



Case No. SCSL-2003-01-T

THE PROSECUTOR OF
THE SPECIAL COURT
V.
CHARLES GHANKAY TAYLOR

WEDNESDAY, 18 NOVEMBER 2009
9.30 A.M.
TRIAL

TRIAL CHAMBER II

Before the Judges:

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

For Chambers:

Ms Erica Bussey

For the Registry:

Ms Rachel Irura
Mr Benedict Williams

For the Prosecution:

Mr Joseph Kamara
Ms Brenda J Hollis
Mr Mohamed A Bangura
Mr Christopher Santora
Ms Maja Dimitrova

For the accused Charles Ghankay
Taylor:

Mr Courtenay Griffiths QC
Mr Morris Anyah

1 Wednesday, 18 November 2009

2 [Open session]

3 [The accused present]

4 [Upon commencing at 9.30 a.m.]

09:30:23 5 PRESIDING JUDGE: Good morning. We'll take appearances,
6 please.

7 MS HOLLIS: Good morning, Mr President, your Honours,
8 opposing counsel. This morning for the Prosecution, the Acting
9 Prosecutor Joseph Kamara, Brenda J Hollis, Mohamed A Bangura,
09:33:29 10 Christopher Santora, and our case manager Maja Dimitrova.

11 PRESIDING JUDGE: Thank you. Yes, Mr Anyah.

12 MR ANYAH: Good morning, Mr President. Good morning, your
13 Honours. Good morning, counsel opposite. I appear for the
14 Defence this morning, Morris Anyah. I am joined by two interns
09:33:47 15 from our office, Ms Haydee Dijkstra, and she has been with us
16 before, and joining us for the first time is Mr Michael Herz.

17 Mr President, Mr Griffiths is not present, as your Honours
18 can see. He should be joining us in one of the sessions later
19 today and Mr Taylor is aware of the circumstances of his absence
09:34:12 20 and I'm authorised to proceed.

21 PRESIDING JUDGE: Yes, thank you, Mr Anyah.

22 Just before we do proceed, Mr Taylor, I will remind you,
23 you are still bound by your oath.

24 DANKPANNAH DR CHARLES GHANKAY TAYLOR:
09:34:22 25 [On former affirmation]

26 CROSS-EXAMINATION BY MS HOLLIS: [Continued]

27 Q. Good morning, Mr Taylor.

28 A. Good morning, counsel.

29 Q. Mr Taylor, yesterday we were looking at the presence of

1 ECOMOG troops and United Nations military observers in Liberia
2 throughout various periods and we had reached the point where we
3 were beginning to look at the presence of these forces in your
4 country after you had assumed the office of President of Liberia.

09:34:59 5 Do you recall that, Mr Taylor?

6 A. Yes, I do.

7 Q. And even at the point of the elections, ECOMOG had begun to
8 reduce their forces quite significantly as had the UNOMIL mission
9 in Liberia. You recall that, yes, Mr Taylor?

09:35:18 10 A. Well, I don't recall the way you've put the statement. I
11 would disagree with the prefix - with the premise of it, but I
12 don't recall it in that way, that they had reduced significantly
13 prior to elections. I do not recall that.

14 Q. Mr Taylor, yesterday we talked about a point where ECOMOG
09:35:42 15 had increased their numbers to approximately 11,000 before your
16 election. Do you recall that?

17 A. Yes, I do.

18 Q. And that in July 1997, 4,000 ECOMOG were sent from Liberia
19 to Sierra Leone. Do you recall talking about that?

09:35:58 20 A. I recall talking about --

21 Q. And after the election, further reductions occurred in the
22 ECOMOG forces. Do you recall talking about that?

23 A. After election, yes.

24 Q. And, in fact, as at the end of September, in regards to the
09:36:18 25 United Nations mission, the mission had ended and the presence of
26 UNOMIL had ended as of 30 September 1997. That's correct, is it
27 not, Mr Taylor?

28 A. That is correct.

29 Q. Now, at this time the force commander for ECOMOG was

1 General Malu and we talked about that yesterday, correct?

2 A. That is correct, yes.

3 Q. And General Malu was a very distinguished general from
4 Nigeria. That's correct, is it not?

09:36:47 5 A. Well, he was the general, yes.

6 Q. He was a career soldier?

7 A. I don't know. I know he was a general. Career, I'm not
8 sure how long he had been in the service.

9 Q. Now, he had been placed in the position of ECOMOG force
09:37:03 10 commander by Sani Abacha; is that correct?

11 A. That is correct.

12 Q. Now, after you became President, you came into conflict
13 with General Malu on several occasions, did you not?

14 A. That is correct.

09:37:21 15 Q. And one of the main areas of conflict with General Malu was
16 General Malu's insistence that ECOMOG be the one to restructure
17 and train the Armed Forces of Liberia police and security forces,
18 correct?

19 A. That is incorrect.

09:37:38 20 Q. That is correct, is it not, Mr Taylor?

21 A. I said that is incorrect. That was not the main issue of
22 contention between General Malu and the Government of Liberia.

23 Q. Mr Taylor, I didn't say it was the main issue. I said one
24 of the main areas of conflict.

09:37:56 25 A. One of the main areas, yes.

26 Q. And General Malu insisted that it be ECOMOG who do the
27 restructuring and retraining based on his understanding of the
28 prior peace agreements that had been entered into. Isn't that
29 correct?

1 A. Yes, that is correct.

2 Q. And General Malu also felt it very important that ECOMOG be
3 the one to restructure and retrain the military security forces
4 and the police to ensure that, indeed, these forces would reflect
09:38:28 5 a national composition. Isn't that correct?

6 A. That is correct, yes.

7 Q. And that, indeed, they would not reflect a factional
8 representation. That is correct, is it not?

9 A. That is correct, yes.

09:38:43 10 Q. And, indeed, you opposed General Malu on this because it
11 was your aim that these forces would reflect a factional
12 representation. Isn't that correct?

13 A. That is totally, totally incorrect and a misrepresentation
14 of the government's position. Totally incorrect.

09:38:58 15 Q. It was your vision, was it not, Mr Taylor, that these
16 forces would be filled with people who had been subordinate to
17 you in the past and would be loyal to you in the future?

18 A. That's total nonsense. Total nonsense. Totally incorrect.
19 There was a plan that was put together that was done nationally

09:39:17 20 with international assistance and the Government of Liberia
21 insisted that the Armed Forces of Liberia be trained by the
22 United States. We requested that. We made representations. We
23 had meetings on it. What my government's view was that Victor

24 Malu or no other general represented ECOMOG could dictate to the
09:39:44 25 government and people of Liberia what should be the actions
26 regarding the armed forces. That once the constitution of
27 Liberia had been reinstated as of my taking the oath of office on
28 August 2, 1997, it is - it was left with the government and the
29 people of Liberia to make the determination of their destiny with

1 the assistance of ECOMOG in whatever area we wanted. This was
2 the position of my government. And this was communicated to the
3 UN, the United States government, everyone, and the United States
4 government did meet with the Liberian government to discuss
09:40:21 5 possible training of the armed forces. This is the picture.

6 Q. Mr Taylor, all of that was simply a smokescreen to ensure
7 that you were able to place your people in these various forces;
8 isn't that correct?

9 A. Total nonsense, no. Incorrect.

09:40:38 10 Q. And, indeed, as you progressed in your presidency, that is
11 exactly what you did, is it not?

12 A. Totally incorrect, no.

13 Q. You placed all of the people who were subordinate and loyal
14 to you in these various forces; isn't that correct?

09:40:49 15 A. That is totally, totally incorrect.

16 Q. Now, this disagreement with General Malu was an ongoing
17 disagreement during the remainder of his tenure as the forces
18 commander, correct?

19 A. That is correct.

09:41:05 20 Q. But there were other areas of disagreement with General
21 Malu as well, yes?

22 A. I want to just say that, as far as the Government of
23 Liberia was concerned, we didn't have any disagreement with Malu.
24 For me, Malu did not represent anything, except the forces. We
09:41:23 25 were having as a government discussions with ECOMOG, so while I'm
26 answering these questions, it was not a Malu issue. It had to do
27 with ECOWAS. Malu was a general commanding forces that were even
28 a part of - they were part of ECOWAS that I also served in
29 Liberia as a member state, so it was not about Malu. So the

1 disagreements, if anything - finally, when Malu got out of place,
2 he was replaced by the Nigerian government, but it was not about
3 Malu.

09:42:02 4 Q. Now, Mr Taylor, the other disagreements that you had also
5 revolved around General Malu's insistence that ECOMOG remain
6 independent of your command and authority; isn't that correct?

7 A. I didn't have that problem. I knew that already. That is
8 - I don't know how to say whether you are correct or incorrect on
9 this matter because of the way you phrased the question, but I
09:42:22 10 would say, again, it was not a Malu question. It was not a Malu
11 issue. It was an issue with ECOWAS, the executive secretary.
12 These discussions were held with the executive secretary. We did
13 not have any confrontation with Malu per se.

14 Q. And you actually attempted to bring ECOMOG under your
09:42:47 15 authority and command; isn't that correct?

16 A. Total nonsense. Totally, totally incorrect. Totally.

17 Q. Now, these disagreements that were ongoing after you became
18 President culminated in your demand that General Malu be replaced
19 as commander of the ECOMOG forces; isn't that correct?

09:43:06 20 A. Well, I can say, yes, that's correct. I called for - if
21 Malu could not behave as a general of ECOMOG that he should be
22 replaced and his government agreed and President Abacha replaced
23 him.

24 Q. And, in fact, you pressured your good friend Sani Abacha to
09:43:26 25 remove General Malu, did you not?

26 A. No, I did not pressure Sani Abacha to remove Malu, no.
27 I don't think Abacha would have moved Malu based on my pressure.
28 No, that's incorrect.

29 Q. Now, in what way had General Malu not behaved as a general

1 of ECOMOG?

2 A. Well, I think I've explained this already. Look, General
3 Malu did an extraordinary job and Malu is a friend of mine. In
4 fact he is sick right now in Britain and I'm very close to Malu
09:44:00 5 until today. Look, Malu was very instrumental in getting the
6 electoral process through. The mandate of ECOMOG forces in
7 Liberia prior to the elections was one of total control where
8 they made all administrative and other decisions within Republic
9 of Liberia. For the information of the Court, even the electoral
09:44:34 10 laws that were used for the election. That period in Liberia was
11 a period that I can equate to a type of receivership on the part
12 of ECOWAS and the international community that was accepted by
13 the Liberian people. So the forces there did not take
14 instructions from the Council of State. They did not ask. They
09:44:54 15 carried out their mandate very well.

16 Following the elections the issue became who was in control
17 of Liberia. Was ECOWAS still in control of Liberia or had
18 Liberia returned to constituted authority based on the
19 constitution? Because during that period the constitution of
09:45:18 20 Liberia, and I'm speaking about the period before election, was
21 suspended. Upon taking the oath of office the constitution was
22 brought into being and the legal question by experts was that
23 there was no way that ECOMOG could continue to exercise those
24 actions that it did prior to that. And this is why even as you
09:45:43 25 go ahead you will see a status of forces agreement was put into
26 place to draw a line of demarcation as to how - what was required
27 of ECOMOG at the time. So, quite frankly, it was an issue of
28 sovereignty and what should a force that now became responsible
29 to all of the ECOWAS member states - what would be the

1 responsibility of that force? This was the issue, counsel.

2 Q. Mr Taylor, that status of forces agreement came into effect
3 when?

4 A. If I'm correct I think about '98, if I'm not mistaken, or
09:46:24 5 '99 or thereabouts. We finally negotiated a status of forces
6 agreement.

7 Q. ECOWAS had been attempting to negotiate this status of
8 forces agreement for years, had it not?

9 A. Well we're talking about two different types. Before the
09:46:37 10 election there was one set that was dealt with with the various
11 Councils of State. That's a different one.

12 Q. Let's talk about that one first.

13 A. Which one?

14 Q. The status of forces agreement that ECOWAS had been
09:46:49 15 attempting to put in place before the elections. That was never
16 successful, was it?

17 A. To my knowledge, I don't remember. No, there was not a
18 status of forces agreement put into place, no, before the
19 election.

09:47:06 20 Q. That was basically because of your resistance to it, your
21 resistance and our faction leaders' resistance. That's correct,
22 is it not?

23 A. Well, to a great extent you can - I would agree there was
24 resistance to a great extent again because of sovereignty
09:47:22 25 matters. I would agree with you.

26 Q. Mr Taylor, let's go back to my question. You have said
27 that if Malu could not behave as a general of ECOMOG that he
28 should be replaced. So how was it that General Malu did not
29 behave as a general of ECOMOG so that he had to be replaced?

1 A. A general of ECOMOG would be smart enough to know that
2 ECOMOG was not an occupation force, it was a force of ECOWAS, and
3 that the instructions from his boss who was executive secretary
4 would be followed and unless he understood that he could not
09:47:59 5 stay.

6 Q. So you're saying he was disobeying the instructions from
7 his boss, the executive secretary?

8 A. Well, I cannot say that with any certainty. I don't know
9 per se, but what I do know if he was not following the basic
09:48:16 10 dictates of realising what he had been told in so many meetings
11 that Liberia was now a sovereign nation with an elected

12 government, so there was a problem someplace. I'm sure even at
13 his headquarters. If not the normal thing would have been the
14 executive secretary and General Abacha would have said, "Sorry,
09:48:38 15 Mr Taylor, but we think that the general is doing his job." I
16 don't think they would have replaced him if they disagreed with
17 me. I don't think so.

18 Q. Don't you think they replaced him to accommodate you, the
19 newly elected President?

09:48:54 20 A. I would say that's not - no, I would disagree. Not just to
21 accommodate me. I think they wanted to make sure that things
22 were smooth and that there were maybe even disagreements on their
23 side I'm sure.

24 Q. So early in 1998 you demanded that General Malu be replaced
09:49:19 25 and he was replaced. Do you recall who it was who replaced him?

26 A. I can't remember. The name is a little - I can't remember,
27 no. I can't recall the name of his replacement.

28 Q. Do you remember when it was that General Malu was replaced?

29 A. No, I don't. I don't recall specifically when.

1 Q. Do you recall it being in early 1998?

2 A. That could be - I'm saying I can't be specific, I don't
3 know, but it could be, yes, somewhere in '98. I'm not sure if
4 it's early, but I would say in 1998. I can't be exact now.

09:50:03 5 Q. Mr Taylor, in February of 1998 you've told the judges about
6 an incident involving two helicopters flying from Sierra Leone to
7 Spriggs Payne Airfield. Do you recall telling the judges about
8 that?

9 A. Yes, I do.

09:50:19 10 Q. And as a result of that incident you actually had an
11 address to the nation on 14 February 1998, correct?

12 A. That is correct.

13 Q. And that is found in your presidential papers at pages 238
14 to 243, yes, and the presidential papers have been marked as
09:50:41 15 MFI-28?

16 A. It's in the papers, yes.

17 MS HOLLIS: Could we have that exhibit to assist Mr Taylor,
18 please. That is MFI-28. That is pages 238 to 243. That is tab
19 31 in binder 3 of 3 for week 31:

09:51:30 20 Q. Mr Taylor, do you have page 238 before you?

21 A. Yes. I don't see the page but that's it, yeah.

22 Q. So, Mr Taylor, this is your nationwide address on 14
23 February, correct?

24 A. That is correct.

09:52:20 25 Q. Involving the helicopter - you call it helicopter gunship
26 incident?

27 A. That is correct.

28 Q. And, Mr Taylor, if we turn to page 239 and we look at the
29 right-hand column, the second complete paragraph down beginning

1 with, "On February 13, 1998"?

2 A. Yes.

3 Q. Do you see that, Mr Taylor?

4 A. Yes, I do.

09:52:46 5 Q. "Two helicopters flew into the sovereign Republic of
6 Liberia. Those helicopters landed at the James Spriggs Payne
7 Airport in Monrovia. Our security, that is the few that could
8 scramble to the airport, tried to intervene, but armoured
9 personnel carriers from the ECOMOG base came in and took charge
09:53:05 10 and told the joint security personnel involved to leave and they
11 would take over."

12 Mr Taylor, these security personnel that you sent there,
13 they were from what security unit or forces?

14 A. I didn't personally send anybody there. I don't know which
09:53:26 15 units they were from. I'm President in the mansion. I don't
16 know which units, but security units went there. I can't
17 identify, sorry, counsel, which specific unit went there.

18 Q. If we look at page 241 of this same address you are talking
19 about, the first full paragraph in the left column, "Even on
09:53:53 20 yesterday," and your address is the 14th so I would assume that
21 you are talking about the 13th?

22 A. Yes.

23 Q. "Even on yesterday while that was going on we got some
24 cooperation. Roberts International Airport, as though taken
09:54:10 25 over, the runway was blocked by several tanks. I called and
26 instructed the force commander to intervene and luckily he did
27 and the tanks were moved from the runway. It appeared that he
28 may not have known about it. But we were able to see
29 international flights come in yesterday afternoon into our

1 airport."

2 Who was this force commander that you instructed to
3 intervene, do you recall?

4 A. Whoever was the commander. If Malu was still in the
09:54:43 5 country at that time - whoever the forces commander was, I called
6 him and instructed him to intervene because that was a very
7 provocative act on the part of some of his men.

8 Q. But you don't recall who that was?

9 A. No, between them - if we set a timeline when Malu left I
09:55:03 10 would know. It's either Malu or his replacement, but whoever was
11 the forces commander.

12 Q. Then you went on to explain:

13 "We understand these things and knowing the situation we
14 know the contingents are leaving and they will need the use of
09:55:17 15 the airport to leave and sometimes withdrawal can be as
16 cumbersome as the deployment."

17 Then the last paragraph in that left column:

18 "We take our responsibility very serious, fellow citizens.
19 And I can say that we do not intend at any cost to let, or aid,
09:55:38 20 or permit our sovereignty to become a question or an issue. It
21 exists, period."

22 Yes?

23 A. Definitely, yes.

24 Q. And then the first paragraph at the top of the right-hand
09:55:56 25 column:

26 "Now we have not received the people (occupants of the
27 Sierra Leonean helicopter). We are still demanding that the
28 people and aircraft be turned over to this government."

29 Mr Taylor, were those people turned over to you?

1 A. Eventually, yes. Some of them - we took charge of some of
2 them and negotiated their final departure.

3 Q. What happened to the others who were not turned over to
4 you?

09:56:30 5 A. I don't know. They were released. Some of the civilians
6 were released into the population to the best - the military
7 people were sent back to Sierra Leone.

8 Q. When were they turned over to you?

9 A. Oh, boy this went on, counsel, for - I would say this whole
09:56:50 10 problem lasted not more than three, four weeks, if I recall
11 properly, before it was finally resolved.

12 Q. Mr Taylor, you've said that you don't recall the name of
13 the general who came in to replace General Malu. That was
14 General Timothy Shelpidi. Is that correct?

09:57:15 15 A. Shelpidi, yes, that sounds familiar.

16 Q. For the most part, Mr Taylor, your insistence on your
17 control over events in Liberia and the sovereignty of your
18 government was accepted by the ECOMOG forces remaining in your
19 country. Isn't that correct?

09:57:51 20 A. Yes. I would say yes, they had to accept it, yes.

21 Q. And after you assumed the presidency you began immediately
22 exercising your sovereignty in that office. Isn't that correct?

23 A. I would say yes.

24 Q. And you were insistent that you would not allow
09:58:17 25 interference with any of your personnel or members of your
26 government. Isn't that correct?

27 A. Which one do you want to answer, the personnel or - and
28 when you say interfere, counsel, would you help me?

29 Q. Interfere in their activities?

1 A. That I would not permit anyone from outside to interfere?

2 Oh, yes, I would say so.

3 Q. Now, Mr Taylor, do you recall in July 1998 the United
4 Nations through a Security Council resolution creating the United
09:58:57 5 Nations mission to Sierra Leone?

6 A. July 1998?

7 Q. UNOMSIL?

8 A. Yes.

9 PRESIDING JUDGE: I think you said UNOMSIL, didn't you?

09:59:18 10 MS HOLLIS: That's correct.

11 PRESIDING JUDGE: The LiveNote record says UNAMSIL. At
12 various times there were both organisations.

13 MS HOLLIS: That's correct.

14 PRESIDING JUDGE: I just want to make it clear that the
09:59:25 15 record shows UNOMSIL.

16 MS HOLLIS: That was my intention, Mr President, UNOMSIL,
17 the United Nations Observer Mission to Sierra Leone:

18 Q. Do you recall that, Mr Taylor?

19 A. Yes.

09:59:39 20 Q. By October 1998, ECOMOG headquarters had moved on to
21 Freetown, had it not?

22 A. Yes. Or thereabout, yes.

23 Q. Now, you've told the judges about attending the 21st
24 Ordinary Summit of ECOWAS Authority in Abuja, 29-30 October 1998,
10:00:09 25 yes?

26 A. That is correct.

27 Q. And when you returned you made a report to the Liberian
28 nation about your trip to that summit, yes?

29 A. That is correct.

1 Q. And in your report about your participation in that meeting
2 you referred to the growing ability of your government to
3 gradually assume responsibility for its own security. Do you
4 recall that, Mr Taylor?

10:00:37 5 A. That is correct.

6 Q. And you indicated to your people that this growing ability
7 to assume responsibility for your own security thereby lifting
8 the burden of the ECOMOG force whose attention is then drawn
9 primarily toward more needed crisis situations elsewhere

10:00:59 10 including Sierra Leone, yes?

11 A. Yes.

12 Q. And, indeed, by this time, by the time of the summit, the
13 great bulk of the ECOMOG forces are now operating in Sierra
14 Leone; isn't that correct, in October 1998?

10:01:17 15 A. Okay, great bulk, yes, I would say so. I would say so,
16 yes.

17 Q. Indeed, Mr Taylor, by the beginning of November 1998, there
18 were very few ECOMOG left in Liberia; isn't that correct?

10:01:42 19 A. Well, I wouldn't - well, it depends on what you mean by
20 very few. I mean, are you - could you help me with a number,
21 what you mean by very few?

22 Q. There were really only somewhere in the neighbourhood of
23 800 ECOMOG left in Liberia at that time; isn't that correct?

24 A. Okay, 800 or thereabout, yes. I wouldn't call that a few.
10:01:59 25 That's a great number, yes.

26 Q. And these few ECOMOG troops were to stay in Liberia in this
27 capacity building capacity, yes?

28 A. That - yes, one of the - that was one of their missions,
29 yes.

1 Q. Under your sovereign control?

2 A. No. Not under my sovereign - sovereign control, no. At no
3 time would the government be in control of that unit, no.

4 Q. So that was never the position of your government that they
10:02:37 5 would be there subject to your sovereign control?

6 A. I'm interpreting - maybe I'm wrong, counsel. I'm
7 interpreting "my sovereign control" to mean also in command of
8 that unit. If that is your intent, then I would say no. But to
9 the extent that they would continue to operate recognising the
10:02:58 10 sovereignty of Liberia, I would say yes.

11 Q. All right. Now, Mr Taylor, ECOMOG continued to warn you,
12 did they not, that if your new army was seen as dominated by your
13 former fighters this could result in further fighting in your
14 country? Do you recall that?

10:03:19 15 A. Yes, I recall that, yes.

16 Q. And, indeed, ECOMOG cited the violence in September 1998
17 between Roosevelt Johnson and your forces as an example of what
18 could happen, did they not?

19 A. Yes.

10:03:34 20 Q. But, indeed, you paid no heed to those warnings, did you?

21 A. I did pay - I did pay heed to the warnings.

22 Q. Now, by November 1998, General Shelpi di had moved his
23 headquarters - he himself had moved to Sierra Leone. Isn't that
24 correct?

10:04:02 25 A. I can't - I can't put my finger on the exact time he moved
26 his headquarters, but I would put it to around the last quarter
27 of 1998 or thereabout, so I don't have a problem with that.

28 Q. And as we move into 1999, indeed, we find very, very few
29 ECOMOG remaining in Liberia. Isn't that correct?

1 A. Well, again, I don't know what you mean by very few,
2 because ECOMOG continued to maintain - I mean, at least a
3 battalion size there for assistance and also for the guiding and
4 control of the weapons that had been taken from disarmament. So
10:04:54 5 very, very few, I would disagree.

6 Q. When you say battalion size, what do you mean?

7 A. I would put it to about at least - the strength that were
8 there, I would put it to about 400, 500 men that remained in
9 Liberia, from my own estimates. There were not very, very few.

10:05:16 10 Q. Now, in July 1999 you have told the judges about the
11 ceremonial destruction of weapons and later that there were
12 destruction of other weapons in predominantly Tubmanburg, yes?

13 A. That is correct, yes.

14 Q. And this destruction of weapons in total was something over
10:05:47 15 19,000 weapons destroyed?

16 A. Well, that figure sounds realistic based on the UN report.
17 That sounds right, yes.

18 Q. Just under 19,300 weapons?

19 A. Yes.

10:06:01 20 Q. And that included some heavy weapons. Isn't that correct?

21 A. That is correct.

22 Q. And these were weapons that had been collected from all of
23 the factions. Isn't that correct?

24 A. That is correct.

10:06:17 25 Q. And of the ones that were destroyed of this 19,200 and some
26 weapons, about 40 per cent of those were either rusted or
27 unusable. Isn't that correct?

28 A. Well, the report - I fully agree that - the report was
29 prepared by the United Nations. I agree with the report. If

1 that's what it says, I agree. I can't come down mentally to
2 remember the different percentages, but I fully agree with the
3 report.

10:06:52 4 Q. That's fair, Mr Taylor. And that report was marked as
5 MFI-121. That is tab 32 in binder 1 of 4 for week 33. You see
6 that, Mr Taylor?

7 A. Yes, I do.

8 Q. Statistics on Arms and Ammunition Destroyed by the UN,
9 ECOWAS and the Government of Liberia, yes?

10:07:41 10 A. That is correct.

11 Q. And then if we turn to annex 2, which should be page 3 of
12 that report, where we have weapons of all sizes destroyed between
13 25 July and 20 September, and under (h) we see grand total of
14 weapons destroyed, 19,297. Correct, Mr Taylor?

10:08:13 15 A. That is correct.

16 Q. And then if we go to the next page, which is B, and the
17 page at the bottom is 35 - and I don't want to do anything
18 improper. This is part of the package, is it not, of 121? This
19 would be a page 35 with a B, Arming and Disarming in the Region
20 and Overview?

21 PRESIDING JUDGE: I don't have that page.

22 MS HOLLIS: Then I will not refer to that. Thank you.

23 That can be removed, thank you:

10:09:28 24 Q. Now, Mr Taylor, at this time for the destruction of the
25 weapons and, indeed, by the end of January 1999, Ghana was the
26 only member country that still had troops in ECOMOG in your
27 country. Isn't that correct?

28 A. By the end of January 1999? I can't be sure. I did not -
29 I don't know the composition then and the contributing countries

1 at that time. I can't help you with that, counsel. I don't
2 know.

3 Q. Do you recall when it was that the last of the ECOMOG
4 troops left your country?

10:10:11 5 A. I would - I would - following the final destruction of the
6 weapons, they left. The weapons were destroyed over time, so I
7 would put it to late during the year of 1999, they left, I will
8 put it to about that.

9 Q. And these forces, this small number of forces that remained
10:10:43 10 at that time, their primary job had been to guard those weapons;
11 isn't that correct?

12 A. No. They also - I do not know, to be frank about that. I
13 don't know who the UN used, but they trained - there was some
14 training of police officers of Liberia, so the UN mission there
10:11:12 15 did take part in the training of police, the guarding of weapons
16 and whatever other activity we required of them. So I would not
17 specifically put it to only the guarding of the weapons. I think
18 they did use all - bring in some personnel under that particular
19 mandate to help, you know, with training and different things.
10:11:36 20 So it then became a combined mission of the United Nations and
21 ECOMOG. So it was more than one mission.

22 Q. Mr Taylor, I was talking about the primary responsibility
23 of ECOMOG had been to guard those weapons. Is that correct?

24 A. Primary responsibility, okay, yes.

10:11:55 25 Q. And we do not see external forces coming into your country
26 again then until in August when there was authorisation for
27 ECOWAS to send a vanguard peacekeeping force into Liberia; isn't
28 that correct, August 2003?

29 A. That is correct.

1 Q. And this vanguard peacekeeping force began deployment on 4
2 August when the first group of Nigerian peacekeepers arrived in
3 Liberia; is that correct?

4 A. Or thereabout, yes.

10:12:31 5 MS HOLLIS: Mr President, I would again note for the record
6 that this area of cross-examination which I have now concluded,
7 the Prosecution would have had recourse to materials which are
8 the subject of the formal submissions.

9 PRESIDING JUDGE: Yes, that's noted. Thank you.

10:12:49 10 MR ANYAH: Mr President, I hesitate to rise, but I need to
11 make a comment in respect of what learned counsel has just said.
12 This is not the first time counsel opposite has made this remark
13 during the course of her cross-examination indicating that they
14 could otherwise have had recourse to documents not before the
10:13:10 15 Court, documents not disclosed to the Defence to deal with the
16 particular area of the cross-examination. I think that might not
17 be proper at this point given that this matter is now sub judice
18 before the Chamber and within pleadings. To suggest orally that
19 you could have had recourse to documents covering a particular
10:13:33 20 area of Mr Taylor's testimony indirectly suggests their
21 relevance, indirectly suggests their utility and applicability to
22 his cross-examination.

23 To the extent the matter is the subject of written
24 pleadings, to the extent we haven't seen these documents, they
10:13:53 25 haven't been disclosed to us, I think it is improper, in a mild
26 form but still improper, to make this allusion to these documents
27 that nobody knows their contents and thereby plant in the mind of
28 the trier of fact, the decision-makers, that, "By the way, the
29 motions you are considering might implicate documents that are

1 relevant to the cross-examination." So I think, perhaps, it
2 would be helpful if such comments are not made in the future.

10:14:29 3 PRESIDING JUDGE: Yes, I think, Mr Anyah, your submissions
4 would carry more weight if we were a jury. But we're not. We're
5 professional judges. To use your own words, the documents are
6 not before the Court and nobody knows their contents so, so far
7 as we're concerned, that's where the matter ends. They have got
8 no probative value of course whatsoever and saying that they
9 exist doesn't enhance that finding one bit. Go ahead.

10:14:58 10 MS HOLLIS: Thank you, Mr President. I do wish, however,
11 to put on the record again that the purpose of these comments to
12 your Honours of course is in no way meant to try to plant
13 improper seeds in your minds. You are professional judges.

10:15:17 14 In addition to that, we have a right to put on the record
15 those areas where we would have used documents so that there is a
16 record of it. As far as implicating that the documents are
17 relevant, we have of course already argued that they are
18 relevance. So we believe that we have a right and in fact a duty
19 to indicate on the record where we would have used those
10:15:36 20 materials, Mr President.

21 PRESIDING JUDGE: What I've just said does not prevent you
22 from making those statements. I'm simply saying that they are
23 merely statements and the documents are not before us and don't
24 have any consequence.

10:15:54 25 MS HOLLIS: Thank you, Mr President:

26 Q. Mr Taylor, I would like to now move to a different area and
27 I would like to ask you about some people whose names we have
28 heard and others that were associates or subordinates during your
29 time in the NPFL and during the days of your presidency and I

1 would like to ask you to tell us about them. First of all,
2 Mr Taylor, I would like to ask you to tell us who Charles Bright
3 was?

10:16:46 4 A. Charles Bright served as Minister of Finance at one period
5 in my government.

6 Q. What period was that?

7 A. Toward the end of my presidency. I would say 2002, 2003.

8 Q. And was this an appointed position, Minister of Finance?

10:17:10 9 A. Yes, it's appointed. With the advice and consent of the
10 Senate, yes.

11 Q. And when you appointed him as Finance Minister in 2002 or
12 2003, who did he replace?

13 A. He replaced Nathaniel Barnes.

10:17:33 14 Q. Mr Taylor, prior to his appointment as the Minister of
15 Finance, Charles Bright, had he held any other positions in your
16 government?

17 A. I don't recall, but I don't think so, no. I don't think he
18 had - I don't recall, quite frankly.

10:17:58 19 Q. Do you recall, Mr Taylor, that in fact he had served as the
20 governor of the National Bank of Liberia?

21 A. During the transitional period he served as governor of the
22 National Bank to my recollection. When I became President and
23 established the Central Bank he was not the governor to the best
24 of my recollection.

10:18:27 25 Q. When you say during the transitional period he had served
26 as governor of that bank, what period are you talking about?

27 A. I'm talking about during the - these national transitional
28 governments that were set up, the Council of State. That would
29 be '95, '96 or thereabouts.

1 Q. Mr Taylor, perhaps it would assist your memory if you could
2 be shown MFI-28. This is the presidential papers, pages 330 and
3 351 of that document. Mr Taylor, you see on page 330 of your
4 presidential papers "Heads of banking institutions" and number 1,
10:19:33 5 "Governor National Bank of Liberia, Honourable Charles Bright"?

6 A. Yes.

7 Q. So, Mr Taylor, after you became President he held this
8 position?

9 A. No. For the clarification, this is the National Bank.

10:19:47 10 When I became President it was changed to the Central Bank of
11 Liberia. So your question was about the national - about the -
12 he was governor of the National Bank. The Central Bank he was
13 not.

14 Q. Yes, he was governor of the National Bank of Liberia?

10:20:04 15 A. Yes.

16 Q. And this was after you became President you still had this
17 National Bank of Liberia, or was this before you became President
18 that you changed it?

19 A. Oh, no. After I became President I changed it.

10:20:17 20 Q. And you changed it to what?

21 A. The Central Bank of Liberia.

22 Q. Did it have the same functions as the National Bank of
23 Liberia?

24 A. Oh, a little - a little different, some added functions.

10:20:35 25 We did a restructuring and I brought it in line with the same
26 effective control as the Federal Reserve in the United States as
27 the Central Bank where for the first time all revenues collected
28 by the Government of Liberia were deposited in the bank where -
29 in the Central Bank. Banking regulations were all done and it

1 was made for the first time totally, totally autonomous from the
2 functions of the executive. So that's a little difference.

3 Q. And when did you change this into the Central Bank of
4 Liberia? When did that occur?

10:21:26 5 A. I would say within the first - we put through this
6 legislation I think the first few months of my presidency. I
7 would put this to '98. Around 1998.

8 Q. Do you recall what part of 1998 that would have been?

9 A. No, I don't.

10:21:50 10 Q. So this Central Bank of Liberia had important functions for
11 the control of currency?

12 A. Everything, yes.

13 Q. Credit, money flow?

14 A. Money flow, yes. It was responsible really for the
10:22:07 15 monetary control - total monetary control of the country.

16 Q. I think you said that all revenues that were coming into
17 the Government of Liberia would be deposited here?

18 A. At the Central Bank, that is correct.

19 Q. All revenues. No exceptions?

10:22:20 20 A. All revenues.

21 Q. When it became the Central Bank of Liberia did the
22 Honourable Charles Bright continue to be the governor of the
23 Central Bank of Liberia for a time?

24 A. Very short time until we got a governor, yes.

10:22:47 25 Q. Who replaced Charles Bright as the governor, if you recall?

26 A. Yes, I do. He was replaced by Elie Saleeby. I think
27 that's spelled S-A-L-E-E-Y. Elie I am not sure, it's an Arabic
28 name. Elie Saleeby.

29 MS HOLLIS: Mr President, could it be that we could provide

1 a spelling on that to assist the witness?

2 Q. Mr Taylor, is it possible that Elie is E-L-I-E?

3 A. Yes, that is correct.

4 PRESIDING JUDGE: Yes, Mr Anyah.

10:23:32 5 MR ANYAH: I believe this name is on the record,
6 Mr President.

7 PRESIDING JUDGE: It's on the record already? That's
8 helpful. Thank you.

9 MS HOLLIS:

10:23:47 10 Q. Mr Taylor, when Charles Bright became your Finance
11 Minister, how long did he remain your Finance Minister?

12 A. Up until my departure in - up until my resignation on 11
13 August 2003.

14 Q. And Mr Saleeby, how long did he remain governor of the
10:24:12 15 Central Bank of Liberia?

16 A. Saleeby was still governor when I departed in August 2003.

17 Q. You said that you made the Central Bank of Liberia separate
18 from the executive, so what was its status within the government?

19 A. The Central Bank was totally, totally autonomous so as a
10:24:34 20 part - I wouldn't really call it a part of the government. What
21 we tried to do was to imitate very I would say correctly so the
22 functions of the Fed, like I said, in the United States and the
23 functions are no different. They were autonomous. They were
24 responsible for the monetary policy in the country. While the
10:24:58 25 Government of Liberia controlled the fiscal policy, monetary
26 policy was exclusively headed by the Central Bank and they
27 controlled it. By monetary I'm talking about interest rates,
28 exchange rates, money supply and this was exclusively the
29 function without any interruption. In fact the legislation was

1 very strict. We separated the monetary policy from the fiscal
2 policy and it was strictly the domain of the Central Bank to
3 conduct monetary policy in the country.

10:25:37 4 Q. After you created this Central Bank of Liberia who was the
5 deputy governor of that Central Bank?

6 A. I can't recall the gentleman's name right now. If it comes
7 to memory I will call it. It's just on my mind, I just can't
8 recall it right now.

9 Q. Was there a general manager of this Central Bank?

10:25:58 10 A. Counsel, quite frankly, the workings of the Central Bank -
11 I mean, as President, we went through a long process with
12 international assistance to put together this structure. I don't
13 - I would not be helpful with the names of some of these
14 positions and the internal workings. I know the governor because
10:26:20 15 he worked for the World Bank for many years. He's very, very,
16 very credible and in fact had been indulged by World Bank and
17 other top international banking officials, but the rest of the
18 people coming down, I'm sorry, I can't help. I don't know them.

10:26:46 19 Q. After these funds were deposited in the Central Bank of
20 Liberia which ministry, or ministries, or organs of government
21 would have the authority to withdraw funds from the Central Bank
22 of Liberia?

23 A. The Ministry of Finance under the constitution of Liberia a
24 manages the financial workings of the government. So the
10:27:07 25 Ministry of Finance, as far as I know, would be responsible for
26 the processing of these different payments.

27 Q. When did you first meet Charles Bright?

28 A. I met Charles Bright for the first time I would say back in
29 - I would say '91, '92. About then.

1 Q. And how did you meet him at that time?

2 A. I was married to his cousin.

3 Q. Who is that?

4 A. Agnes Taylor, my ex-wife.

10:27:49 5 Q. Agnes Taylor, what was her last name before she married
6 you?

7 A. Reeves. R-E-E-V-E-S, Reeves.

8 Q. Did Mr Bright have any position in the NPRAG during the
9 civil war before you became President?

10:28:10 10 A. No, Mr Bright, as a matter of fact, was with the INPFL with
11 Prince Johnson, so he had nothing to do with the NPFL/NPRAG. No,
12 he was a part of the INPFL, not a part of us.

13 Q. Do you know what his position was in the INPFL?

14 A. No, I don't know.

10:28:36 15 Q. After he became your Finance Minister have you continued to
16 have associations with Mr Bright?

17 A. When you say have associations, as my minister? No. What
18 do you mean by associations? I don't understand.

19 Q. After you left the presidency did you continue to have
10:28:56 20 contact with Mr Bright?

21 A. No, no, no. That's exile in Nigeria. No, I haven't spoken
22 to Charles since I left Liberia.

23 Q. Mr Taylor, you have talked about a person called Talal
24 El-Ndine. We've had some issue about what is the exact last --

10:29:12 25 JUDGE DOHERTY: Ms Hollis, I'm sorry to interrupt, but if
26 we're moving away from Mr Bright, could I just ask a
27 clarification. I notice he is the Honourable Charles Bright and
28 everybody else is mister. Why was he an honourable?

29 THE WITNESS: Your Honour, I really don't know why they put

1 honourable. All ministers are entitled to carry the - that
2 little prefix of honourable. I don't know why.

3 JUDGE DOHERTY: So at this point he was a minister?

4 THE WITNESS: He was a minister.

10:29:45 5 JUDGE DOHERTY: Thank you.

6 MS HOLLIS:

7 Q. Would the director or the governor of the Central Bank of
8 Liberia have the equivalent of a ministerial position?

9 A. I have to say no because he was not a part of my
10:30:10 10 government, so to draw equivalence, I don't know how to put it,
11 counsel, because your question is the equivalence of a minister.
12 I recall - I would say no. I think that would be one that would
13 be higher because he operated so exclusively that I would put it
14 to being higher than a minister. Like I say, he controlled the
10:30:41 15 entire monetary policy of the country and was so autonomous that
16 I would say no. I would say it was higher. There is no
17 equivalence I would draw it to.

18 Q. Now, Mr Talal El-Ndine, he was a business associate of
19 yours while you were President of Liberia; isn't that correct?

10:31:02 20 A. That is totally incorrect, no.

21 Q. He was, in fact, your business adviser, was he not?

22 A. No, he was not.

23 Q. And he handled some of your business affairs?

24 A. No, not at all. He didn't handle any business affairs for
10:31:19 25 me, no.

26 Q. Did you have any association with Talal El-Ndine prior to
27 your becoming President?

28 A. Yes.

29 Q. What was that association?

1 A. Talal was a businessman in Buchanan and Nimba County, and
2 like any other businessperson, he visited me. I associated with
3 him at that time, yes.

4 Q. What type of businesses did he have?

10:31:49 5 A. Talal ran a supermarket or supermarkets in Buchanan and
6 Nimba. Yekepa, to be exact. And he was part of a flour mill
7 complex in Buchanan.

8 Q. And did your NPRAG have business dealings with Mr El-Ndi ne
9 prior to your becoming President?

10:32:19 10 A. Well, I would yes. We bought items, foodstuff. Yes, we
11 had business dealings with him.

12 Q. Was this individual a Liberian citizen?

13 A. No, Talal is an American citizen.

14 Q. And Mr Charles Bright, was he a Liberian citizen?

10:32:37 15 A. Yes, I think Charles is Liberian, yes. He is a Liberian
16 citizen.

17 Q. Mr Taylor, who is a person that is known as Cocoo Dennis
18 or Coco Dennis? Who is that?

19 A. Cocoo Dennis is a military commander in the NPFL.

10:33:01 20 Q. And Cocoo, is that his formal first name or is that a
21 nickname of some sort?

22 A. That's the only name I know, counsel. I would think it's
23 something like a little nickname, Cocoo Dennis. I'm not sure.
24 That's the only name I know.

10:33:24 25 Q. And you said he was a military commander in the NPFL. What
26 unit or units did he have command over?

27 A. For some time, Cocoo commanded the navy, the navy
28 division.

29 Q. During what period of time, do you recall?

1 A. I would put it back to '93, '94 or thereabout. I can't be
2 exact, but he was one of our navy commanders.

3 Q. And for how long - you say he was one of the navy
4 commanders. Was he in charge of the division or just one of the
10:34:08 5 commanders in the division?

6 A. No, no. He was at one point in charge of the division.

7 Q. And you say you thought that was about 1993 or 1994?

8 A. Or thereabout, counsel, yes. I probably may be wrong on
9 these years, but I can't - I can't recall the exact year, but I

10:34:25 10 know he was one of the - he was at one time commander of the
11 navy.

12 Q. And do you know how long he actually functioned as
13 commander of the navy division?

14 A. No, counsel, I don't remember how long.

10:34:38 15 Q. Did he have command of any other divisions?

16 A. Not to my knowledge, no. Not to my knowledge.

17 Q. And prior to actually assuming command of the navy
18 division, had he been a commander within the navy division?

19 A. I don't know, but that's a possibility. But I really don't

10:35:06 20 know. What I was told - because I did not know Coocoo before,
21 whether he had some prior military experience. I think he had
22 served in one part of the United States armed forces and he had
23 some prior military experience. And so people like those that
24 had prior military experience, especially externally, I don't
10:35:36 25 know which section, were given some attention and given some
26 opportunity to command forces.

27 Q. Was he one of your Special Forces?

28 A. No, no, no, he was not.

29 Q. Where was he trained?

1 A. I don't know. I'm just saying to you that I was told and
2 he was highly recommended as having served at some point in the
3 United States military. And someone with that kind of experience
4 we could use. I don't know which area he served in.

10:36:06 5 Q. So people who had received training in a formal military
6 would not receive training upon becoming a member of your NPFL or
7 would they receive additional training?

8 A. If you - if you had received some formal training with a
9 reputable armed force, we would not put you through any
10:36:29 10 additional training, no.

11 Q. Was Cocoo Dennis also called General Quick to Fire? Did
12 you ever hear that?

13 A. No, I don't recall that, no.

14 Q. Was he also known as Captain Marvel?

10:36:51 15 A. No. The only individual - I know the name Captain Marvel,
16 but it was not the name applied to Cocoo Dennis. Captain Marvel
17 was a name applied to a gentleman called Oscar Cooper, not Cocoo
18 Dennis.

19 Q. Oscar Cooper?

10:37:16 20 A. Captain Marvel.

21 Q. Oscar Cooper, was he a Special Forces?

22 A. No, he was not.

23 Q. What was his position in the NPFL?

24 A. Oscar was basically a businessman. He was not really - it
10:37:33 25 was just a code name given. It was not really - he was a
26 businessman. He was involved in the timber business and used to
27 - and knew most of the senior commanders. He's a very good
28 friend of Cocoo Dennis, but he was not any - of any significance
29 in the NPFL.

1 Q. Was Oscar Cooper associated with any particular timber
2 company?

3 A. I forgot the name of his company, but he did timber
4 business in Liberia.

10:38:02 5 Q. And what was his nationality, Oscar Cooper?

6 A. He is Liberian.

7 Q. Cocoo Dennis, was he also Liberian?

8 A. Yeah. Cocoo is Liberian, but he could also be American.
9 I'm not sure, because most of these guys have dual citizenship.

10:38:27 10 They're American citizens. A lot of Liberians still maintain
11 their dual citizenship.

12 Q. Now, going back to Cocoo Dennis and his roles within the
13 NPFL, it's correct, is it not, that prior to you becoming
14 President during the conflict, Cocoo Dennis was responsible for

10:38:49 15 arranging accommodation for Burkinabe mercenaries who were en
16 route to Liberia from Cote d'Ivoire. Isn't that correct?

17 A. That's totally incorrect.

18 Q. And he was also responsible for arranging their transport
19 through Cote d'Ivoire to Liberia; isn't that correct?

10:39:05 20 A. Totally incorrect.

21 Q. It's also correct, is it not, that Cocoo Dennis commanded
22 a very notorious unit of the NPFL, the Sabebo unit?

23 A. I'm not aware of any unit called Sabebo.

24 Q. You're not aware of that unit?

10:39:27 25 A. No, I'm not aware.

26 Q. It's also referred to as No Safe Unit.

27 JUDGE SEBUTINDE: Are there time frames attached to these
28 statements?

29 MS HOLLIS: Pardon me?

1 JUDGE SEBUTINDE: Are there time frames attached to these
2 statements that you are making?

3 MS HOLLIS: The time frame I had given Mr Taylor was during
4 the conflict before he became President:

10:39:51 5 Q. So you're not aware of a Sabebo unit within your NPFL?

6 A. No, I'm not aware. Just as I am not aware of --

7 Q. Or a unit called No Safe Unit?

8 A. No. Burkina mercenaries, no, I'm not aware of that.

9 Q. Cocoo Dennis later also commanded two western Ivorian
10 rebel groups, did he not, the Popular Movement for the Ivorian
11 Great West (MPIGO) and the Movement for Justice and Peace?

12 A. Again, you're talking about after I become President?
13 Because the Ivorian problem is after I become President. Are we
14 talking --

10:40:29 15 Q. And this is in 2002.

16 A. That's --

17 Q. November 2002.

18 A. Okay. So that's during my presidency now?

19 Q. Yes.

10:40:36 20 A. I'm not aware of Cocoo Dennis commanding any force in La
21 Cote d'Ivoire. No. In fact, no, I don't know of that. No. I
22 don't think so, because if Cocoo had been all of Liberia -
23 immediately after my presidency, Cocoo Dennis got involved in
24 timber business, so that would be totally wrong. No, I'm not
10:41:02 25 aware of it.

26 Q. And, again, these two groups, MPIGO and MJP, commanding
27 them in their initial attacks in November 2002, you're not aware
28 of that?

29 A. Totally unaware of that and I don't think it's even

1 factual. Totally unaware of that.

2 Q. Indeed - and these two groups, almost 90 per cent of the
3 personnel of those groups were Liberian and Sierra Leonean,
4 that's correct, is it not?

10:41:32 5 A. I'm not aware of that. I'm totally unaware of that. I
6 doubt it.

7 Q. And these two groups, in fact, were assembled in Liberia
8 and then sent across into Ivory Coast; isn't that correct?

9 A. Totally incorrect. In 2002, I'm - you said 2002, right?

10:41:50 10 Q. Correct, Mr Taylor.

11 A. I'm fighting a war against LURD and MODEL, and I'm going to
12 be organising groups to send to - that's totally false. Totally
13 incorrect. Totally.

14 Q. Mr Taylor, you said that after you became President, Coocoo
10:42:03 15 Dennis became involved in the timber business?

16 A. That is correct.

17 Q. What was his involvement in the timber business?

18 A. He organised a company. I don't know the name, but he
19 started - he got a small concession to work. He was not even
10:42:17 20 appointed in any position in government. He went into the
21 private sector.

22 Q. And do you know exactly what he did in the timber business?

23 A. Yes. To the best of my knowledge, he got a concession. He
24 cut down, sawed and exported timber from Liberia to - I don't
10:42:42 25 know where. Maybe Europe or other places, but he exported timber
26 and paid his taxes.

27 Q. And where in Liberia was this concession?

28 A. I don't know, counsel. But I know that he did receive a
29 concession. I don't know what area of the country it was located

1 in.

2 Q. Do you know if his company or he had any name for his
3 company or his concession?

4 A. I'm sure he had name for it, but I don't know the details.
10:43:10 5 I do know that he received a concession. I don't know the name.
6 I don't know where it was located, but it is factual that he had
7 one.

8 Q. Are you familiar with a company called SMI, Salami Malawi
9 Incorporated? SMI.

10:43:30 10 A. SMI? Yes, I'm acquainted with SMI.

11 Q. Coocoo Dennis was a major shareholder in SMI, was he not?

12 A. I don't know. I associated SMI with a gentleman called
13 Salami. I am not aware that this is the company. I don't know.
14 But I know Coocoo had his own timber business, from my
10:43:55 15 understanding. As to the inner workings - SMI is Salami, but
16 Salami is a Lebanese individual.

17 Q. And Salami, is that his first name, last name?

18 A. I'm not - I'm not sure. It could be either. I know
19 Salami.

10:44:19 20 Q. Are you referring to Mohamed Salami?

21 A. Okay. Yes, that's Mohamed Salami. Some people, they have
22 first name Salami, yes.

23 Q. With SMI?

24 A. Yes, that's who I associate SMI with.

10:44:34 25 Q. Mr Taylor, during the days of the NPFL, Coocoo Dennis was
26 actually associated with cannibalistic acts, was he not?

27 A. I don't know. That's not true. Everybody in Liberia now
28 is a cannibal? No. I'm not aware of that. And that would be -
29 Coocoo Dennis is not one of those, no. Totally, totally no.

1 Q. Mr Taylor, going back to Cocoo Dennis. In effect, he was
2 the effective manager of this SMI company, was he not?

3 A. I don't know, counsel, who managed SMI. I don't know
4 because we're going over a broad period now. So I mean we're
10:45:25 5 talking about after my election, I don't know who managed it. I
6 really don't know.

7 Q. Mr Taylor, do you know during your presidency how many
8 timber companies were operating in Liberia?

9 A. Oh, I don't know the figure, but there could have been
10:45:49 10 about - I would put it to about ten. I can't be exact. I don't
11 know the exact quantity, but I would put it to anywhere from
12 about ten more or less. I know the big companies, but the little
13 ones - most companies that were operating during the
14 administration of Samuel Doe, that had legitimate concessional
10:46:16 15 agreements were permitted to continue their work under my
16 government. We did not interfere with all legitimate contracts
17 from the legitimate government of Samuel Doe. And there were
18 quite a few, so we did not disrupt that process.

19 Q. You said that you know some of these big timber companies.
10:46:38 20 Can you recall the names of some these big timber companies?

21 A. Yes. The big ones that I remember, I remember OTC very
22 well. That was about the biggest one that I personally worked
23 along with officials of government to try to get that investment.
24 So I know OTC very well.

10:47:04 25 Q. Do you recall any others?

26 A. Not off the bat. But there were quite a few. It's been a
27 long time. I don't recall. As we go along, if you come up with
28 a name I will confirm it to the judges.

29 Q. OTC, do you recall where their concessions were in Liberia?

1 A. Yes. OTC were given concessions in the southern -
2 southeastern part of Liberia.

3 Q. And do you know how large those concessions were?

4 A. Yes. To the best of my recollection, the OTC concession
10:47:52 5 covered about - I would say about 650,000 hectares to the best of
6 my recollection.

7 Q. Perhaps you're not able to do this, but in comparison with
8 the total number of concessions, timber concessions, do you know
9 what percentage of that total number would belong to OTC during
10:48:23 10 your presidency?

11 A. I would put it to about - I would say 10 to 20 per cent.

12 Q. And OTC was owned by whom?

13 A. OTC was owned by a Chinese Malaysian billionaire. I don't
14 know his name, but they called him Dato, so when you get to that
10:48:59 15 level. Dato, something like that, I don't remember, but it was a
16 Chinese Malaysian billionaire, Dato. I can't remember the last
17 name. But it was run in Liberia by his son, I remember the last
18 name Wong, W-O-N-G.

19 PRESIDING JUDGE: What about Dato? Was that D-A-T-O or
10:49:24 20 D-A-T-O-H?

21 THE WITNESS: Your Honour, I tell you I think it's probably
22 D-A-T-O. It's a title I understand - I have to research that -
23 of very respectable people in Malaysia, they call them Dato.

24 PRESIDING JUDGE: I see. Thank you.

10:49:40 25 JUDGE SEBUTINDE: And the acronym OTC, does it stand for
26 something?

27 THE WITNESS: Yes, your Honour. It's called the Oriental
28 Timber Company.

29 MS HOLLIS:

1 Q. Mr Taylor, we've heard mention of a Guus person during this
2 trial?

3 A. Yes.

4 Q. Guus Kouwenhoven, yes?

10:50:00 5 A. That's correct.

6 Q. Did he have any connection with OTC, Oriental Timber
7 Company?

8 A. Yes, he did.

9 Q. What was his connection with it?

10:50:08 10 A. To my knowledge too Guus was very instrumental in getting
11 this \$250 million investment in Liberia and he was I think the
12 general manager for OTC in Liberia.

13 Q. Mr Taylor, do you recall a timber company United Logging
14 Timber Company?

10:50:40 15 A. Yes, that rings a bell but I don't remember who owned it.
16 It rings a bell. United Logging rings a bell.

17 Q. And Maryland Wood Processing Industry, do you recall that?

18 A. Yes, I do.

19 Q. Do you remember who owned that?

10:50:48 20 A. Maryland Wood Processing. The only thing I can do, and I
21 don't know if it's permitted to speculate, Maryland - there was a
22 big family operating out of Maryland. The Fawaz brothers were
23 operating out of Maryland County and I mentioned them on
24 yesterday. They were practically Liberians. They were born and
10:51:19 25 raised in Liberia. That could be Maryland because they were the
26 biggest company down there. I think it could have been the Fawaz
27 brothers. I could be wrong about that.

28 Q. Could it have been Hussein Fawaz who was actually running
29 the Maryland Wood Processing Industry Company, Hussein?

1 A. I don't think so. The name that I remember that was
2 running that company was Abbas Fawaz.

3 Q. Abbas?

4 A. Abbas.

10:51:47 5 Q. You mentioned him yesterday, A-B-A-S-S?

6 A. Either A-B-B or A-B-A-S-S, Abbas.

7 Q. And Hussein?

8 JUDGE SEBUTINDE: Ms Hollis, was that Maryland Wood or
9 Marilyn Wood?

10:52:03 10 MS HOLLIS: Maryland Wood Processing Industry:

11 Q. And, Mr Taylor, do you recall a ULC Timber Company?

12 A. No, I can't recall. I can't recall that.

13 Q. It's sometimes considered to be the same company called by
14 this name ULC, the same as Maryland Wood Processing Industry?

10:52:31 15 A. I can't recall ULC. I can recall the Maryland Wood. I
16 can't recall ULC.

17 Q. Mr Taylor, do you recall that your son Chucky Taylor was
18 the chairman of ULC?

19 A. No, I didn't - I can't recall that. I didn't know that.

10:52:54 20 Q. These various timber companies that operated in Liberia,
21 they had their own militias, did they not?

22 A. No, definitely not, no.

23 Q. And indeed these militias have very often were formed from
24 people who were your former subordinates in the NPFL. Is that
10:53:21 25 correct?

26 A. Totally incorrect.

27 Q. And they were sometimes commanded by your former commanders
28 in the NPFL. Isn't that correct?

29 A. Totally incorrect.

1 Q. If we go back to Cocoo Dennis, it's true, is it not, that
2 in 2000 Cocoo Dennis led units of the SMI militia to fight
3 alongside your forces in Lofa County? That's correct, is it not?

4 A. That is not to my knowledge, no. Cocoo Dennis could have
10:53:47 5 participated in the war by 2000. Being a general - at that point
6 in the war if you were a former soldier you came in to assist in
7 whatever way. So I do not deny that Cocoo Dennis could have
8 participated. Who he led, there was not a militia operating
9 separately, no. I disagree.

10:54:11 10 Q. And these forces were believed to be responsible for
11 serious human rights violations at that time, were they not?

12 A. I totally disagree.

13 Q. Since you left the presidency have you maintained contact
14 with Cocoo Dennis?

10:54:34 15 A. Not at all, no.

16 Q. If you know, what was his occupation before he became
17 involved with the NPFL?

18 A. I told you to the best of my knowledge I was told - maybe
19 it was wrong - that Cocoo Dennis lived and spent a long time in
10:54:58 20 the United States and he served in one area of the United States
21 forces. I don't know. I didn't know him before then. So I
22 would say for a long time he was away from Liberia, but I didn't
23 know him before that introduction somewhere I would put it to
24 about '92 or '93 or thereabouts. Didn't know him.

10:55:24 25 Q. As a result of his association with you, Cocoo Dennis
26 benefitted quite well financially, did he not?

27 A. I don't think so, no.

28 Q. And also as a result of his association with you he
29 benefitted in terms of the power that he was able to hold, isn't

1 that correct?

2 A. That is incorrect. Cocoo Dennis did not hold any power or
3 any position in my government, no. Totally incorrect. I
4 disagree.

10:55:53 5 Q. Mr Taylor, we talked before about Charles Bright. Charles
6 Bright's association with you also benefitted him significantly
7 financially, did it not?

8 A. No. Not to my knowledge. Charles doesn't even have a
9 house of his own. No, not to my knowledge. The best I can help,
10:56:13 10 if you don't mind, the Bright family in Liberia is a very wealthy
11 family and Charles Bright is from a very, very wealthy stock. So
12 quite frankly, Charles Bright came to the INPFL very wealthy.
13 The family - in fact, the entire Bright family, all of the
14 Brights, are a very wealthy group. They ran from the Tubman
10:56:41 15 administration through the Tolbert the largest poultry business
16 almost in West Africa. They are a very wealthy group. Charles
17 Bright did not need a dime from the Government of Liberia. So I
18 would fully disagree.

19 I can tell you one of the Bright fellows that died a few
10:57:02 20 years back left I think a fortune of more than \$25 million to
21 about two or three of his children and Charles is a nephew that
22 benefitted. No, that I would vehemently object to. No, Charles
23 Bright is not from any stock that - he is from a wealthy stock.

24 Q. Mr Taylor, you and Charles Bright then mutually benefitted
10:57:26 25 financially from your association with each other, did you not?

26 A. No. No. No.

27 Q. Mr Taylor, you've talked to us about the gentleman Monie
28 Captan who was your Foreign Minister during your presidency.
29 Correct?

1 A. You say I've talked about him?

2 Q. You've talked to the Court about Monie Captan in relation
3 to various documents?

4 A. Yes.

10:57:52 5 Q. When did he become your Foreign Minister?

6 A. Monie Captan was the first and only Foreign Minister of my
7 administration in 1997.

8 Q. When did you first meet Monie Captan?

9 A. My first meeting with Monie Captan, I would put it to
10:58:27 10 around 1994 or thereabouts.

11 Q. And how did you meet him at that time?

12 A. Monie Captan was a part of the Armed Forces of Liberia a
13 delegation to a meeting in Accra, Ghana. He was never a part of
14 the NPFL. He went there as a member of the Armed Forces of
10:58:57 15 Liberia delegation to a peace conference in Accra when I first
16 met him.

17 Q. What was his position on that delegation, if you recall?

18 A. I don't recall.

19 Q. Was he a member of the AFL?

10:59:11 20 A. No, never. He's never been a soldier, never trained in the
21 army. But because he was in Monrovia I think he advised - the
22 AFL by that you know they were splintered in ULIMO-K, ULIMO-J,
23 LPC, Armed Forces of Liberia. He was a part of the delegation.

24 Q. You said that he advised them in some way?

10:59:31 25 A. I would - I would speculate and say, yes, he was part of
26 the delegation. He was not a soldier, so he had to be an
27 adviser. And I would suggest as an advisory role, yes.

28 Q. He was a local businessman during that period of time;
29 isn't that correct?

1 A. Quite frankly, counsel, no. I didn't know Monie - but the
2 Captan family were business people, but I don't know if Monie
3 personally - I know his father very well, was a businessman. The
4 Captan family ran a book - a bookstore in Liberia and some other
11:00:10 5 little businesses. But as to what Monie did himself, I really
6 don't know what he did before I met him at that time.

7 Q. He was, in fact, a publisher and the founder of the First
8 National Pool newspaper, correct?

9 A. I don't know, counsel. I know his father ran a bookstore.
11:00:33 10 That's a strong possibility, but I don't know.

11 Q. Are you familiar with the National Pool - First National
12 Pool newspaper?

13 A. No, I'm not familiar with that newspaper.

14 Q. Now, you said that Monie Captan was your Foreign Minister
11:00:55 15 throughout your presidency. He is married to the daughter of a
16 close associate of yours, yes?

17 A. That is correct, yes.

18 Q. That is Grace Minor?

19 A. That is correct.

11:01:05 20 Q. And during the time he was your minister of foreign
21 affairs, when he made representations or speeches, he was
22 speaking on behalf of the Government of Liberia, correct?

23 A. Yes.

24 Q. And he would have been issuing statements or making
11:01:23 25 statements that would have been approved by you?

26 A. Definitely. I would say yes.

27 Q. He also headed several Liberian delegations to meetings
28 with various bodies, for example, United Nations Security
29 Council, Organization of African Unity, ECOWAS. He attended

1 meetings in respect of all of these different organisations, yes?

2 A. That is correct.

3 Q. And at one point in time you appointed him to the board of
4 directors of the Liberian Petroleum Refining Corporation, did you
11:02:05 5 not?

6 A. I don't recall, but it's possible.

7 Q. What was the Liberian Petroleum Refining Corporation?

8 A. That is an autonomous public corporation that was
9 responsible for the importation of hydrocarbons to the Republic
11:02:33 10 of Liberia.

11 Q. And you say that was an autonomous public corporation.
12 Where did that fall in the overall structure of the Government of
13 Liberia?

14 A. It's a public corporation. It's a public company that was
11:02:52 15 formed back in the Tolbert - during the Tolbert years to manage
16 at a market level the importation of hydrocarbons, gasoline,
17 fuel, oil to the country and let it not be one of these
18 cumbersome bureaucratic things that would serve as an arm of the
19 Liberian government. So public corporations were, in effect,
11:03:21 20 public. They operated as a company like outside of the
21 interference of government.

22 Q. So it was responsible for the importation of all of these
23 types of products into Liberia; is that correct?

24 A. Hydrocarbons, yes.

11:03:40 25 Q. Now, you said that you appointed him as a member of the
26 board of directors. How many people were on the board of
27 directors of this public company, do you know?

28 A. I don't recall, counsel, no.

29 Q. Were they all appointed?

1 A. Yes. They were all appointed through a governmental
2 process, yes, but they are all appointed based on - for example,
3 there were certain ministries and agencies of government that had
4 automatic seats on the board. For example, because that dealt
11:04:19 5 with maybe foreign countries, foreign businesses, the Foreign
6 Minister would sit on it and I think on that board, the finance
7 minister would sit on it. So there were certain ministries and
8 agencies of government that automatically sat on the board, so it
9 had nothing to do with who the President or somebody wanted, but
11:04:41 10 the laws that set up those corporations made sure that certain
11 designated agencies, because of their coordinating functions,
12 would sit on the board to enable the smooth operation of the
13 bringing in of hydrocarbons to the country.

14 Q. Do you remember how many people were actually on this board
11:05:02 15 of directors?

16 A. No, I don't remember, counsel.

17 Q. Do you remember the names of any other people?

18 A. No.

19 Q. You mentioned the Minister of Finance would be on the
11:05:11 20 board. That would have been at some point Charles Bright?

21 A. Well, at some point, too, it could have been others. There
22 were about four finance ministers during my government. The
23 point is - I'm trying to make here is that, depending on who sat
24 as minister, that person went automatically into that seat.

11:05:28 25 Q. You said there were about four finance ministers during
26 your government. We know that Charles Bright was a finance
27 minister. And was there a finance minister before Mr Bright took
28 over in your government?

29 A. Yes. You asked me earlier and I said that before Bright

1 was --

2 Q. Is that Saleeby?

3 A. No, no. Before Charles Bright, I said it was Nathaniel
4 Barnes.

11:05:58 5 Q. And after Charles Bright?

6 A. I don't know who took over after I left the country,
7 because Charles Bright was there up until my departure in August
8 2003. So I don't know who took over after.

9 Q. So there was Nathaniel Barnes and Charles Bright during
11:06:14 10 your presidency?

11 A. Before Barnes, there was John Bestman. And the first
12 Finance Minister was, again, Elie Saleeby, was the first Finance
13 Minister.

14 Q. Thank you.

11:06:29 15 JUDGE SEBUTINDE: Are these names already on the record?
16 Because if we aren't, we would appreciate spellings, please.

17 MS HOLLIS: I believe they have been mentioned before.
18 Certainly we've talked about Bright; we've talked about Saleeby.
19 I believe John Bestman has been mentioned before.

11:06:44 20 But could you spell the last name for us, Mr Taylor?

21 A. That's B-E-S-T-M-A-N. I think all of those are on the
22 record.

23 Q. And Nathaniel Barnes, is that B-A-R-N-E-S?

24 A. That is correct.

11:07:03 25 Q. Thank you. Now, in terms of this public company that had
26 control over importation of hydrocarbons, the revenue that was
27 collected through this activity, that revenue was deposited
28 where?

29 A. I don't know. It was not a part of government function.

1 It was a public company. They managed and control their funds
2 and financing. They were not - they did not have to - their
3 revenues were not considered revenues of the Government of
4 Liberia, so I don't know where they deposited their monies.

11:07:40 5 Q. And do you know during your presidency what companies they
6 were importing the hydrocarbons from?

7 A. No. I don't know the - the only thing that I do know, for
8 a short time, I think, the - in fact, no. Based on your
9 question, there was not an importation. Because we got some
11:08:15 10 assistance from the Libyan government, but it was not in terms of
11 products. But I do not know where they imported from. My guess
12 would be they imported from whichever source, based on the
13 prevailing market price that they could get the best prices from.
14 But I don't know who they dealt with.

11:08:38 15 Q. You said that at some point you got some assistance from
16 the Libyan government. What type of assistance did you receive
17 from them?

18 A. The Government of Liberia was given very - was given some
19 small amounts of crude oil. The government did not have any
11:09:01 20 refining capacity, so what you would do - at a discount. And so
21 what the government would do, then the Government of Liberia
22 would sell that particular crude to the - based on the prevailing
23 market price, and what the Libyan government would do would give
24 the difference of the discount to the government. That happened
11:09:26 25 once or twice. Not very large amounts. I don't remember the
26 figures, but there were two brief times that that happened.
27 That's the extent of what I would know about dealing with the
28 LPRAC.

29 Q. Do you remember what time periods it was that you received

1 these - this assistance these two different times?

2 A. This could have been - I would put it to about maybe '98,
3 '99. About '98, I would say.

4 Q. And the Liberian Petroleum Refining Corporation that had no
11:10:04 5 involvement in those dealings?

6 A. That's what I'm saying, they did have involvement. That's
7 what I'm saying, that's the extent of my involvement with them.
8 Because they - the LPRAC had to make the arrangements for that,
9 but it was on behalf of the Liberian government. This was not
11:10:20 10 revenue that went to the LPRAC, because they had the expertise
11 and would know what they - I think the terminology from an
12 economic standpoint is the spot market price at the time. You
13 get the spot and then you will sell, and then sometimes it's a
14 very small margin on the spot and what was available.

11:10:45 15 Q. Did the funds received actually go through the public
16 company, or did they go directly into the Central Bank of
17 Liberia?

18 A. The Central Bank.

19 Q. Mr Taylor, Monie Captan at some point became the executive
11:11:11 20 chairman of the Comium Liberia Incorporated Company, did he not?

21 A. During my presidency?

22 Q. At some point; are you aware of that?

23 A. Not during my presidency, no.

24 Q. I didn't say during your presidency.

11:11:26 25 A. I'm not aware of Monie Captan's activities at all.

26 Q. You know of Comium Liberia Incorporated?

27 A. Not really, I don't.

28 Q. It's a mobile phone company?

29 A. That had to happen after me. I don't - I can't associate

1 myself with that, no.

2 Q. All right, Mr Taylor. Since you left the presidency have
3 you maintained contact with Monie Captan?

4 A. No. Well, let me correct that. Let me correct that.

11:12:07 5 Immediately upon my departure from Liberia, during the first few
6 months, yes. And I really mean the first few months. Maybe one
7 or two months. Following that there have been no contacts
8 personally with Monie Captan, no.

9 Q. Mr Taylor, you've talked about Daniel Chea as your Minister
11:12:31 10 of Defence during your presidency?

11 A. That is correct.

12 Q. Was he your Minister of Defence throughout your presidency?

13 A. Yes.

14 Q. And as the Minister of Defence during your presidency, what
11:12:44 15 were his powers?

16 A. All of the powers enshrined in the constitution for the
17 Defence Ministry. He was the civilian representative of the
18 President to the defence establishment. That's his function.

19 Q. So he would have been the one who would have been involved
11:13:02 20 in dealing with the defence establishment?

21 A. That is correct.

22 Q. Not the President?

23 A. That is correct.

24 Q. Under the constitution, not the President?

11:13:11 25 A. But the President now, even on our constitution is
26 commander-in-chief. To that extent, I would say he was
27 responsible as the civilian representative, yes.

28 Q. And the commander-in-chief under your constitution had what
29 powers?

1 A. No different from the - our constitution is no different
2 from - any more than western countries. That's the United
3 States. The powers would be - he would be the commander-in-chief
4 of all armed forces within the Republic. The functions are
11:13:44 5 broadly as - just as you see in the United States
6 commander-in-chief of the armed forces. The same thing.

7 Q. Daniel Chea, he reported to you?

8 A. Yes, he reported to me.

9 Q. And he was selected by you to be the Minister of Defence?

11:14:00 10 A. Yes. Under the programme he was nominated by me with the
11 advice and consent of the Liberian Senate, yes.

12 Q. When did you first meet Daniel Chea?

13 A. I first met Daniel Chea in 1990.

14 Q. And how did you happen to meet him at that time?

11:14:30 15 A. In fact I was in Harbel. I can remember this very clearly.
16 Daniel Chea, from what I was told, had been sent to the United
17 States on scholarship from the Liberian Defence Ministry. He was
18 a navy trained individual. I don't know his speciality, but he
19 is a very trained soldier. I think he was a member of the armed
11:14:55 20 forces and was sent. He had come home during the time of the
21 crisis and he and Tom Womeiyu are from the same county and they
22 speak the same dialect and he was encouraged to come to Liberia
23 and he was introduced to me in Harbel in 1990.

24 Q. Who introduced him? Do you remember?

11:15:17 25 A. Yes, Tom Womeiyu.

26 Q. You said they were from the same county. What county was
27 that?

28 A. Grand Bassa County, B-A-S-S-A.

29 Q. And during the NPFL period he was also your Minister of

1 Defence, is that correct?

2 A. Well, that would be correct, yes, but my first Minister of
3 Defence was Tom Womeiyu. He takes over at the latter stage, but
4 for most of the NPFL time Tom Womeiyu is Defence Minister.

11:15:51 5 Q. So when does Daniel Chea take over as the NPFL Minister of
6 Defence?

7 A. Remember I think you read a document and asked me about a
8 split in the NPFL where Womeiyu was involved in that split. It
9 is the departure of Womeiyu that brings in Daniel Chea. I think
11:16:08 10 we talked about that on yesterday.

11 Q. So during the time that you are dealing with the Abuja
12 peace process, Daniel Chea would have been the one who would have
13 been responsible for working out the provisions of the
14 disarmament and demobilisation for the NPFL?

11:16:27 15 A. Abuja we're talking about what?

16 Q. 1995 onwards?

17 A. '95. That would be Chea, yes.

18 Q. And what was his involvement actually in this process, the
19 disarmament and demobilisation?

11:16:43 20 A. That was his. That was his area. He was very involved in
21 coordinating most of the activities for the disarmament and
22 demobilisation, working with other appointed individuals but that
23 was his operation.

24 Q. And when you say he was working with other appointed
11:17:03 25 individuals, he also would have been working with representatives
26 of the other factions in relation to this disarmament and
27 demobilisation process?

28 A. That is correct. Other factions, ECOMOG, yes.

29 Q. So he would be very informed in terms of the progress and

1 success of the disarmament and demobilisation?

2 A. I would say so, yes.

3 Q. Mr Taylor, it's true, is it not, that your Minister of
4 Defence Daniel Chea during your presidency justified the use of
11:17:46 5 children as soldiers in the name of national patriotism. He
6 justified that use during your presidency, did he not?

7 A. I don't know of that justification. If he said that, I
8 really don't know that he did, but if he did normally that was
9 not the official policy of the Liberian government. So I have
11:18:13 10 seen no formal statements from him but that would not be the view
11 of the Liberian government.

12 Q. As your Minister of Defence did Daniel Chea have any
13 involvement setting up the ATU, the Anti-Terrorist Unit?

14 A. No, Daniel Chea would not. That was not a military
11:18:43 15 organisation. It was paramilitary. He would not.

16 Q. He wouldn't have been involved in that?

17 A. No. To an extent in trying to get the expertise, he was
18 involved in trying to get the expertise. But it was not a
19 defence matter, it was a paramilitary. He assisted in trying to
11:19:06 20 identify the type of experts that would be needed to train,
21 because the ATU again was not a military - it was not trained as
22 a military force. It was trained as a security paramilitary
23 force and because there were some legal issues in trying to get
24 the individuals to train these people, so Chea would identify the
11:19:30 25 people. But since it was not a military matter, no, he would not
26 be involved in the other operations of it, no.

27 Q. What type of experts did he identify as being needed to
28 train the ATU personnel?

29 A. Daniel knew - he identified General Fred Rindel. That's on

1 the record, the South African. And verified that they had the
2 credentials to conduct these security training. So this is what
3 he basically provided.

4 Q. And Fred Rindel, General Fred Rindel?

11:20:17 5 A. That's correct. That's on the records. Rindel is on the
6 records.

7 Q. And what was his unit? General Fred Rindel, what was his -
8 was he a part of a government or was it a private organisation?

9 A. General Rindel, it was a private organisation. He's a
11:20:39 10 retired South African general that was hired to train a security
11 force and he brought his team but the defence establishment in
12 Liberia went through the process of verifying that they had the
13 qualification to do what we wanted to do.

14 Q. And General Rindel and his team, how many people did he
11:21:07 15 bring to do this training for the ATU?

16 A. I tell you, counsel, I can't be exact but I can say that
17 they could have been as many as six, seven individuals. Or
18 probably a little less. I was not - I did not interact with
19 them. But he brought a team to do the security training. He
11:21:36 20 brought a team.

21 Q. And do you know the name of his private company, General
22 Rindel's company?

23 A. No, counsel, I don't remember the name of it. If while
24 going through if you call it - I can't recall the name, but if I
11:21:55 25 hear it I will be able to help you.

26 Q. And what type of expertise did he bring to this training of
27 the ATU?

28 A. They were trained - basically, that unit was to provide for
29 anti-terrorist activities, VIP protection, the protection of

1 important installations, government buildings, premises of
2 embassies and different things. It was mostly to guard against
3 any lawlessness of the large amount of ex-combatants that we had.
4 So basically it was in anti-terrorism. Of course they did, like
11:22:49 5 I say, VIP protection and all this kind of stuff. So he brought
6 that background to the training.

7 Q. Now, the contract with Fred Rindel, did that include
8 supplying the ATU trainees with weapons and other military
9 equipment?

11:23:06 10 A. No. Not at all. No. No. No.

11 Q. And how many classes or groups of ATU was Mr Rindel
12 involved in training?

13 A. Counsel, I don't know quite frankly. But there were - I
14 can't be precise but what I do know is that the training

11:23:32 15 programme was to be a professional training programme without
16 cutting corners. And so they went through I think periods of
17 three to four months. Based on your qualifications you moved to
18 another three to four months. But the quantity, I can't help you
19 with that, counsel, I don't know. But there were many - the
11:23:58 20 programme ran for a period of time but I can't be exact to the
21 number of training programmes, no.

22 Q. Was Mr Rindel or General Rindel in charge of the training
23 of all of your ATU?

24 A. Oh, yes. Oh, yes. We made sure that the contract with him
11:24:23 25 did train the ATU, yes.

26 Q. And you said that it ran for a period of time. Do you know
27 how long he was in Liberia training the ATU in total?

28 A. I would put it to '99 late. The ATU doesn't really get
29 going until late '99. 2000 and maybe for a very short period in

1 2001. I would put it to that period. It could be a little
2 longer but I would put it to the second half of '99, 2000 and I
3 would say part of 2001.

11:25:13 4 Q. And where was it in Liberia that General Rindel and his
5 people were doing this training?

6 A. At Gbatala.

7 Q. That was the only location?

8 A. That was the only location, Gbatala.

11:25:23 9 Q. And was General Rindel involved in any other activities in
10 Liberia or just this training activity?

11 A. To my knowledge, just the training. He was hired and he
12 was paid just to train and that's all. And in fact, General
13 Rindel did not spend a long time in Liberia. He would come in.
14 He had a team that he supervised. He would come and go from my
11:25:45 15 understanding, I didn't interact with him. But he did not reside
16 in Liberia to the best of my knowledge during the full length of
17 the training.

18 Q. And this setting up for the training and then the
19 commencement of the training, this began in 1998, isn't that
11:26:05 20 correct?

21 A. Well, I'll tell you, if it's '98 - I would put it more to
22 1999. If it's '98 then it has to be very, very, very late in
23 1998. But I would not swear on the fact that it did, but I'm
24 more concerned - I think I would put it more to '99 but I don't
11:26:33 25 dispute that this could have --

26 Q. September of 1998?

27 A. That's what I'm saying. If it's 1998 it has to be very
28 late because the whole idea of the ATU begins to come up around
29 '98 but it gets into real operation in 1999. But I would not - I

1 don't doubt that by late 1998 there could have been mobilisation,
2 but for me I would attach the year of 1999 as being the year that
3 the ATU starts to really begin its training. And it's very slow
4 at that time because I can remember the first group of ATU
11:27:13 5 trainees are no more than about I would say 30, 40 because we're
6 very - we tried to get the best of the best so I would - I don't
7 dispute '98 but I'm more - I would connect it more to '99.

8 Q. Ultimately your ATU comprised some 3,000 personnel, isn't
9 that correct?

11:27:34 10 A. I don't know the exact number, counsel, I'm sorry. I don't
11 know the exact number.

12 Q. And remind us again of the commanders of the ATU. Who was
13 the first commander of the ATU?

14 A. The first commander was my son Chucky.

11:27:49 15 Q. And he commanded until when?

16 A. I don't recall the year.

17 Q. Who was the commander after that?

18 A. After that Momo Dgiba took over and then Chucky came back
19 again. So there were only two commanders of the ATU, Dgiba and
11:28:10 20 Chucky.

21 Q. In relation to when you actually left Liberia in August
22 2003 Chucky was the commander at that time again. Is that
23 correct?

24 A. That is correct.

11:28:24 25 Q. Had he been the commander for any significant period of
26 time before you left, do you recall?

27 A. No, I don't recall. I doubt if it was a significant amount
28 of time. I doubt it very much.

29 Q. So when you left the country he was actually still in

1 command of the ATU. Is that correct?

2 A. Well, no, I can say that's incorrect based on your question
3 because Chucky left Liberia before I left. So if your question
4 is was he still in command, he was not in the country at the time
11:29:02 5 that I left in August. Chucky left before and one of the most
6 senior commanders, I don't know who at the time, was commanding
7 the unit.

8 Q. The contract with General Rindel and his company, do you
9 remember how much you paid for this training over this period of
11:29:22 10 time?

11 A. No, I don't know how much we paid over the period of time,
12 but on a monthly basis it was costing anywhere I would say
13 between 100 to 150,000 or so a month it was costing for the
14 entire team, the contract, if I'm not mistaken. I don't remember
11:29:57 15 the figures but it was a substantial monthly payment to the team.

16 Q. And the payment for these services, were they made in
17 monies or was there any other form of payment for these services?

18 A. They were made directly in monies. No other form of
19 payment. Money.

11:30:22 20 MS HOLLIS: Mr President, are we about out of time?

21 PRESIDING JUDGE: Yes, we're getting to that stage. We'll
22 adjourn now, take the short adjournment and resume at 12.

23 [Break taken at 11.30 a.m.]

24 [Upon resuming at 12.00 p.m.]

12:01:09 25 PRESIDING JUDGE: Yes, Mr Anyah.

26 MR ANYAH: Yes, Mr President, I rise to indicate that
27 Mr Griffiths has joined us on the Defence side of the bar. Thank
28 you.

29 PRESIDING JUDGE: Thank you, Mr Anyah. Please go ahead,

1 Ms Hollis.

2 MS HOLLIS: Thank you, Mr President:

12:03:47

3 Q. Mr Taylor, we were talking about General Fred Rindel and
4 his team coming to Liberia to train your ATU forces. His team,
5 were they all South Africans as well?

6 A. I can't be sure. No, I don't know, counsel. I don't know.
7 There were Caucasians and blacks, but I cannot ascertain their
8 nationality, all of their nationalities, I am sorry.

9 Q. Do you know if they were all ex-military members?

12:04:13

10 A. To the best of my knowledge, they were all ex-military
11 people.

12 Q. And when General Rindel brought his team into Liberia, they
13 came in by plane, correct?

12:04:32

14 A. I am sorry, counsel. I am sure they had to, but I don't
15 know how - I would assume so, yes. But, better still, they could
16 have come into La Cote d'Ivoire and driven across, but to the
17 best of my knowledge they had to fly in.

12:04:56

18 Q. Now, you have indicated that your Minister of Defence would
19 have been involved in determining if this company was qualified,
20 but they would not have been involved really with General Rindel
21 or the training, correct, because this was outside the military
22 structure?

23 A. That is correct. Daniel would not - I am speaking about
24 Daniel, he would not have been involved, no.

12:05:13

25 Q. So while General Rindel and his people were in Liberia
26 training the ATU who would General Rindel and his team have been
27 working with in your government?

28 A. They spoke to the Defence Minister a lot of times. And
29 they would coordinate with the training commander who first was

1 Chucky and then Dgiba and then the Minister of Defence. There
2 were other individuals to my knowledge from what I was told.
3 They did use trained personnel in addition from the military
4 sector were seconded to help with certain aspects of training.

12:06:08 5 So there was a lot of coordination, but not direct involvement.

6 Q. Members of the AFL were seconded, or was this from some
7 other organization?

8 A. No, from the trained Armed Forces of Liberia personnel, AFL
9 personnel.

12:06:26 10 Q. Was there a single point of contact such as either your son
11 or the Momo Dgiba? Were they the primary source of contact
12 between General Rindel?

13 A. Yes, yes.

14 Q. Now, moving back to Daniel Chea, Daniel Chea was actually
12:06:53 15 involved in coordinating some of the logistics for the RUF,
16 wasn't he?

17 A. No, counsel. No, not at all. You know that, no.

18 Q. Well, no I don't, Mr Taylor. In fact he was involved in
19 that, was he not?

12:07:09 20 A. When you say for the RUF, no. I am not aware of any - and
21 in fact he could not have been involved in logistics for the RUF,
22 no, Daniel Chea.

23 Q. Daniel Chea continued to be Minister of Defence after you
24 had left Liberia in August 2003, is that correct?

12:07:40 25 A. I really don't know what Daniel did. I can assume so, but
26 I was divorced of Liberian activities when I left Liberia. I
27 really don't know for real if he continued or for how long. I
28 have no idea.

29 Q. Did you continue to be in contact with him after you left

1 Liberia in August 2003?

2 A. Not at all, no.

3 Q. So you have not been in contact with him since that time?

4 A. Well, personally I have not been in contact with him, but I
12:08:14 5 have had individuals in contact with him. But personally, no.

6 Q. Now, Mr Taylor, you have talked to the Court about the
7 gentleman Musa Cisse and indicated that during your presidency he
8 was chief of protocol for you as opposed to your department of
9 information, correct?

12:08:48 10 A. I don't recall putting it that way, but Musa was chief of
11 protocol of the Executive Mansion. If you put it that way, yes,
12 he was chief of protocol. There were two chiefs of protocol, one
13 RL and one responsible at the Executive Mansion.

14 Q. And the RL, what does that mean?

12:09:15 15 A. Republic of Liberia. That's a national protocol that is
16 stationed at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. That was headed by
17 Dr John Durning, D-U-R-I-N-G, and Musa Cisse was chief of protocol
18 at the presidency.

19 Q. And as chief of protocol at the presidency, who did he
12:09:35 20 report to?

21 A. He reported to the chief of protocol RL, Dr Durning, from
22 time to time. There was a coordinating effort from what I
23 understand.

24 Q. And as your chief of protocol for the presidency, how often
12:09:53 25 would you have contact with him during your presidency on a
26 weekly basis?

27 A. I saw - on a weekly basis, seven days a week, two or three
28 times a day. The chief of protocol at the presidency was in
29 constant contact with the President.

1 Q. And what were his functions as the chief of protocol for
2 the presidency?

3 A. The chief of protocol was responsible for all of the
4 official meetings of the President; organising who comes,
12:10:33 5 organising who goes, the hours, the times established. How much
6 time they spend with the President, how much time. I mean the
7 whole arrangement of the scheduling of the President in receiving
8 and greeting people, that's the function of the protocol. How
9 people are formally addressed, at what meetings, receptions, are
12:10:59 10 all organised under protocol. What to wear, where to sit during
11 receptions and official dining programmes. It's extensive.

12 Q. And he would sometimes travel with you when you took
13 official visits, isn't that correct?

14 A. Most times.

12:11:20 15 Q. And you also would send him on missions of various types,
16 yes?

17 A. Not necessarily. If there was an important mission, let's
18 say, for example, in a Francophone country, yes, sometimes he
19 would go along with the delegation.

12:11:46 20 Q. And what would his function be during those trips?

21 A. He would interpret, serve as interpreter. He spoke French
22 and English and he would interpret.

23 Q. Did he have any functions other than being an interpreter
24 on those trips?

12:12:05 25 A. Well, what other function would he carry out? Well, maybe
26 to help you, counsel, that position is an ambassadorial position,
27 it carries the rank of ambassador, or at least the title
28 ambassador. So he would interpret, but he is an official. So on
29 those missions, for example, if he accompanied let's say a

1 minister, let's say to a French speaking country, the minister
2 doesn't look at him as his bag boy. I mean he is an official, he
3 is an ambassador, but he interprets and that's it.

12:12:45 4 Q. Mr Taylor, when you were in Burkina Faso - you've talked
5 about residing in Burkina Faso, including during the time that
6 Blaise Compaore was the leader, yes?

7 A. What time are we talking about, counsel?

8 Q. This would be before the invasion of Liberia.

9 A. Yes.

12:13:00 10 Q. And during the time that you resided there, you interacted
11 with Blaise Compaore, did you not?

12 A. Yes, I did.

13 Q. And in what language did you interact with Blaise Compaore?

14 A. In French.

12:13:13 15 Q. So you're fluent in French?

16 A. No. He has an interpreter there and so these meetings - I
17 do understand - I have I would call it a working knowledge, but I
18 don't speak it. I'm bad at it. But we would use his interpreter
19 to interpret the meetings for me, for us.

12:13:39 20 Q. When did you first meet Musa Cisse?

21 A. I first met Musa Cisse in - I would put it to about '85,
22 '86.

23 Q. And how was it that you met him at that time?

12:14:28 24 A. Musa Cisse was one of those individuals that fled into
25 exile from the regime of Samuel Doe and he was in La Cote
26 d'Ivoire where I first met him. At the time we were trying to
27 put together the programme of training. He was one of those
28 exiles at the time.

29 Q. And where was it in Cote d'Ivoire that you met him?

1 A. I met him in Abidjan and in Danane.

2 Q. And at that time was he involved in any businesses in Cote
3 d'Ivoire?

4 A. Not that I know of, no. Musa was - no, he was just in
12:15:06 5 exile. He had fled Liberia and left, I understand, all his
6 businesses in Liberia. From the Doe government he had fled and
7 left everything. So, from my understanding, he was having
8 problems.

9 Q. So he had been a businessman in Liberia?

12:15:20 10 A. In Liberia.

11 Q. Before he had to flee?

12 A. During the Doe government, yes.

13 Q. And do you know what type of business he was involved in?

14 A. No, I don't.

12:15:29 15 Q. I believe you've told the Court that he was ethnically a
16 Mandingo, correct?

17 A. He is, yes - was. Excuse me was. He is now late.

18 Q. And what was his citizenship?

19 A. Liberian. In fact, he - the whole family - the whole Cisse
12:15:49 20 family, they had, I think, dual citizenship, Guinean and
21 Liberian. Part of their family lived in Guinea and a part lived
22 in Liberia, but they were born and raised in Liberia.

23 Q. And do you know what part of Liberia Musa Cisse was born
24 and raised in?

12:16:07 25 A. I honestly - Nimba County.

26 Q. And Musa Cisse was also a part of your organisation before
27 you became President, correct?

28 A. That is correct.

29 Q. And what were his duties before you became President?

1 A. Musa Cisse was basically, I would just say, an adviser.
2 Because he travelled with me to Burkina Faso. He was something
3 like an adviser.

4 Q. An adviser on what types of matters?

12:16:42 5 A. I would just say general matters. Help to sometimes
6 interpret. In fact, when he joined me in Burkina Faso, he used
7 to help sometimes to interpret during meetings between Blaise and
8 my myself. So he served as an adviser/interpreter all together.

9 Q. Did he assist with interpreting when you were in Cote
12:17:05 10 d'Ivoire as well?

11 A. No, no, no. I didn't have any official meetings in La Cote
12 d'Ivoire to interpret with anyone, no.

13 Q. When you became President, was he involved in trips to Cote
14 d'Ivoire on your behalf?

12:17:24 15 A. On my behalf? As President, I don't recall sending Musa on
16 any mission to La Cote d'Ivoire on my behalf. That could have
17 very well - that could have very well happened, but I just don't
18 recall. I don't recall.

19 Q. Mr Taylor, before we go on, we had been earlier talking
12:17:53 20 about timber companies and concessions after you became
21 President. There was an agency in Liberia, the FDA, correct?

22 A. That is correct.

23 Q. And that was the Forestry Development Agency?

24 A. That is correct.

12:18:09 25 Q. And what were the duties of the Forestry Development
26 Agency?

27 A. Under the laws of Liberia, the Forestry Development Agency
28 is responsible for granting concessions for forestry work. They
29 are also responsible for the environmental affairs of forest,

1 reforestation, making sure that national parks, forests,
2 reserves - basically this is their function, to make sure that
3 the forests of Liberia is kept and maintained and even though
4 while it was being utilised, that it should be utilised under the
12:18:59 5 reigns of laws as have been set up by government.

6 Q. And in what department or ministry of the government was
7 the FDA located?

8 A. The FDA served as an autonomous agency but with strong
9 connections to the Ministry of Agriculture.

12:19:17 10 Q. So the person in charge of the FDA, what was their title?

11 A. Managing director.

12 Q. And to whom would the managing director report?

13 A. To the chairman of the Board of Directors. Like the LPRC
14 that you asked me about, that's another public corporation that
12:19:35 15 had a Board of Directors, and I think that board was chaired by
16 the Ministry of Agriculture. The managing director served as
17 secretary to the board, but he reported to the chairman of the
18 board.

19 Q. And during your presidency, who was the managing director
12:19:54 20 of the FDA?

21 A. The managing director of the FDA was a younger brother of
22 mine, Bob Taylor.

23 Q. And do you recall who was the chairman of the board?

24 A. Well, it depends on who was the Ministry of Agriculture.
12:20:10 25 There were two - at least two. It starts off with Dr Roland
26 Massaquoi and it ends with Dr Othello Brandy. These were --

27 Q. Now, we have had the name Massaquoi before. Is that
28 M-A-S-S-A-Q-U-O-I?

29 A. That is correct.

1 Q. And the second name you gave us was what, please?

2 A. Dr Othello - Othello as in Othello - Brandy, B-R-A-N-D-Y.

3 Both of them had doctorate degrees in different areas of
4 agriculture from top US universities.

12:20:47 5 Q. And these ministers of the Department of Agriculture - was
6 it the Department of Agriculture or the Ministry of Agriculture?

7 A. The Ministry of Agriculture.

8 Q. You would have appointed these people?

9 A. I would have, yes, nominated them, yes. Appointed, yeah.

12:21:06 10 Q. With the advice and consent of your Senate?

11 A. That is correct.

12 Q. And what about the managing director of the FDA?

13 A. Also.

14 Q. You would have appointed the person as well?

12:21:18 15 A. All - yes, that is correct.

16 Q. Mr Taylor, who was a person called Nico Shefer?

17 A. Nico Shefer was a South African businessman that came to
18 Liberia to do work to establish a company in Liberia involved in
19 the mining of gold and diamonds.

12:21:50 20 Q. Do you know when it was he --

21 PRESIDING JUDGE: Excuse me, what's the correct spelling of
22 Shefer?

23 MS HOLLIS:

24 Q. Well, in fact, Mr Taylor, do you know how to spell Shefer?

12:22:00 25 A. No, if you could help me. If it's true I'll let you know.
26 I think it's S-H --

27 Q. Let's try this and see if you agree: S-H-E-F-E-R?

28 A. Yes, that sounds - he is Jewish. That sounds right, yes.

29 Q. And Nico, was that N-I-C-O?

1 A. It's either C or K. I can't be too sure. But if it's C
2 there, I would agree with you. N-I-C-O, Ni co. Okay. N-I-C-O.
3 I would agree.

4 MS HOLLIS: Those would be our spellings, Mr President.

12:22:27 5 PRESIDING JUDGE: Thank you.

6 MS HOLLIS:

7 Q. Mr Taylor, when was it that he came to Liberia, if you
8 know?

9 A. Nico came to Liberia I would say around 1997, if I am not
12:22:48 10 wrong about that. I think about 1997.

11 Q. And how long did he remain in the country, if you know?

12 A. Nico was in Liberia I think until about somewhere in 1998
13 or thereabouts, and there was a major problem and he had to
14 leave. He had to pack up and leave.

12:23:13 15 Q. Do you know the name of his company or his organisation?

16 A. I think it was Greater Di amond.

17 Q. And where was that company functioning in Liberia, if you
18 know?

19 A. They were functioning in the Bomi, Cape Mount region at
12:23:42 20 di amond fi elds up there in the area called Lofa Bridge.

21 Q. Lofa Bri dge would be how far from Monrovi a?

22 A. That's a little distance. Lofa Bridge is up beyond Bomi
23 Hills that we talked about here. It's between Bomi Hills and the
24 secti on that you referred to yesterday as Lower Lofa where,
12:24:10 25 remember, the new county Gbarpolu. So I would estimate that to
26 be from Monrovi a, what? Maybe close to 100 miles or less. I
27 would say 75 - no, about 100 miles, I would say.

28 Q. And Mr Shefer and his company, to your knowl edge, did they
29 have the use of aircraft to carry out their business in your

1 country?

2 A. Ni co di dn' t have an aircraft in Li beri a, but whenever he
3 came, he always - most times he would charter a plane, a small
4 executive type jet, to come. But it was not stationed in
12:24:54 5 Li beri a, no.

6 Q. And why did he leave Li beri a?

7 A. There was a case in the United States with a group in the
8 United States - I think they used to call themselves Greater
9 Industries or Greater Church. It was a big organisation. They
12:25:14 10 had some problems, I think either in Cali forni a or one of the
11 states. Oh, they were called Greater Mini stries, as in religious
12 mini stries, and they were supposed to be involved - or alleged,
13 based on a United States complaint, in money laundering or
14 something like that. And so some of their members, I think, were
12:25:46 15 charged, I think, in the United States and, I think, imprisoned.

16 And so we, based on our normal cooperati on, closed - because Ni co
17 worked for Greater Mini stries in the United States and that's why
18 they called it Greater Di amonds. And so we said that we could
19 not be associated with thi s complaint out of the United States,
12:26:11 20 and so we asked him to close down and leave Li beri a. That's how
21 he left. I don' t know the detai ls of the Greater Mini stries
22 problem in the United States, but it was a big case, I
23 understand.

24 Q. Who is Sando Johnson?

12:26:28 25 A. He is my nephew.

26 Q. And was he a member of your NPFL?

27 A. Not - no, he was never a combatant or anything, never
28 fought. No, Sando Johnson was a leader from our area, and I
29 would say he was a part of the NPP. Because during the war,

1 Sando was not involved in any military or other activities, no.

2 Q. Was he a part of your NPRAG during the war?

3 A. I doubt - no, I don't recall Sando being a part of the
4 NPRAG, no.

12:27:03 5 Q. And then with the NPP, was he a part of the NPP prior to
6 your becoming President, or thereafter?

7 A. Prior. Prior to. In fact, he was elected to the House of
8 Representatives from Grand - I mean, from Bomi County.

9 Q. When you assumed the presidency, was he one of the ones
12:27:32 10 chosen to take a seat in the legislature based on the percentage
11 of vote that the NPP received?

12 A. That is correct.

13 Q. And who chose him to be in the legislature to fill that
14 seat?

12:27:45 15 A. The executive committee of the party of which I am a part
16 of, I chaired.

17 Q. And as a result of your election, Mr Taylor, how many seats
18 in the legislature was the NPP allowed to fill?

19 A. Counsel, I am sorry. The only thing I can help with is
12:28:10 20 because it was proportional representation, the percentage of our
21 win gave us a percentage of selection. So if I would maybe be
22 reminded of the percentages, it would help. I don't remember the
23 exact numbers. But we won, I think, about 70, 75 per cent of the
24 votes, so we would make that level. I don't quite remember the
12:28:37 25 total number of seats, but if you come up with it, I would help
26 with that. I know the percentage, but not the exact numbers.

27 Q. And I think when you testified to the judges, you said that
28 there was 75 per cent, but perhaps even more, that you won. But
29 75 per cent was a figure that was used; is that correct?

1 A. If it's 70, 75, that was about the figure. 68 to 75,
2 somewhere in that - I can't be pinned down on the exact
3 percentage, but I know it was a little over 60 per cent. I know
4 that.

12:29:18 5 Q. So then that would have the percentage of seats that you
6 would have been able to fill?

7 A. That is correct.

8 Q. And it would have been the NPP - the executive portion of
9 the NPP that would have made those choices?

12:29:32 10 A. Yes, the executive committee of the party. We sit down and
11 on a constituency-wide basis would each - in fact what we did
12 there, so you can have a good picture, we had the county
13 chairperson of the party, the party leader in each county, and
14 their organisation recommend to the executive committee based on
12:30:01 15 the constituencies. In Liberia, each county - each region has
16 its own constituency, and we would take those numbers and crunch
17 them and then come up with who could best represent the
18 constituents at that level.

19 Q. Mr Taylor, you said that Sando Johnson was your cousin?

12:30:21 20 A. No, I said nephew.

21 Q. And very loyal to you, was he not?

22 A. Better be. Yes, he'd better be.

23 Q. Still is?

24 A. Very much so, yes.

12:30:34 25 Q. Mr Taylor, you remember the Operation Octopus and the five
26 nuns who were murdered during that operation?

27 A. I remember Octopus and I remember the nuns that got killed,
28 yes.

29 Q. And sometime thereafter in fact during your presidency, the

1 Catholic church attempted to set up an investigation into those
2 murders, correct?

3 A. I don't know. That's possible, yes.

4 Q. And at the time Sando Johnson was a member of the
12:31:07 5 legislature in Liberia, yes?

6 A. That is correct.

7 Q. And indeed Sando Johnson reacted very negatively towards
8 the church when they attempted this investigation, yes?

9 A. I don't know of that.

12:31:21 10 Q. Mr Taylor, have you continued to have contact with Sando
11 Johnson since you left the presidency?

12 A. Yes. I had contact with Sando Johnson for some time.
13 There is still a dispute now as to whether I should, but for some
14 time now I have not, for a considerable amount of time after an
12:31:51 15 incident with OTP investigators I was asked by the Registrar's
16 office not to have any further contact based on the request from
17 your office.

18 Q. Mr Taylor, do you know if Sando Johnson is a member of the
19 Association For the Defence of Charles Taylor?

12:32:12 20 A. I would think he is a member. I don't - I know who heads
21 it. I don't know all the members, but I would think family
22 members of mine would want to associate with that, yes.

23 Q. And you are familiar with that association?

24 A. I am familiar with the association. I don't have any
12:32:31 25 direct contacts based on their function, but I am familiar with
26 it, yes.

27 Q. And do you know when that association was created?

28 A. No, not exactly but it was sometime after my arrest. I
29 don't know exactly when it was put together.

1 Q. Now you said you know some of the members of that
2 association. Can you tell us the other members that you know?

3 A. Well, I know that the association is headed by John
4 Richardson, former national security adviser in my government. I
12:33:09 5 don't know most of the other individuals, but I am sure of John
6 and I know that he is.

7 Q. And do you know the stated purposes of that association?

8 A. Only from what I have seen on a flyer just to help to
9 disseminate information about public information as developed by
12:33:44 10 the court system. That's my understanding. Because the
11 dissemination of information in Liberia is very poor. The
12 Special Court has, I would say, tried, but even this trial as it
13 is going is hardly seen in Liberia. So their purpose I
14 understand was to help to disseminate information.

12:34:06 15 Q. And their purposes also included, did it not, facilitating
16 the needs of the office of the Legal Defence for Charles Taylor?

17 A. What Legal Defence for Charles Taylor outside of the court?
18 I am not aware of any Legal Defence in Liberia for me.

19 Q. And their purposes also included recruiting witnesses for
12:34:27 20 the trial?

21 A. No, I mean, there is no Defence for me in Liberia outside
22 of the Defence that operates under this Court. So that's a
23 total - that's a total no-no. I am not aware and I doubt if they
24 are doing any such thing. How would they be involved in
12:34:48 25 recruiting witnesses? I doubt that.

26 Q. And their purposes also coordinating investigations
27 relating to the trial?

28 A. Definitely not. That's a part of the Prosecution fantasy,
29 no.

1 Q. Another function was mobilising resources and other
2 logistics to assist in the trial?

3 A. Normal fantasy from the OTP, no.

4 Q. Not aware of that?

12:35:11 5 A. Not aware.

6 Q. Mr Taylor, are you aware that they were requested donations
7 to assist them and they have bank accounts in several different
8 countries?

9 A. I am not aware of that. I am sure they can best serve it
12:35:25 10 because for an organisation, you know, to have bank accounts in
11 different countries and can't hardly disseminate the information
12 from the Court, I would doubt that very much, but I am not aware.

13 Q. So you wouldn't be aware of how much money they would have
14 received for these various bank accounts?

12:35:42 15 A. Not at all. No idea and I doubt very much that they have
16 money because there is no money in Liberia. Who would
17 contribute? I doubt it very much, counsel.

18 Q. And you would have no idea, of course, of how that money
19 would be spent that they would collect?

12:35:56 20 A. Definitely not. Definitely not. I am sure the Registrar
21 would be interested in that, but definitely not.

22 Q. Mr Taylor, you've mentioned John Richardson being a part of
23 this association and you had told the Court that during your
24 presidency he was first the Minister of Public Works?

12:36:19 25 A. Yes.

26 Q. And then later he became your national security adviser, is
27 that correct?

28 A. That is perfectly right, yes.

29 Q. And you had indicated that during the time before you were

1 President, he was an NPFL academic adviser of some sort?

2 A. That is correct.

3 Q. That he was not a commander?

4 A. That is correct.

12:36:40 5 Q. But in fact, Mr Taylor, John T Richardson was a commander
6 in your NPFL was he not?

7 A. He was not.

8 Q. And he had a code name General Octopus, isn't that correct?

9 A. That is totally, totally wrong.

12:36:54 10 Q. In fact, John T Richardson was involved in Operation
11 Octopus, was he not?

12 A. To the extent of advising me, advising the NPFL, yes. But
13 he did not - in fact his code, I don't remember it, but it was
14 definitely not Octopus. Octopus was never a code used by anyone
12:37:14 15 in the NPFL. Octopus was the code name used for the operation to
16 liberate Monrovia from these terrible ECOMOG people. That's all.
17 But there was no one that carried out that code Octopus. That's
18 totally, totally incorrect. Totally.

19 Q. He was actually involved in the planning and execution of
12:37:36 20 that operation, isn't that correct?

21 A. That's totally, totally another fallacy that you have
22 developed. Totally no.

23 Q. Mr Taylor, actually, it wasn't an operation to liberate
24 Monrovia. It was an operation to seize Monrovia so that you
12:37:52 25 could seize power in the country, isn't that correct?

26 A. Well, I tell you, the purpose of the NPFL was to take
27 power. So to that extent you can say yes. We were set up to
28 liberate the people of Liberia, yes.

29 Q. And indeed ECOMOG's presence in Monrovia was a protection

1 to the people in Monrovia, was it not?

2 A. No. That was not the case. I don't want to hold you up,
3 but I would just say no.

4 Q. Mr Taylor, John P Richardson, at some point he became a
12:38:33 5 spokesperson for your NPFL. Is that correct?

6 A. At some point John, I am not - well, depending on the - at
7 some point John Richardson was sent along with a delegation to
8 Monrovia. Remember, counsel you talked yesterday about the
9 break-up, the confusion in the NPFL. John Richardson was on that
12:39:00 10 delegation with Tom Womeiye and after Womeiye and the other two
11 broke away, at some point, yes, he continued the negotiations in
12 Monrovia. So I would say yes.

13 Q. And you, I think, indicated yesterday that these people,
14 Tom Womeiye and the others, broke away in 1994?

12:39:22 15 A. Yes, around 1994.

16 Q. So was it also in 1994 that Mr Richardson became the
17 spokesperson?

18 A. Well, now that's generalised now. He did not - the
19 spokesperson for the - at that period in Monrovia, he did
12:39:42 20 not - the spokesperson for the NPFL at the time - well, not the -
21 the NPRAG still remained our Foreign Minister at the time. So
22 John, to the extent that he spoke in Monrovia at the time of the
23 breakaway, yes, but he did not serve as an official spokesperson
24 for the NPRAG; the Foreign Minister did.

12:40:04 25 Q. And at that time that was Daniel Chea who was your Foreign
26 Minister?

27 A. No, no.

28 Q. He was the Minister of Defence?

29 A. By this time Chea took over, the Foreign Minister was a man

1 we mentioned yesterday called Momolu Si rleaf.

2 Q. He took over after the breakaway?

3 A. That is correct.

4 Q. Mr Taylor, have you maintained contact with John Richardson
12:40:29 5 since you left the presidency?

6 A. Yes.

7 Q. Now, in going through some of the documents in direct
8 examination, mention has been made of a person by the name of
9 Grace Minor. Who is that person?

10 A. Grace Minor was a very, very good friend of mine. At least
11 up until my presidency ended. She is a very, very well-known
12 personality in Liberia. She worked extensively during the - with
13 the Tolbert government, served as senior senator for Montserrado
14 County. That's M-O-N-T-S-E-R-R-A-D-O County. Served in the
12:41:37 15 Senate as chairman on executive and at a later date served as
16 President pro tempore of the Liberian Senate. I know her very
17 well. A personal friend of mine.

18 Q. What were her positions during the Tolbert government?

19 A. The only thing I know is she worked as an official I think
12:42:04 20 in the party in Montserrado. She was a senior party official. I
21 was not in the country at that time. And then she worked with
22 the General Services Administration during the Tolbert years.

23 Q. Did she also work for the General Services Administration
24 during Master Sergeant Doe's reign in Liberia?

12:42:24 25 A. That is correct. Yes, she did.

26 Q. And she worked with you there when you were the head of
27 that agency?

28 A. That is correct.

29 Q. So when did you first meet her?

1 A. I first met her in 1990. I led the five man delegation
2 from the United States as chairman of the - that's been mentioned
3 here, the Union of Liberian Associations in the United States.

12:42:59 4 Q. Mr Taylor, you said 1990 is what I heard. Perhaps you
5 misspoke.

6 A. Excuse me. Yes, I did. 1980. I am sorry. Thank you,
7 counsel.

8 Q. And she is Liberian?

9 A. Yes, yes.

12:43:09 10 Q. Now you said that you met her in 1980. Was she also in the
11 United States at that time?

12 A. No, no, no. No, she was in Liberia.

13 Q. Did she at some point come to the United States from
14 Liberia?

12:43:31 15 A. Yes. Grace went to the United States I would say around
16 1982 or 3. Following my departure from Liberia as head of the
17 General Services Administration and then deputy what you would
18 understand as under-secretary of commerce, Grace also went into
19 exile in the United States. I would put that to about 1983 -
12:44:11 20 '82, '83.

21 Q. And was she involved in the same type of political
22 activities as you were in the United States? I use the term
23 loosely.

24 A. Okay, that's what I was about to ask. Political activities
12:44:29 25 not relating to the United States government, but I was in
26 contact with her as who was the main contact also with Ellen
27 Johnson-Sirleaf at the time, so to that extent she was active.

28 Q. Was she a part of your NPFL or the NPRAG?

29 A. She was a part of the NPRAG.

1 Q. And what was her position in the NPRAG?

2 A. I am not sure. Grace could have served maybe as - maybe in
3 the assembly. I am not too certain about that. I am not too
4 certain what position she held, but she was there.

12:45:22 5 Q. And then after your election, she was one of the people
6 that were then assigned or given the seats based on the NPP win
7 in the election?

8 A. That is correct. She was appointed senator.

9 Q. And senator for what county?

12:45:40 10 A. Montserrado, where she hails from and had a large following
11 in Montserrado, yes.

12 Q. Now, during the time before you became President she
13 assisted you in raising money for the NPFL; isn't that correct?

14 A. No. Grace was basically trying to hit the clock in
12:46:03 15 America. No, she - no. The only person that raised money for
16 the NPFL was Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf. Grace was not involved in
17 that process.

18 Q. No one else raised money for the NPFL but Ellen
19 Johnson-Sirleaf?

12:46:17 20 A. At that particular time, yes, that I know of.

21 Q. When did Grace Minor come back to Liberia from the
22 United States?

23 A. Grace returned, let's say, before I went to Monrovia. I
24 would put that somewhere close to '94, if I am not wrong.

12:46:46 25 Somewhere around 1994. Because she spent some time in Gbarnga
26 and then moved on to Monrovia. So I would put that to around
27 that time.

28 Q. So she didn't come back to Liberia to participate in your
29 NPRAG until sometime around 1994?

1 A. I would put it there. It could be '93, 94, but it's
2 definitely before I go to Monrovia, before Gbarnga falls. So I
3 would put that to '94. It could be maybe as late as the second
4 half of '93. But she is in Gbarnga for some time and then come
12:47:28 5 on to Monrovia. She comes from the states.

6 Q. One of the things that she did for you is to open a bank
7 account for you in Switzerland; isn't that correct?

8 A. Not to my knowledge. Well, what Grace did do - now, what
9 time are you talking about now?

12:47:47 10 Q. This is before you were President during the NPFL days.

11 A. No, I am not aware of that. I am not aware of that. I am
12 aware of a bank account that she opened for me after my
13 presidency. I am not sure before. I don't have any recollection
14 of that.

12:48:04 15 Q. What bank account was that after you were President?

16 A. Similar to American laws, as President I could not get
17 involved in any business transaction. A building that was being
18 used by the Taiwanese embassy was leased, and I could not manage
19 anything as President under our laws. And I do not know where
12:48:38 20 she opened the account, but the lease from that payment was made,
21 and she handled it as a trustee during my presidency.

22 Q. But you don't recall her opening a bank account for you in
23 Switzerland in 1993?

24 A. No. Maybe she did. No, I have no recollection of that.

12:49:03 25 Q. While she was a member of the NPRAG did she travel with you
26 on any trips?

27 A. Yes, Grace travelled on - yes, she did travel on some
28 trips, yes.

29 Q. And in what capacity would she travel with you on these

1 trips?

2 A. Just as probably adviser or friend or so.

3 Q. And when you became President, did she also travel with
4 you?

12:49:40 5 A. Well, depending on it - yes, she made a couple of trips
6 with me, yeah, as chairman - the Senate Chairman on Executive -
7 that function in the Liberian Senate as Chairman of the Committee
8 on Executive puts her in that position to travel on important
9 missions with the President. Yes, she did.

12:50:05 10 Q. What is that committee on executive - what is that on the
11 Liberian Legislature?

12 A. In the Senate it's just - I just know it to be called the
13 Chairman on Executive. There are certain - that committee was
14 responsible for holding what I will call probing talks with the
12:50:29 15 executive branch as maybe bills are evolving, similar - you know,
16 we copy after the American system. You'll get the Chairman on
17 Executive and begin to talk about what you want to do and that
18 chairperson and members of that committee would begin to lay out
19 the programme of other, you know, members of the committee. And
12:50:59 20 then depending on what area that bill would go into, they were
21 mostly the coordinating arm between the presidency and the
22 Senate. That's why they call it Chairman on Executive.

23 Q. So in that capacity she would have had a great deal of
24 interaction with you or your representatives?

12:51:18 25 A. That is correct.

26 Q. And she travelled with you on at least one of your trips to
27 France in 1998?

28 A. That is correct.

29 Q. I believe we saw pictures of her on that trip?

1 A. That is correct.

2 Q. During the time that she was in the NPRAG, she also had
3 made trips on your behalf, did she not? Trips that you didn't go
4 on, but she was sent on your behalf?

12:51:43 5 A. I have to think. I don't recall. Because during the time
6 of the NPRAG, we didn't go to too many places and it was mostly
7 in West Africa. I don't recall having to send her on any travel.
8 I don't recall really. I don't recall.

9 Q. Now, we had mentioned earlier that her daughter married
12:52:15 10 your Foreign Minister Monie Captan, yes?

11 A. That is correct.

12 Q. Did you have any hand in that?

13 A. No.

14 Q. Did you introduce the couple?

12:52:25 15 A. No. As a matter of fact, counsel, I was - there was some
16 problems with that and some confusion evolved because I didn't -
17 at first I really didn't think that it was appropriate, but later
18 on - no, I had nothing to do with it, counsel, nothing.
19 Absolutely.

12:52:43 20 Q. And Grace Minor you said was a good friend. She was very
21 close to you, yes?

22 A. Yes.

23 Q. In fact, some people thought that unofficially she was sort
24 of like your unofficial Prime Minister; isn't that correct?

12:52:56 25 A. Oh, no. I can't speak for what others thought, but no.
26 There was some - no, definitely not. It's just because of her
27 position in the Senate. But I had some very close advisers in
28 government that anyone could have thought in that way, if they
29 wanted to think that way, would be something like an unofficial

1 Prime Minister. But that's not true.

2 Q. And is she still functioning in Liberian government today?

3 A. Not to my knowledge. I have not spoken to Grace in close
4 to seven years during her days in exile in Ghana. Since I left
12:53:42 5 in 2003, I have not spoken to her.

6 Q. Do you know when she went into exile in Ghana?

7 A. Yes. I would put it to about July or thereabouts of 2003.

8 Q. So just before you left?

9 A. Just before I left, that is correct.

12:54:06 10 Q. Dorothy Musuleng-Cooper, you have spoken about her several
11 times. When did you first meet her?

12 A. I first met Dorothy Cooper in - I would put it to about
13 1991.

14 Q. And how did you happen to meet her at that time?

12:54:32 15 A. When I moved to Gbarnga in mid 1991, Dorothy Cooper was - I
16 am not sure of her exact position, but she was a senior official
17 at the Cuttington University College. I am not sure what
18 position she held. As you know, Dorothy held a master's degree,
19 I think in education or something, and she was a senior personnel
12:55:09 20 at the Cuttington University College. She was still there. We
21 did not - nobody bothered the university. She was at the
22 university when I first met her.

23 Q. And remind us: Cuttington College or Cuttington
24 University, that is located in or near what city or town in
12:55:27 25 Liberia?

26 A. Cuttington University College is located in Gbarnga, Bong
27 County, in Liberia.

28 Q. And did she have any involvement in either the NPFL or your
29 NPRAG government?

1 A. Let me just correct something, counsel. Because actually
2 Cuttington is located in a little county called Suahcoco. That's
3 Gbarnga. It's just a little suburb, just in case that comes up.
4 It's Suahcoco, Bong County. Now, I missed your question. I just
12:56:01 5 wanted to correct it.

6 Q. Well, before we get to that question, again can you help us
7 with the spelling of that town?

8 A. I think Suahcoco may be in the record. S-U-A-H-C-O-C-O I
9 think. I would leave it as Suahcoco. It's a little town that is
12:56:25 10 practically in Gbarnga but there's a little differentiation.

11 It's - you say it's in Suahcoco.

12 Q. And Mrs Cooper, did she have any involvement in your NPRAG
13 or NPFL organizations?

14 A. Not the NPFL or NPRAG, no. She was an educator and she - I
12:56:50 15 think she just got to know everyone. Because the legislature for
16 the NPRAG sat in the auditorium of the university - the
17 university auditorium. So her functions really were - as an
18 administrator there, she associated with everyone. But it was
19 not until we put together in '94 the transitional government that

12:57:36 20 we asked her - I would say we seconded her to take the position
21 of Foreign Minister, and she so became Foreign Minister in the
22 government that was headed by Professor David Kpormakpor. She
23 was the Foreign Minister then. But she was really, really
24 seconded to go and she, being a good Liberian, decided that she
12:58:05 25 would do that in the interest of peace.

26 Q. So how long did she hold that position?

27 A. For more than a year. Most of the peace process. She held
28 that position for some time.

29 Q. What time frame?

1 A. I would say for about a year to a year and a half.
2 Throughout Kpormakpor's time.

3 Q. Which was then?

4 A. Kpormakpor headed the first council. I would say that's
12:58:34 5 about '93, '94. Then even during the - shortly, I think, after
6 Kpormakpor, Professor Sankawulo to, I think, a short time before
7 we changed her. But her time was about - I would say a little
8 more than a year.

9 Q. And after you became President, did she hold a position in
12:59:00 10 your government?

11 A. Yes. Later during - I - yes, she did. She became minister
12 of what we call gender, women and children. My government for
13 the first time put together a ministry that would look after the
14 welfare of women and children, and she headed that ministry.

12:59:27 15 Q. And did you also use her in other capacities while you were
16 President?

17 A. Yes. I - while I was President, I put together something
18 like a humanitarian outfit that catered to the needs of young
19 people, disabled people, old women, children. It was called the
12:59:57 20 Charles Ghankay Taylor educational and something foundation, and
21 we catered --

22 Q. Endowment and Humanitarian Foundation?

23 A. Yes, that is correct. And we gave scholarships to needy
24 children. We took care of young children, the old, the hungry
13:00:17 25 and she was in charge of that.

26 Q. And did you use her in any other ways during your
27 presidency?

28 A. Well, you know D Musuleng-Cooper was a very decent woman
29 and I can't recall right now, but I very well could have.

1 Q. She was part of the team that you sent to Lome, yes?

2 A. Yes, yes. Yes, that. Yes, she went both to Lome and then
3 to Freetown. Yes, she went to Lome in 1999 and she went to
4 Freetown in 2000 as head of delegation. That is correct.

13:01:01 5 Q. And in 2000, when she went to Freetown, that delegation was
6 for what?

7 A. That involved to get to Sankoh and she also met Kabbah to
8 get the UN hostages released. That was her mission, to convince
9 Sankoh that the hostages should be released without

13:01:26 10 preconditions.

11 Q. And do you recall if there was anyone else that was sent
12 with her with this objective to Freetown?

13 A. Yes.

14 Q. Who else?

13:01:35 15 A. I recall Joe Tuah went with her. I don't know who else. I
16 don't recall who else went, but Joe Tuah.

17 Q. And Joe Tuah also was part of your team that went to Lome?

18 A. That is correct.

19 Q. And I believe you indicated that Mrs Cooper has passed
13:01:57 20 away?

21 A. That is correct, just not too long.

22 Q. When did she pass away?

23 A. She died about three or four months ago, sadly. I think
24 about three or four months ago.

13:02:09 25 Q. Now, speaking of Joe Tuah, when did you first meet Joe
26 Tuah?

27 A. Joe Tuah was one of my Special Forces. We got together I
28 would say around '80 - 1987 when they went for training.

29 Q. Did you meet him before he went to Libya or in Libya?

1 A. The group had gone to Libya when I met Joe.

2 Q. And where was Joe Tuah from in Liberia?

3 A. Joe is from Nimba County.

4 Q. And do you know his ethnicity or tribe?

13:02:51 5 A. He is Dan, Gio. He is Dan.

6 Q. And during the time of the NPFL, what were his positions in
7 the NPFL?

8 A. Joe being a career military personnel, Joe was commander of
9 the artillery battalion.

13:03:16 10 Q. Did he have any other positions in the NPFL other than
11 that?

12 A. Not that I remember.

13 Q. And where was he assigned during the NPFL time?

14 A. Depending on where an artillery unit was, he would be
13:03:43 15 there. But there was nothing - I don't know of any specific
16 location, but depending on where artillery units were assigned,
17 he would visit them. So he was very much moving around to the
18 best of my knowledge.

19 Q. How many personnel did you have in your artillery - is it a
13:04:05 20 unit, is it a division, what did you call it?

21 A. We called it the artillery division. I don't know the man
22 count of it. But it was not very large. It was given the title
23 because artillery is a specialised area. So I would put it to
24 about maybe about a battalion strength size. No more than that.

13:04:27 25 Q. A battalion. And again remind us in your organisation, a
26 battalion was how many?

27 A. Four or five hundred men.

28 Q. Was he the only commander that you had of the artillery
29 division during the NPFL times?

1 A. I am not sure in the Defence Ministry. I knew him because
2 he was a Special Force. There were other very trained artillery
3 people. We had another Special Forces that was called John Duoh,
4 he is late. But I don't know - as we come down the rank, I don't
13:05:12 5 know who were the other commanders. I don't. I know Joe because
6 he was a Special Force.

7 Q. So he was the only overall commander to your recollection?

8 A. To my recollection at that time, yes.

9 Q. And during your presidency, what position or positions did
13:05:32 10 he hold?

11 A. Well, Joe was doing two things. Following my presidency,
12 Joe really was not involved in any full-time job. He had a title
13 of assistant director. But Joe went back to university. In
14 fact, luckily he has now obtained a master's degree in
13:05:56 15 international relations. Joe opted to go to university and
16 actually as spare time he carried a title of assistant director
17 that worked with the SSS, with the security. But basically Joe
18 went back to school.

19 Q. And assistant director in the SSS, assistant director for
13:06:18 20 what?

21 A. I don't really know, counsel.

22 Q. It was assistant director for intelligence, wasn't it?

23 A. No, no. The assistant director for intelligence was not
24 Joe Tuah. It's a gentleman called Robert Biah. No, Joe didn't
13:06:37 25 hold that title. Robert Biah, that's B-I-A-H. He is now - also
26 he is a lawyer now. He went and got a law degree. No, Joe was
27 not involved. Joe may have worked in that area, I don't know.
28 But, like I say, it was mostly on a part-time basis because he
29 wanted to go back to university and the government sponsored him

1 at the university.

13:07:08 2 Q. Now, Mr Taylor, as I read your answer to, "During your
3 presidency, what position or positions did he hold", what they
4 have recorded is, "Joe was doing two things." Is that what you
5 said?

6 A. Yes.

7 Q. Joe was doing two things?

8 A. Yes, school and that little part-time at the SSS.

13:07:24 9 Q. Okay. Now, if we could look at MFI-28, which are the
10 presidential papers. Page 181 shows a picture entitled "The
11 President's men." Do you see that now, Mr Taylor?

12 A. Yes, I do.

13 Q. And you see that we have here Joseph K Tuah and it says
14 "assistant director without portfolio"?

13:08:37 15 A. Yes.

16 Q. Do you see that, Mr Taylor?

17 A. Yes.

18 Q. What did that mean?

13:08:41 19 A. That's what I explained to the Court. It means that he is
20 just - he basically doesn't have any assignment, without
21 assignment, because he is a student, but he is given that title
22 and he works in and out without portfolio.

23 Q. What sort of things did he do as assistant director without
24 portfolio?

13:08:59 25 A. Joe worked with Benjamin in helping to put programmes
26 together, training programmes for the Secret Service, in-service
27 training, out of service training. That type of scheduling. He
28 worked directly with the director. That's what I meant by
29 without portfolio.

1 Q. If we could look next at page 333, please, where it sets
2 out a listing of the executive branch, the Special Security
3 Service positions. Do you see that, Mr Taylor?

4 A. Yes.

13:09:40 5 Q. And if you look at number 10, it says "Assistant director
6 for intelligence, Captain Joe K Tuah." We are talking about the
7 same Joe Tuah, yes?

8 A. We are talking about the same Joe Tuah, but they are wrong
9 here. To help you, counsel, on the previous picture, the
13:10:00 10 assistant director for intelligence, Robert Biah is on that
11 picture and his title is mentioned there. This is wrongly
12 stated. If you look at that same picture it will tell you Robert
13 Biah is the assistant director and his picture is there.

14 Q. And, Mr Taylor, while we are looking at these positions, we
13:10:19 15 have the director, the Honourable Benjamin Yeaten, and the
16 honourable comes from what?

17 A. The position as director.

18 Q. And he was a Special Forces, yes?

19 A. That is correct.

13:10:32 20 Q. And the deputy director for administration Urias A Taylor,
21 is he related to you?

22 A. The Honourable Urias A Taylor.

23 Q. Okay, honourable. We don't have that there.

24 A. But for the sake of the Court those dotted commas means it
13:10:52 25 falls and it continues.

26 Q. Okay. Is he related to you?

27 A. No, there's no relationship. As a matter of fact his
28 brother, Freddy Taylor, has two children by my sister. So there
29 is no relationship.

1 Q. And then if we look at the deputy director for operations,
2 this would also be Honourable Joseph M Montgomery?

3 A. That is correct, counsel.

4 Q. And I think you have testified for the Court that he was
13:11:20 5 career Secret Service?

6 A. Also Urias Taylor, career. In fact, Urias Taylor I would
7 say some 35, 40 years. He is an older man, older than I am.
8 Yes, all career people. Montgomery and Urias, career.

9 Q. So we have Benjamin Yeaten who was Special Forces, we have
13:11:42 10 Joe K Tuah who was Special Forces. Any of these other names
11 there Special Forces personnel?

12 A. No, counsel. All of the other people, except for Varmuyan
13 Sheriff and Joe Tuah, are all career Secret Service people.
14 Minimum 20 years. All of them.

13:12:02 15 Q. Joe Tuah was a very trusted subordinate of yours, was he
16 not?

17 A. As a Special Forces, yes, I would say.

18 Q. And as one of the Special Forces, he was one of those sets
19 of eyes and ears for you that you have told the Court about?

13:12:20 20 A. Yes, yes.

21 Q. Joe Tuah was also one of your subordinates who was involved
22 in acts of cannibalism, was he not?

23 A. Definitely not. Definitely not.

24 Q. He was in charge of recruitment of your forces in the
13:12:46 25 Ivory Coast, yes?

26 A. Definitely not.

27 Q. Prior to your attack on Liberia?

28 A. Definitely not, no. Joe Tuah was not one of them.

29 Q. He was not in charge of recruitment of your forces in the

1 Ivory Coast?

2 A. No, not at all. Not at all. Not at all.

3 Q. Was he involved in recruiting men for you in the
4 Ivory Coast?

13:13:18 5 A. No, he was not. I have already told the Court the names.
6 No, he was definitely not.

7 Q. He was chairman of mobilisation for the Ivory Coast war,
8 yes?

9 A. For which Ivory Coast war?

13:13:37 10 Q. The war that your subordinates were involved in?

11 A. I had no war in Ivory Coast that my subordinates were
12 involved in and I am not aware of Joe participating in any war in
13 La Cote d'Ivoire.

14 Q. Mr Taylor, after you left the presidency, did you continue
13:13:56 15 to be in contact with Joe Tuah?

16 A. Yes, I talked to Joe once or twice, yes.

17 Q. Joe Tuah is another of those who benefitted financially
18 from his association with you, is he not?

19 A. Not at all. Not at all. Joe was just - still a student
13:14:19 20 when I left and Joe did not hold any official position or
21 anything in government and Joe is struggling. He has struggled
22 through. I understand he is he has now gotten a master's and is
23 still looking for a job. He has not and did not benefit at all,
24 counsel. Not the least. Joe I understand now is suffering in
13:14:42 25 Monrovia trying to get a job. No, definitely not.

26 Q. Mr Taylor, we have mentioned earlier Nathaniel Barnes?

27 A. That is correct.

28 Q. When did you first meet Nathaniel Barnes?

29 A. I would say around 1997.

1 Q. And how did you happen to meet him at that time?

2 A. Nat Barnes was one of those individuals that served as
3 special assistant to my Minister of Finance. He was an aid to
4 the Finance Minister Elie Saleeby that was recruited to work in
13:15:38 5 the Ministry of Finance at the time. And Saleeby brought a few
6 individuals back from the United States to work, and Barnes was
7 one of those individuals.

8 Q. So Nathaniel Barnes, is a he Liberian citizen?

9 A. Oh, yes.

13:15:55 10 Q. And he had got to the United States at some point?

11 A. Yes, he studied, and I think he was working in the States.
12 And Saleeby, upon taking over as Finance Minister, brought a few
13 qualified individuals to work with him.

14 Q. Are you familiar with an organization called Nascorp?

13:16:20 15 A. Nascorp? No, I am not.

16 Q. Now, you indicated that at some point Nathaniel Barnes was
17 your Minister of Finance?

18 A. That is correct.

19 Q. And was this from about September 1999 to July 2002?

13:16:38 20 A. I don't know the exact time, but if you are sure of that
21 construct, I would go along with you. It sounds reasonable. I
22 can accept that.

23 Q. And Nathaniel Barnes was your Minister of Finance during
24 the time that this investigation was going on in your country,
13:17:00 25 was he?

26 A. Which investigation?

27 Q. The United Nations investigation.

28 A. Which investigation, counsel?

29 Q. The one that culminated in the report of December 2000.

1 A. Which report are you referring to?

2 Q. Panel of experts' report.

3 A. He was Finance Minister at that time - yes, during that
4 period, yes.

13:17:24 5 Q. So he was one of the ones that this United Nations panel of
6 experts would have been talking with or trying to talk with as
7 part of this investigation?

8 A. Yes. All of my officials of government were made available
9 to them, so he would have been one of those.

13:17:43 10 Q. Do you know whether he actually cooperated with the panel
11 of experts or not?

12 A. Well, he had instructions to cooperate, so I would assume
13 he did.

14 Q. Who had instructed him to cooperate?

13:17:55 15 A. I did.

16 Q. So if he did not cooperate, that would have been in
17 violation of your instructions?

18 A. I would say so, yes.

19 Q. Mr Taylor, we have also mentioned a person called Elie E
13:18:17 20 Sal eeby?

21 A. Yes.

22 Q. Is he a Liberian citizen?

23 A. Yes, he is.

24 Q. And he at some point, you have indicated also, served as
13:18:44 25 your Finance Minister?

26 A. That is correct.

27 Q. And during what period, if you recall, did he serve - or
28 how long did he serve as your Finance Minister?

29 A. He was the first Finance Minister. From about August 1997

1 to, I would say, somewhere close to the beginning of '99 before
2 he was replaced.

3 Q. And then he takes over as the CBL governor?

4 A. That is correct.

13:19:18 5 Q. He was basically known as your financier, was he not?

6 A. Who, Saleeby?

7 Q. Yes, Mr Saleeby.

8 A. No. Saleeby is - I don't know him to be a man of great
9 means, no.

13:19:34 10 Q. Did he continue to be the governor of the CBL until your
11 departure in August 2003?

12 A. Yes. And by the way, counsel, in fact, Saleeby was not a
13 part of the NPP. Saleeby was - in fact was, and remains, a very
14 close associate of the present President and was a member of the

13:19:56 15 Unity Party in 1997 with Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf, and I recruited
16 him and brought him. So he did not really join me until about
17 that time, because I - what I was doing at that time was I was
18 not looking for who came from which party. All I wanted was
19 Liberians that were qualified at that time to take up the task; I

13:20:23 20 recruited them. And so he came directly from Ellen Johnson's
21 party, the Unity Party, to become Finance Minister. He was never
22 a part of the NPP.

23 Q. Just prior to your --

24 JUDGE DOHERTY: Ms Hollis, can I take it that CBL is the
13:20:45 25 Central Bank?

26 MS HOLLIS: Let me be clear.

27 Q. Mr Taylor, I think you understood that, but I am talking
28 about the Central Bank of Liberia. Thank you, Madam Justice.

29 A. That's it. The Central Bank of Liberia, yes.

1 Q. Mr Taylor, just before you left Liberia in August 2003, the
2 Central Bank of Liberia printed about 700 million Liberian
3 dollars; isn't that correct?

4 A. Just before I left? No.

13:21:10 5 Q. Within about 90 days. Within a 90-day period of your
6 departure?

7 A. I am not sure of what amounts. I really don't know,
8 counsel. Because the amount - the monetary policy, whether it is
9 printed, they did not need the permission from the President or

13:21:30 10 the Government of Liberia to print. The Central Bank of Liberia
11 until now - in fact, the legislation - the restructuring that I
12 put together at the Central Bank in the reorganisation and the
13 creation of the Central Bank is exactly what it is today. In

14 fact, Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf, who is the present President of
13:21:55 15 Liberia, saw the - I gave her copies of the legislation. She
16 went through the restructuring and said that it was a very
17 beautiful plan. I guess that's why no one has touched it. She
18 gave a nod on that plan and it was put through. So it is one of
19 the best central banking systems anywhere. And so what went on
13:22:20 20 before is what is going on now.

21 In direct answer: The printing could have very well
22 happened, but without the knowledge and/or consent of the
23 Government of Liberia. I don't know if they did, how much they
24 did. I am saying it very well could have. I really don't know.

13:22:38 25 Q. So it could have, but you have no knowledge of it?

26 A. I have no knowledge.

27 Q. Have you remained in contact with Mr Saleeby since you left
28 the presidency in August 2003?

29 A. No, I haven't spoken to Elie, no.

1 Q. Mr Taylor, we have also heard the name Roland Duoh?

2 A. Yes.

3 Q. And you have indicated that he was not a Special Forces; he
4 was trained in Liberia?

13:23:11 5 A. That is correct.

6 Q. Where was he from in Liberia?

7 A. Roland Duoh is also from Nimba County.

8 Q. And do you know what ethnic or tribal affiliation he has?

9 A. Yes, he is a Gio, Dan. He is Dan.

13:23:29 10 Q. And when did he become part of the NPFL?

11 A. Counsel, I really do not know. I really do not know when
12 Roland joined the NPFL. Roland came to light sometime I would
13 say, to my knowledge - wow. Sometime around - I would put it to
14 '93, '94 that I got to hear the name, but I do not know when he
15 joined. I have no idea. None whatsoever.

16 Q. Do you know how it was that he came to join the NPFL?

17 A. I really do not know.

18 Q. And when you got to know his name, in what regard did you
19 learn his name?

13:24:35 20 A. There was this man from Nimba that showed a lot of -
21 because he started off with the navy. I think it could have been
22 either when Daniel Chea took over as chief of staff or Coocoo
23 Dennis or one of them. Just in terms of that there was a smart
24 young man that they had in their division that used to do a lot
13:25:09 25 of writings and different things for them. But --

26 Q. And I think you said at some point he was in command of the
27 navy division or he was chief of staff of the navy division?

28 A. At some point. I am talking about coming to the very,
29 very - I would put that to about '96. I would put it to around

1 '96.

2 Q. And was that as the commander or as the chief of staff?

3 A. He grew all the way up to chief of staff. He became chief
4 of staff.

13:25:42 5 Q. So commander of navy division?

6 A. That's correct.

7 Q. And then chief of staff of what?

8 A. But the overall commander is the chief of staff of the
9 navy.

13:25:52 10 Q. So in the navy division, the commander is also the chief of
11 staff of the division?

12 A. The overall commander, yes.

13 Q. He also had the code name Amphibian Father, didn't he?

14 A. Yes, he did.

13:26:09 15 Q. Benjamin Yeaten, did he have a code name Rocket?

16 A. I don't know. The only code name that I know for Benjamin
17 is Unit Fifty. That's all I know.

18 Q. Roland Duoh at some point became in charge of security for
19 various logging companies; isn't that correct?

13:26:37 20 A. I have no knowledge of him being security for various
21 logging companies, counsel, no.

22 Q. You have no knowledge about --

23 JUDGE SEBUTINDE: Sorry, Ms Hollis, exactly who had the
24 code name Amphibian Father? Of all the people you have been
13:26:54 25 mentioning, who was Amphibian Father? Is that Coocoo Dennis?

26 THE WITNESS: No, Roland Duoh.

27 MS HOLLIS:

28 Q. Roland Duoh also had the code name of Amphibian Father;
29 correct, Mr Taylor?

1 A. Not "also". That was his code: Amphibian father.

2 Q. It was his code?

3 A. There was no two different codes. Roland Duoh was called
4 Amphibian Father.

13:27:12 5 Q. Not Cocoo Dennis; but Roland Duoh?

6 A. Not Cocoo; that is correct.

7 Q. The navy division, was there a group within the navy
8 division called the navy Rangers?

9 A. That's possible. I don't know, counsel, you asked me a
13:27:35 10 question, I didn't get to answer it. I don't know as to whether
11 you want me to answer it before this question. I didn't answer,
12 so I don't know what the record shows.

13 Q. Yes, I had asked if Roland Duoh at some point became in
14 charge of security for various logging companies; isn't that
13:27:53 15 correct? And you said, "I have no knowledge of him being
16 security for various logging companies."

17 A. Okay.

18 Q. And I asked, "You have no knowledge about that; is that
19 correct?" You have no knowledge about that?

13:28:05 20 A. I have no knowledge of that. I know he became security for
21 the National Port Authority, but not for logging companies.

22 Q. Now, in terms of the Navy Rangers, you indicated that it's
23 possible, but you don't know?

24 A. I don't know. It's possible.

13:28:23 25 Q. And the Navy Rangers, in fact, had yellow T-shirts with
26 "Navy Rangers" printed on them, did they not?

27 A. I have no knowledge of that, counsel.

28 Q. One of the positions that Roland Duoh held at some point
29 was that he became head of the National Port Authority; isn't

1 that correct?

2 A. No. No, counsel.

3 Q. Now, what was the National Port Authority?

4 A. The National Port Authority, like other public
13:29:03 5 corporations, was responsible for the management of the ports in
6 Liberia; that is, Monrovia Port, the Buchanan Port, the
7 Greenville Port - that's in Sinoe County - and the Harper
8 Maryland Port. There are four seaports in Liberia. That's the
9 function of the National Port Authority. That again is a public
13:29:28 10 corporation. It's not government run.

11 Q. And is there a director or a managing director of the
12 National Port Authority?

13 A. Yes, it's managed by a managing director.

14 Q. And during your presidency, do you recall who that managing
13:29:44 15 director was?

16 A. There were a couple - the last managing director that I
17 remember was a gentleman - is a gentleman called Alphonso Gaye,
18 G-A-Y-E.

19 Q. Now, Roland Duoh, is it possible that he was the head of
13:30:07 20 security for the National Port Authority during your presidency?

21 A. That's what I am saying to you. He was never a managing
22 director in your former question. He was in charge of security
23 of the ports, because as navy commander, he was given that task
24 as chief of security for the port system. That is from Monrovia
13:30:32 25 all the way to Maryland. Now where the information is not right,
26 those ports operated - that's where logs were shipped out of the
27 country. So maybe in the investigations somebody associated that
28 with working. But his function was chief of security for the
29 National Port Authorities. That was his duty.

1 Q. And during what period of time did he have that position?

2 A. From my presidency, throughout my presidency.

3 Q. And those ports would have included Greenville, Buchanan?

4 A. That is correct, all ports.

13:31:09 5 MS HOLLIS: Mr President, I don't know how much time we
6 have.

7 PRESIDING JUDGE: I was just about to say that's an
8 appropriate time to take the lunch break. We will resume at
9 2.30.

13:32:05 10 [Lunch break taken at 1.30 p.m.]

11 [Upon resuming at 2.30 p.m.]

12 PRESIDING JUDGE: Yes, please continue, Ms Hollis.

13 MS HOLLIS: Thank you, Mr President:

14 Q. Mr Taylor, before the luncheon break we were talk about

14:31:59 15 Duoh. It's correct, is it not, that Roland Duoh was the head of
16 security at the Oriental Timber Company from 1999 to 2002?

17 A. That's possible. Maybe it was a private job. But what I
18 recall is the appointment as chief of security of the National
19 Port Authorities. As to whether he worked there in a private
14:32:28 20 capacity, I have no knowledge of that. That could very well be,
21 but I don't know. But he was director of security of the
22 National Port Authority. That was his assignment that I'm aware
23 of.

24 Q. Now, when LURD began their attacks you actually recalled
14:32:45 25 Roland Duoh and Cocoo Dennis to lead units against the LURD,
26 isn't that correct?

27 A. Yes, I recall Roland - all able-bodied experienced fighting
28 people were called, counsel. Everyone. Roland, being former
29 chief of staff of navy, was recalled. Everybody. Every was

1 recalled to try to resist LURD, yes.

2 Q. And they led units that were formed from private security
3 forces of these logging companies, yes?

4 A. No, now you're saying "they". I have said yes to Roland
14:33:27 5 Duoh being recalled. I did not say that I recall Cocoo. So
6 you're saying "they". So Roland - where he recruited people from
7 I don't know, but I did recall Roland to work. Not "they".

8 Q. So Cocoo Dennis you did not recall?

9 A. I did not recall Cocoo. He probably came along. But all
14:33:50 10 of chiefs of staff that we had before were recalled, the chief of
11 staff, and I'm sure they brought men, and you know - so I don't
12 dispute that Cocoo may have come along, but Roland was chief of
13 staff at the time before this - my election, and I recalled all
14 of the chief of staffs to assist in the process.

14:34:11 15 Q. So you have no recollection of Cocoo Dennis being involved
16 as a commander of any units in your fight against the LURD?

17 A. No, I have no recollection of it. It very well could have
18 happened now. I don't know, that's what I'm saying, because I
19 was not involved with Cocoo at that level. The chief of staffs
14:34:33 20 that returned, I was involved with them. It's possible that
21 Roland could have used them, but I don't know.

22 Q. After you left the presidency in August of 2003, did you
23 continue to have contact with Roland Duoh?

24 A. In 2003, yes. Once I had contact with Roland, yes.

14:35:00 25 Q. Was that person contact, or letter, or phone?

26 A. Personal contact.

27 Q. And where was that?

28 A. That was in Calabar in Nigeria. Varmuyan Sheriff and Roland
29 Duoh made a brief visit to me in Calabar.

1 Q. Do you recall when that was?

2 A. Jesus, I'm sorry, counsel, I don't know. That could have
3 been maybe somewhere in 2004, I would speculate. It's somewhere
4 around that time. But Varmuyan Sherif and Roland did visit me in
14:35:37 5 Calabar very briefly.

6 Q. And that was the only contact that you've had Roland Duoh
7 since you left the presidency?

8 A. The only contact I have had with Roland Duoh since I left
9 the presidency, yes.

14:35:56 10 Q. Do you know a person by the name of Jackson Swarray?

11 A. I have heard the name here in the courtroom, but if he came
12 as big as this building, I don't know him.

13 Q. You don't recall him being one of your bodyguards at one
14 time in Liberia?

14:36:23 15 A. I tell you, counsel, I don't recall. There - I have been
16 told by - there was a young - there was a gentleman that is fair
17 in complexion that apparently looks like me, and one of my
18 investigators told me that this person said that he was Jackson
19 Swarray. But I'm telling you, I don't remember the person. That
14:36:57 20 could very well be him, but I don't know him. I don't know him.

21 Q. Do you recall yourself having any personal contact with
22 him?

23 A. If he was a bodyguard or anywhere around me, I would have
24 had some - I mean, not personal, personal relationship, but there
14:37:17 25 would have been some contact, if that's what you mean.

26 Q. Do you recall him working for you in any other capacity?

27 A. No. No, counsel. No, not at all.

28 Q. And do you have any knowledge whether he is associated with
29 that association for the Defence of Charles Taylor?

1 A. Jesus, no, I don't - I don't even know where he is. If I
2 saw him, I don't know. It's possible, but I have no idea. I
3 think Jackson Swarray is Sierra Leonean. He wouldn't be involved
4 with that. I think he's Sierra Leonean, if I'm not mistaken.

14:37:54

5 Swarray? Well, that could be Liberian or Sierra Leonean. No.
6 In direct answer, no. I have no idea if he's associated with
7 that organization.

8 Q. Mr Taylor, Kadiatu Diarra Findley, who is that?

14:38:17

9 A. Kadiatu Diarra Findley served as my special assistant
10 during my presidency.

11 Q. And she is Liberian?

12 A. Yes, she is Liberian of Senegalese parentage. She's born
13 and raised in Liberia. The Diarra - Diarra, her father, I
14 understand, migrated to Liberia many, many, many years ago and
15 had all his children. So she's Liberian but she's - Diarra is
16 Senegalese.

14:38:48

17 Q. And Kadiatu, Mr Taylor, how do you spell Kadiatu?

18 A. I would say K-A-D-I-Y-A-T-U. I could be wrong about that.
19 Kadiatu.

14:39:09

20 Q. And Diarra?

21 A. I think that Diarra is D-A-R-R-A, [sic] if I'm not
22 mistaken. I think it's D-A-R-R-A, Diarra.

23 Q. And Findley, how do you spell that?

14:39:33

24 A. I think that Findley, I think, is F-I-N-D-L-E-Y, if I'm not
25 mistaken.

26 Q. How did you first meet Kadiatu Diarra Findley?

27 A. I met - I first met Kadiatu in 1990. 1990. What am I
28 saying 1990? Hold it. 1980, when we came to - I came to
29 Liberia, she was a little girl. She was working, partly being

1 cared for by Grace Minor. That's how I met her.

2 Q. To your knowledge, what educational background does
3 Ms Diarra Findley have?

14:40:38 4 A. She has a BSC degree. I'm not sure in what discipline. I
5 think it's either in political science or something like that,
6 but she does have a BSC degree.

7 Q. Did she have any part in either your NPFL or the NPRAG?

8 A. No.

9 Q. To your knowledge, was she living in the NPFL-controlled
14:41:03 10 territories prior to the elections?

11 A. Yes. Kadiatu was living in the NPFL-controlled area prior
12 to elections, yes.

13 Q. Was she staying with Grace Minor?

14 A. No, no, no. Not at that time, no.

14:41:23 15 Q. Would you consider her a close confidant of yours during
16 your presidential years?

17 A. Well, Kady was my special assistant. Close confidant? I
18 wouldn't go that far, no.

19 Q. What were her duties as your special assistant?

14:41:46 20 A. Kady handled special messages, little jobs that I wanted
21 done, things that I called for some movement. She was
22 specifically responsible for the covert budget that paid the ATU
23 and some other covert agencies.

24 Q. So in addition to the ATU, what other agencies would she
14:42:30 25 have been responsible for paying?

26 A. Well, depending on - these are still secrets. I'm not sure
27 if - these are Liberian government secrets. If there were any
28 special operations or something of that sort, the funding for
29 those operations, once approved, she would handle the

1 disbursement. Whether it was NAS, national security. I think
2 you know, counsel, these fundings sometimes come in bulk amounts,
3 and let's say they are not spelt out in the national budget and
4 this is what confused a lot of people, what I have seen some of
14:43:19 5 the reports, but it happens everywhere. And her job would be,
6 let's say if a certain amount came, maybe through something like
7 a presidential budget but it was intended for a covert
8 intelligence payment, that lump sum would be delivered. That's
9 what she did, confidentially, yes.

14:43:42 10 Q. Was she involved in payments to the Special Security
11 Service as well?

12 A. No, no, no. The special security was paid through the
13 Ministry of Finance under the government budget.

14 Q. And you said that she would also be responsible for special
14:44:00 15 messages. What kind of messages were those?

16 A. If I had, let's say, to get a, you know, quick message to a
17 friend of mine - Presidents have friends too - she would run on
18 little errands, to do little errands and that kind of stuff.

19 Q. So in addition to these jobs on behalf of you in your
14:44:29 20 personal capacity and the management of the - or the distribution
21 of the covert budget, did she have other official duties as your
22 special assistant?

23 A. That's it. That was what the special assistant covered.
24 She would attend meetings. She would take notes in meeting.

14:44:49 25 That would go through the Ministry of State because that - even
26 though she was special assistant, she worked under the chief of
27 staff in the Ministry of State.

28 Q. Her duties also involved paying out sums in cash, isn't
29 that correct?

1 A. That is correct.

2 Q. And she would get those cash sums from you, isn't that
3 correct?

4 A. Well, from me, that is not correct. From a budget
14:45:16 5 attributed to the President, yes.

6 Q. But not from you directly?

7 A. Not from me directly, no.

8 Q. Was she also the owner of a hotel in Monrovia?

9 A. Yeah. I think Kady does own - she does own some place that
14:45:44 10 is used - people use it up and down. I don't know if it's a
11 hotel, but - I don't know what all she owns, but I do think she
12 owns some place that she rents out rooms. I'll not sure if it's
13 a hotel, but I know she's involved in the renting business.

14 Q. Do you know if that's in the Sinkor area of Monrovia?

14:46:02 15 A. Yes, I think it is, yes, somewhere in the Sinkor area.

16 Q. Now, when you say a budget attributed to the President, can
17 you tell us what all would be involved in that budget attributed
18 to the President?

19 A. Well, they use titles. There are general titles that would
14:46:28 20 be used to hide - nobody really knew except maybe the committees
21 in the House of Representatives or the Senate, no one actually
22 gets to know - like even the United States - the actual CIA
23 budget, nobody knows it. Maybe the President does, but that's
24 not public. For example, you would see an account under the
14:46:53 25 presidential account called special projects. That would be a
26 code name for money going to some intelligence operation and so
27 that's the kind of thing that you will find.

28 Q. So we would have payments to the ATU, we would have
29 payments for these special operations, special covert operations.

1 Anything else in the budget attributed to the President?

2 A. Not that I --

3 Q. Any other categories?

4 A. Not that I can recall right now.

14:47:27 5 Q. And while you were President, how much money would be in
6 that budget attributed to the President, do you recall?

7 A. I really don't know. The budgets are done by the Ministry
8 of State. The President is not involved. Those amounts come
9 from recommendations from agencies. Sometimes some special

14:47:46 10 allowance. But that's with the Ministry of State. Only they
11 would know. I really don't know the amounts.

12 Q. During what time frame did Ms Diarra Findley act as your
13 special assistant?

14 A. Throughout my presidency.

14:48:00 15 Q. And did she remain in Liberia after you left the
16 presidency?

17 A. I can't say for sure. I know that she was not well and she
18 left Liberia. She was seriously ill and she left Liberia just
19 before - about a month before I left office, she had gone to

14:48:29 20 receive very critical medical attention and I don't know when she
21 returned. I do know now that she is back in Liberia, but I don't
22 know if she was out for any extended period of time, because I
23 was not in direct contact with her while I was in exile in

24 Nigeria before my arrest. During my time in Nigeria, I spoke to
14:48:59 25 her once in the United States - once or twice in the United
26 States. But I don't know when she left.

27 Q. Have you had any contact with her since those one or two
28 contacts?

29 A. No, I have no contacts with her.

1 Q. Now, you've also told the Court about a person who is
2 referred to as Kai and you indicated that he was in charge of
3 your armoury at White Flower?

4 A. No, I don't think I ever told this Court that.

14:49:31 5 Q. Who was Kai?

6 A. That he was in charge of my armoury at White Flower. I
7 never said that.

8 Q. Who was Kai?

9 A. Kai served as the governor at White Flower, but Kai also
14:49:46 10 worked as - he controlled the warehouse for the Secret Service
11 that was located near White Flower.

12 Q. That's in that white building that we looked at earlier on
13 those photographs?

14 A. That is correct.

14:50:03 15 Q. Just outside the fence?

16 A. That is correct, counsel.

17 Q. And Kai, is that his full name?

18 A. No. The name that - we call him Kai, but he is Ignatius
19 Kai. We just call him Kai, which is Via, which means man, Kai.

14:50:32 20 Q. How do you spell Kai?

21 A. K-A-I.

22 Q. And Ignatius?

23 A. Ignatius, the regular way. I going to need some help on
24 that. I can't help.

14:51:01 25 Q. How long did Kai hold that position as governor and also in
26 charge of the warehouse at the SSS building?

27 A. I would say from about - now, there are two questions now.
28 Let me try if I can split it up because there are two.

29 Q. Break it down. Governor?

1 A. Governor, I would say from about '97 I would put it to,
2 '97, '98 as governor.

3 Q. Until?

4 A. I become President. He becomes governor.

14:51:56 5 Q. Until?

6 A. Until my departure. As a matter of fact, Kai still carries
7 the title as governor. He still works at White Flower now.

8 Q. Who does he work for now?

9 A. He works for my wife. He works for my family. He works
14:52:11 10 for me.

11 Q. What were his duties as governor while you were at White
12 Flower?

13 A. White Flower was my private residence. The employees at my
14 private residence were not employed at the Executive Mansion.

14:52:35 15 They worked only there. His responsibility was there to make
16 sure that the grounds - all of the employees, the cooks, the yard
17 people, the cleaners, all of these people worked under him. It
18 was his responsibility for White Flower.

19 Q. Was he employed by you privately or did he have a
14:53:03 20 government employment?

21 A. He was employed by me privately because he was not paid by
22 the Government of Liberia. He was employed by me, so I had to
23 pay him. The government did not pay him.

24 Q. And during the time that he performed this function as
14:53:22 25 governor, where did he live?

26 A. Kai had a little place not too far from White Flower, just
27 I would say within a stone's throw of White Flower building, of
28 my fence, outside.

29 Q. And if we recall the layout of your house, you said he

1 lived a stone's throw. Was it down the slope toward Benjamin
2 Yeaten's house or was it in another direction?

3 A. Yeah, in that direction. The area - when we were reviewing
4 the photos, I think the President of the Court asked about an
14:54:02 5 area where the wire came across the fence and I said that right
6 across that area there was supposed to be some - a little - some
7 palm trees and different things. Kai is right in that section
8 after those palm trees. He's right there.

9 Q. So, as I recall the picture, you had the fence with the
14:54:22 10 wire and then you had described an area with palm trees and then
11 there was the road going down?

12 A. Yes.

13 Q. So his house would be on the other side of that road?

14 A. No. His house would be between that road and my fence.

14:54:35 15 Q. Okay.

16 A. So he's in that section.

17 Q. So he's on your orchard side on the road?

18 A. That is correct, yes.

19 Q. And he lived there that entire time as he was governor?

14:54:45 20 A. I can't be sure. I can't be sure, counsel. When I did get
21 to know where Kai was living, he was living there. Now, he could
22 have lived somewhere else before then, because I don't move to
23 White Flower until 1999. But before then I doubt very much if he
24 was living there, because between 1997 - I become President in
14:55:13 25 '99 - I'm not living up there. I'm living next to the German
26 embassy. But I do not know where he was living at that time.

27 Q. Then being in charge of the warehouse, during what time
28 period was he in charge of the warehouse?

29 A. That warehouse did not come into being until I moved over

1 there when the Secret Service moved there. That would be - that
2 warehouse up there, about '99. That's when - because everywhere
3 we were, you know, that warehouse was not there. It was where it
4 is now from '99.

14:55:53 5 Q. Now, Kai, as he seems to be referred to, did he have any
6 other names or aliases?

7 A. Not that I know of. He may very well have. I really don't
8 know.

9 Q. And when did you first meet him?

14:56:07 10 A. Kai was in Gbarnga all the way back - Kai was in Gbarnga.
11 So Kai worked in Gbarnga. I first got to know Kai - I would put
12 it to about '93. Because when Gbarnga fell, Kai was there
13 working with another lady that managed - he worked with another
14 lady that was in charge of the very functions that he's carrying
14:56:43 15 out now in Gbarnga. There was a lady that was responsible for
16 that and Kai worked with her, and so I would put it to about '93,
17 or it could have even been earlier.

18 Q. So he worked at your residence in Gbarnga?

19 A. No, he was not - she had the function - he worked with
14:57:07 20 warehousing in Gbarnga, so he was involved with warehousing. He
21 did not work at my residence at that time in Gbarnga, no.

22 Q. And you said there was a lady there that had his function.
23 What function are you referring to there?

24 A. Well, I don't know how they call it. Governess?

14:57:26 25 Q. Was that for your residence?

26 A. That is correct.

27 Q. When you said that he worked with her, did he work at your
28 residence and the warehouse or --

29 A. No, Kai did not work at my residence in Gbarnga, no. He

1 worked mostly at the warehouse.

2 Q. At that time was he a member of your NPFL or was he a
3 private employee?

14:57:57 4 A. No, not private employee. Kai was more - I'm not sure how
5 to describe it, counsel, but you can call it member of the NPFL.
6 He was not a soldier or anything. He worked in the area where we
7 had food and clothing and medicine and all that kind of stuff.
8 But at that particular time that was NPFL/NPRAG. There was
9 nothing private like when we moved to Monrovia, what I do after
14:58:19 10 I'm elected as President.

11 Q. So he would have been in what unit or part of the NPFL
12 working with the warehouse and supplies and things?

13 A. Kai was then the - he was then known as the G4.

14 Q. G4?

14:58:37 15 A. He was working with G4.

16 Q. Working with the G4?

17 A. That area is G4.

18 Q. Is he a Liberian?

19 A. Yes, he's Vai from - Vai Kpelle from Grand Cape Mount
14:58:58 20 County.

21 Q. And after you left White Flower, did he continue his work
22 there uninterrupted?

23 A. He was interrupted by your search. He was interrupted by
24 that.

14:59:10 25 Q. But in terms of his job, there was no time that he left and
26 came back?

27 A. Not to my knowledge. I don't know. I don't think Kai -
28 you mean, like, to abandon the job and then return? Is that what
29 you mean, counsel?

1 Q. Yes, to leave the job and then return.

2 A. No, Kai didn't. Not to my knowledge, no. If it happened
3 then I was not informed, but I doubt very much if it did.

4 Q. All right, Mr Taylor, I'd like to turn to another area now.

15:00:01 5 Mr Taylor, you have told the Court - and we have talked about it
6 again - about your escape from jail in the United States and
7 eventually making your way back to West Africa to Ghana?

8 A. That is correct.

9 Q. Why did you go to Ghana?

15:00:14 10 A. Well, at the time - it's strange there. I had not known
11 West Africa a lot, but one of the individuals that was involved
12 with General Quiwonkpa, Dr Henry Baoma Fahnbulleh, Dr Fahnbulleh,
13 we knew each other from government. Fahnbulleh served in the Doe
14 government as Minister of Education and Foreign Minister. I was
15:00:53 15 in contact with Dr Fahnbulleh during the time of the crisis
16 involving General Quiwonkpa, and he had suggested that I just
17 come on down to Ghana because he - they had some very good
18 friends in Ghana and that was those that were in authority.
19 That's how I came.

15:01:14 20 Q. And when you say you were in contact with him during the
21 crisis, what time period exactly are you talking about?

22 A. From the time I got out, the crisis was going on.
23 Fahnbulleh, he gets to Ghana, I think, some two or three weeks -
24 I can't be exact - after the Quiwonkpa situation, and then
15:01:48 25 contacts are made.

26 Q. And when did you arrive in Ghana?

27 A. Oh, boy. I arrived in Ghana, I would say, about three
28 months after I got out of Plymouth. So that would put me to '85
29 or thereabouts, I think. I'm not too certain, but some three

1 months after I get out I finally get to Ghana.

2 Q. So still in 1985, you think?

3 A. I would say thereabouts. It depends. It could be early
4 '86, but I would put it to three months. So I get out late - I
15:02:38 5 would put it to late '85, early '86 or thereabouts.

6 Q. And who accompanied you to Ghana, if anyone?

7 A. No one. I came alone.

8 Q. How long were you in Ghana after you had arrived there?

9 A. I was in Ghana - now let me just - to make it clear, you
15:03:09 10 know I'm incarcerated now, so are you talking about how long
11 before I get incarcerated, or total?

12 Q. How long are you in Ghana before you leave Ghana?

13 A. Finally? I finally leave Ghana in 1987. So I would put it
14 to about close to two years or thereabouts. I finally leave in
15:03:44 15 1987.

16 Q. How long were you in Ghana before you were arrested?

17 A. The first time I was in Ghana for about - I would say about
18 a month and I was arrested. Or less. About a month.

19 Q. How long were you held during that arrest?

15:04:06 20 A. That first time, for about four months.

21 Q. Before you were arrested this first time you'd been in
22 Ghana about a month, had Agnes come to join you in Ghana at that
23 time?

24 A. Let me see. I'm not certain, but I want to believe so,
15:04:37 25 yes. She comes after I arrive, yes. I think she does come maybe
26 two weeks after I arrive in Ghana.

27 Q. So before that first arrest?

28 A. I want to believe so, counsel. I will have to reflect on
29 that a little more. But I think she does come before the first

1 arrest.

2 Q. And at this point in time are you married to Agnes?

3 A. By this particular time, no, we are still not married.

4 I've just separated from my wife Tupee and we are not, at this
15:05:14 5 time, married.

6 Q. So you're in jail for about four months?

7 A. Yes.

8 Q. And who was it who arrested you?

9 A. I was arrested by the Ghanaian authorities, an agency

15:05:26 10 called the BNI. I think that's the Bureau of National

11 Investigation. I can't be 100, per cent but I think it's the

12 Bureau of National - I'm sure of the acronym BNI. As to what it

13 really means I don't want to speculate. But it was the BNI. I

14 remember that very well.

15:05:49 15 Q. And why were you arrested that first time?

16 A. Well, I was arrested, and it was said that the conditions

17 under which I had escaped from the United States was a trick and

18 that I had been sent as an agent of the CIA to spy on the new

19 Marxist-Leninist government. That was what I was told I was

15:06:25 20 arrested for.

21 Q. Were you actually charged with spying or espionage?

22 A. Well, by "charge", I was not taken to any court. All of

23 the investigations were done by the BNI. I was held in an area

24 called the Accra region, wherever that is, somewhere in a cell

15:06:48 25 area down there with some other political detainees at the Accra

26 region, and after some time I just released and told, "You are

27 granted stay in Ghana."

28 Q. Were you an agent for the CIA while you were in Ghana?

29 A. Never. No.

1 Q. Were you reporting back information to the United States on
2 this new regime?

3 A. No. I had no contacts - had never had any contacts with
4 the CIA, no. But at this time, Ghana and the American government
15:07:27 5 are at serious loggerheads. I think they just had an incident of
6 a spy situation where the cousin of Jerry Rawlings, a gentleman
7 called Mike Susidis had been arrested in the United States in
8 charge of espionage, and the Rawlings government arrested some
9 Ghanaians and some other people. It was a big diplomatic

15:08:00 10 situation, and so expulsions, arrests and different things. And
11 so because of the long relationship between Liberia and the
12 United Nations and what they describe as my somewhat questionable
13 - the somewhat questionable way in which I got out of the maximum
14 security prison, that it could not have happened except I worked
15:08:25 15 for the CIA, and that was the general situation at the time. The
16 Susidis, that name, I think it's on the record. It's already
17 spelled before on the records, if I'm not mistaken.

18 Q. Once you got out - how was that arranged that you were able
19 to get out of jail?

15:08:45 20 A. Counsel, I really don't know. I was released, I got out,
21 and Dr Fahnbulleh told me that he had been working hard to
22 explain to the government that there was no connection that I had
23 with the CIA. But what happened outside there to obtain my
24 arrest - I mean, my release, I really don't know.

15:09:06 25 Q. And then after you got out of jail what did you do?

26 A. After I got out of jail we sat about, me, Dr Fahnbulleh,
27 myself and one of Tom Kamara, the famous writer of the New
28 Democrat newspaper in Monrovia who was there at the time, another
29 gentleman called Commany Wisseh, who is now the Liberian

1 ambassador to Brussels, we were all part of the dissident forces
2 at that time. We sat about immediately trying to find
3 alternative means to restart the revolution that had been stopped
4 by the death of General Quiwonkpa.

15:09:50 5 Q. So after you got of jail this time - and was Agnes still in
6 Ghana when you got out of jail that first time?

7 A. Counsel, I tell you, I don't want to get caught up on this
8 one. I'm assuming - I know Agnes was there for my second arrest.
9 I'm trying to figure if she was really there. If she arrived
15:10:13 10 before my arrest, then she was still there because she never left
11 again, okay. I can't be too certain about the first, but the
12 second arrest I'm very certain. So I'm in a little boxed
13 position here because I can't really recall, as I said to you
14 earlier, if she was in Ghana, but I think she did come. And if
15:10:37 15 she came, she was there.

16 Q. So did you leave Ghana and return before your second
17 arrest?

18 A. Yes, many times.

19 Q. So how long did you stay in Ghana after you got out of jail
15:10:47 20 before you left?

21 A. I stayed there, we held discussions and then I started
22 moving mostly between Accra and Ivory Coast and Accra,
23 Ouagadougou. So I moved quite a lot.

24 Q. And after this first arrest, when you began moving to those
15:11:07 25 different points, where was your place - your main place of
26 residence at that time?

27 A. Still in - I was living - after I got of jail I was living
28 at a place in Ghana called McCarthy Hill. An individual that was
29 held in prison that was at least detained during the time of my

1 detention, we were together, from a very well-known family in
2 Ghana, a gentleman by the name of Samuel Appenteng. I think it's
3 A-P-P-E-N-T-E-N-G. Appenteng gave me and Agnes a place to stay.
4 So she is in Ghana by this time I'm sure when I'm out because we
15:12:03 5 lived at McCarthy Hill based on the goodwill of Mr Appenteng.

6 Q. And how long is it before your second arrest?

7 A. I would put it to six, seven months, I'm going and coming.
8 There is a little problem though before I'm arrested and so - but
9 I go and come. I would put it to about seven, eight months.

15:12:33 10 Q. Seven or eight months?

11 A. Yeah.

12 Q. And why do you say you were arrested this second time?

13 A. Well, we began talking - by "we" I'm referring to Commany
14 Wisseh, Tom Kamara, Dr Fahnbulleh - all of us punched out trying
15:13:01 15 to find ways and means of restarting things, as I mentioned.
16 Now, not as much for Dr Fahnbulleh because he's a very good man,
17 he's a decent man, but Commany Wisseh and Tom Kamara were what I
18 would call die hard Marxist-Leninists. Commany Wisseh and his
19 mother organisation had very strong links in North Korea. In
15:13:34 20 fact, Commany Wisseh spent more than 60 per cent of his time in
21 Pyongyang and had, I even understand, an apartment there and he
22 worked very closely with the then Marxist government of Rawlings.

23 I had problems with Marxism and so I told him that I could
24 never be a Marxist and that I would punch out on my own. So I
15:14:03 25 made all of the arrangements for the beginning of pushing forward
26 my own ideological leanings, which was far from Marxism. And we
27 were about to move men to training and I think they - I think Tom
28 and Commany, wanting to stop me, asked the government to hold me,
29 so all the government did was to pick me up and put me in

1 Usherford State Prison and held me there. Didn't say anything to
2 me. They just held me there for another eight months. Just held
3 me there. And all they said to me was that I was engaged in some
4 actions that were not explained to them and that it was not
15:14:59 5 consistent with their permitting me to remain in Ghana, but I
6 just think was a trick to stop me.

7 Q. So you come to Ghana, you are in Ghana about a month,
8 you're arrested for the first time, you're in jail for about four
9 months, and then some six or seven, or seven or eight months
15:15:21 10 after that you're arrested for the second time?

11 A. That is correct. I'm arrested twice in Ghana. That is
12 correct.

13 Q. Mr Taylor, you were arrested for the second time because
14 you were recruiting an anti-Rawlings group in Ghana, were you
15:15:34 15 not?

16 A. No, counsel, I wouldn't be stupid to do that, no. You see,
17 that's what they tried to do to hold me. I was recruiting the
18 very Special Forces that you know now. I was recruiting them to
19 go for training. But in order to use that propaganda, they used
15:15:55 20 it to really stop me.

21 Q. You were recruiting from the boys brigade, were you not,
22 which was an anti-Rawlings group in Ghana?

23 A. No, that is not correct. In la Cote d'Ivoire there were a
24 lot of Ghanaian dissidents in la Cote d'Ivoire. And if you look
15:16:19 25 among the Special Forces, there are no Ghanaians. But I'm saying
26 to you quite earnestly, counsel, that was a trick that those boys
27 put together to stop me. If I was recruiting from the boys
28 brigade, for example, they would have ended up in Libya for
29 training. If you look at my Special Forces, they are all

1 Li beri ans.

2 Q. Mr Taylor, that actually was the truth, wasn't it, that you
3 were recruiting and that's why you were arrested? It wasn't a
4 guise. It was the truth.

15:16:48 5 A. It was not the truth. It's a blatant, blatant lie.
6 Whoever said it, it's a lie. Never.

7 Q. In fact, the first time that you were arrested, Mr Taylor,
8 wasn't because they thought you were a CIA agent, but because you
9 were involved with these others in revolutionary politics in
10 Ghana?

15:17:05 11 A. Well, counsel, now, that's an impossibility. Counsel, I
12 arrived on an aircraft, spent a very short time in Ghana, meet
13 most of the people, know nobody in Ghana, just about - that's
14 definitely, definitely not true. I'm with Dr Fahnbulleh. I'm
15 with even the personal secretary to Rawlings, a guy called Alex
16 Ayeh. I think A-Y-E-H. There is no such nonsense. Total.

17 Q. You knew Dr Fahnbulleh before you went to Ghana, did you
18 not, Mr Taylor?

19 A. Yes, I did. Yes.

15:17:47 20 Q. And you knew others who were there with him?

21 A. Yes, I mentioned that I knew Commany Wisseh.

22 Q. Before you went there?

23 A. Yes. And these were the people that I associated with when
24 I got there. Yes, I knew them.

15:18:05 25 Q. And you say that this second time you were held for
26 approximately eight months in jail?

27 A. I would say so, yes.

28 Q. And then when you got out of jail the second time, how long
29 did you remain in Ghana?

1 A. 48 hours. I was released, based on the intervention of the
2 Burkina Faso government, and Ghana gave me 48 hours to leave Ghana.
3 48 hours. From jail, I packed and drove to Abidjan and took a
4 flight to Ouagadougou. 48 hours.

15:18:40 5 Q. And did Agnes go with you?

6 A. Yes.

7 Q. By this time, are you married to Agnes?

8 A. Yes.

9 Q. Mr Taylor, you had mentioned in Ghana becoming good friends
15:18:54 10 with the Burkina Faso ambassador to Ghana, Ambassador Mamouna
11 Ouattara?

12 A. That is correct.

13 Q. When did you strike up that friendship?

14 A. That was immediately after my first release that I struck
15:19:15 15 up that relationship. She was a very strong revolutionary, and
16 Sankara, the President at that time, was a personal, personal
17 friend of Rawlings and so he sent a very strong person then, so I
18 struck up that relationship after my release.

19 Q. After your release from the first arrest?

15:19:38 20 A. That is correct.

21 Q. And how actually did that happen that you struck up this
22 relationship? How did you get to know this woman?

23 A. You know, we were throwing ideas around. Who do we go to
24 get some help to restart this thing? Some people tried Algeria.

15:20:01 25 We were interested in trying out anybody and Sankara was known as
26 a very strong revolutionary, and so we - I think it was through a
27 mutual friend, I don't remember quite who, that suggested that we
28 meet the ambassador and even set up the appointment. I don't
29 recall who did, but it was through a personal contact.

1 Q. And did the ambassador or the Government of Burkina Faso
2 have any involvement in getting you released on your second
3 arrest?

4 A. Yes, yes.

15:20:46 5 Q. Through whom did they work to arrange that release?

6 A. Well, Thomas had started talking to Jerry about releasing
7 me. That was being discussed, from what I understood. And then
8 while I was still incarcerated, Thomas was killed in the coup

9 d'etat and then Blaise, his successor, continued this contact and
15:21:18 10 I was released I would say within the - I would put it to about
11 the second or third week after the situation there and I asked to
12 leave the country.

13 Q. Ambassador Ouattara, was she related in any way to Blaise
14 Compaore?

15:21:36 15 A. No. Mamouna, no. Mamouna was not. Blaise is Mussi and
16 Mamouna is Julia Mandingo. So, no, I don't think they were
17 related. The late Mamouna. She's late.

18 Q. So when was it, by your recollection, that you actually
19 went to Burkina Faso after this second arrest?

15:22:03 20 A. 1987.

21 Q. Do you recall when Thomas Sankara was killed?

22 A. No, I'm sorry, I can't recall. It was more towards I think
23 around the middle of '87 or thereabout. Somewhere in there. I
24 don't recall the exact month.

15:22:30 25 Q. And it was Blaise Compaore who took over after Sankara was
26 killed, yes?

27 A. That is correct.

28 Q. In fact, it was Blaise Compaore who was responsible for the
29 killing of Sankara, isn't that correct?

1 A. I can't say with any certainty. I was not present. I was
2 in jail and I think I would be misleading if I were to speculate.
3 I don't know, counsel.

15:22:53 4 Q. Now, Mr Taylor, how long were you in Burkina Faso before
5 you made your first trip to Libya?

6 A. I spent very short time before I went. While I'm in jail -
7 mind you, counsel, all the contacts had been made, I'm in jail,
8 people are sent while I'm still incarcerated. So as soon as I
9 get into Burkina Faso, I would say short order, I arranged a fast
15:23:31 10 trip because, if I recall properly, I think the first and second
11 groups have already gone to Libya, so I think I proceed almost
12 immediately on short order to go and visit with them.

13 Q. And so when is this that you proceed to go visit with them?

14 A. Counsel, I tell you, I would put that to the last quarter
15:23:55 15 of '97, because one of the trips - one of the trips that I make
16 to Libya, I can remember, is December 1987, very late, the last
17 few days of December of 1987. I recall that very, very, very
18 clearly. That sticks out in my mind. But I had made a previous
19 trip. So that I want to put it to maybe the last three, four
15:24:28 20 months of 1997.

21 Q. 1987?

22 A. 1987, excuse me.

23 Q. That was your first trip?

24 A. Yes, I made a trip and I think this was my second trip -
15:24:37 25 second or third by December.

26 Q. So when was your first trip?

27 A. I can't recall really. I would say as soon as I figure out
28 when I was released from Ghana - like, I don't recall the month -
29 I'll be able probably - as we go along, I will be able to recall

1 that. But I don't recall exactly when the first trip was made.

2 Q. And how did you make this connection with Libya?

3 A. Once I'm introduced to the ambassador, the ambassador,
4 Memuna, now talks with her boss, President Sankara. I make a

15:25:29 5 trip before I'm arrested the second time - in fact, I make a

6 couple of trips to Burkina Faso. I meet with the senior

7 leadership, including the President and Vice-President, and an

8 introduction is made to the Libyan ambassador accredited near

9 Ouagadougou, and that's how the contact gets made.

15:25:53 10 Q. And who was that?

11 A. Gee, I don't remember the gentleman's name. I don't really
12 remember, counsel, what his name is now. But he makes the
13 contacts.

14 Q. So during the time that your people are training in Libya,
15:26:18 15 how many times do you actually go to Libya?

16 A. I would say not more than a half dozen times. I would say
17 far less. Not more than - I would put it to a maximum of six
18 times.

19 Q. How do you arrange these trips?

15:26:42 20 A. There is air traffic between Ouagadougou and Tripoli. The
21 Russian airline Aeroflot has regulars trips from Ouagadougou and
22 Tripoli, so we - I would take a normal flight to Libya, to
23 Tripoli.

24 Q. Do you require travel documents when you make these trips?

15:27:10 25 A. Yes, I require that. You needed travel documents, yes.

26 Q. And what travel documents did you use for these trips?

27 A. I had a Liberian passport, if I'm not mistaken. Yeah, I
28 had a Liberian passport that I used to travel.

29 Q. Did you need any other travel document other than your

1 passport?

2 A. No, not - except for - well, during that time - well, not a
3 travel document, but a document required for travelling like what
4 we call a yellow book for vaccinations. Other than that, I
15:27:56 5 didn't require any other travel document, no.

6 Q. So when you travelled to Libya all these times you
7 travelled in your name, Charles Taylor?

8 A. Oh, definitely.

9 Q. And when you went to Libya the first time, how long did you
15:28:09 10 remain there?

11 A. To help, counsel, I would say about maybe a week. It could
12 be a week, it could be a week and a half. I would not stay for
13 any extended periods of time.

14 Q. And during that first trip for a week or a week and a half,
15:28:36 15 who did you meet with?

16 A. Just the members of the Mataba, and then I visited with -
17 like, I remember I mentioned to you that the first two groups
18 have already travelled to Libya. I visit them in the camp. Some
19 of them did not know me. Some of them, it was the first time
15:28:55 20 they had ever seen me. They had heard the name. So I visited
21 and introduced myself to them.

22 Q. And when you arrived, who in the Libyan government was
23 responsible for coordinating your activities or setting you up to
24 attend the Mataba?

15:29:15 25 A. It differs. There's no specific person. Whoever the
26 protocol sent, they would just - it was not a big deal. A
27 protocol officer would come, receive you at the airport and take
28 you to the guesthouse, and you would just - you would stay there
29 and then attend meetings. That's all. There was no specific -

1 they say John Brown picks you up at this time. No, none of that.

2 Q. How did you establish your credentials with the Libyan
3 government that you were allowed to just go to this Mataba?

4 A. Well, the recommendation came from a revolutionary brother,
15:29:52 5 and so it was simple. It was simple. I had been recommended,
6 you remember, through the Burkina Faso government through Sankara
7 and through their bureau in Ouagadougou, and so for those months,
8 and the fact that we had already sent people, it was based on
9 recommendation from Sankara.

15:30:21 10 Q. And when you were at the Mataba, what exactly were your
11 activities there?

12 A. Nothing really. My main activity in Libya was to be there
13 to try to visit and comfort my men. While there if there was a
14 conference, you would attend it. Other than that, you just had a
15:30:47 15 lodging place and you would just be there, and if anybody wanted
16 to see you, they would come and see you. If you wanted to go
17 shopping in town, you could go shopping. But there was not like
18 an everyday routine programme, no. You get there, you're taken
19 to your guest room, you're there, you eat our meals, and if there
15:31:09 20 were any activities going on they would invite you, and there
21 were meetings of different, different people. If there are other
22 pan-African groups that would be visiting, any pan-African
23 brother you would - once they come and they wanted you to meet
24 that person, you would be informed and you would be prepared to
15:31:32 25 meet that person. Basically, that's it.

26 Q. Your stay at the Mataba involved no ideological
27 discussions, or training, or anything to do with ideology?

28 A. No, no, no. There was no such - if anybody had to be
29 taught, I probably would have taught somebody. But no, there was

1 no ideological training, counsel, at the Mataba. No, not for the
2 leaders. For the men, what was available in Libya at the time
3 was a document called the Green Book that was recommended for
4 reading. But for those of us that had a different orientation,
15:32:15 5 either I lectured the men on my own - I mean, our leanings.
6 Because Liberia was always different. We'd never been Marxist,
7 we'd never been socialists. So I would spend time, you know,
8 lecturing them when I visited them. But, no, there was no
9 ideological type training. No, no, no. Not for me.

15:32:40 10 Q. And what was the Green Book?

11 A. The Green Book was - I think it's a collection of
12 philosophical thoughts of Colonel Gaddafi on his brand of
13 socialism. That was the Green Book.

14 Q. Who paid for your trips from Burkina Faso to Libya?

15:33:01 15 A. The Mataba paid for my trips.

16 Q. And did that include your stay at the Mataba as well?

17 A. Yes. You didn't have to pay. There was a guesthouse for
18 all pan-African - and there were quite a few pan-African
19 individuals that travelled through there. We didn't have to pay

15:33:22 20 for the stay. It was something like a guesthouse. While you're
21 there - something like a hotel, really. You check into the hotel
22 and all the bills are paid for. So a general hotel. Not any
23 secret location. It was in a hotel we used as a guest place.

24 Q. And each time that you travelled there, did the Government
15:33:48 25 of Libya pay for your travel?

26 A. Each and every time, yes.

27 Q. You said that by the end of the year of 1987 that was your
28 second or third trip to Libya?

29 A. I would say yes.

1 Q. And how many other trips after that did you take to Libya?

2 A. 1988, probably two or three. I'm saying there was a
3 maximum - I'm virtually sure a maximum of not more than six
4 overall trips. So in '88, probably another two or three. I
15:34:22 5 tried to avoid going a whole lot so the men could be really
6 serious about their training. So I would say about three times
7 or so.

8 Q. During these six trips or so when you were at the Mataba -
9 first let's talk about 1987. During those trips you were at the
15:34:44 10 Mataba as well, yes?

11 A. Oh, yes.

12 Q. With whom did you interact at the Mataba in 1987?

13 A. I had people that I met there. I met Ali Kabbah. I
14 associated with Ali. Of course there was - Dr Manneh was there.
15:35:08 15 I don't remember some of the other people from other parts of
16 Africa, because there were people from southern Africa, eastern
17 Africa. These were the people I associated with at the Mataba.

18 Q. Do you remember where in East Africa?

19 A. Just about - there were people from Uganda. There were
15:35:34 20 people from - if I recall, Tanzania from East Africa. From
21 southern Africa you had South Africa, you had Namibia. Now it's
22 Namibia; at that time it was called Southwest Africa. We had
23 brothers from Burkina Faso. From Ghana. I've already mentioned
24 the Sierra Leonean Kabbah, Ali. These are the people.

15:36:15 25 Q. Ali Kabbah was a young man, yes, a university student?

26 A. When I met Ali he was - when you say "young", counsel, I
27 don't know what you mean by "young", but Ali was - when I met
28 Ali, Ali was not - he was in his - I would predict Ali had to be
29 somewhere in his late 20s to early 30s, I predict. I don't know

1 his age when I met him at that time. I still remember a tall,
2 dark fellow. I don't know if you call that young, but I would
3 surmise that Ali had to be late 20s, early 30s at the time.

15:36:59 4 Q. And Ali Kabbah was basically focused on ideological
5 education and training as a means of taking power in Sierra
6 Leone, isn't that correct?

7 A. Well, no, that's incorrect. Ali did tell me that he was
8 going to launch a revolution and that those - the people that he
9 was training upon arriving on the ground and starting, he had
15:37:22 10 contacts in the armed forces, the SSD and police that would
11 continue. So I would say categorically Ali, if brought before me
12 or this Court, cannot say that it was basically ideological.
13 That would be totally wrong. Not the Ali that I know.

14 Q. In fact that was one of the areas of dispute, was it not,
15:37:43 15 that Ali Kabbah was not in favour of a violent overthrow of the
16 government of Sierra Leone.

17 A. That is not my information. That is not to my - my
18 information - and I do not say this in any derogatory way of Ali.
19 The information that I received was that Ali had been given some
15:38:03 20 money to launch the revolution and he absconded with the money.

21 I have no factual evidence about that. But the Ali Kabbah,
22 counsel, that I met in Tripoli, Libya, at the Mataba, did tell
23 Charles Taylor that he had contacts on the ground in Sierra
24 Leone. He told - he explained to me about the crisis at Fourah
15:38:33 25 Bay College and what had happened and all of his contacts at
26 Fourah Bay and that they had contacts within the government. The
27 only thing they needed was the spark, and there would have been a
28 military overthrow of the government. That's what Ali Kabbah
29 told me and told others that were at the Mataba.

1 Q. Mr Taylor, in fact that was the big schism between
2 Ali Kabbah and those who supported Foday Sankoh, was it not; that
3 Foday Sankoh favoured the military option and Ali Kabbah did not?

4 A. I have no knowledge whatsoever of what happened behind the
15:39:06 5 scenes. I don't know if such discussions were held. I can only
6 account for what Ali told me and other revolutionary brothers
7 that were at the Mataba.

8 Q. Mr Taylor, Ali Kabbah, when did he leave Libya?

9 A. I really - Ali - because Ali went in and out. When I
15:39:32 10 started moving my people from Libya, I think Ali was outside of
11 Libya. As to whether he had left the organisation at the time, I
12 don't know when he really left. I left Libya in 1989, but I do
13 not know when Ali left. I know I met them there. I met him in
14 Libya, but I don't know when he left.

15:40:07 15 Q. And Ali Kabbah you said you had heard ran away with money.
16 He absconded, I think was your word, with money. Is that right?

17 A. Yes. And I have said also that I have no proof of that. I
18 said this is what I heard and I'm only mentioning this because I
19 don't know if it's factual because Ali appeared to be a very
15:40:36 20 decent gentleman, so I have no factual evidence of that.

21 Q. Mr Taylor, it's really accurate, isn't it, that you
22 favoured Foday Sankoh over Ali Kabbah because Foday Sankoh
23 favoured the military option? That's the correct story, isn't
24 it, Mr Taylor?

15:40:57 25 A. That is the incorrect story because I could have only
26 favoured one over the other. If I knew - I did not know any
27 human called Foday Sankoh. I did not know him.

28 Q. That's not really correct, is it, Mr Taylor?

29 A. Would you say that again?

1 Q. That's not really correct, is it, Mr Taylor?

2 A. That is 100 per cent correct. 100 per cent.

3 Q. While you were at the Mataba and you were engaged in
4 discussions or meetings with some of these other people, was

15:41:30 5 there any Libyan liaison actually working that Mataba itself?

6 A. I tell you what, there were many individuals. The Mataba
7 was - and I'm saying this because you can't really pinpoint to
8 any one individual. Some of them had the same names. There was
9 no specific, specific person that was responsible for like a

15:41:56 10 liaison. No, I didn't have a liaison in Libya.

11 Q. And when did your men begin to leave Libya?

12 A. In '89, the very - I would say round about the first
13 quarter in '89 or thereabout. I would say round about the third
14 or fourth month of '89.

15:42:26 15 Q. And how many groups did it take for all of them to leave?

16 A. Counsel, I can't recall. But depending on the availability
17 of seats on the plane, I really can't recall the number of
18 groups, because everybody travelled by the same Aeroflot and it
19 depended on the availability of seats. I really can't help with
20 that. I would be lying to you if I told you they came in 10, 15
21 or 2 groups, no. It depended on how many seats were available.

15:42:51 20 that. I would be lying to you if I told you they came in 10, 15

22 Q. Who paid for this transport from Libya?

23 A. The Libyan government paid for it - the Mataba. Well, let
24 me correct that, I'm sorry, the Mataba. But that's the Libyan
25 government, but the Mataba.

15:43:14 25 government, but the Mataba.

26 Q. While you were in Libya, did you ever meet with leader
27 Gaddafi?

28 A. Yes, yes.

29 Q. How many times did you meet with him?

1 A. I would say probably three, four times. At every 1st
2 September we met at the - the 1st September I think is the Libyan
3 revolutionary celebrations where Heads of State and other heads
4 of government come to Libya, we all would meet. Then on once or
15:44:01 5 twice - I would put it to you about three or four times that I
6 met him.

7 Q. And when you met with him you talked with him about support
8 for your organisation?

9 A. Yeah, it was mostly thanking him for the generous support
15:44:17 10 that he was giving to the pan-African movement, yes.

11 Q. In fact, you talked with Gaddafi about this schism in the
12 senior RUF who were at the Mataba, yes?

13 A. No, I had no knowledge of any "schism" to speak to him
14 about. Everyone in Libya mind their own business. I knew of no
15:44:46 15 schism, so I couldn't discuss it. When I met with Gaddafi, I
16 talked about thanking him for the generosity and his own approach
17 to pan-Africanism and some of the assistance he was giving to
18 pan-African movements, the ANC, SWAPO, these are things I talked
19 about. When I got to Gaddafi, I didn't talk about nonsense. I
15:45:09 20 spoke about revolutionary activities. Didn't discuss trivia, who
21 is doing this. I didn't even know that there was a schism going
22 on anywhere, no.

23 Q. Indeed, Mr Taylor, you spoke with him about favouring Foday
24 Sankoh over Ali Kabbah in the leadership, yes?

15:45:28 25 A. Well, I tell you, that is so false, but it sounds like one
26 of these psychiatric examinations. I don't know if you - but
27 there was no such thing. I don't know if somebody a little fly
28 on the wall. I spoke to Gaddafi about nothing concerning the
29 Sierra Leonean movement because I knew nothing about it and I did

1 not discuss Sierra Leone with Gaddafi at all.

2 Q. Mr Taylor, were you in Libya when your last group of
3 fighters left Libya?

4 A. I don't recall. The chances are I would not have and I'm
15:46:19 5 saying I don't recall because I really don't. I could have been
6 on the ground in Burkina Faso to receive the last group, which
7 would be the sensible thing to do, and to make sure that they
8 were all together instead of being away someplace while the last
9 group arrived. So the chances are, I would say I had to be in
10 Burkina Faso at the arrival of the last group.

11 Q. And did you meet with leader Gaddafi at that time?

12 A. At what time?

13 Q. When you were there before this last group left.

14 A. We haven't established that I'm there before the last group
15:46:57 15 left, so how do you say --

16 Q. You said you thought you were.

17 A. Beg your pardon?

18 Q. You said you thought you would have been there, yes?

19 A. But, counsel, if I recall my statement to you, I said that
15:47:07 20 it could have been possible, but my answer to you was that I had
21 to be in Burkina Faso, which would be the sensible thing to do,
22 in order to receive the last group. That's my answer.

23 Q. Now, the last time that you talked with leader Gaddafi, did
24 you make final arrangements for the type of support you would
15:47:25 25 receive from Libya?

26 A. Well, I wouldn't call it the last time, but I would say
27 maybe the second or third time that we - we did discuss after
28 training what we'd do and that did not occur just at the last
29 time. These discussions were ongoing as to possibility of

1 providing the type of necessary assistance that would be required
2 to successfully carry out the revolution.

3 Q. In fact, Libya did provide such assistance to you, did they
4 not?

15:48:07 5 A. No, counsel, Libya did not. I think there is - we've gone
6 through this before. Libya did not. Libya had agreed but never
7 got around to it, so they did not.

8 Q. The assistance that Libya provided you included quite a sum
9 of money, isn't that correct?

15:48:28 10 A. No, that is not correct.

11 Q. Something to the tune of perhaps as much as a million
12 dollars?

13 A. No, counsel. That is totally, totally incorrect. As a
14 matter of fact, when I launched the attack in Liberia there was a
15:48:48 15 deep freeze between Tripoli and myself because they felt that the
16 attack was premature because I actually attacked with nothing and
17 they got - they went nuts. How could you do that? But I had
18 waited and waited, and arrangements to get things into place did
19 not obtain and so Libya was pretty, pretty, pretty pissed about
15:49:17 20 starting without the proper tools and there was a chill. So I
21 did not get any money from Gaddafi to launch it. No, he didn't.
22 It took months to rebuild that contact.

23 Q. Do you recall when it was that your last group of fighters
24 arrived in Burkina Faso from Libya?

15:49:42 25 A. I would put it to about the middle of 1989 or thereabout.

26 Q. And when had your first group arrived?

27 A. I would say the beginning of - like I said before, I would
28 say about the first quarter of 1989.

29 Q. Then what were your groups' activities while you were in

1 Burkina Faso before you left to attack Liberia?

2 A. They were placed in a camp and they kept warming up. They
3 would jog around, warm up. They were bored. They had nothing to
4 do, really. Jog around. Just try to keep fit. That's all.

15:50:36 5 Q. And this was a military camp?

6 A. Yes, I think paramilitary, yes.

7 Q. Do you recall the name of that camp?

8 A. No, I don't.

9 Q. How, actually, were your fighters transported from Burkina
15:50:56 10 Faso into Cote d'Ivoire?

11 A. They had to take regular commercial vehicles. We just took
12 regular commercial vehicles. We had stayed there now for a few
13 months and people were concerned that movement had to be done in
14 a way that would not alarm anyone. So they took normal
15 commercial vehicles, depending on the number of seats available.

15:51:28 16 There are regular buses that run along that highway. It's a long
17 drive, but buses do run along - between Ouagadougou all the way
18 to the border with la Cote d'Ivoire.

19 Q. When were your forces in place in Cote d'Ivoire for the
15:51:53 20 attack on Liberia?

21 A. Everyone finally got in the area about - I would say round
22 about October, early November that everyone was finally in the
23 Ivory Coast sector by that time.

24 Q. So they moved there in stages?

15:52:23 25 A. That's correct. As I was saying, depending on seats and
26 availability of transport equipment, they moved.

27 Q. When you were in place ready for the attack, who was your
28 senior commander in the NPFL at that time?

29 A. Isaac Musa.

1 Q. At what point did Prince Johnson become your senior
2 commander?

3 A. Upon launching the attack, Isaac Musa developed - I don't
4 know, what I can say militarily and he maybe chickened out under
15:53:00 5 fire and Prince Johnson, being a very brave and career soldier,
6 took up the mantle and continued. But I did not remove Isaac,
7 but Isaac was not in the theatre. Prince stayed there. So I
8 would say from the very beginning, and I never got to see Prince
9 up until now. I haven't seen him yet.

15:53:34 10 MS HOLLIS: Mr President, we would like to point out for
11 the record that not only with this portion of the
12 cross-examination but also that portion relating to Ghana and
13 persons who were associated with Mr Taylor, we would have used
14 materials which are the subject of the written formal
15:53:52 15 submissions.

16 PRESIDING JUDGE: Yes, that's noted on the record.

17 MR ANYAH: Mr President, I'm sorry to interrupt. If it
18 please your Honours, we would respectfully ask that the objection
19 made before also be noted on the record whenever such a comment
15:54:12 20 is made by learned counsel opposite.

21 PRESIDING JUDGE: Yes, you've got a continuing objection to
22 that comment, Mr Anyah. All I can say is it means nothing to the
23 Bench. The documents are not before us. Simply saying that some
24 exist does not make them significant at all. But as I say, we'll
15:54:30 25 note your standing objection.

26 MR ANYAH: Thank you, your Honour.

27 MS HOLLIS:

28 Q. Mr Taylor, to your recollection when did your first
29 fighters arrive in Libya?

1 A. I'm in jail - the year I can tell you. The first fighters
2 arrived in Libya I would say in 1987, because that's the period
3 that I'm incarcerated. I remember that very well. As to the
4 exact time of departure I don't know, but it is somewhere, I want
15:55:28 5 to believe, in 1987.

6 Q. 1987?

7 A. Wait a minute. I'm coming at you. I'm in jail. I'm
8 released in '87. I would put it to '87. It could be late '86 to
9 '87, but what - I do not recall the month that they go, but I
15:55:55 10 know two groups travel while I'm incarcerated. I'm released and
11 then I follow. So it has to be either maybe the first group left
12 late '86 or '87, but I do not know. But I do know factually that
13 two groups know before I'm released.

14 Q. And your first trip there is sometime in 1987?

15:56:19 15 A. Yes, to Libya. When I come out of jail - now, let me -
16 well, excuse me, counsel. You - we are mixing two things up
17 here. Maybe I - I apologise, maybe I got your question wrong.
18 When I get out of jail we've been going - when I'm putting the
19 programme together before my arrest, I do travel to Libya.

15:56:48 20 Q. In what year is that?

21 A. That would be in '86, '87, okay? Then when I come out of
22 jail - I thought you were asking about - if I remember the
23 question - the first trip I make to Libya after I'm released.

24 Q. No, your first trip.

15:57:04 25 A. No, no, no. Then I have wrongly stated the facts, because
26 my first trip to Libya - I thought you were talking about release
27 from jail. The programme is put together and I visit Libya
28 somewhere late '86, early '87 at least once, twice to put the
29 programme together before I'm arrested.

1 Q. Mr Taylor, you remember telling the judges about the
2 Sorious Samura arrest when Sorious Samura and other journalists
3 were arrested in Liberia?

4 A. That is correct.

15:57:58 5 Q. And do you recall the year of that arrest?

6 A. That's about 2000. I would put it to about 2000 or
7 thereabouts. I would put it to about 2000. That had to be
8 somewhere around October - September, October, November,
9 somewhere in there in 2000. I could be wrong about the period,
10 but it's around that period.

15:58:29

11 Q. And do you recall that one of those journalists was Sorious
12 Samura?

13 A. Yes, I do.

14 Q. Do you recall the names of any of those other journalists?

15:58:46

15 A. No, I don't.

16 Q. And who ordered the arrest of those journalists?

17 A. I really don't know. They had been picked up by
18 intelligence agents. I don't know who ordered their arrest.

19 Q. Who would have been in a position of authority to order
20 those arrests?

15:59:01

21 A. One of so many persons. It could have been the director of
22 NSA; it could have been the director of police. He was being
23 held by the NSA, so my assumption is that it had to be an NSA
24 arrest.

15:59:18

25 Q. And who was the director of NSA at that time?

26 A. 2000? I think it was Freddy Taylor, if I'm not mistaken.
27 Now, I don't want the records to show that I'm saying
28 emphatically. I know he was arrested. It could have been by the
29 police. But if I'm saying if it was the NSA, it had to be the

1 director and if it was the police it had to be that director,
2 because your question was --

3 Q. Who was the director of police at that time?

4 A. In 2000, and I hope I've got the year right, I'm sure it's
15:59:58 5 not 2002, it was Paul Mulbah was director of police in 2000.

6 JUDGE SEBUTINDE: The NSA stands for what?

7 THE WITNESS: The National Security Agency.

8 MS HOLLIS:

9 Q. And the national security adviser, is that person the head
16:00:14 10 of the NSA, or is this different?

11 A. It's different.

12 Q. What were the journalists charged with when they were
13 arrested?

14 A. The Department of Justice - this matter went to court.
16:00:31 15 They were represented by one of the finest counsel, a Harvard law
16 school graduate. To the best of my recollection, I think they
17 were charged with espionage, and I don't recall the other
18 charges. It was basically within the courts.

19 Q. And the espionage charge was based on what?

16:00:57 20 A. I don't know, counsel. This matter - these people were
21 arrested, they were charged by the Ministry of Justice, they
22 obtained counsel in Liberia - like I said, the best law firm in
23 Liberia, Sherman & Sherman, Varney Sherman, a Harvard law school
24 graduate, represented them. I do not know the workings, but it
16:01:19 25 was basically a legal matter.

26 Q. So you were never briefed on why these people were
27 arrested?

28 A. In general, yes. But I cannot give you the specifics of
29 the charges, because I would be misleading you or the Court.

1 Q. What were you briefed on in general?

2 A. That some individuals - some journalists had come and that
3 they had seized certain documents from them that showed that they
4 were linking the Government of Liberia in a written text to all
16:01:55 5 kinds of things, diamond smuggling and all kinds of things, and
6 that there was a script - in fact, the whole documents are
7 exhibited. I don't think we put it through here, but that is
8 what I was briefed with, and they were taken to court.

9 Q. Who gave you that briefing?

16:02:14 10 A. The national security adviser.

11 Q. How soon after they were arrested were you actually briefed
12 about this arrest?

13 A. I would say by the next morning I was briefed. Because
14 there were news reports. All of the news agencies are - because
16:02:49 15 from what the national security adviser bought, all of the major
16 - BBC, you name it, there were news reports. I got to know in
17 full by the next morning.

18 Q. Did you see or hear any of those reports yourself?

19 A. Well, yes, I saw - I only saw the report as brought to me
16:03:09 20 by the national security adviser. So seeing: Yes, I did see the
21 reports.

22 Q. So you didn't hear anything on BBC about it?

23 A. No, I didn't tune in to BBC about it, no.

24 Q. Do you know how long they were held before they were taken
16:03:23 25 to court?

26 A. I can only state that they had to be taken to court
27 according to Liberian law. The writ of habeas corpus under our
28 laws, they had to be taken to court within 48 hours, and I'm sure
29 they were. If not, the very able legal team that they had would

1 have contested that. So they were taken to court within the
2 confines of the laws as regards habeas corpus.

3 Q. Mr Taylor, when you were telling the Court about this, do
4 you recall telling the Court that this incident with these
16:04:12 5 journalists involved an attempt to kill you?

6 A. Based on the records that the Justice Ministry say that
7 they displayed, there were attempts to malign me and the
8 Government of Liberia. They had me riding with them. So like I
9 said again, this was my briefing. I don't know the extent of all
16:04:41 10 of the charges.

11 Q. When you were talking with the Court, do you recall telling
12 the judges that this incident was an attempt to kill you?

13 A. Yes. This is my briefing, yes.

14 Q. And telling the judges that the camera that was supposed to
16:04:57 15 be used for this so-called documentary where they insisted on
16 interviewing me contained some beam or something that fired at me
17 would, over a period of time, lead to cancer. Do you recall
18 telling the judges that?

19 A. Well, not in the way you're talking about it. My
16:05:16 20 recollection to the judges - and maybe we can bring the
21 transcript - is that based on intelligence briefing that reached
22 me, this was what the intelligence agencies raised. And I think
23 if we went through the transcript, will be see that. I did not
24 say with any emphatic thing that I had factual evidence to that.

16:05:38 25 Q. Yes, that might be helpful. If perhaps to assist us on
26 this we could look at the transcript on 27 August and if we could
27 look at the page 27906. Do you see that, Mr Taylor?

28 A. It's not up yet. It's coming in a minute.

29 Q. We're looking in particular starting at line 15. Do you

1 see that, Mr Taylor?

2 A. Yes, I'm reading it now, counsel. Just a minute.

3 Q. And we see the question at 11, so that we know what you're
4 answering:

16:07:11 5 "Q. But, Mr Taylor, giving the precarious situation you
6 were in at the time, sanctions being threatened by the
7 Security Council, did you not think that some of the
8 language in this document was rather bellicose?

9 A. Well, yes, in a way, but what do we go for? Do we -
16:07:28 10 are we after truth? Here is an attempt to kill me. And
11 let me just mention, I mean the Sorious report is
12 available, and why it was - I mean, they were arrested,
13 those journalists were arrested. In fact, the camera - we
14 were told that the camera that was supposed to be used for
16:07:45 15 this so-called documentary where they insisted on
16 interviewing me contained some beam or something that fired
17 at me would, over a period of time, lead to cancer that -
18 we were told by a major western intelligence source."

19 A. Yes, so what is your question?

16:08:06 20 Q. Yes, Mr Taylor?

21 A. Yes, so what's your question? I said we were told, and
22 this is based on your intelligence. So what's your question?

23 Q. Who was the major western intelligence source that told you
24 about this camera with this beam?

16:08:22 25 A. I think that's another matter now, counsel. Because again
26 we're getting into intelligence on who said what and which source
27 said what again. This still is an information that is the
28 privilege of the Government of Liberia still. So when we begin
29 to name western intelligence based on intelligence that we are

1 given, except I'm ordered, but I think this would be improper
2 based on rules of this Court.

3 Q. Mr Taylor, you put that out there to the Court. You've
4 told them that it was a major western intelligence source --

16:08:55 5 A. Yes, but I did not name it.

6 Q. So tell us who it is.

7 A. Well, I did not name this source. I did not name the
8 source. I said - except I don't know what the President would
9 say.

16:09:06 10 PRESIDING JUDGE: Just pause there. I don't see how this
11 would be privileged information.

12 THE WITNESS: Okay.

13 PRESIDING JUDGE: But, Mr Griffiths, if you wanted to say
14 something, I'd certainly give you a chance to do so.

16:09:58 15 MR GRIFFITHS: Well, there are three things I'd like to
16 say, Mr President. Firstly is this: As the former President of
17 Liberia, naturally, Mr Taylor would have been privy to certain
18 material to which would attach a degree of privilege. It seems
19 to us, in the very same way, and this is my second point, that
16:10:28 20 privilege was claimed for certain documents relating to one
21 Colonel Dempsey by the OTP, by the same token the same privilege
22 can be claimed by Mr Taylor because it seems to us that general
23 rubric must attach to him as well.

24 And while saying all of this, once again I have to bring to
16:10:51 25 your Honours' notice the fact that at page 27904 of the
26 transcript, Mr Taylor did say on that previous occasion, a matter
27 not adverted to my learned friend, that there was Interpol
28 cooperation. So there is available on the transcript an
29 indication of a possible source of that information. So it seems

1 to me that to further press the witness to provide details in
2 these circumstances smacks of being overbearing and, in our
3 submission, unnecessary in the circumstances.

4 PRESIDING JUDGE: That's the objection, Ms Hollis. Did you
16:11:33 5 want to reply to it or not?

6 MS HOLLIS: Yes, I do, Mr President. First of all, as
7 Defence counsel well knows, and he knows the rules of the Court,
8 the material to which he earlier referred is material that was
9 provided under Rule 70 of the Court. It wasn't someone coming
16:11:51 10 into court and putting out information to benefit them and then
11 not wanting to go into other detail. So Rule 70 is what applied
12 to the situation that Defence counsel referred to. This is not a
13 Rule 70 situation, so it's not applicable and it's a different
14 standard.

15 Number two, if, indeed, it is Interpol that the accused is
16 referring to, he's already said it, he can say it again. If it's
17 not Interpol, then he should be required to tell us who it is.
18 How else do we test whether, in fact, this information was ever
19 given? We have not been told of this before. This is new to us
16:12:27 20 and, quite honestly, we have questions about whether he was ever
21 told such a thing. So we have a right to cross-examine him on
22 it. It is not privileged, and if we cannot cross-examine him on
23 it, then we think the only thing, in fairness, would be to
24 disregard this comment that he makes about being given this
16:12:50 25 information, the information itself, by a major western
26 intelligence source.

27 So not protected under Rule 70, not protected any other
28 privilege. He has already talked about the substance of it and
29 now he can't hide behind some non-existent privilege to avoid

1 cross-examination on it.

2 PRESIDING JUDGE: I didn't see Mr Taylor as trying to hide
3 behind anything. I think he was just being cautious.

4 But, nevertheless, Mr Taylor, in the transcript that was
16:13:18 5 quoted to you at some time prior to that you mentioned Interpol.
6 Now, is that the western intelligence source? If so, it's
7 already on the record.

8 THE WITNESS: No, your Honour, it is not, because Interpol
9 is a combination of individual - this is information that is
16:13:37 10 provided to the National Security Agency of Liberia that comes to
11 the President as briefing as to the capability of certain
12 equipment out there and we have a very strong example, your
13 Honour. We know - I mean, at least I know, when I say we, I know
14 there is a recent case - what the intelligence are saying here is
16:14:00 15 that through our various contacts, which includes most of the
16 major western intelligence, that these kinds of equipment exist
17 and that it's a caution that we're told, be careful, there's this
18 possibility, and this is what I'm explaining. And we've seen
19 cameras blowing people out. We have a recent case where Ahmad
16:14:25 20 Shah Massoud was blown up by a camera in northern Afghanistan
21 about six, seven years ago before the invasion of the United
22 States and Ahmad Shah Massoud was a major partner of the US that
23 headed the northern alliance.

24 So the fact of intelligence agencies giving other
16:14:49 25 intelligence agencies the capability of equipment out there is
26 what is at hand here. And there are many western intelligence
27 agencies that advise their connection agencies that, look, these
28 things exist out there and beware of it. So if I'm ordered, I
29 can call three or four countries that share intelligence with

1 Liberia, but this information is the property of the National
2 Security Agency of the Liberian government, so that's why I
3 exercise caution, your Honour.

16:15:55 4 JUDGE SEBUTINDE: Ms Hollis, I'm looking at page 27907 from
5 the first line up to about perhaps line 20. Do you think the
6 answer you're looking for could be found in that text?

7 MS HOLLIS: 27907 beginning with the first line, correct?

8 JUDGE SEBUTINDE: Yes.

16:16:45 9 MS HOLLIS: Actually, no, I don't, in particular, Madam
10 Justice. But based on what the accused has just testified to, I
11 would like to pursue this matter with some additional questions
12 and then determine whether I have to go back to that question
13 about source, if I'm permitted to do that, Mr President.

14 [Trial Chamber conferred]

16:19:12 15 PRESIDING JUDGE: The original question objected to was
16 this: "Who was the major western intelligence source that told
17 you about this camera with this beam?"

18 We hold that that is not a privileged matter and you should
19 therefore answer the question, Mr Taylor.

16:19:33 20 THE WITNESS: Okay. Very well. The existence of the camera
21 beam was given to us by two sources, based on information. It
22 was given to us by a briefing from the French. It was giving to
23 us by also a briefing from the Americans of the existence of this
24 kind of equipment.

16:20:05 25 MS HOLLIS:

26 Q. Mr Taylor, you say that they briefed you as to the
27 existence of this kind of equipment. Now, what you told the
28 judges on 27 August is that you were told that "the camera that
29 was supposed to be used for this so-called documentary, where

1 they insisted on interviewing me, contained some beam or
2 something that fired at me would, over a period of time, lead to
3 cancer." So are you telling the Court that you were told
4 specifically that the camera that would be used to interview you
16:20:35 5 contained a beam that would, over a period of time, lead to
6 cancer?

7 A. If you look at the context I'm trying to say here --

8 Q. No, Mr Taylor, were you told specifically that?

9 JUDGE SEBUTINDE: Ms Hollis, sorry to interrupt, but there
16:20:51 10 doesn't seem to be a record of any of this. Can we ascertain
11 what is going on? Certainly on my script and I think on my
12 neighbours, there's nothing.

13 MS HOLLIS: Mine neither.

14 JUDGE SEBUTINDE: If we can get assurance that it's being
16:21:17 15 somehow recorded, then we can proceed, I think.

16 MS HOLLIS: Thank you, Madam Justice.

17 MS IRURA: Your Honour, I will attend to it.

18 MS HOLLIS: Now it appears that we are getting it again.

19 JUDGE SEBUTINDE: I think, to be on the safe side, you may
16:21:49 20 repeat.

21 MS HOLLIS: Thank you:

22 Q. Mr Taylor, on 27 August you told these judges that "the
23 camera that was supposed to be used for this so-called
24 documentary, where they insisted on interviewing me, contained
16:22:09 25 some beam or something that fired at me would, over a period of
26 time, lead to cancer." What I'm asking you, Mr Taylor, is this
27 exactly what you were told by this western - by these western
28 intelligence sources?

29 A. That is correct. Our sources told our National Security

1 Agency to be very, very careful with cameras of this kind and our
2 National Security Agency made sure that with that kind of warning
3 that we should take this precaution and those cameras were
4 capable of that.

16:22:50 5 Q. So they told you to be careful of cameras of this kind?

6 A. Well, look, counsel, you know --

7 Q. Mr Taylor, you have just said they told you to be careful
8 of cameras of this kind. Is that what you were told?

9 A. I was told that and more.

16:23:06 10 Q. Did they tell you to - that this specific camera that would
11 be used in the interview could send some beam at you to cause
12 cancer?

13 A. Listen, no intelligence agency speaks that way, counsel.
14 And let me, if you want me to explain to this Court --

16:23:26 15 Q. So when you told the judges that, you were not being
16 accurate about what you were told?

17 A. I was being accurate about what was represented to me. And
18 if you want the judges to know, I will tell them how it works.
19 When intelligence comes in, it is manipulated. Nobody will say -

16:23:38 20 if we knew specifically that that camera contained the beams, we
21 would have arrested the camera and they would have never left the
22 country. But the way it works, your Honour, the intelligence
23 sources would tell you, okay, that, look, the existence of this,
24 be careful, these cameras contain beams that can kill. We made
16:24:03 25 the assessment that we would not adhere to that particular
26 interview because of that strong warning that we have gotten from
27 their agent.

28 Q. So, Mr Taylor, on 27 August, when you told these judges
29 that you and your government had been informed by a major western

1 intelligence source that the camera that was supposed to be used
2 for the documentary contained some beam that, fired at you would
3 over a period of time lead to cancer, you were not telling these
4 judges accurately the information that had been provided to you.

16:24:45 5 That is correct, is it not, Mr Taylor?

6 A. That is not correct. I told them accurately the
7 information that was provided to me.

8 Q. So they talked to you - these western intelligence sources
9 talked to you about the camera that was to be used in the
10 interview?

16:25:01 11 A. They did not talk me. They did not talk to me. Both --

12 Q. They told your government about the camera that was to be
13 used in the interview; is that what you are telling the judges?

14 A. They told our intelligence sources that finally got to me
15 that --

16:25:08 16 Q. That the camera could --

17 A. -- the camera --

18 JUDGE SEBUTINDE: Could we please request that you speak
19 one at a time, otherwise what you're saying is not captured.

16:25:23 20 It's just shown as "overlapping speakers".

21 MS HOLLIS: Thank you, Madam Justice.

22 Q. Mr Taylor, they told you that the camera that would be used
23 in this interview would direct a beam at you that would cause
24 cancer. That's what you're telling the judges?

16:25:32 25 A. That's what I'm telling the judges, exactly.

26 Q. Not the possibility of it. Not that there were such
27 cameras. But that this camera would do it. Is that what you're
28 telling the judges?

29 A. What I'm telling the judges - if you want to listen, I will

1 the judges. I was told by my intelligence agency based on
2 tipplings that they claimed they had gotten that the camera to be
3 used contained a beam that had this capability. The factual
4 nature of it is still a matter of intelligence briefing. That's
16:26:03 5 what I was told by my intelligence people, so that's what I told
6 to the justice.

7 Q. So not the possibility of it; not that such cameras
8 exist --

9 A. I have nothing - well, you know, again when we're talking
16:26:15 10 about - if you use the word "possibility", because it is an
11 intelligence report, of course it is within the realm of
12 possibility, if you really want to get technical about that. But
13 your question to me is what did I tell these judges, and I told
14 these judges exactly here what I was told by my intelligence.

16:26:38 15 That's your questioning I'm answering. So I told these judges
16 this based on what I was told. Now, realm of possibilities? All
17 intelligence reports have realms. Did I report to them
18 faithfully what I was told? Yes, I said this because I was told
19 this. Yes. Simple.

16:26:56 20 Q. We've made the record on it and we'll leave it to the
21 judges.

22 A. Very well.

23 Q. Mr Taylor, you went on on page 27906 to say that in fact
24 the tip-off not to talk to them came from a particular western
16:27:09 25 intelligence source that said, "Do not meet that group. The
26 camera is going to be your demise." Yes?

27 A. That's how the tip-offs come. Some of them are right and
28 some of them are wrong. We received that - that was the tip-off
29 given to my agency, and that's what they told me. I have said

1 it. Now, some of these things are - once it's an intelligence
2 report, some of them are right and some of them wrong. I was not
3 about to take any chances, so I didn't meet them. But that is
4 exactly what I said.

16:27:38 5 Q. Mr Taylor, the language that the camera was going to be
6 your demise, that could very well have meant that the camera was
7 going to expose your manner of governance in Liberia, could it
8 not?

9 A. Well, that's speculation. I would not say that. I would
16:27:56 10 that's totally unfounded. Quite frankly, since you brought this
11 matter, you know what happened thereafter. Channel 4 apologised.
12 They wrote a letter and apologised. They asked all around the
13 world for people to intervene. I was called by Nelson Mandela.
14 I spoke to Mandela, who personally intervened, and it was after
16:28:16 15 Channel 4 wrote a letter of apology and the Minister of Justice
16 withdrew the matter from Court before this matter ended. It had
17 nothing to do with your speculation that it would have caused the
18 demise of my government. No. Zero. No. And those letters
19 are --

16:28:34 20 Q. They apologised to get their journalists out of jail,
21 didn't they, Mr Taylor? They were concerned about what would
22 happen to them in your jail?

23 A. No. Listen, no. The letter of apology is here before the
24 Court. So your speculation as to what they did, I can only rely
16:28:50 25 on the credibility of the letter that was written by Channel 4
26 that is in my exhibits here. That's all I can rely on. They
27 apologise for the writings that they had done, the script that
28 they had written, they apologised and said that it would never
29 happen again, and they apologised for the compartmentation of

1 their people. That's the letter that I have. I cannot rely on
2 speculation. I only rely on what was said in the letter.

3 Q. Did they apologise for the camera?

4 A. No, counsel, they did not get specific as to the camera.

16:29:24 5 If the camera - if, upon testing the camera there was any truth,
6 the camera would never have left Liberia.

7 Q. Did you test the camera?

8 A. My national security people did check the camera.

9 Q. They did?

16:29:36 10 A. They did.

11 Q. That's what you're telling the Court?

12 A. That's exactly what I'm saying to this Court.

13 Q. And they found nothing wrong with the camera?

14 A. Based on our experts, there was nothing wrong with the
16:29:46 15 camera.

16 Q. Did you give the interview after that?

17 A. No, I did not give the interview. In the wake of all of
18 this trouble, the only thing we wanted to do since I spoke to - I
19 had spoken to Mandela and I forgot what other - there were quite
16:30:03 20 a few world leaders involved. I just told them to pack them up,
21 and they were treated fairly in Court. I mean in Court - in
22 prison. They were held; they were visited; they were treated
23 properly. Serious will say that. He's a Sierra Leonean too.

24 Q. Actually, he wouldn't say that, would he?

16:30:21 25 A. Well --

26 Q. He would say that they were subjected to mistreatment by
27 your subordinates while they were held in your jail. That's what
28 they would say; isn't that correct, Mr Taylor?

29 A. I haven't seen that. Maybe if you have that information -

1 that was not conveyed to me, and I doubt very much if they were
2 mistreated, because I say the level of representation they had in
3 Liberia, there were no errors. I said they were represented. In
4 fact, foreign embassies visited them. They were represented by
16:30:54 5 the best law firm in the Republic of Liberia, Varney Sherman,
6 counsel at law. Like I said, a Harvard law school graduate. He
7 has the best law firm in the whole Republic. They were treated
8 properly, to the best of my knowledge.

9 Q. In fact, Mr Taylor, Sorious Samura was threatened with a
16:31:10 10 knife by your prison official, wasn't he?

11 A. No, I haven't seen that. Did he report that or something?
12 I haven't seen that. That never reached me.

13 Q. And he was told --

14 PRESIDING JUDGE: We'll have to leave it there, Ms Hollis.
16:31:23 15 We're just about out of tape. We'll adjourn to tomorrow and
16 Mr Taylor, don't discuss your evidence with anybody. We'll
17 adjourn now.

18 [Whereupon the hearing adjourned at 4.31 p.m.
19 to be reconvened on Thursday, 19 November 2009
20 at 9.30 a.m.]

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I N D E X

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