 wanted me to pay them. President Taylor had promised to pay them
22 and he didn't and I must pay them their money. These guns were
23 things by which they lived, they had their checkpoints, they had
24 their guns to patrol to make their money and now I was trying to
25 disarm them. I must give them money.

10:38:05

26 At one time my house was surrounded and they said if I did
27 not pay they were going to set my house ablaze and they will harm
28 my family. There was a very big confusion. Then UNMIL came in
29 and assisted me and arrested some of the fighters and took them

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

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

11 MR RAPP:

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

10:39:19 15 A. These were groups from our former NPFL group. It was not
16 from LURD. It was not from the regular army. It was not from
17 MODEL. It was only the NPFL group that had known me who came
18 closer that I must pay them for what they did for the NPP-led
19 government.

10:39:45 20 Q. And at the time that they came to you, what had been their
21 positions during the Taylor government? Had they been in any
22 units or organisations during that period of time?

23 A. There was - there was the ATU that started the harassment.
24 They started coming to me with force. And later other groups,
10:40:12 25 the Marine unit, the artillery unit. It was not just one unit
26 that started this thing. Other units joined in later, but the
27 first group to attack me for pay was the ATU group.

28 Q. Thank you, witness. As far as these individuals that were
29 attacking you, how long did those kinds of expressions and those

1 attacks continue?

2 A. It went on for about a month. Pretty close to a month. I
3 was always in problems with them. Sometimes I will calm them
4 down, I will call the commanders, we will talk and he will assure
10:41:01 5 me he will calm the boys. And when they continued coming and I
6 was - that I was in danger with them, because I was not armed any
7 more and I didn't have the power I had, because I had disarmed
8 myself previously voluntarily, so I had to inform the United
9 Nations. I did that and the UN came in with a very good force
10:41:25 10 and my house was fully protected. I had some artillery, war
11 tanks, all surrounding my house to keep them at bay.

12 Q. Witness, let's just jump ahead for a moment. In the period
13 after your presidency did you have any contact with these
14 individuals and did they express anything to you?

10:41:50 15 A. Yes, they came again, the individuals. The group came
16 again. When I retired - when I resigned my post as President on
17 one occasion, just one occasion, it was not a big group, the
18 representatives from the group came. I think there were four or
19 five men. They said I must see to it that they get their monies
10:42:18 20 from the United Nations as promised and if I don't I will be the
21 one to pay them the money that the government owed them. That
22 was when Gyude Bryant was the chairman. He got involved and I
23 told him, Gyude Bryant, "I am no longer President of this
24 country, you are chairing this transitional government and they
10:42:41 25 said this is my problem". He said, "No, I will intervene. I
26 will call the men to me and make them understand you were acting
27 as President of Liberia. You are no more President. Nobody has
28 claims to you". That was when that stopped and they stopped
29 coming to me.

1 Q. And just in terms of the names and we may have it in the
2 record otherwise, but Gyude Bryant I believe is G-Y-U-D-E, is it
3 not? Am I correct on that?

4 A. [Indiscernible].

10:43:08 5 MR RAPP: Okay. Well, anyway I think it's G-Y-U-D-E first
6 name, second name Bryant, B-R-Y-A-N-T. But we will correct that
7 if that's incorrect.

8 JUDGE SEBUTINDE: Mr Rapp, I don't recall that the witness
9 has told us the exact period when he was President - the exact
10:43:29 10 time when he was President.

11 MR RAPP:

12 Q. Witness, when was the exact time that you were President?

13 A. I was President of Liberia for 60 days.

14 JUDGE SEBUTINDE: From when to when is what I mean?

10:43:44 15 MR RAPP:

16 Q. What months were you President?

17 A. I was President from 11 August to 11 October 2003.

18 Q. Thank you very much, witness. What's your relations today
19 with these men that were disarmed?

10:44:10 20 A. Well, the relationship I should say is good, but before I
21 left Monrovia to come to this Court there was - there was some -
22 there was some threats. I got a report from my security men,
23 there were leaflets on my house with threatening statements that
24 if I come to testify in this matter I will be killed. That will
10:44:50 25 be the end of my life and that of my family.

26 I am not accusing anyone, because I did not see them, but
27 it sounded like the former soldiers of our fighting force, NPFL.
28 But, anyway, we tried to manage the situation as it is. Even as
29 I am here now I am quite worried. We have security in place.

1 Maybe if we hear some strange news then let it be. God is there,
2 it will not happen. But I was under threat from time to time,
3 more especially when I was coming here to testify.

10:45:44 4 Q. Witness, during this 60 days when you were President what
5 was the financial situation of the Liberian government?

6 A. Well, there was nothing left in the coffers of the
7 government. The ministry of finance was completely empty. There
8 was no money because the period I was President of Liberia there
9 was a lot of fighting going on. There were no taxes being paid,
10:46:16 10 companies were closed down. There was no money coming in to the
11 government coffers and there was no way they could come because
12 there was a lot of fighting going on. Everywhere where
13 government was supposed to get money was closed and there wasn't
14 any money.

10:46:34 15 Q. You mentioned the minister of finance. Did you ask him
16 where the money had gone that had been in the treasury?

17 A. I asked him and he said the money, some was taken away by
18 the previous government, they had to pay this, they have taken
19 some money from some companies in advance and they will not be
10:46:59 20 able to pay any money from now for about a year. The government,
21 they have money and the little money the government had the
22 previous government had taken it away. That was from what he
23 said. And I was President for 60 days. I was not paid - up
24 until I am speaking to you I have not been paid for the period
10:47:26 25 for which I was President.

26 Q. Witness, you mentioned this 60 days period and a meeting in
27 Accra and something that happened there. What happened in Accra
28 in regard to the term - the 60 day term - of your office?
29 Perhaps I should rephrase the question. How was it determined

1 that you were going to stay in office for 60 days?

10:48:12 2 A. Well, the ECOWAS Leaders were not sure. Everybody was
3 hesitant. They were linking me with my previous President. They
4 were saying, "Look, that is the tactics he has been able to play,
5 he will not give up power as he promised". Nobody was sure.
6 Even if the - they spoke to the United Nations that if I did not
7 step down what will happen? So they were not satisfied. That
8 was what I could remember. Exactly on October 11, the end of my
9 60 days, I was able to resign as President of Liberia and they
10:48:40 10 were very surprised that it happened.

11 Q. And why were they surprised?

12 A. Because they thought - like I said, they said they were
13 linking me with my previous President and saying that this is the
14 kind of thing, they have not been stable, he has been
10:49:01 15 Vice-President under Charles Taylor, he will not resign, he is
16 just buying time to fight, you know. There were a lot of rumours
17 everywhere, every corner. They were surprised that I made a
18 promise and I kept to my word and that I was able to turn in the
19 presidency as I did, as I promised. That was why they were
10:49:23 20 surprised, yes.

21 Q. And when had you made that promise? When had you made the
22 promise to leave office after 60 days?

23 A. I made - I promised when I took over as President. When I
24 was sworn in as President of Liberia I promised that I will not
10:49:42 25 go one day after the 60 days. Under no circumstances would I
26 stay in office after 60 days and I went by my promise.

27 Q. And, witness, let's move on up towards the present. After
28 your presidency were you ever approached by investigators from
29 the Special Court for Sierra Leone?

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

3 Q. And what did you say to them?

4 A. They tried to enquire. First of all, they were very polite
10:50:45 5 in their questions to me. Some things I cannot remember two or
6 three times. They asked me if I was aware that there was a Court
7 in Liberia - in Sierra Leone to try the President of Liberia and
8 I said, "Yes, I am aware", and said, "Well?" One question that
9 came first was if I am aware that Sam Bockarie was killed in
10:51:24 10 Liberia and that, "We were hearing that you were around during
11 his killing", and I explained exactly what I had explained to the
12 Court: That I was in the village where he was taken and they
13 were leaving, they passed my village and they returned. So they
14 kept coming, they kept coming at different times, finding out
10:51:52 15 different things from me. That is how they approached me.

16 Q. Well, did you ever ask them if you were a suspect of the
17 Court, or a target of investigation?

18 A. Please --

19 Q. Were you ever asked by them whether you were suspected by
10:52:08 20 the Court, or were a target of investigation?

21 A. Yes, I asked that question on one occasion. I asked that
22 question, why these questions should be asked to me, and they
23 told me "no", they told me purely "no". They said the only
24 person that they had to answer questions in this matter would be
10:52:34 25 President Taylor, but because he was President at the time and
26 that they were not after any other person to go to The Hague to
27 answer questions to the Special Court. That was what they told
28 me.

29 Q. Did you receive anything from them in regard to that

1 question of your own situation?

2 A. No, they did not. In the first instance what they did when
3 they came in was that they wanted me to go to the German embassy
4 where they were based. One of the investigators came to me and
10:53:16 5 said that, "You will not take your car to the German embassy. We
6 will give you money initially to go to the German embassy to
7 answer some questions."

8 Q. Well, did they ever give you a letter in regard to your own
9 - whether you were subject of investigation?

10:53:35 10 A. It was at a later date a letter came. Just recently a
11 letter came, a letter like clearing me, that I was not concerned
12 with the case in The Hague and this it was only Taylor - this
13 letter was signed by one Johnson, one of the judges of the Court,
14 that I have been cleared, I should not worry about this matter.

10:54:08 15 They had wanted to find facts. I shouldn't put that in my mind
16 that I was going to be investigated behind closed doors. I think
17 that was all they said. The letter is not here with me now.

18 MR RAPP: Well, I believe we distributed copies of a letter
19 signed by Mr Johnson earlier and if we could have the Registry
10:54:36 20 provide that to the witness:

21 Q. Witness, if you would now look at the screen, is that the
22 letter you were referring to?

23 A. Yes, that is the letter I am referring to.

24 MR RAPP: So, your Honours, we would ask that this --

10:55:29 25 PRESIDING JUDGE: Counsel for the Defence have seen this
26 document?

27 MR GRIFFITHS: I have seen the document, your Honour, but I
28 think it ought to be made clear by my learned friend that this
29 letter did not come from a judge of this Court, but from a senior

1 Prosecutor.

2 THE WITNESS: Yes, that is right. I am sorry, yes.

3 MR RAPP: Certainly, your Honours, the letter speaks for
4 itself. It was signed by James Johnson, acting Prosecutor, on 30
10:55:57 5 October 2006. Could we have it marked for identification with a
6 number?

7 PRESIDING JUDGE: Yes, that will be MFI-19.

8 MS IRURA: That is correct, your Honour.

9 PRESIDING JUDGE: Is it 20 or 19? I thought it was 19.

10:56:18 10 MR RAPP: 19.

11 PRESIDING JUDGE: It is a one page document dated 30
12 October 2006 and it addresses, "For the attention of Mr Moses
13 Blah."

14 MS IRURA: Your Honour, it is MFI-19.

10:56:50 15 PRESIDING JUDGE: For the avoidance of doubt I will repeat
16 that it is MFI-19.

17 MR RAPP: Thank you very much, Madam President. There will
18 be another two items to be placed before the witness that have
19 been distributed and earlier disclosed, but they are not in the
10:57:08 20 tabs. The first one that I would like displayed to the witness
21 is a document of six pages with the heading, "Special Court for
22 Sierra Leone, all disbursements for witness ", and it contains a
23 number of entries, 20 entries, the first beginning with number 1
24 with "D Cunningham". If that document could be placed before the
10:57:37 25 witness:

26 Q. Now, witness, during the course of your meetings with
27 representatives of the Office of the Prosecutor, or investigators
28 from the Office of the Prosecutor in the Special Court, you have
29 already said that there were some expenses paid to you for a

1 particular visit to an interview at the German embassy.

2 A. Yes.

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

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

14 Q. Well, just to look at this particular document that is on
10:59:02 15 the screen at the moment, have you seen this document before?

16 A. No, I have just seen it here. I didn't see it. I have not
17 seen it.

18 Q. Well, then, witness, just looking at item number 1, Tuesday
19 31 October 2006, made by D Cunningham, category is lost
10:59:24 20 wages/transport, amount \$50, checked US dollars, do you recall
21 receiving in and around that time a payment of \$50?

22 A. I mentioned that.

23 Q. And when it says lost wages, were you losing wages at the
24 time?

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

1 went on and on, but I cannot even remember some of these things
2 because I had a business. I have a very big business centre
3 where I stay during the day. My wife has a business centre, a
4 boutique downtown Monrovia. Sometimes I go to the boutique
11:00:26 5 downtown to stay in the store when she is not present.

6 Q. Now, item 3 refers to property, category property, but
7 reads, "In payment to retrieve documents from his property which
8 is up country", and the amount is 450 US dollars. Do you
9 remember that payment?

11:00:48 10 A. Yes, I remember that.

11 Q. And do you know why that payment was made?

12 A. It was made because as we spoke over some documents they
13 wanted from me it was - they were not in Monrovia at the time and
14 that I should use my jeep, my two vehicles, to go. Usually I
11:01:05 15 send my backup vehicle with the security and myself. We went on
16 to Nimba, to Toweh Town, to and from there to bring these
17 documents back, because I had to have some references to some
18 questions they wanted me to answer.

19 MR GRIFFITHS: I apologise in interrupting my learned
11:01:28 20 friend, but I noted that my learned friend asked the witness
21 about item 1, skipped item 2 and went to item 3. I was wondering
22 whether he was intending to deal with incidental expenses under
23 head number 2 on that page, for completeness that is.

24 PRESIDING JUDGE: I am sure that if he doesn't, you will,
11:01:48 25 Mr Griffiths, but I don't think it is an objection. It is for
26 counsel to conduct his examination-in-chief, but, Mr Rapp, you
27 have heard counsel for the Defence.

28 MR RAPP: If I might be permitted to reply to a
29 non-objection, it is not my intention to mention every one of

1 these items, but to deal with the categories so we can understand
2 what is involved and I presume counsel will be able to
3 cross-examine about anything that I miss:

11:02:29 4 Q. We discussed item 3 on property and this trip up country to
5 get these documents. Let me go down to items 7 and 8. I see
6 transport and medical on one for \$100 and then I see, I guess it
7 is a month and a half later, 370, medical/transport/lost wages.
8 Why were you being paid medical, or expenses for medical?

11:03:04 9 A. It was on one occasion when the investigator visited the
10 house I was really sick. I have a cardiac problem and I was in a
11 hospital. They waited. When they called I was on my way from
12 the hospital. They wanted to talk and I said, "Well, look, I
13 cannot talk today, because I am sick and I am going back to the
14 hospital tomorrow. I have to take with me some money to pay my
11:03:33 15 doctors", so they looked at some of the receipts and said, "Well,
16 if we come tomorrow, if you really owe the doctor and we are
17 taking your time to talk to you, we will have to help with these
18 medical bills." That was when these monies were paid. The
19 following day, when they came I took the money to the doctor and
11:03:56 20 paid the bills, based on the prescriptions and other things that
21 had to do with the doctor that were all presented to them.

22 Q. Well, I see a number of other items if we go over the page
23 to 3: 300 for medical, 21 March 2007; two days later 538 for
24 medical and fuel, also just deal with medical; 7 May of the same
11:04:36 25 year, going over the page on page 4, item 13, 100 for medical; 14
26 mentions medical as one of the things, including lost wages and
27 meals, for \$200, that is way up in October 2007; 12 December
28 2007, 600 for medical; and then on 7 January 2008, \$2,150 for
29 medical. What was the reason for these medical expenses, for

1 this medical expense reimbursement?

2 A. Yes, at the time all the monies were being paid. At one
3 time I was hospitalised. They came, I almost - I had a mild
4 stroke on my left foot. It went completely dead. I had to do a
11:05:35 5 lot of tests. They were taking me here and there for
6 examinations. At one time the doctor recommended that I must go
7 to Cote d'Ivoire because they did not have the equipment in
8 Liberia to do some scanning on my body. At this time I was very,
9 very sick. I was not walking correctly. I couldn't even walk.

11:06:02 10 When these monies were paid they got involved and ensured that I
11 went to hospital. The investigator said that.

12 Q. Now, witness, going over the page to number 5, I see number
13 17, transport, \$1,970, purchase of airline tickets. Then down in
14 20 I see \$485 for purchase of additional airline ticket for his
11:06:36 15 staff. What was the purpose of those payments?

16 A. At the time the doctors recommended that I go to - the
17 doctors that recommended, those in Abidjan - I had been to the
18 hospital in Ghana previously. Then my first doctor which I
19 certified with the prescription and the medical reports from
11:07:08 20 Liberia said that I must go to see my doctors in Ivory Coast. If
21 this is not done, I will be in danger and I was very, very
22 frightened. That was when the tickets were bought. Three
23 tickets were bought, mine and two tickets for my two bodyguards.

24 Q. And the ticket down here on number 20 that was purchased
11:07:33 25 five days later, who was that ticket for?

26 A. It was at one time when I sent my boys to buy medicines,
27 medication. The medication I am taking is not sold in Liberia
28 nowhere. That was costing me a lot of money and as time went by
29 I was sent to Abidjan to bring the drugs with me, but the drugs

1 got finished and I had to send again to buy because we do not
2 have the kind of drugs that I am taking now in Liberia.

3 Q. Now this trip that you were going to see the doctor in
4 Abidjan, were you going to do anything else when you were in
11:08:15 5 Abidjan?

6 A. No, I was only going there to see my doctor.

7 Q. And, witness, did you in fact take that trip?

8 A. No, I did not go and I was pending - I suspended the trip
9 because of the harassment. It was just about the time when the

11:08:36 10 leaflets were flying. The people - it was said in the paper that
11 it was stuck everywhere on my house, on my shop, on my phone that
12 if you leave here it means that you are going to The Hague to
13 testify. You will come - when you come back you will meet your
14 house burnt to the ground, we will kidnap your children from
11:09:01 15 school. I have those documents now on me.

16 So I suspended the trip and said, "Look, I will wait and
17 see". I have got the tickets with me right now. I can go back
18 to Abidjan as soon as I finish from here to see my doctor. The
19 trip was not made.

11:09:21 20 MR RAPP: Your Honour, we would ask that this particular
21 document of six pages be marked for identification.

22 PRESIDING JUDGE: That is a six page document entitled
23 "Special Court for Sierra Leone, all disbursements for witness"
24 and it is in subparagraphs 1 to 20 and it becomes MFI-20.

11:09:53 25 MR RAPP:

26 Q. Now, witness, prior to you coming to The Hague did you have
27 occasion to meet officers or individuals that worked for the
28 Witness and Victim Section of the Court?

29 A. Yes, we met in Monrovia.

1 Q. And what did you discuss with them?

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

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

13 Q. And, witness, if I can direct your attention to this
14 document, it makes reference to the WWS putting security and
11:11:40 15 other facilities in place for that security and in line 3 it says
16 the current cost of these measures is \$3,200? Do you know how
17 that cost was arrived at?

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

28 Q. And without naming any individuals, how many people live at
29 your house approximately?

1 A. My family members. In my house I have my children, I have
2 my grandchildren, my wife, my wife's relatives, approximately
3 about - the children in my house in school they are 22. My
4 family is about roughly 20, 15, 32 - maybe 50 persons live in my
11:13:26 5 house. I have a house - a two storeyed building. It has so many
6 rooms. There is a boys quarter in my house. I have children
7 living there who are going to school. Some are children I am
8 caring for, some are my grandchildren, my relatives' children.
9 If you know being a President in Africa then you know a lot of
11:13:50 10 responsibility rests on you. People who were not able whom you
11 want to help - in fact as I am speaking to you if you see my
12 house, you go into that compound you will think it is some kind
13 of a refugee camp. We eat rice - mostly we eat about a bag of
14 rice a day, or two days, in my house. That is the kind of strain
11:14:09 15 I have. Right now as I am sitting here I worry all the time.

16 Q. Witness, in this document before you I see a number 4. It
17 says: "In addition he", you, "were provided with money for
18 conducting a medical examination for determining fitness to
19 travel and for the procurement of drugs. The amount expend was
11:14:36 20 \$500". Is that correct?

21 A. Yes, the drugs were bought.

22 MR RAPP: This particular document then we would ask your
23 Honours if it can be marked for identification in the next
24 sequence.

11:14:47 25 PRESIDING JUDGE: Thank you. This is a one page document
26 headed "Special Court for Sierra Leone, inter-office memo" and it
27 is addressed to the Defence team's CT case, dated 7 May 2008. It
28 becomes MFI -21.

29 MR RAPP: Thank you very much, your Honour:

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

7 A. What page was that?

8 Q. Number 19.

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

17 Q. Well, witness, let me move ahead with another matter. Your
18 appearance here I think the record will reflect will be - is
19 subject to a subpoena. Prior to that subpoena being delivered to
11:17:13 20 you, did anyone discuss that subpoena with you?

21 A. Yes, the investigators approached me. I had two options.
22 I said, "Look, I am sick, I am not well. Any time you are here I
23 feel embarrassed asking you to pay these hospital bills and this
24 to me, except I leave this country, if it's a force, if it's a
11:17:44 25 subpoena, you subpoena me, then I will not be hostile to an
26 international Court. I have must go under any condition. But if
27 this is not done I will not leave this country to go anywhere".

28 Q. Witness, I wonder if now you could help us with certain
29 exhibits and if we have some pictures that are in the binder, I

1 think at tab 31, and they are given the letters and the letters
2 are A, B, C, D, E, F and there is something on the back of them,
3 but I just want the witness to be shown the front of those
4 documents. If those could be taken to the witness and displayed
11:18:40 5 on the projector. Okay, witness, a document has been placed in
6 front of you that I believe has an ERN number 00039998 over on
7 the right side. Do you recognise the person in that picture?

8 A. Yes, I recognise Benjamin Yeaten and --

9 Q. Which one is he?

11:19:38 10 A. Benjamin Yeaten is on the left with a communication on his
11 ear.

12 Q. Do you recognise any other person in that photograph?

13 A. Yes, another bodyguard to Benjamin Yeaten, sir. Sylvester
14 Willor. He is on the right, right behind him.

11:20:01 15 Q. And Sylvester Willor, how do you spell that? Willow like
16 willow tree?

17 A. Yes, willow tree. W-I-L-L-O-R, Willor.

18 MR GRIFFITHS: I am wondering which of the several people
19 on the right is the tree?

11:20:25 20 PRESIDING JUDGE: Perhaps if the witness could hold up the
21 paper and indicate to us. That might be the most practical way.

22 MR RAPP: Or perhaps if the witness could show with a pen.

23 PRESIDING JUDGE: Yes, with a pen on the screen, please, Mr
24 Witness, if you could point out the person you have identified as
11:20:40 25 Sylvester Willor.

26 THE WITNESS: Do you want me to come on that side? On the
27 left is Benjamin Yeaten, General Benjamin Yeaten. Then on the
28 right right behind him is Sylvester Willor. Those two people I
29 recognise, sir.

1 MR RAPP:

2 Q. Okay. I think that clearly reflects in the transcript who
3 he is talking about, so let's move to B and ask if you recognise
4 the individuals in B and point them out and describe where they
11:21:35 5 are as you point them out, if you recognise any person on the
6 projector?

7 A. The one on the right with the shades is called Yanmayan.

8 Q. And is that spelt Y-A-N-M-A-Y-A-N?

9 A. Yes, Yanmayan.

11:22:07 10 Q. And what's his first name?

11 A. John Yanmayan.

12 Q. And what was his position during the Taylor administration,
13 if you know?

14 A. Previously he was a commander of the Executive Mansion
11:22:24 15 Guard unit when we were in Gbarnga, but later he was dismissed.
16 I met him in Monrovia going to school at the University of
17 Liberia. At present he is working for the Firestone Plantation
18 in Liberia. I don't know what the job is there.

19 Q. Do you recognise anyone else in that picture?

11:22:50 20 A. No, I only recognise this very well, the man with the
21 shades.

22 Q. That would conclude our examination on that picture. Then
23 let's move to C. By the way the picture we just looked at, the
24 ERN was P0000637. Now we have a picture with the ERN P0000791.

11:23:23 25 Do you recognise any persons in this picture and in this case,
26 witness, perhaps if you would go to the left and point it out on
27 the projector, because there are a lot of people I see here.

28 A. I can see Benjamin Yeaten first.

29 Q. Can you point him out?

1 A. Excuse me. There is Benjamin Yeaten, former President
2 Taylor.

3 PRESIDING JUDGE: Excuse me, Mr Witness, could you please
4 point out Benjamin Yeaten again as it wasn't translated on the
11:24:20 5 screen.

6 MR RAPP:

7 Q. Witness, as you point out the individuals would you just
8 put the point of your up toward them. First Benjamin Yeaten?

9 A. This is Benjamin Yeaten.

11:24:38 10 Q. Okay, and --

11 A. And this is the former President Taylor.

12 Q. And --

13 A. At the back is senior aide-de-camp N'jie, Musa N'jie.

14 Q. Okay, who else, and then we will get clear places?

11:25:04 15 A. And right there is Mrs Jewel Howard Taylor, the wife of the
16 President.

17 Q. And anyone else?

18 A. This is Joseph Montgomery, the deputy director of SS
19 operations. That is all I can remember.

11:25:28 20 MR RAPP: Then, your Honour, may the record reflect that
21 from left to right below the stairs the witness has identified
22 Yeaten as the person on the left, the person next to him to the
23 right is former President Taylor, the next person to the right is
24 Jewel Howard Taylor and the final person that's in full view to
11:25:50 25 the right is Joe Montgomery. Additionally right behind President
26 Taylor I believe that the witness identified Musa N'jie. That's
27 correct:

28 Q. Now, before we pass from that picture, who was Musa N'jie?

29 A. Musa N'jie was the senior aide-de-camp to the President, to

1 President Taylor at the time.

2 Q. And where is he from?

3 A. He is from The Gambia.

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

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

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

12 A. Yes, this is Musa N'jie.

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

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

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

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

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

1 is Joe Montgomery with the neck tie, with the shirt open. The
2 man who is standing with his mouth open with a chain round his
3 neck is - the picture is not clear. Okay, he is Edwin Snow, the
4 former managing director of the LPRC, Liberia produce - Liberian
11:30:17 5 produce - petroleum - producing - processing something.

6 Q. Before we leave Edwin Snow, what was his relationship to
7 Taylor?

8 A. Edwin Snow was the son-in-law to the President, President
9 Taylor.

11:30:40 10 Q. And who was he married to?

11 A. Married to President Taylor's daughter.

12 MR RAPP: Are we ready for the morning break, your Honour?

13 PRESIDING JUDGE: Yes, I was just checking on the time. I
14 think we are now up to our time limit, Mr Rapp. Mr Witness, we
11:30:59 15 are now going to take our usual mid-morning break of half an
16 hour. We will resume again at 12 o'clock.

17 THE WITNESS: Your Honour --

18 PRESIDING JUDGE: Please adjourn Court.

19 MR GRIFFITHS: Your Honour, I wonder if someone could check
11:31:11 20 out, there is a smell of something burning.

21 PRESIDING JUDGE: I am going to be checking that. Don't
22 worry. We have had this in the past. It's building works, but I
23 will check it again.

24 [Break taken at 11.30 a.m.]

11:53:22 25 [Upon resuming at 12.02 p.m.]

26 PRESIDING JUDGE: Mr Rapp, just before you resume I just
27 want to assure counsel and others present in the Court that the
28 security informs us that there are works going on in the exterior
29 of the building and the smell we notice is being brought through

1 the air ducts.

2 Mr Rapp?

3 MR RAPP: Thank you very much, Madam President. We were
4 going through pictures at the break and there was a fifth picture
12:03:21 5 I would like to have exhibited to the witness, the one that is
6 letter E and that carries the ERN P000796:

7 Q. Witness, do you recognise any persons in this photo?

8 A. Yes, by the right - by the left the photo is former
9 President Taylor and by the right is Mr Musa Cisse and at the
12:04:07 10 extreme right is Joe Montgomery and the lady with the red I will
11 have to think about her name.

12 Q. Well, witness, let's just be sure that we have correctly
13 identified the people that you have there. You said the one on
14 the left, the one on the left I take it with the blue suit, is
12:04:45 15 Taylor. Now you said to the right the gentleman you said was
16 Musa Cisse, what is he wearing?

17 A. Musa is with a white shirt and a grey suit.

18 Q. How close is he to Taylor?

19 A. Very close. He is close on the right of --

12:05:11 20 PRESIDING JUDGE: Perhaps if the witness could do as he did
21 before and point to them, it might make a better record. Thank
22 you, Mr Witness.

23 THE WITNESS: Here is Mr Taylor and here is Mr Musa Cisse
24 and here is Joe Montgomery and later I will identify this person.

12:05:46 25 MR RAPP:

26 Q. Thank you, very much, witness. I think the record should
27 reflect that the Joe Montgomery person is the person furthest on
28 the right. Okay, if we can put that picture aside and go to a
29 sixth picture. That is the one under letter F and that has the

1 ERN number P000812. Do you recognise any persons in that photo?

12:06:47 2 A. Yes, here is the aide-de-camp again to Mr President Taylor,
3 Momoh Gibba - the man in the military suit, Momoh Gibba - and
4 here is former President Taylor. The next here is N'jie. He was
5 another senior aide-de-camp in the coat suit. This man is from
6 La Cote D'Ivoire. He used to be the Charge d'Affairs for the
7 Cote D'Ivoire, the embassy of Cote D'Ivoire. I don't know his
8 name. In the right here again is Joe Montgomery.

12:07:10 9 Q. Okay, witness, I want to be clear because you said we were
10 seeing again Momoh Gibba as the individual on the left and then
11 you also identified Mr N'jie. Now, what were their positions?

12 A. Momoh Gibba is aide-de-camp and at that time N'jie was the
13 chief, senior aide-de-camp to the President. There were a lot of
14 aides to the President, but N'jie was the chief at that time and
12:07:41 15 at that time Momoh Gibba was just an aide-de-camp to the
16 President.

17 Q. And what were their nationalities?

18 A. Gibba is a Liberian. N'jie is a Gambian.

19 MR RAPP: I think the record clearly reflects the order of
12:08:00 20 the individuals here, so we ask that that exhibit be taken from
21 the witness. Now there was a seventh photo which wasn't in the
22 packet and it was distributed to the parties in the last several
23 days. It has the number P0005002. Thank you:

12:08:42 24 Q. Witness, let me invite your attention to this photo. Who
25 do you see in this photo?

26 A. I can see - I am seeing Mr Cyril Allen, the former chairman
27 of the National Patriotic Party. I have seen former President
28 Taylor and then of course I have seen Moses Blah.

29 Q. Would you just tell me left to right who the individuals

1 are?

2 A. On the left is Cyril Allen the former chairman of the
3 National Patriotic Party, and in the centre is former President
4 Charles Taylor, and on the right is Moses Blah former President
12:09:42 5 of Liberia.

6 Q. Witness, do you know when this picture was taken?

7 A. I can't remember. It was taken somewhere - the way I see
8 it, it was out of Monrovia, like in Gbarnga, Ganta, some place
9 out of Monrovia.

12:10:04 10 Q. And from looking at the scene and the situation can you
11 tell what position you were in at the time?

12 A. As this photo is, by then I was Vice-President of Liberia.
13 I had the shirt when I was Vice-President.

14 Q. One question: I see this wooden stick in Taylor's hand and
12:10:33 15 I think that may have been shown earlier on in the fifth photo.
16 What is that that he's holding, if you know?

17 A. It is a walking stick. That is the stick he used to walk
18 with. It is like a walking stick for older people that use them
19 to walk.

12:10:56 20 Q. I see carving on it. Is there any significance to that?

21 A. Well, I wouldn't know and I wouldn't explain about the
22 stick, because some leaders have this stick and some big military
23 people, some presidents, they have their own reasons for holding
24 a walking stick. And I have mine, but I don't think I have any
12:11:24 25 reason for holding it except for support to my legs.

26 Q. Thank you very much for identifying that photo. Your
27 Honours, we now have seven photos here and if we can have those
28 marked for identification perhaps - I don't know whether it's
29 appropriate to have a single number and then have them as letters

1 A through G, but I will leave that to your Honours.

2 PRESIDING JUDGE: The first photograph which the witness
3 identified with the ERN number ending in 998 is marked for
4 identification MFI-22 and I will give it an A and keep them in
12:12:16 5 that sequence.

6 The second photograph which ends in the ERN number 637
7 which the witness identified will become MFI-22B.

8 The photograph ending in ERN number 791 which the witness
9 identified will become 22C.

12:12:45 10 The photograph ending in ERN number 795 which was
11 identified will become MFI-22D.

12 The photograph ending in ERN number 796 identified will
13 become MFI-22E.

14 The photograph ending in ERN number 812 will become
12:13:21 15 MFI-22F.

16 The photograph ending in an ERN number 5002 will become
17 MFI-22G. Mr Rapp, please proceed.

18 MR RAPP: Thank you very much, your Honour:

19 Q. In your testimony you have indicated that you followed the
12:13:52 20 news on BBC Network Africa and Focus on Africa. Do you remember
21 ever hearing any reports about the invasion of Freetown?

22 A. Yes, I remember that Freetown was being attacked. Yes,
23 I remember.

24 MR RAPP: If we could ask for a document to be placed
12:14:22 25 before the witness. It is in the binder. I believe it is the
26 number 7 tab of the binder, BBC News article, "Freetown bears the
27 scars":

28 Q. Witness, would you look at this document and scan it and
29 see if - then I want to put a question to you. Witness, is this

1 consistent with the reports that you heard over the BBC?

2 A. Yes, I remember the reporter named here Mark Doyle. Yes,
3 I can remember. I remember.

4 MR RAPP: Your Honours, if we can put that one - well,
12:15:36 5 let's ask if we can have that particular exhibit marked for
6 identification.

7 PRESIDING JUDGE: This is a three page document with a
8 heading "BBC/Africa/Freetown bears the scars" with a subheading
9 "BBC News World Edition" and it is marked for identification
10 MFI-23.
12:15:59

11 MR RAPP:

12 Q. Witness, you indicated you visited Sierra Leone after you
13 were President, after you became President of Liberia. Do you
14 know if that visit was reported on in the press?

12:16:30 15 A. Yes, because when I was in Sierra Leone I had a press
16 conference and even before I left Monrovia there was a press
17 conference. So I am sure that it was in the press.

18 Q. Let me ask the Registry to place before you a document that
19 is not in the binder that has been circulated in the last several
12:16:54 20 days. It is from the Sierra Leone News Archive dated 22 August.
21 It's ERN number 000100522. It's a short article with a picture
22 in it. We have a second copy of it here if there's a problem.
23 Witness, would you take a look at this document and read it over
24 briefly to yourself. Okay, witness?

12:18:56 25 A. Yes, I remember.

26 Q. Is this news report consistent with your recollection of
27 the reports made about your visit to Sierra Leone?

28 A. Yes, I remember, I remember.

29 Q. Who is shown in the picture there?

1 A. On the left is former President Blah and by the right is
2 former President Tejan Kabbah of Sierra Leone. We were trying to
3 embrace each other.

12:19:36 4 MR RAPP: So if we could have this exhibit, your Honour,
5 marked for identification as well.

6 PRESIDING JUDGE: That is a one page document headed
7 "Sierra Leone News Archives" with a date 22 August, a year
8 unspecified, with a picture. It is marked for identification
9 MFI-24.

12:19:55 10 MR RAPP:

11 Q. Just an additional question about that document which you
12 had a chance to look at: Is the report consistent, or is it
13 accurate when it reflects what you said to President Kabbah?

14 A. Yes, I said it.

12:20:12 15 Q. Witness, you indicated in your testimony that you also
16 followed Liberian newspapers and have you been shown any articles
17 in Liberian newspapers that you were able to identify and
18 remember?

19 A. No, until I see. I don't have any of those documents in my
12:20:40 20 possession, but there were a lot of newspapers and news coming
21 out of Sierra Leone.

22 Q. Witness, let me ask the Registry to place before you a
23 document from the - I will just make sure I have got the right
24 document. It's at tab 5 of the binder. It is a news article
12:21:15 25 from the Daily Times. If that can be placed. Witness, do you
26 recall seeing this newspaper before?

27 A. Yes, yes, I have seen this paper before in Liberia way back
28 in 1998.

29 Q. Do you remember, when you saw it, any of the stories from

1 that newspaper?

2 A. Yes, I have seen them.

3 MR RAPP: Okay, well, then I would ask that this particular
4 document be marked for identification.

12:22:21 5 PRESIDING JUDGE: That is a one page document with a
6 heading "Daily Times" and a subheading "Volume 2 No. 65 Friday,
7 July 24 1998". It is marked for identification MFI-25.

8 JUDGE SEBUTINDE: Mr Rapp, if you don't mind my
9 interrupting, I am not sure which of the stories you want to draw
12:22:46 10 the Court's attention to?

11 MR RAPP:

12 Q. Well now it has been marked, witness, do you remember the
13 stories in regard to guns and rice being traded for diamonds?

14 A. Yes, that is the story. That was in the newspaper, your
12:23:03 15 Honours. It was in the newspaper.

16 Q. Okay, thank you very much, witness.

17 A. It was in the news.

18 MR RAPP: Thank you, your Honour. Let me ask the Registry
19 then to place before you a news article, or newspaper, at tab 11,
12:23:21 20 the Monrovia Daily News from 3 March 1994:

21 Q. Witness, do you recall seeing this newspaper before?

22 A. Yes, I remember this story in the newspaper.

23 Q. And what story do you remember from this newspaper?

24 A. The one that is saying "ULIMO contemplates replacing Ziah",
12:24:29 25 I saw the headlines, and the other headlines "In Rivercess County
26 NPFL burns 200 alive".

27 Q. Well do you know anything about this report, or do you have
28 any information about what is being reported on in this article
29 that is headlined "NPFL burns 200 alive"?

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

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

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

12:25:43 10 MR RAPP: Okay, thank you. I would then ask that this
11 document be marked for identification as well, your Honours.

12 PRESIDING JUDGE: This is a one page document headed
13 "Monrovia Daily News" with a subheading "Volume 3 No. 52
14 Thursday, March 3", and I think it is "1994". The date is not
12:26:05 15 entirely clear. It is marked for identification MFI-26.

16 MR GRIFFITHS: Your Honour, can I just interrupt to seek
17 some clarification here. Behind my divider 11 there are in fact
18 two pages. I don't know whether both are to be exhibited, or
19 just the one?

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

24 MR RAPP: That is correct, your Honours. As I think you
12:26:47 25 note, they are both 3 March 1994 and there is a note at the
26 bottom of the article, for instance the NPFL and the 200, it says
27 "Continued page" and it looks like "page 6" and this is page 6
28 and then the story continues about the same subject matter.

29 PRESIDING JUDGE: I will not amend the MFI number, but

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

3 MR GRIFFITHS: Not at all, your Honour.

4 MR RAPP:

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

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

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

14 A. Yes, it has to do with this ambush. There was an ambush in
12:28:51 15 Rivercess in which a businessman died. I will recall his name
16 later. He was killed, and one of our commanders escaping
17 unharmed and he went into the bush for about a week and he was
18 later discovered and he was brought to safety. It started in
19 Grand Gedeh, when one evening I was in Grand Gedeh for

12:29:34 20 inspection, and this man - this businessman - had decided to come
21 to Buchanan by using the Sinoe route coming to Rivercess. I knew
22 it was dark and they wanted me to go and escort them as inspector
23 general, but I advised earlier that the road was not good and
24 during war if you were driving a car and the headlights of the
12:29:59 25 car will be suspected and there will be an ambush. I warned
26 them, but they said, no, the war was not close to them.

27 But as they went and they were attacked from Sinoe and that
28 was the direction they wanted us to go at night, but then I told
29 them that my car had a problem and that my jeep was not good and

1 I needed to have it repaired before I will take the way to escort
2 them at night. Then I took off, I came up to Tapita to the
3 garage and it was early that morning that our radio - our
4 communication in the car said - we heard that there was an ambush
12:30:43 5 and this businessman was killed, another man jumped into the bush
6 and the soldiers that we were carrying on that side they were all
7 killed in an ambush. It was a terrible ambush. I remember that,
8 but the names of those who got killed will come to my mind later.
9 It was between Rivercess and Grand Bassa in the palm plantation -
12:31:15 10 oil palm plantation. That was where the ambush took place.

11 Q. And glancing your eyes over this article, does this appear
12 to be the same event that is being reported on in the article?

13 A. Yes. As I am reading, yes. It has been quite a long time.
14 That was why it took me long to see.

12:31:39 15 Q. At the time that this event occurred, what was your
16 position?

17 A. At this time I was inspector general. It was in 1994,
18 1994/1995 if I am not mistaken. I was still inspector general.

19 MR RAPP: Your Honour, we would ask that this article in
12:32:05 20 two pages be marked for identification.

21 PRESIDING JUDGE: This is a two page document with the
22 words "The Inquirer" at the left side, Volume 4 No. 6, Monday
23 January 24 1994. The date is somewhat obscured, but I think that
24 is correct. It is marked for identification MFI-26. Oh, sorry,
12:32:35 25 I have been corrected by Justice Lussick, 27.

26 MR RAPP:

27 Q. Now, witness, when you were Vice-President what were your
28 duties as Vice-President?

29 A. Well, as Vice-President of Liberia I was also the President

1 of the Liberian Senate and I was like a deputy principal to the
2 President and he had all rights to order me to do anything that
3 lied [sic] within his powers. I was serving between both the
4 executive and the legislature, according to our laws as
12:33:23 5 Vice-President.

6 Q. As Vice-President, were you familiar with the constitution
7 of the Republic of Liberia?

8 A. I must have been familiar with it. I must be familiar with
9 the laws of the country and that was why I was President of the
12:33:36 10 Senate.

11 MR RAPP: We would ask then that the item at tab 18 be
12 placed before the witness, a document of 21 pages - 24 pages,
13 excuse me:

14 Q. Witness, would you glance at this document. I think you
12:34:24 15 have seen the first page on the screen. Are you familiar with
16 this document?

17 A. Yes, yes.

18 Q. What is it?

19 A. The Constitution of the Republic of Liberia.

12:34:44 20 Q. And was it the constitution that was in effect when you
21 were Vice-President and President?

22 A. This is like a preamble. You mean what was the
23 constitution?

24 Q. No, I am just asking about this document. I understand
12:35:02 25 that on the screen you have page 1 in front of you, but I believe
26 the Court Registry has given you a document that is 24 pages in
27 length and if you just glance through those pages, if you could
28 tell me what this document is?

29 A. It is the law of Liberia.

1 Q. What law is it specifically?

2 A. This is the law, the structure of the State and the laws
3 that govern the State, the country of Liberia, because there are
4 a lot of articles here and I could not go through them all and it
12:38:22 5 describes what now the division of powers. We have the
6 legislature, the executive, the judiciary. So these are various
7 laws that guide the country.

8 Q. Going to the last page, if you would, witness, there I see,
9 "Completed the 19th day of August AD 1983." Do you know if these
12:38:58 10 laws, this basic law or constitution was still in effect as of
11 the time that you were President of Liberia?

12 A. I didn't see this, but this is the law and the guidelines
13 you see in all of these laws are drawn from the constitution of
14 Liberia and most of the things that are in here are in our
12:39:43 15 constitution now as I speak, but a lot of changes went on, but
16 they weren't much.

17 MR RAPP: Your Honour, we would then ask that this
18 particular document in 24 pages be marked for identification.

19 PRESIDING JUDGE: This is a 24 page document headed
12:40:10 20 "Constitution of the Republic of Liberia." There then is a
21 preamble setting out the 13 chapters and it continues. It is
22 marked for identification MFI-28.

23 MR RAPP:

24 Q. Finally with exhibits we would ask the Registry to place
12:40:32 25 before you a document which begins with the ERN 00031455
26 "Liberian Codes Revised" and though it doesn't - it is a series
27 of pages, not necessarily all the pages, but the document itself
28 that is here has 16 separate pages to it.

29 JUDGE SEBUTINDE: Is it in a tab?

1 MR RAPP: Sorry, it is indeed in a tab. That is tab 10.

2 My apologies:

3 Q. Now, witness, if I can ask you if you can go back in the
4 document that's in front of you to six pages from the back.

12:41:52 5 Perhaps the Registry can assist. If they would show the witness
6 the pages beginning with ERN 31465. Witness, are you familiar
7 with the Special Security Service of Liberia?

8 A. I am familiar with the law that established the Special
9 Security Service of Liberia.

12:42:53 10 Q. Witness, if you would look at these pages and the
11 pages that follow, does this appear to be the law that you are
12 familiar with?

13 A. Yes, under our laws the appointment and duties of the
14 director are spelt out here, they are correct. These are the
15 duties.

12:44:10 16 MR RAPP: Your Honour, with the Court's permission I would
17 like to have this document marked for identification, noting that
18 the pages that precede the sections on the Special Security
19 Service are content pages showing outlines of the material in the
12:44:31 20 book, so that these pages are put in proper context in the book.

21 PRESIDING JUDGE: If my arithmetic is correct, Mr Rapp,
22 these are 17 pages.

23 MR RAPP: It would appear so though for some reason the
24 page that is 31464 isn't in the group. It steps from the
12:45:06 25 beginning of the chapter on the general organisation of the
26 executive office to a subchapter C, so I think it is 17 minus
27 one.

28 PRESIDING JUDGE: 16 then. This is a 16 page document
29 entitled "Liberian Codes Revised, Volume III" of which the

1 witness's attention has been drawn to the page 349 and he
2 particularly identified page 350. It is marked for
3 identification MFI-29.

4 MR RAPP:

12:45:41 5 Q. Witness, was this law in effect when you were President?

6 A. Yes. Yes, sir.

7 Q. And to your knowledge was it in effect when Charles Taylor
8 was President?

9 A. Exactly, sir.

12:45:58 10 Q. Witness, I just have one final question for you on my
11 direct examination and we earlier talked about the subpoena, but
12 you said you had before that spoken to investigators. Why did
13 you decide to provide information to the Special Court for Sierra
14 Leone?

12:46:20 15 A. Because I decided to comply with the international court
16 and I took this decision on my own that I must comply with the
17 Court.

18 Q. Thank you very much.

19 A. Yes, I want to add and also if it had to do with the
12:47:01 20 National Patriotic Front and I came a long way from the start to
21 finish being adjutant, being inspector general, being inspector
22 reacquisitions and ambassador of Liberia to Libya and Tunisia and
23 been Vice-President and President, I must have had knowledge of
24 things that happened in the country up to these times. So I saw
12:47:29 25 it necessary to do this.

26 MR RAPP: Thank you very much, witness. That will conclude
27 my direct examination, your Honours.

28 PRESIDING JUDGE: Thank you, Mr Rapp. Mr Griffiths, do you
29 carriage of --

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

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

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

16 MR RAPP: I am informed by the Case Manager of our team
17 that this document was first disclosed to the Defence on 12
18 February '07. It was brought to their further attention today
19 because of Rule 68, the possibility of inconsistencies between
12:49:08 20 that report and the witness's testimony, but I have no objection
21 to this adjournment if the Defence requires time to prepare for
22 cross-examination.

23 PRESIDING JUDGE: Allow me to consult.

24 [Trial Chamber conferred]

12:49:31 25 We note there is no objection and we consider this a
26 reasonable application and we will grant the application and the
27 Court will adjourn early. I will explain to the witness.

28 MR GRIFFITHS: I am most grateful, your Honour.

29 PRESIDING JUDGE: Mr Witness, on Friday afternoons we

1 normally do not sit in court, we do other work, written work and
2 have meetings, and we are going to adjourn a little earlier than
3 usual today because counsel for the Defence must look at some
4 papers. Counsel was not counsel for the Defence at the relevant
12:50:06 5 time they were served. We are therefore going to adjourn now and
6 we will be resuming court at 9.30 on Monday morning.

7 THE WITNESS: Your Honour.

8 PRESIDING JUDGE: I will again remind you, as I have done
9 in the past, of your obligation not to discuss your evidence with
12:50:21 10 any other person because you are under oath.

11 THE WITNESS: Your Honour.

12 PRESIDING JUDGE: Please adjourn court until 9.30 on
13 Monday.

14 [Whereupon the hearing adjourned at 12.50 p.m.
12:50:43 15 to be reconvened on Monday, 19 May 2008 at
16 9.30 a.m.]

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I N D E X

WITNESSES FOR THE PROSECUTION:

MOSES ZEH BLAH 10036

EXAMINATION-IN-CHIEF BY MR RAPP: 10036