



Case No. SCSL-2003-01-T

THE PROSECUTOR OF
THE SPECIAL COURT
V.
CHARLES GHANKAY TAYLOR

WEDNESDAY, 20 JANUARY 2010
9.30 A.M.
TRIAL

TRIAL CHAMBER II

Before the Judges:

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

For Chambers:

Ms Doreen Kiggundu

For the Registry:

Ms Rachel Irura
Ms Zainab Fofanah

For the Prosecution:

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
Mr Terry Munyard

1 Wednesday, 20 January 2010

2 [Open session]

3 [The accused present]

4 [Upon commencing at 9.30 a.m.]

09:31:15 5 PRESIDING JUDGE: Good morning. I just like to start by
6 reminding the parties that we will be rising earlier than usual
7 for our mid-morning break, namely, at 10.20, in order to enable
8 us to attend the swearing-in ceremony at the ICC. And if there
9 is nothing else, I will remind Mr Taylor.

09:32:17 10 Good morning, Mr Taylor. I remind you of your declaration
11 to tell the truth.

12 Ms Hollis, please continue.

13 MS HOLLIS: Initially, Madam President, I would simply note
14 for the record that for the Prosecution this morning Brenda J
09:32:32 15 Hollis, Mohamed A Bangura, Christopher Santora and Maja
16 Dimitrova.

17 MR GRIFFITHS: Good morning, Madam President, your Honours,
18 counsel opposite. For the Defence today myself, Courtenay
19 Griffiths, with me Mr Morris Anyah of counsel.

09:32:49 20 PRESIDING JUDGE: Thank you, I apologise. I had overlooked
21 the appearances.

22 DANKPANNAH DR CHARLES GHANKAY TAYLOR:

23 [On former affirmation]

24 CROSS-EXAMINATION BY MS HOLLIS: [Continued]

09:32:57 25 Q. Good morning, Mr Taylor.

26 A. Good morning.

27 Q. Yesterday at the close of the day I asked you - or, in
28 fact, put to you that:

29 "Even your Minister of Defence was aware of your

1 involvement in the Cote d'Ivoire, isn't that correct?"

2 That was yesterday's transcript at 33689. You asked:

3 "A. What kind of involvement?

4 Q. Aware that you in fact had sent your militias into the
09:33:28 5 Cote d'Ivoire, isn't that correct?"

6 And you indicated you were not aware that your minister was
7 aware of something. "I don't know that as a fact."

8 And then you were asked:

9 "Q. Well, Mr Taylor, in fact he talked about that with
09:33:45 10 you, did he not?"

11 A. My Minister of Defence never, to my recollection, had
12 any such discussions about me sending men to la Cote
13 d'Ivoire, no."

14 You remember that exchange yesterday at the close of the
09:34:05 15 day, Mr Taylor?

16 A. Yes, I do.

17 Q. And then you were asked:

18 "Q. In fact, when he talked with you about it you
19 basically dismissed his questions, saying he did not
09:34:17 20 understand certain things. Isn't that correct?"

21 A. I have no recollection of that."

22 You are remember that exchange, Mr Taylor, yes?

23 A. Yes, I do.

24 Q. And then I asked if we could turn to tab 55 in annex 3, and
09:34:31 25 I would ask that we do that this morning. We see this is

26 Frontline World, "Stories from a small planet: Liberia, no more
27 war, May 2005". The caption is, "A political survivor, interview
28 with Daniel Chea". And, Mr Taylor, that is a picture of Daniel
29 Chea, is it not?

1 A. This is a picture of Daniel Chea.

2 Q. And if we could turn to the second page of this interview,
3 please. If we could look at the fourth paragraph down on the
4 page beginning with, "On the Ivorian issue":

09:36:24 5 "On the Ivorian issue, when I realised that militia forces
6 from Liberia were involved, I talked to him one day."

7 And we will notice from the context above that he is
8 referring to you, Mr Taylor.

9 "I talked to him one day and I said, 'Look, before going
09:36:48 10 into one area, you must have an objective, either military or
11 political, and in this case, we have none. We have our own
12 issues; we are under attack by LURD (Liberians United for
13 Reconciliation and Democracy) forces.' And he said to me, 'Well,
14 Dan, sometimes there are things you do not understand. There are
09:37:13 15 too many things happening in this region, and sometimes you get
16 consumed, and you can be assured that whatever it is will get
17 under control.'"

18 And then Daniel Chea goes on to say:

19 "In most African countries, if you are assured by the Head
09:37:33 20 of State that he's in control, that he knows what he's doing, if
21 he tells you, 'Look, I will never do anything to harm my nation',
22 you have to give him the benefit of the doubt."

23 So indeed, Mr Taylor, your Minister of Defence talked to
24 you about the involvement of your militias in Ivory Coast, isn't
09:37:56 25 that right?

26 A. That is not right. This is an interview. No one knows who
27 conducted the interview, no one knows this paper. My Minister of
28 Defence, knowing that I was fighting a war, could not have said
29 this to me at all. Daniel Chea never, never raised with

1 Charles Taylor that in fact, he - it will be he had dispatched;
2 he is the Defence Minister - militia to la Cote d'Ivoire when I
3 am fighting a war to do what in la Cote d'Ivoire? Daniel Chea
4 never told me this. I don't believe that this document is even
09:38:35 5 authentic. I doubt it.

6 Q. In fact, Mr Taylor, when he raised that with you, you told
7 him that sometimes there are things you do not understand?

8 A. That is totally incorrect.

9 MS HOLLIS: Madam President, I would ask that this be
09:38:51 10 marked for identification.

11 PRESIDING JUDGE: The article in the Frontline World
12 entitled, "A Political Survivor, Interview With Daniel Chea" of
13 May 2005 is marked MFI-362.

14 MS HOLLIS: Thank you:

09:39:13 15 Q. Now, Mr Taylor, on 20 October, just two days before
16 elections began in the Ivory Coast, presidential elections, you
17 put out a press release calling for the OAU to send monitors,
18 correct?

19 A. Yes, I did.

09:39:37 20 Q. Now, Mr Taylor, you waited until this last date because you
21 did not really intend that the OAU send monitors, isn't that
22 correct?

23 A. Ms Hollis, no. I am involved in a process as a West
24 African leader. I am only trying to play my part by urging - I
09:39:59 25 was not the only one. I urged the OAU at that particular time
26 because of the conflict developing in one of the leaders in
27 sharing border. I urged them, and in fact I think they already
28 had some monitors en route, and this was just an additional
29 urging, that's all. Not because I didn't want them to. That's

1 Iudicrous.

2 Q. Mr Taylor, you waited until just two days before these
3 elections were to commence so that you could have a public record
4 for your request, correct, Mr Taylor?

09:40:30 5 A. Oh, counsel, that's totally, totally ludicrous again.

6 Q. But knowing that it was --

7 A. Totally incorrect.

8 Q. But knowing that it was too late for that request to be
9 enacted, isn't that right, Mr Taylor?

09:40:44 10 A. I don't know, that's just irrational thinking. To believe
11 that a leader in the region trying to ensure security on his
12 border asks for monitors, that it can be so cynically stated by
13 the Prosecution that it's because I am trying to set a record, as
14 though I know I am supposed to come to a court. No, Ms Hollis.

09:41:09 15 I am doing it in good faith because I have interests in making
16 sure that there is peace on my border. No, it's ludicrous
17 to - it's so simplistic to think that way.

18 Q. And Mr Taylor, on 26 October 2000, you issued another press
19 release, and in this one you expressed deep concern regarding
09:41:30 20 political events in the Ivory Coast, correct?

21 A. Yes. Yes.

22 Q. And you called for the exercise of restraint and the
23 avoidance of violence, isn't that correct?

24 A. Which was a prudent thing to do, yes.

09:41:43 25 Q. And yet, at the same time you were actively involved in the
26 support of Robert Guei, isn't that right?

27 A. Nonsense, I did not support any candidate. I am not an
28 Ivorian. Nonsense.

29 Q. Mr Taylor, we looked yesterday at a document indicating

1 that Robert Guei was in fact killed on 19 September 2002. After
2 he was killed, there was a resurgence of fighting in the
3 Ivory Coast, isn't that correct?

4 A. Yes. To my recollection, yes.

09:42:23 5 Q. And you have testified to this Court that you were involved
6 in negotiations in the last quarter of 2002 regarding this
7 resurgence and fighting; do you recall that, Mr Taylor? This was
8 on 24 August.

9 A. No, I'm not denying - well, I was involved at - by this
09:42:48 10 time in the peace process, yes, but the resurgence in fighting
11 started long before the end of 2002.

12 Q. Mr Taylor, in this last quarter of 2002, there were a
13 series of meetings related to this situation in Ivory Coast,
14 correct?

09:43:07 15 A. That is correct.

16 Q. And you took part in those meetings?

17 A. Yes, I did.

18 Q. And while you were taking part in these meetings and
19 putting on a public face that you were working for peace, in
09:43:24 20 fact, you were actively supporting the conflict that was going on
21 in the Ivory Coast. Isn't that correct?

22 A. That's totally, totally incorrect.

23 Q. You sent fighters to Ivory Coast to participate in this
24 fighting?

09:43:39 25 A. Total nonsense.

26 Q. You had senior commanders there to participate in this
27 fighting. Isn't that right, Mr Taylor?

28 A. Total nonsense.

29 Q. If we could please look at tab 6, annex 3, which is the

1 Liberian TRC report, page 186. I'm looking at page 186, and if
2 you could move to the bottom of the page showing 21 October 2002.
3 This is a finding set out in the Liberian Truth and
4 Reconciliation Commission's final report, volume 2.

09:45:16

5 "October 21, 2002: The incursion by Benjamin Yeaten, Joe
6 Tuah, Edward Zamay, Joe Walloe, Osebeo Dehmin and Matthew Karn
7 into the Ivory Coast on the mandate of Charles Taylor. The
8 purpose of the incursion was to act as mercenaries for Philip
9 Doh. A number of people died in the operation, including those
10 who refused to sign on."

09:45:42

11 Now that's correct, is it not, Mr Taylor?

12 A. That's total nonsense. Totally incorrect. This is an
13 opinion of somebody that have not even been tested in this Court.

14 Totally incorrect. Here is Benjamin Yeaten now incursion in La
15 Cote d'Ivoire, the very Benjamin Yeaten on previous evidence here
16 is supposed to be commanding our forces in Lofa. So this is
17 total nonsense. Total nonsense.

09:45:58

18 Q. Now, Mr Taylor, we've talked before about Benjamin Yeaten,
19 we've talked about Joe Tuah. Who was Edward Zamay?

09:46:18

20 A. Edward Zamay is an Armed Forces of Liberia officer.

21 Q. And had he been apart of your NPFL previously?

22 A. Yes, Zamay was one of the Special Forces.

23 Q. And Joe Walloe, who is he?

24 A. Joe Walloe is one of the senior commanders and served as

09:46:41

25 Deputy Minister of Defence for LURD that was attacking me. So I
26 don't see how I could have sent him, who was my enemy fighting me
27 - Joe Walloe is - in fact, he served as Deputy Minister of
28 Defence during the transitional government from LURD. This is a
29 LURD commander.

1 Q. During the transitional government, when was that,
2 Mr Taylor?

3 A. During the time of Gyude Bryant. That starts in, what,
4 2003, late 2003.

09:47:15 5 Q. And here we are looking at 21 October 2002, correct,
6 Mr Taylor?

7 A. Well, he surely switched. He was fighting me from 1999,
8 wouldn't that be really silly that a commander from LURD
9 switched. Fought for me on my instruction, then went back to
09:47:33 10 LURD and became Deputy Defence Minister. It's silly. No such
11 thing happened.

12 Q. "Osebeo Dehmin" here, we've talked about an Ocebio Dehme or
13 Demby, correct, Mr Taylor?

14 A. Ocebio Dehme, this is correct.

09:47:48 15 Q. And who was that?

16 A. Ocebio Dehme is an SSS person, chief of protective security
17 that never left the President's side. He was responsible for my
18 personal security. Could not, did not ever leave me. He was a
19 Secret Service personnel.

09:48:02 20 Q. And, Mr Taylor, had he been a member of the NPFL?

21 A. Yes, Ocebio was apart of the NPFL.

22 Q. Was he one of the Special Forces?

23 A. No, he was not.

24 Q. Where was he trained?

09:48:15 25 A. He was trained in Liberia.

26 Q. And Matthew Karn?

27 A. I don't know him. I have never heard the name before.

28 MS HOLLIS: Madam President, I would ask that this be
29 marked for identification.

1 PRESIDING JUDGE: Normally we have been marking pages 1 and
2 the page in question. What should we do, just this one page?

3 MS HOLLIS: It is page 186. I believe yesterday the page
4 before that, page 249 was marked for identification. This would
09:48:49 5 be one page, 186.

6 PRESIDING JUDGE: We normally would mark the cover page as
7 well.

8 MS HOLLIS: And the cover page would be the cover page.

9 PRESIDING JUDGE: Because, you see, we are taking these
09:49:03 10 pages piecemeal. That's why we have always included the cover
11 page.

12 MS HOLLIS: And that would be appropriate at this point, to
13 include a cover page, since it is a separate exhibit.

14 PRESIDING JUDGE: Mr Griffiths, you are on your feet.

09:49:17 15 MR GRIFFITHS: Madam President, can I make this inquiry?
16 In marking that page, am I right in believing that it's only that
17 paragraph on the page which is being marked?

18 PRESIDING JUDGE: We are marking the entire page, but when
19 it comes to tendering into evidence, that's a different matter.

09:49:39 20 MR GRIFFITHS: Very well.

21 PRESIDING JUDGE: I think I'm correct in that, Ms Hollis.

22 MS HOLLIS: That is correct, Madam President.

23 PRESIDING JUDGE: So in which case I will mark the one
24 page. Page 186 of the Liberian Truth and Reconciliation
09:49:54 25 Commission report is MFI-363.

26 MS HOLLIS: Thank you, Madam President:

27 Q. Mr Taylor, this fighting that was ongoing in Ivory Coast
28 after the killing of Robert Guei, two groups emerged in the west
29 of Ivory Coast to attack Danane on 28 November 2002. Isn't that

1 correct?

2 A. I have no knowledge of the groups in La Cote d'Ivoire or
3 when they attacked, how they attacked. I am not aware of their
4 functions at all.

09:50:37 5 Q. And, Mr Taylor, these two groups were Mouvement Populaire
6 Ivoirien du Grand Ouest, or MPIGO, and Mouvement pour la Justice
7 et la Paix, or the MJP. Correct, Mr Taylor?

8 A. I have no idea. I have to take your word for that, that
9 those groups existed. I do not - I am not following the various
09:51:01 10 groupings in La Cote d'Ivoire.

11 Q. And, Mr Taylor, in fact you knew of the existence of those
12 groups because you were supporting those groups. Isn't that
13 correct?

14 A. Total nonsense. That is incorrect.

09:51:10 15 Q. Indeed, Mr Taylor, the leader of MPIGO was a person by the
16 name of Felix Doh. Isn't that correct?

17 A. I have heard that testimony here, I did not know him. I
18 have heard that testimony here in this Court.

19 Q. And, in fact, he was in your country in exile from the time
09:51:39 20 Robert Guei was ousted from power in 2000. Isn't that correct?

21 A. I have no idea. I did not know him. He could have very
22 well been in Liberia, I wouldn't know, but I didn't know him as
23 the leader of any group.

24 Q. But indeed, Mr Taylor, he was in Liberia with your
09:51:56 25 knowledge and approval. Isn't that right?

26 A. I've just said no.

27 Q. And, Mr Taylor, MPIGO was the group that Sam Bockarie and
28 his men joined and actively supported until the killing of Felix
29 Doh. Isn't that correct?

1 A. Well, I don't know. From evidence here, let's not forget
2 Sam Bockarie came from Burkina Faso into La Cote d'Ivoire and not
3 from Liberia. I have no idea of the inter-workings of the
4 Ivorian crisis except from a general point in dealing with
09:52:28 5 stability on my border. That's all.

6 Q. Mr Taylor, you had indicated that you were involved in a
7 series of meetings about the situation in Ivory Coast in the last
8 quarter of 2002, but you are telling the Court that you don't
9 know the different groups that were involved?

09:52:45 10 A. No. Counsel, let's be - when you are getting into names
11 and - La Cote d'Ivoire is not my problem, except for security.
12 So when you begin to ask me about specific names of groupings and
13 different things, I do not deny before this Court that they may
14 have existed. I am telling you I don't know specifically there
09:53:11 15 is one, two, three, groups, their name is this; I don't know
16 them. I know groups existed, that's what I am saying. I don't
17 know the workings of them.

18 And by the way, for these judges, I participated even
19 before 2002 because I can remember when the conflict first
09:53:28 20 started I went and met with Gbagbo before the death of Guei when
21 South Africa and Nigeria were threatening to invade and finally
22 went to Nigeria and stopped the intervention. So I was involved
23 in that process for long before the end of 2002.

24 Q. Are you finished, Mr Taylor?

09:53:47 25 A. Yes.

26 Q. Now, Mr Taylor, I would ask that we look at tab 3 in annex
27 3. We looked at that yesterday. This is the ICG report, 30
28 April 2003, "Tackling Liberia: The eye of the regional storm".
29 This has been marked as MFI-361. If we could go to page 16,

1 please. If we could look at the right-hand column, the second
2 full paragraph from the top beginning "Guei's murder" and if we
3 could look at the second sentence in that paragraph:

09:56:01 4 "Following his death, Guei's Yacouba supporters in Man and
5 Danane announced the country would see in 45 days after the
6 period of mourning how the people of the west would react. On 26
7 and 27 September, Taylor's notorious general, 'Jack the Rebel',
8 reportedly came on a 'tour' of Danane. Liberian refugees told
9 ICG that a number of Gio from Liberia were going back and forth
09:56:27 10 to 'spy' on the situation in Cote d'Ivoire following the
11 attempted coup. Liberians in Nimba County said that their
12 countrymen recruited for the Ivorian operation were trained in
13 Belegaly, the home of Taylor's front line commander Roland Duo,
14 as well as Ganta.

09:56:47 15 The attacks into Cote d'Ivoire took two months to unfold.
16 At least 500 fighters from Taylor's former NPFL rebel group, from
17 the Sierra Leone RUF and 'able bodied men and women trained in
18 Nimba County' apparently crossed into Danane to join fighters
19 that had been loyal to General Guei. Liberians in Nimba County
09:57:17 20 reportedly saw Taylor's commanders Benjamin Yeaten and Roland Duo
21 take truckloads of Liberian fighters recruited in Nimba County to
22 Danane late at night every week following Guei's death. A
23 pick-up truck believed to belong to Kuku Dennis was also seen
24 carrying recruits to Danane.

09:57:41 25 Two Ivorian rebel groups, the MPIGO and the MJP, emerged to
26 attack Danane on 28 November 2002. Eventually, the MJP headed
27 toward Man, while the MPIGO went on to capture Blolokin, Toubia,
28 and the south of Toulepleu. The compositions of MPIGO and MJP
29 remain unclear. Several sources state the former is largely

1 comprised of Guei loyalists and Liberians as well as Sierra Leone
2 fighters. Most observers present in the area at the time and
3 shortly thereafter claim that MJP, the smaller of the two, is a
4 satellite of the northern-based MPCl, but does indeed include
09:58:33 5 Liberian and Sierra Leonean fighters.

6 MPCl commanders and materiel were identified by
7 eyewitnesses in Man in early December. Travellers in the region
8 held by the MJP note that MPCl and MJP laissez-passer are
9 interchangeable, but both often pose problems at MPIGO
09:59:01 10 checkpoints on the road to Danane. In any case, it is clear that
11 both movements have many Liberian and Sierra Leonean fighters, as
12 well as mercenaries of various West African origins.

13 It is less clear how much control Monrovia wields over
14 military operations. The western rebels could not have launched
09:59:27 15 their attacks from Liberia without Taylor's consent. The MJP
16 would have needed a significant quantity of weapons to intervene,
17 probably more than it could have gotten from the MPCl alone. The
18 timing of those MJP attacks in Danane and Man coincide with the
19 arrival in Liberia of six cargo aircraft containing 200 tons of
09:59:53 20 weapons and ammunition. As mentioned earlier, Taylor's troops
21 would have used those old Yugoslav stocks to repel the LURD in
22 northern Liberia, but some may well have been passed on to the
23 Ivorian rebels. In a recent report, Global Witness pointed to
24 numerous arm movements in December 2002 from Harper port in
10:00:19 25 Maryland County to the training camps in the River Gbeh region
26 under the control of Taylor's chairman of joint security in the
27 southeast of Liberia, General William Sumo."

28 Now, Mr Taylor, it is correct that your fighters were sent
29 to la Cote d'Ivoire to be involved in the fighting there, is it

1 not?

2 A. I disagree with everything that you have read here. I
3 disagree with this. This opinion by this writer - and if you
4 were to attempt to get specific I guess the judges would have a
10:00:58 5 better understanding, but I know you wouldn't. I disagree with
6 everything that is written here. It is warped. It is totally
7 incorrect, everything that you have read.

8 Q. Now, if we could also look back at tab 52 in annex 3,
9 please. This is the ICG report of 28 November 2003, "Cote
10:01:32 10 d'Ivoire: The war is not yet over". We see on the overhead,
11 "Cote d'Ivoire: The war is not yet over", 28 November 2003. If
12 we could turn to page 18 of that report. It is captioned, "The
13 wild, wild west". We are looking at the right-hand column?

14 "Apart from enabling both sides to arm and recruit, the
10:03:01 15 ceasefire and negotiation process after October 2002 also saw the
16 opening of a new front in the west. Two additional
17 organisations, MPIGO and the MJP, appeared with the direct
18 assistance of Liberia's then President, Charles Taylor, thus
19 further regionalising the conflict.

10:03:22 20 Taylor and Burkina Faso's Compaore had been close allies in
21 many previous coups, wars and destabilisation campaigns, from the
22 murder of Burkina Faso's President Thomas Sankara in 1987,
23 through the creation of war zones in Liberia and Sierra Leone in
24 the 1990s, to attacks on Guinea at the start of the present
10:03:46 25 decade. For these reasons, many observers wondered whether MPCJ,
26 MPIGO and the MJP might not all represent another chapter in this
27 relationship. However, although there were elements of
28 cooperation between the three anti-government movements, MPIGO in
29 particular was intended as a strategic buffer force to protect

1 Taylor against what he considered to be a threat from the
2 creation of an MPCl-held zone in northern Cote d'Ivoire."

3 So, Mr Taylor, again, it is correct, is it not, that MPIGO
4 and MJP received direct support from you?

10:04:33 5 A. That total thing you read is totally incorrect. Totally.

6 Q. And it is correct, is it not that, MPIGO in particular was
7 intended by you as a buffer force to protect you from a potential
8 threat from the creation of an MPCl-held zone in northern Cote
9 d'Ivoire?

10:04:56 10 A. That's totally nonsense. Totally incorrect.

11 Q. If we look at the next paragraph."

12 "MPIGO was from the outset organised by some of Taylor's
13 most senior commanders, including Kuku Dennis, Adolphus Dolo and
14 the late Jack the Rebel. Ivoirians in MPIGO included many of the
15 late General Guei's men, while the majority were Liberian and
16 Sierra Leonean fighters. MPIGO's official leader, (Felix Doh)
17 real name: N'dri N'guessan, had been in exile in Liberia since
18 Guei was ousted from office in Cote d'Ivoire in 2000."

19 Now, Mr Taylor, you were aware that Felix Doh was MPIGO's
10:05:46 20 official leader. You were aware of that were you not, Mr Taylor?

21 A. As being the - from reports yes, that - I remember Felix
22 Doe's name being called as a leader of a rebel group. I am not
23 sure if it's MPIGO. All I knew is that he was one of the rebel
24 leaders in la Cote d'Ivoire.

10:06:05 25 Q. And did you know him by the name N'dri N'guessan?

26 A. I did not know the man at all.

27 Q. Mr Taylor, it is also true, is it not, that MPIGO was
28 organised by your senior commanders, including Kuku Dennis,
29 Adolphus Dolo and Jack the Rebel?

1 A. That would be total nonsense. That would impossible. I
2 would - I mean, this is something that I would emphatically say
3 that no such thing - how would Liberians struggling to fight a
4 war - can't even win a war against LURD - go and form and send
10:06:39 5 men to different - this is nonsensical. No.

6 Q. That was the question your Defence Minister asked of you,
7 isn't that right, Mr Taylor?

8 A. He never asked that. And I think you had an opportunity to
9 bring Daniel Chea here if you felt that that evidence was
10:06:52 10 substantial to your case.

11 Q. Now, Mr Taylor, we will go on.

12 "The Sierra Leonean warlord Sam Bockarie and his forces
13 actively assisted MPIGO until just after the killing of Felix Doh
14 in late April 2003."

10:07:08 15 And that is correct, is it not, Mr Taylor?

16 A. If what is correct?

17 Q. Mr Taylor, I just read it to you.

18 A. Well, the way the question is --

19 Q. "The Sierra Leonean warlord Sam Bockarie and his forces
10:07:19 20 actively assisted MPIGO until just after the killing of Felix Doh
21 in late April 2003."

22 Mr Taylor, it's correct, is it not, that Sam Bockarie and
23 his forces actively assisted MPIGO?

24 A. I don't know that. I know --

10:07:34 25 Q. You knew that.

26 A. No. Listen, I will answer the question.

27 Q. [Overlapping speakers].

28 A. I will answer the question. Sam Bockarie came from your
29 witness Jabaty Jaward from Burkina Faso. I didn't send him from

1 Burkina Faso, number 1. Number 2, I don't know the different
2 settings of name, who is MPIGO and what is what. I do know that
3 Phillip Doh gets killed and that's when Bockarie tries to enter
4 Liberia. The point that I'm trying to make before the Court is
10:08:05 5 that I don't know the specifics of the groupings, who was what.
6 I knew Phillip Doh was a rebel leader, but for what group, I
7 don't know.

8 Q. Did you say Phillip or Felix? What did I hear?

9 A. Felix. Well, it's supposed to be Felix. Felix Doh was a
10:08:21 10 rebel leader in la Cote d'Ivoire, but I don't know the rebel
11 group he headed.

12 Q. Mr Taylor, you knew that Sam Bockarie and the men you had
13 sent to join him were fighting with Felix Doh. You knew that,
14 didn't you?

10:08:36 15 A. That is totally incorrect. I did not send anyone. You
16 asked two questions. Number 1, I did not send anyone to fight in
17 la Cote d'Ivoire. That's period. I didn't.

18 Q. Mr Taylor, you knew that Felix Doh was killed in late April
19 2003, isn't that correct?

10:08:51 20 A. Well, I know Phillip Doh was killed. I am not sure if it
21 was late April, but he was killed somewhere in 2002 - in 3,
22 early.

23 Q. Next paragraph:

24 "Although the relationship between Charles Taylor and
10:09:07 25 Blaise Compaore had ebbed and flowed, the presence of troops
26 loyal to Charles Taylor in the west of Cote d'Ivoire demonstrates
27 the continued collaboration between Taylor and Compaore in
28 regional destabilisation."

29 And, Mr Taylor, you did continue to work with Blaise

1 Compaore toward regional destabilisation, did you not?

2 A. Totally - total nonsense. Total nonsense.

3 Q. And if we continue: "From the December 1999 coup

4 onwards" - and, Mr Taylor, this is the coup that first brought

10:09:47 5 Robert Doe to power, isn't that - Robert Guei to power in la Cote

6 d'Ivoire, isn't it?

7 A. Well, the way the question is put, I don't know what you

8 want me to say.

9 Q. The December 1999 coup that it refers to here, this is the

10:10:05 10 coup that brought Robert Guei to power, isn't it?

11 A. Well, you've been very technical here. I am not sure if

12 this is the coup that this particular paragraph is referring to,

13 but I agree that it says it from December 1999 coup upward. Now,

14 whether it is referring to that coup, I can't say specifically

10:10:28 15 that is true.

16 Q. Well, if we define ourselves to Cote d'Ivoire. How many

17 coups were there in December 1999 in Cote d'Ivoire?

18 A. Well, if your question is about la Cote d'Ivoire in

19 December '99, I would say yes.

10:10:40 20 Q. Robert Guei --

21 A. Guei, yes.

22 Q. -- came to power through the coup in December 1999 in la

23 Cote d'Ivoire, correct?

24 A. That is correct.

10:10:49 25 Q. "From the December 1999 coup onwards, Taylor and Compaore

26 gradually developed divergent interest in Cote d'Ivoire. Taylor

27 became an ally of General Guei, leader of the Ivorian military

28 junta in 1999-2000; their relations dated back to the early

29 1990s, when Guei, as a senior army officer, had supported

1 Taylor's war effort from rear bases inside Cote d'Ivoire."

2 And it is correct, is it not, Mr Taylor --

3 A. That's a black lie.

4 Q. -- that in the early '90s Guei, as a senior army officer,
10:11:28 5 supported your war effort from rear bases inside Cote d'Ivoire?

6 A. That's a black, black, lie. Never did any officer in La
7 Cote d'Ivoire called Guei Robert support me in any way. That's a
8 black lie and this man is dead. It's a lie.

9 Q. And it goes on:

10:11:47 10 "Taylor continued to help Guei when the latter, after
11 losing power in 2000, retreated to his fiefdom close to the
12 western border with Liberia."

13 And it notes here:

14 "Guei, himself a Yacouba, recruited fighters from that
10:12:08 15 group's ethnic cousins, the Gio of Liberia, who formed the main
16 element of Taylor's own armed forces. Guei's private force in
17 Gouessesso near Man included many Liberians and Ivorian soldiers
18 who trained in Liberia in 2000-2001."

19 Mr Taylor, you were involved in the training of these men
10:12:31 20 in Liberia in 2000 to 2001, weren't you?

21 A. No. The fact of the matter, for the benefit of Court,
22 there were Ivorians that fought in Liberia. I have told this
23 Court that Ivorians fought in Liberia --

24 Q. Mr Taylor --

10:12:50 25 A. Well, okay.

26 Q. Mr Taylor --

27 A. I'm finished.

28 Q. I am simply going - I am sorry to interrupt you, but they
29 are talking about --

1 A. Well, you have.

2 Q. -- they are talking about:

3 "Guei's private force in Gouessesso near Man included many
4 Liberians and Ivorian soldiers who trained in Liberia in 2000 to
10:13:09 5 2001."

6 So the sentence is not talking about Ivorians fighting in
7 Liberia, but Liberians and Ivorian soldiers who trained in
8 Liberia in 2000-2001. Mr Taylor, it is correct, is it not, that
9 you were aware of these Ivorians training in Liberia in 2000 to
10:13:35 10 2001?

11 A. No, I was not aware. If you put it that way, I would say
12 no.

13 Q. Indeed, Mr Taylor, it was your people who were training
14 them, isn't that correct?

10:13:43 15 A. In 2001 there would be no way I would be training when I am
16 fighting. It is a lie. Now, because this record could be coming
17 in the future for the Court, because I know I'm going to be
18 confronted with it, the fact that there are Liberians, Yacoubas,
19 Gios fighting in la Cote d'Ivoire is a fact. It is a fact that
10:14:07 20 there were Liberians because of family and cousins that were
21 fighting, number 1. Number 2 - because I don't want to deceive
22 these judges that I was not aware of some of these difficulties.
23 Number 2, Ivorians fought in Liberia during the civil war. After
24 the war, I packed them up and took them to President
10:14:31 25 Houphouet-Boigny. Houphouet-Boigny integrated them into the
26 gendarme and the army because they were trained.

27 Now, we heard that some of these people, okay, were
28 fighting in la Cote d'Ivoire. They were Ivorians. So this
29 person giving his opinion doesn't know the details. Along that

1 border we were concerned that Gios, which dominate Nimba County,
2 were going in and out, and we tried to stop it. So it's good for
3 that record to be put on the record now before later someone
4 says, Well, Mr Taylor you say you didn't know anybody was
10:15:08 5 fighting in la Cote d'Ivoire.

6 Q. Mr Taylor, are you finished?

7 A. I am very finished.

8 Q. Now that you have made your additional comments that go
9 beyond the question, Mr Taylor, in fact, these Ivorians that were
10:15:24 10 fighting in Liberia were fighting on your side of that conflict
11 in Liberia, weren't they?

12 A. What time period are you talking about?

13 Q. Well, the one you just talked about, Mr Taylor?

14 A. No, well, let's get --

10:15:34 15 Q. You just talked about Ivorians fighting Liberia.

16 A. Well, I want to get your question for the record. What
17 time are you speaking about?

18 Q. Well, Mr Taylor, let's go back to what you said. "Number
19 two, Ivorians fought in Liberia during the civil war." Now, you
10:15:47 20 just said that. These Ivorians fighting in Liberia during the
21 civil war were fighting on your side of that conflict, weren't
22 they?

23 A. Well, then I will be specific since you choose not to.
24 Between 1980, okay - 1990 up until the time of my election as
10:16:07 25 President, there were Ivorians, Yacoubas with their families that
26 fought that we assembled and sent back. That's the period, yes.

27 Q. Mr Taylor, that's not my question. These Ivorians you are
28 referring to fought on your side of that conflict in Liberia.
29 Isn't that correct?

1 A. I have given you the period and I am saying during that
2 period, yes.

3 PRESIDING JUDGE: Mr Taylor, I would rather you answer
4 directly. The question is: Did they fight on your side? Were
10:16:33 5 they fighting on your side? Not were they fighting. Were they
6 fighting on your side, that was the question.

7 THE WITNESS: During the period, your Honour, yes. During
8 the period that I mentioned, yes, and I am being specific because
9 I know later she - excuse me - counsel will say, well,
10:16:57 10 she - counsel may extend it beyond a particular period and I want
11 to be very earnest with this Court that this period between '90
12 up until my election, Yacouba's from la Cote d'Ivoire do fight
13 along with my forces, yes, your Honour.

14 MS HOLLIS:

10:17:18 15 Q. Mr Taylor, that question of mine to you was premised on
16 your language which is at page 25 of my LiveNote. "Number two,
17 Ivoirians fought in Liberia during the civil war." That was your
18 language, Mr Taylor.

19 Now, Mr Taylor, these Ivoirians that fought on your side
10:17:36 20 during this time period, where were they trained?

21 A. They were trained in Liberia.

22 Q. And who trained them?

23 A. The NPFL - they trained along with the NPFL.

24 Q. And how long did they train in Liberia?

10:17:47 25 A. They trained for about six months.

26 Q. And how many of them were there?

27 A. There were approximately 200 Ivoirians that we returned.

28 Now, I don't know the exact number. 200 that I took back to
29 Houphouet-Boigny.

1 Q. Now, let's go back to page 19 of this report that we are
2 on, the last sentence of the top paragraph:

3 "Compaore, on the other hand, was increasingly identified
4 in Ivorian politics with Alhassane Ouattara."

10:18:37 5 Mr Taylor, we discussed yesterday that Alhassane Ouattara
6 was in fact excluded from the elections that had taken place in
7 late October 2000, yes, Mr Taylor?

8 A. Yes, Alhassane Ouattara was excluded, to the best of my
9 knowledge, yes.

10:18:54 10 Q. The next paragraph:

11 "The early days of the rebellion developed into a strategic
12 threat for Taylor after MPCJ declared a unilateral ceasefire on
13 17 October 2002 following the seizure by government troops of
14 Daloa, in the heart of cocoa country, with help from Angolan
10:19:18 15 fighters. First, he lost his closest Ivorian ally when General
16 Guei was murdered on 19 September 2002. Secondly, he received
17 information that the MPCJ was recruiting Liberian combat veterans
18 from refugee camps in Ghana, including some whom he considered as
19 enemies."

10:19:44 20 And then if we move down:

21 "Taylor learned of a meeting in early November 2002 between
22 MPCJ leaders, including IB Coulibaly and his brother Ishmael; a
23 close military aide to President Compaore; a dissident from
24 Guinea; Sam Bockarie from the Sierra Leonean RUF; and at least
10:20:16 25 one former fighter from Taylor's own forces. This group hatched
26 a plan to launch a three-pronged attack on Danane, San Pedro and
27 Abidjan in December 2002, and to use the territory they secured
28 to restart wars in Sierra Leone and Guinea. Alarmed not least by
29 the number of Liberian opponents that MPCJ had under arms, Taylor

1 established MPIGO to protect him from MPCl intrusion."

2 Now, Mr Taylor, you learned about Sam Bockarie having these
3 meetings with MPCl, did you not?

4 A. No. That's what makes this whole document silly. Taylor
10:21:03 5 learned? Somebody is speaking for me. I did not learn or know -
6 how would somebody know what I learned, except I told him. Is he
7 saying I told him that I learned? It's total nonsense.

8 Q. In fact, Mr Taylor, you learned about this meeting because
9 Sam Bockarie himself told you about the overtures that had been
10:21:21 10 made to him. Isn't that correct?

11 A. That is incorrect.

12 PRESIDING JUDGE: Ms Hollis, I am afraid we have to adjourn
13 at this stage. We are just up to about our time and we will
14 reconvene at 12 o'clock.

10:21:37 15 [Break taken at 10.20 a.m.]

16 [Upon resuming at 12.00 p.m.]

17 PRESIDING JUDGE: Good afternoon. Ms Hollis, please
18 continue.

19 MS HOLLIS: Thank you, Madam President:

12:01:37 20 Q. If we could please return to number 52 - tab 52 in annex 3,
21 "The war is not over yet". We were at page 19 of that document.
22 If we look at the right-hand column, the first full paragraph
23 that begins on the fourth line down from the top:

24 "Thirdly, Taylor was threatened by President Gbagbo's own
12:02:43 25 recruitment of Liberian exiles in the form of Krahn wing of LURD
26 which later hived off into a new movement, MODEL."

27 Mr Taylor, it's true, isn't it, that this is another reason
28 that you actually had subordinates fighting in Ivory Coast?

29 A. No, I never had subordinates fighting in Ivory Coast.

1 MS HOLLIS: Madam President, I would ask that this document
2 be marked for identification, the document at tab 52 in annex 3.

3 PRESIDING JUDGE: The whole document?

4 MS HOLLIS: Yes, Madam President.

12:03:25 5 PRESIDING JUDGE: The ICG Africa report number 72 and the
6 article entitled "The war is not yet over", dated 28 November
7 2003, is MFI-364.

8 MS HOLLIS: Thank you, Madam President:

9 Q. Mr Taylor, we've talked before about Fawaz brothers in
12:04:06 10 Liberia. Do you recall that?

11 A. Yes.

12 Q. You indicated that they were businessmen in Liberia?

13 A. Yes.

14 Q. And Liberian descent if not nationality?

12:04:24 15 A. I beg your pardon?

16 Q. And that they were of Liberian descent if not of Liberian -
17 excuse me, of Lebanese descent, if not, Lebanese nationality?

18 A. That is correct.

19 Q. I believe it was in relation to at least one of the Fawaz
12:04:39 20 brothers or all them that you indicated you weren't sure if they
21 may have been Liberian nationals. Is that correct?

22 A. I don't - they could not have been - they were born in
23 Liberia. They could not have been Liberian nationals.

24 PRESIDING JUDGE: Ms Hollis, what brothers?

12:04:56 25 MS HOLLIS: Fawaz, F-A-W-A-Z:

26 Q. And, Mr Taylor, one of those brothers, one of the
27 businessmen, was Abbas Fawaz. Isn't that correct?

28 A. That is correct.

29 Q. And Abbas Fawaz was involved with logging concessions in

1 Liberia. Isn't that correct?

2 A. That is correct.

3 Q. One of the logging concessions he was involved with was in
4 an area that was referred to as MWPI. Isn't that correct?

12:05:27 5 A. That could be correct, yeah.

6 Q. Do you recall what area of the country Abbas Fawaz's
7 logging concessions were located in?

8 A. If I'm not mistaken it was located in the southeast of
9 Liberia, Maryland. In the general Maryland area, the southeast.

12:05:44 10 Q. Now, Mr Taylor, it is correct, is it not, that you used
11 Abbas Fawaz to organise shipments of ammunition to the Ivory
12 Coast?

13 A. No. Abbas Fawaz was never involved in any arms shipment to
14 La Cote d'Ivoire or even involved in any military activities in

12:06:11 15 Liberia. No. Never.

16 Q. And, indeed, he organised these shipments of ammunition
17 through Harper. Isn't that correct?

18 A. Totally incorrect.

19 Q. Mr Taylor, it is true, is it not, that forces in Ivory
12:06:31 20 Coast acknowledged that they received support from you during the
21 conflict in Ivory Coast?

22 A. I have no knowledge of that, no. I have no knowledge. You
23 say is it true, I have no knowledge of that. I did not supply
24 any and I have no knowledge of forces saying that.

12:06:51 25 Q. If we could look at tab 29 in annex 3, please. This is a
26 UN panel of experts' report S/2003/937. Tab number 29 in annex
27 3. And if we look at the first page, we see "United Nations
28 Security Council S/2003/937, 28 October 2003", letter dated "28
29 October 2003 from the chairman of the Security Council committee

1 established pursuant to resolution 1343 (2001) concerning Liberia
2 addressed to the President of the Security Council." And the
3 chairman indicates that he is submitting the report of the panel
4 of experts.

12:08:43

5 And then if we could look at paragraph 42 at page 16 of
6 this report. And we see, beginning a few words into the
7 sentence, it talks about a matter being of particular concern.
8 "Political leaders of the forces nouvelle acknowledged to the
9 panel that they had asked for and received support from Charles
10 Taylor."

12:09:28

11 Mr Taylor, it is correct, is it not, that you were
12 providing support to forces nouvelle in the Cote d'Ivoire?
13 A. That is totally incorrect, no. This is a group - is that
14 FANCI, or Forces Nouvelle? I - never. Never.

12:09:52

15 MS HOLLIS: Madam President, I would ask that that document
16 be marked for identification.

17 PRESIDING JUDGE: The Security Council letter reference
18 S/2003/937 of 28 October 2003 is MFI-365.

19 MS HOLLIS:

12:10:22

20 Q. Mr Taylor, in the Ivory Coast, while you were publicly
21 presenting yourself as working for peace, you were in fact
22 involved in escalating and continuing the conflict in Ivory
23 Coast. Isn't that correct?

24 A. That is not correct.

12:10:42

25 Q. And, in fact, Mr Taylor, that is similar to your approach
26 regarding Sierra Leone, isn't it?

27 A. That is not correct.

28 Q. Where you were publicly pronouncing yourself to be
29 advocating for peace but in reality were supporting the rebels in

1 their continuing activities in Sierra Leone. Isn't that correct?

2 A. That is not correct.

3 Q. And, Mr Taylor, your testimony to these judges about your
4 ongoing peace efforts in Ivory Coast was simply not true, was it?

12:11:20 5 A. It was true. If it was not true they would not have kept
6 inviting me. It was fully true.

7 PRESIDING JUDGE: Who invited you, sir?

8 THE WITNESS: Both the Ivorian government - the entire
9 committee responsible for the - the French government invited me.

12:11:49 10 The Togolese government invited me along with President Gbagbo
11 and all of them. All of the principal peace conferences on Cote
12 d'Ivoire in France and Lome I attended up until 2002. I think
13 there are photographs that have been displayed here to that also.

14 PRESIDING JUDGE: It's just that the answer, the way you
15 gave it, looked like the judges had invited you.

16 THE WITNESS: Oh, no. No, I'm sorry. Not the judges.

17 MS HOLLIS:

18 Q. Mr Taylor, do you recall on direct examination testifying
19 about helicopters coming from Sierra Leone on about 14 February
12:12:45 20 at the time of the intervention in Sierra Leone?

21 A. That is correct.

22 Q. And you testified that those helicopters were with junta
23 personnel?

24 A. That is correct.

12:12:58 25 Q. And that they came into Spriggs Payne Airport?

26 A. That is correct.

27 Q. Now, you also testified about handing these junta personnel
28 over to the Sierra Leone government at some point after that; do
29 you remember that, Mr Taylor?

1 A. Well, not in that way. I did not say I handed them. I
2 consented sometime afterward to their being turned over. I
3 didn't say I personally handed them because ECOMOG seized them
4 from our people.

12:13:37 5 Q. Now, indeed, Mr Taylor, if we would look at 29 September
6 2009 at page 29754. Mr Taylor, we see a question beginning at
7 line 13 asking you if you saw Sam Bockarie in October 1998 and
8 you said, yes, you saw him in October. And then when you were
9 asked when, you said you weren't sure, it could have been
12:14:36 10 somewhere in the middle of October or thereabouts. His second
11 trip to Monrovia. And then the question:

12 "Q. Now, were you aware that 24 soldiers had been tried
13 and executed by a military tribunal in Sierra Leone?"

14 And you, yes, you were aware and very upset because you
12:14:53 15 felt that Kabbah had lied to you. And then there is a question
16 at line 27:

17 "Q. Because you had sent King back to Sierra Leone, hadn't
18 you?"

19 A. That is correct. So that was about my only involvement
12:15:13 20 in knowing what happened down there."

21 You go on to indicate you were very concerned about that
22 and then if we look at line 8 on the next page, 29755:

23 "So when this issue arose with the February, to be exact
24 February 14, arrival of Victor King and all of the squabbles that
12:15:38 25 happened thereafter, my decision to send him there was a very
26 hard decision and I wanted to - all of the assurances that
27 nothing would happen to him."

28 Now, Mr Taylor, when Victor King and these other junta
29 members came into Spriggs Payne, they were taken into custody by

1 ECOMOG. Isn't that correct?

2 A. After - yes. Yes. But after a problem with our security,
3 yes, they were taken by force by ECOMOG, yes.

4 Q. And ECOMOG retained custody over those individuals while
12:16:18 5 they remained in Liberia. Isn't that correct?

6 A. That is correct.

7 Q. And eventually indeed those individuals were taken to
8 Nigeria. Isn't that correct?

9 A. Now --

12:16:31 10 Q. Mr Taylor, isn't that correct?

11 A. No. To my - you see, this is what I mean. I was told at
12 that particular time that they would remain in Liberia, okay.
13 That they would be kept at ECOMOG base because I insisted that
14 Liberia had jurisdiction. Now, if they were taken to Nigeria it
12:16:56 15 was not with my knowledge or my consent and it was a betrayal
16 because I insisted that they were on Liberian territory, ECOMOG
17 said they had kept them at their base and I got the assurance of
18 the President of Nigeria that they would remain in Liberia. So
19 to the best of my knowledge they are in Liberia.

12:17:14 20 Q. And indeed, Mr Taylor, they were taken to Nigeria and it
21 was from Nigeria that they were returned back to Sierra Leone.
22 Isn't that correct?

23 A. Well, from documents I have read from your bundle,
24 documents that I have read, it is true but I considered that - in
12:17:33 25 fact, I got annoyed because my understanding was that those
26 people were still being held at ECOMOG base in Monrovia. I never
27 knew that they were taken to Nigeria.

28 Q. In fact, Mr Taylor, it was Nigeria who eventually sent them
29 back to Sierra Leone. Isn't that correct?

1 A. That is correct. And they lied to me and betrayed me.

2 Q. Mr Taylor, it wasn't you who sent them back to Sierra
3 Leone, was it?

4 A. Well, my consent - I consented after a protracted - listen.

12:18:04 5 For the judges, the period involving the King situation was not a
6 day or two. It lasted for I would say a minimum - a minimum of
7 about two months. I had been assured that those people would be
8 kept in Liberia. And the agreement that was made between the
9 President and myself was that it would only be with my consent
12:18:27 10 that ECOMOG would release those people, and that was what I
11 thought.

12 PRESIDING JUDGE: When you say the President and yourself,
13 which President is this?

14 THE WITNESS: We're talking about - this is February '99 -
12:18:40 15 we're talking about Abacha, okay. And I was so angry about this.
16 Remember we talked about planes flying over and I was so annoyed
17 and I said I want those people back. Abacha said, "Look, we'll
18 keep them in custody because you may not have the place to hold
19 these people, but they will not be sent unless you agree." And I
12:19:02 20 swear all along I thought those people were in Liberia, not
21 knowing they had slipped them out. And I got to know this only
22 from the documents that I read that were given to me by the
23 Prosecution.

24 MS HOLLIS:

12:19:17 25 Q. Indeed, Mr Taylor, that's the document that you read that
26 was actually a statement that was taken from Victor King. Isn't
27 that right?

28 A. Yes, that's what I read and I got upset since I read it.

29 Q. So, Mr Taylor, you are telling this Court that President

1 Abacha wasn't straightforward with you?

2 A. Exactly.

3 Q. But that's not really true, is it, Mr Taylor?

4 A. That is very, very true. I thought those people were still
12:19:40 5 in Liberia and I consented based on the fact that they were
6 leaving from Liberia to Freetown.

7 Q. But indeed, Mr Taylor, it wasn't you who sent them, was it?
8 They were sent from Nigeria?

9 A. With my consent, yes. After I got the assurance and Abacha
12:19:57 10 assured me and that Kabbah had said he would not do anything to
11 them, I said, well, fine, they can be taken.

12 Q. And in fact it wasn't you, contrary to your evidence on 29
13 September - it wasn't you who sent King back to Sierra Leone, was
14 it?

12:20:15 15 A. Well, I would say my own interpretation of my consent is
16 they were a jurisdiction of Liberia, I would say I sent.

17 PRESIDING JUDGE: Mr Taylor, are you saying you consented
18 to their being taken to Sierra Leone, or to their being taken to
19 Nigeria?

12:20:30 20 THE WITNESS: To being taken to Sierra Leone.

21 PRESIDING JUDGE: You gave your consent for them to be
22 taken to Sierra Leone?

23 THE WITNESS: That is correct.

24 PRESIDING JUDGE: And you gave this consent to who?

12:20:40 25 THE WITNESS: To President Abacha.

26 MS HOLLIS:

27 Q. Mr Taylor, when did you give him that consent?

28 A. Well, this whole problem lasted, like I said, for about a
29 minimum of two months. So we had been on this up and down about

1 will they go, will they not go? And I insisted that it be turned
2 over to Liberia's jurisdiction. Nigeria refused, there were a
3 lot of hostilities. Some somewhere after about two months I
4 said, well, fine, I need the assurance that nothing will happen
12:21:12 5 to them because of a previous experience that Liberia had had
6 with General Lansana. Abacha finally told me after some two
7 months that Kabbah had said and had ordered the assurance that
8 they would not be killed. So I said, if this is the case, their
9 transfer back to Sierra Leone is fine with me and I thought they
12:21:34 10 took off from ECOMOG base in Monrovia, not knowing they were
11 already out.

12 Q. Now, Mr Taylor, let's talk a bit about helicopters. During
13 direct examination you testified about the capacity of an Mi-2
14 helicopter. Do you recall that?

12:21:53 15 A. That is correct.

16 Q. And you referred to such helicopter as a very tiny aircraft
17 that takes about six persons. Do you recall saying that on 19
18 August?

19 A. Yes.

12:22:03 20 Q. And you indicated throughout your testimony that this Mi-2
21 was a small helicopter, correct?

22 A. An Mi-2 is - yes, it's a small helicopter, yes.

23 Q. And you testified that you had an Mi-2 helicopter after
24 1999. Do you remember testifying to that on 28 October?

12:22:29 25 A. I'm not sure if I said "after". I said we had an Mi
26 helicopter as of 1999, yes.

27 Q. Indeed I don't think you did say "after", Mr Taylor. If we
28 look at 28 October, 30596.

29 A. No, you said "after", counsel. I didn't say that.

1 Q. I'm agreeing that I don't think you did say "after".

2 A. Okay.

3 Q. If we look at 28 October 2009 at page 30596, at the bottom
4 of that page you indicate, "Because the first helicopter we even
12:23:03 5 get in Liberia in 1999 is an Mi-2." Do you remember telling the
6 Court that, Mr Taylor?

7 A. Yes.

8 Q. So this was in 1999 that you say you got this Mi-2?

9 A. That is correct.

12:23:17 10 Q. Yes?

11 A. Yes.

12 Q. Actually, Mr Taylor, by the end of 1999 you had two Mi-2
13 helicopters, didn't you?

14 A. Oh, yeah, by the end of 1999, yeah.

12:23:36 15 Q. Now, Mr Taylor, the estimate of the passenger capability of
16 an Mi-2 that you gave is inaccurate, isn't it?

17 A. It probably is. I'm not an engineer. I told this Court
18 frankly from my heart that it's a small helicopter, it would take
19 about six people. Now technically that could be - I mean,
12:24:00 20 anybody can draw a technical point from that. I tried to give
21 factual evidence of my knowledge of the size of this aircraft.

22 Q. Mr Taylor, an Mi-2 could carry nine persons including the
23 crew, isn't that right?

24 A. If you have the technical information. It's a very small
12:24:18 25 helicopter and I know I said six. If you add the two pilots,
26 eight, so maybe it could be closer to nine. So I wouldn't fight
27 with the technical information. I know I said six, plus the two
28 pilots maybe that's eight, so, I don't know, nine, I don't care.

29 Q. And an Mi-2 actually would have the capability to carry 700

1 kilograms of cargo, wouldn't it?

2 A. Well, without the individuals or with the individuals?

3 Q. That could be cargo only, Mr Taylor.

4 A. Only cargo. You said 700 kilos?

12:24:57 5 Q. Yes?

6 A. Okay, well, you have to give me a minute, counsel. Let me
7 do the calculation, because 700 --

8 Q. [Overlapping speakers] 2.2.

9 A. Yeah, because 700 kilos that's about 1.5 tons I would say
12:25:10 10 or thereabouts and an average human being, being about 150 pounds
11 times nine times - so I would say - I would say - no, let me say
12 1.5 ton. No, a ton is 2,000.

13 Q. 2,000, yes.

14 A. No, I'm wrong about that. Not 1.5 tons.

12:25:33 15 Q. It would be less than that.

16 A. 1,500 pounds, that's under a ton. 1,500 pounds and about
17 nine human beings sound alike, yeah. That would be - that sounds
18 - just from the top of my head that sounds pretty straight.

19 Q. So if we could look at tab 32 in annex 1, please. We see
12:27:21 20 the front page shows that this is Asia Trading Post online,
21 Russian helicopters sales. Then if we can look at the next page,
22 please, and we see Mi-2 Russian helicopter sales. Then if we
23 look at the description below the picture where it talks about
24 various properties of the helicopter and we look at the third
12:27:57 25 line down, "The standard passenger version of Mi-2 helicopter has
26 seating for one pilot and eight passengers." So the standard
27 passenger version would be for nine persons total. "The interior
28 can be quickly converted for transport of 700 kilograms of
29 cargo." Then if we look --

1 A. Excuse me, counsel, I'm not seeing that 700. Maybe we
2 could expand the page or contract the page.

3 Q. Sorry.

4 A. One part of it is --

12:28:35 5 PRESIDING JUDGE: Can you please adjust that scoping
6 properly.

7 MS HOLLIS:

8 Q. Do you see the --

9 A. I see that now, counsel.

12:28:48 10 Q. You see that now?

11 A. Yes, I do.

12 Q. 700 kilograms. Then we go down, "The range of the
13 helicopter with external tanks as standard is 580 kilometres."

14 Then if we skip the next sentence - in fact the next two

12:29:08 15 sentences and begin with, "Internal cargo carrier of loads up to
16 700 kilograms" and it shows 1,544 pounds, "Or as a flying crane
17 with cargo sling for loads up to 800 kilograms."

18 A. Yes.

19 Q. So if we took your example and had persons on that

12:29:32 20 helicopter of 150 pounds, even if we had seven persons on that
21 helicopter, including crew, it would have the weight capacity to
22 carry cargo as well, wouldn't it?

23 A. Well, the way you asked that question we're getting into
24 technical things. I mean, the way how you put it, there are

12:29:56 25 other technical information now that you show me this that would
26 be very important for Court.

27 Q. Mr Taylor, my question was weight capacity?

28 A. Yeah, but you have weight capacities, your Honours --

29 Q. Mr Taylor, my question was that even if you had seven

1 persons and you have given an average weight of 150 pounds, if we
2 had seven persons on that helicopter, including the crew, it
3 would have the weight capacity to carry cargo as well, wouldn't
4 it?

12:30:30 5 A. Well, that's --

6 JUSTICE LUSSICK: Just before you answer that, perhaps I'm
7 reading the article incorrectly, but that's not what this article
8 says, in my opinion. If you look at the third line, it says,
9 "The standard passenger version of Mi-2 helicopter has seating
10 for one Pilot and eight passengers. The interior can be quickly
11 converted for transport of 700 kilos of cargo." Doesn't that
12 mean in lieu of the - if you convert it, wouldn't that be in lieu
13 of carrying the passengers, not together with the passengers?

14 MS HOLLIS: I wouldn't read it that way, Mr Justice,
15 because they are talking about the maximum --

16 JUSTICE LUSSICK: What would you need to convert if it
17 meant both?

18 MS HOLLIS: They are talking about the maximum capacity
19 should you be carrying cargo only. There's nothing here to
20 indicate that you are unable to mix and they are talking about
21 maximum weights of carrier loads of up to 700 kilograms.

22 PRESIDING JUDGE: Yes, but, Ms Hollis, if the people - the
23 seven or eight people are seated, even if their weight is below
24 the maximum, where would you put your cargo? Because the people
25 are there seated.

26 MS HOLLIS: You put it in the middle of the aisle with
27 carrier seats - with troop seats.

28 JUSTICE LUSSICK: Well, I disagree with your reading. To
29 me, that's quite clear, that if you have to convert the interior

1 to carry cargo, that means that it no longer carries the
2 passengers.

3 PRESIDING JUDGE: I'm afraid I am of the same view.

4 MS HOLLIS: Well, I think there is a common experience of
12:32:09 5 what are called troop seats which are along the sides of the
6 helicopters with cargo in the middle.

7 PRESIDING JUDGE: Ms Hollis, I think in view of the various
8 interpretations around the courtroom, perhaps you could rephrase
9 your question, because you are stating it as a fact and we are
12:32:30 10 disagreed about the interpretation that's here. We, at least
11 half of the Bench, don't think that you are putting the correct
12 interpretation on the information that we have in front of us.

13 MS HOLLIS: But, your Honours, I could simply say, as I've
14 said before, I think there is a common experience in this
12:32:54 15 courtroom of helicopters carrying individuals in what may be
16 called troop seats along the side with cargo down the middle.

17 JUSTICE LUSSICK: You are talking about Mi-8s. This is an
18 Mi-2. I've never been on - how many people here have been on an
19 Mi-2?

12:33:09 20 MS HOLLIS: There is nothing here to indicate, your Honour,
21 that such a capability as troop seats is not possible on this
22 aircraft.

23 JUSTICE LUSSICK: Well, there's nothing to indicate it is
24 either. What I can see here is that you have to convert it if
12:33:21 25 you want to carry cargo, otherwise you can carry eight people and
26 the pilot, or if you convert it, you can carry cargo and that
27 would be in lieu of the eight people and the pilot. So that's my
28 interpretation, but as the Presiding Judge says, Ms Hollis, if
29 you have a different idea, then certainly you cannot put

1 questions to this witness as though they were proven facts.

2 MS HOLLIS: I would again, at the risk of incurring your
3 Honours' displeasure, state for the record that we may put to
4 this witness --

12:33:55 5 JUSTICE LUSSICK: No, you can't because I just said you
6 can't. This is not a proven fact that it carries both cargo and
7 passengers. So you rephrase your questions appropriately if you
8 want to question the witness on this passage.

9 MS HOLLIS: We would simply note for the record that we --

12:34:11 10 JUSTICE LUSSICK: I don't want to hear you noting for the
11 record. The Court has made a decision, Ms Hollis, and you've got
12 a habit of questioning the Court's decisions after they have made
13 them. There is a way to do that, but it's not by continuing to
14 place arguments in favour of your cause when the Court has ruled
12:34:28 15 against you.

16 MS HOLLIS: And I was not going to argue, your Honour.

17 PRESIDING JUDGE: Ms Hollis, please continue but do not put
18 the same question to the witness. You can continue with other
19 questions.

12:34:41 20 MS HOLLIS: In light of your Honours' comments and
21 interpretation of this material, the Prosecution would have no
22 additional questions. We would, however, ask that this be marked
23 for identification.

24 PRESIDING JUDGE: I'm trying to describe this correctly. I
12:35:00 25 think it's a Google search excerpt describing a Russian
26 helicopter, Mi-2.

27 MS HOLLIS: That would be correct, Madam President.

28 PRESIDING JUDGE: That would be - it's marked MFI-366.

29 MS HOLLIS: We would ask that that would include both

1 pages, the cover page and the page referred to with the
2 photograph.

3 PRESIDING JUDGE: It is so marked.

4 MS HOLLIS:

12:35:35 5 Q. Now, Mr Taylor, in relation to helicopters, by July and
6 August 2000, you had delivery of Mi -2 and Mi -17 helicopters.
7 Isn't that correct?

8 A. No, that is not correct.

9 Q. And these were delivered to Monrovia in transactions set up
12:36:04 10 through Victor Bout. Isn't that true?

11 A. That is not true. And, counsel, you asked two questions
12 about an Mi -2 and an Mi -17. Now, we do have a second Mi -2, for
13 the Court record, but I'm answering I never ever received an
14 Mi -17 in Liberia.

12:36:23 15 Q. Mr Taylor, I believe you had indicated you had both of
16 those Mi -2s in 1999. Is that correct?

17 A. That is correct.

18 Q. If we could - may I have a moment, Madam President? If we
19 could look at exhibit P-18. If you could bring that down so that
12:37:33 20 we can see the top of that page, please. We see United Nations

21 Security Council, 20 December 2000, note by the President of the
22 Security Council, and we see it refers to the attached report of
23 the panel of experts and that the report is being circulated for
24 the information of the members of the United Nations.

12:38:03 25 And then if we could please turn to page 39 of that exhibit
26 and at the top you will see in large letters "4409". And if we
27 could look at paragraph 233, and there is a reference to an
28 aircraft that is described in paragraph 232, and then it says:

29 "This plane was used in July and August 2000 for arms

1 deliveries from Europe to Liberia. This aircraft, and an
2 Antonov, made four deliveries to Liberia, three times in July and
3 once in August 2000. The cargo included attack-capable
4 helicopters, spare rotors, anti-tank and anti-aircraft systems,
12:39:06 5 missiles, armoured vehicles, machine-guns and almost a million
6 round of ammunition. The helicopters were Mi-2 and Mi-17 types."

7 And if we look at paragraph 234:

8 "The transactions were set up by Victor Bout in the United
9 Arab Emirates and by Guus van Kouwenhoven mentioned in paragraph
12:39:41 10 217 above."

11 So, Mr Taylor, it is correct, is it not, that in July and
12 August 2000 you received shipments which included Mi-2 and Mi-17
13 type helicopters?

14 A. You know it's regrettable but this panel of experts, I
12:39:57 15 swear on my life, they lied. Those two Mi-8s that I Charles
16 Ghankay Taylor left in Liberia are still in the hanger at Spriggs
17 Payne Airport. I never - that's why I've always said that these
18 reports - this report is totally wrong. I never had an Mi-17 in
19 the Republic of Liberia. I never had any armoured carrier. I
12:40:19 20 left Liberia on a plane. And what was accounted for there, there
21 was never, never an MI-17 or armoured in all this nonsense. This
22 panel of experts sadly lied.

23 Q. Mr Taylor, this panel of experts that were part of this --

24 PRESIDING JUDGE: Excuse me, Ms Hollis. Mr Taylor, did you
12:40:38 25 say that two Mi-8s that you left in Liberia?

26 THE WITNESS: We had Mi-8s. It's a part of my testimony
27 before the Court, that there were Mi-8s, that we had Mi-2s. We
28 had two Mi-2s. And there's also my testimony before this Court
29 that we also had Mi-8s by 2000.

1 PRESIDING JUDGE: Thank you.

2 THE WITNESS: And they are the two Mi -8s that are still in
3 the hanger in Liberia. Never an Mi -17. There was never an
4 armoured carrier. I don't know where these people got the
12:41:05 5 report. I swear, they lied. It's not true.

6 MS HOLLIS:

7 Q. Mr Taylor, the persons who are responsible for this panel
8 of experts report, are they part of this conspiracy against you?

9 A. Well, not necessarily, but they are wrong, wrong, wrong
12:41:18 10 here. Very wrong. We contested this and those aircrafts are - I
11 didn't fly out of Liberia in a helicopter. Those aircrafts are
12 still in Liberia and they are Mi -8s, and they misled the Security
13 Council with this report. It's wrong.

14 Q. Now, Mr Taylor, you have testified that an Mi -17 is a huge
12:41:35 15 helicopter, haven't you, on 26 August?

16 A. An Mi -17 is a - the ECOMOG had an Mi -17 in Liberia. It's a
17 very big helicopter from - when that helicopter is moving, it's
18 huge. I haven't been around it, but I know that ECOMOG had one
19 in Liberia, but the Liberian government had Mi -8.

12:41:59 20 Q. And an Mi -17 can take up to 30 passengers. Isn't that
21 correct?

22 A. I have no idea of the - of that.

23 Q. And hold some 4,000 kilograms of cargo?

24 A. I have no idea of the capacity of an Mi -17. None.

12:42:16 25 Q. And if we could look at tab 34 in annex 1, please. And if
26 you could bring that down a bit, please, so we can see the top of
27 the page. And we see Si noDefence.com and then we see Mi -17/171
28 Hip Multirole Helicopter and a picture of the helicopter. And
29 then if we could please turn to the next page, and we see in the

1 paragraph above the caption "armament":

2 "The cockpit accommodates a crew of three. The cockpit and
3 the main cabin are heated with air condition as optional. The
4 main cabin can carry up to 24 equipped soldiers or 30 passengers
12:44:12 5 or 20 stretcher patients. The seats can be removed to carry
6 4,000 kilograms of cargo. Alternately, the helicopter can carry
7 3,000 large size cargo externally under sling."

8 So this sets out the capabilities of the helicopter in
9 terms of passengers, crew or cargo, correct, Mr Taylor?

12:44:46 10 A. As stated here for this aircraft. As stated, what you just
11 read, that's what it states.

12 MS HOLLIS: We would ask that that be marked for
13 identification, Madam President.

14 PRESIDING JUDGE: Ms Hollis, before we mark it I'm just
12:45:02 15 wondering. This article, it talks of the Mi-17 and the Mi-171.
16 Is this a picture of either/or? What is this a picture of?

17 MS HOLLIS: This, as I understand it, Madam President, is
18 an alternate designation of this helicopter.

19 PRESIDING JUDGE: Yes, but you didn't answer my question,
12:45:31 20 Ms Hollis.

21 MS HOLLIS: So this would be the Mi-17 which also is
22 referred as the Mi-171.

23 PRESIDING JUDGE: Because I was referring to the paragraph
24 under the heading "Power plant" where the two are definitely
12:45:53 25 distinguished, but I will mark this article as requested. This
26 is the article from the web page SinoDefence.com showing the
27 description and picture of the Mi-17/171 Hip Multirole
28 Helicopter. It's marked MFI-367.

29 MS HOLLIS: Thank you, Madam President:

1 Q. Mr Taylor, by October 2001 you had two Mi -17s in operation.
2 Isn't that correct?

3 A. I never, ever had an Mi -17 in the Republic of Liberia.

4 Q. And you had another Mi -17 grounded with technical problems,
12:46:51 5 correct?

6 A. Never had an Mi -17 in Liberia.

7 Q. If we could please look at P-32, which is S/2001/1015,
8 United Nations Security Council, 26 October 2001, letter dated 26
9 October 2001 from the chairman of the Security Council committee
12:47:40 10 established pursuant to resolution 1343. Again we see that the
11 chairman is sending the report of the panel of experts as the
12 annex to this. Then if we could please look at paragraph 225,
13 and that would be on the page that has the large numbers at the
14 top 4483. 00004483 is the large number at the top. The number
12:48:56 15 at the bottom would be 50 and it is paragraph 225. If we look at
16 this paragraph five lines down, please:

17 "During its visits to Liberia in July and October 2001,
18 this panel observed two Mi -17s, one with the markings of the
19 Anti-Terrorist Unit, based at the airport of Spriggs Payne, close
12:49:41 20 to the city of Monrovia. Another one is grounded with technical
21 problems in a hangar at Roberts International Airport since early
22 2001."

23 It goes on to say:

24 "Two Mi -2 helicopters were also supplied by Sanjivan Ruprah
12:50:01 25 in October 1999 and spare parts for the Mi -17 and for Mi -24
26 helicopters were obtained from Kyrgyzstan in July 2000. The
27 panel also spoke to Sanjivan Ruprah who, as a partner of Victor
28 Bout, based in Liberia had been key to the procurement of the
29 deliveries of Mi -8 helicopters."

1 So, Mr Taylor, as of 2001 you actually had two operational
2 Mi -17 helicopters, did you not?

3 A. Never. Those helicopters are still parked right where the
4 panel say and I guess now we have to go and take some pictures,
12:50:55 5 they are still there. They are Mi -8 helicopters. They misled
6 the council. Those helicopters are still right there where they
7 said they were. Today they are there.

8 JUDGE DOHERTY: Just let me be clear if you don't mind,
9 Ms Hollis. Mr Taylor, you are saying that there are two Mi -8s
12:51:25 10 still there, they are not Mi -17s?

11 THE WITNESS: Because we have never had Mi -17s, your
12 Honour, ever. And they misled the council. They are Mi -8s and
13 the two helicopters - there are two helicopters, they are still
14 parked at those positions as we sit in this courtroom and they
12:51:38 15 misled the council.

16 JUDGE DOHERTY: Thank you for that clarification.

17 MS HOLLIS:

18 Q. Mr Taylor, the authors of this report, are they part of
19 this conspiracy against you?

12:51:58 20 A. Well, they misled the council and so I would say that it is
21 conspiratorial. Whether there is a design planned, I can't say
22 that. But the fact that they could deliberately go and see Mi -8s
23 and call them 17, it shocks me when those helicopters are still
24 on the ground. So I don't know. So it's conspiratorial, yes.
12:52:20 25 I'm not saying they were part of the overall grand scheme, but
26 yes to your question.

27 Q. So in fact, Mr Taylor, by 2001 you had a number of
28 helicopters that were in your service in Liberia. Isn't that
29 correct?

1 A. Well, let's be specific now. Let's be specific. When you
2 say a number, would you please help me in your count; what you
3 mean by a number of helicopters.

4 Q. You had two helicopters that you had obtained in 1999 that
12:52:54 5 were designated as the Mi-8 helicopters?

6 A. No, 1999 I said Mi-2 helicopters.

7 Q. But indeed, Mr Taylor, in 1999 you also had received those
8 helicopters with the assistance of Sanjivan Ruprah. Isn't that
9 correct?

12:53:16 10 A. No, no. Which helicopters? You've asked me several
11 questions now.

12 Q. The two helicopters you acquired in 1999, Mr Taylor?

13 A. You mean the two Mi-2s? Is that your question?

14 Q. That's correct, Mr Taylor.

12:53:36 15 A. So what is your question, counsel?

16 Q. Two Mi-2 helicopters you had in 1999?

17 A. Yes.

18 Q. You had those by October 1999, correct?

19 A. I can't be specific and I have tried to stay away because I
12:53:47 20 don't remember, because the procurement and how they got in, I
21 know it was in 1999. I can't say it was October. I cannot say
22 it was whatever month you call. But I did have two Mi-2s in
23 1999.

24 Q. And Sanjivan Ruprah was involved in the procurement and
12:54:08 25 supply of those helicopters to you in 1999, isn't that correct?

26 A. I can't be certain. I don't know. I had somebody purchase
27 - if he dealt with van Ruprah I don't know, but I had the two
28 helicopters and they were bought on my instructions.

29 Q. And in fact you knew Sanjivan Ruprah, did you not?

1 A. I knew of him, but I don't know him personally.

2 Q. And he was associated with Benoni Urey, wasn't he?

3 A. Well, I'm not sure if "associated". I knew that some of -
4 he knew Mr Urey, from the best of my knowledge, yes.

12:54:48 5 Q. So, Mr Taylor, by October 1999, two Mi-2 helicopters and,
6 by 2001, two Mi-17 helicopters that were operational. That's
7 correct, is it not, Mr Taylor?

8 A. You've asked me two questions. On the first question, on
9 the two Mi-2s, yes. On the second question, we never had ever an
12:55:14 10 Mi-17 in the republic. So to your second question, no.

11 Q. And you were using those helicopters to carry out various
12 operations in Liberia. Isn't that correct, Mr Taylor?

13 A. Which helicopters now?

14 Q. Both the Mi-2s and the Mi-17s?

12:55:31 15 A. Well, you've asked me two questions. On the first question
16 on the Mi-2s, we used them, the small helicopters, for various
17 activities in Liberia, yes. We never had an Mi-17 so it could
18 not have been used.

19 Q. Mr Taylor, when did you first know of Sanjivan Ruprah?

12:56:09 20 A. I can't recollect the exact time that I knew of him. I
21 said I don't know. If you brought him before me as big as this
22 Court I don't know. I knew of him. And that had to be somewhere
23 I would say - I would put it maybe back to '98, early '99 that I
24 knew of him.

12:56:41 25 Q. And how was it that you knew of him?

26 A. I think Mr Ruprah was serving in some capacity with the
27 maritime - I can't say if it's a programme, but he had something
28 to do with some work with the maritime, if I'm not mistaken.
29 Something like a public relations ambassadorial role or something

1 like that, yes.

2 Q. And from whom did you get this information?

3 A. Oh, that would be from - if he was used in an ambassadorial
4 role for maritime, the commissioner would inform me, Mr Urey.

12:57:34 5 Q. So the maritime commission had people that acted in
6 ambassadorial roles?

7 A. When we talk about ambassador here we're talking about any
8 special activities being done by individuals that are
9 non-Liberians. From time to time they could be given courtesy
12:57:53 10 passports, courtesy diplomatic passports. Not with the same type
11 of immunity as a stationed diplomat, but they could be given like
12 a courtesy passport for a period of time to carry out certain
13 functions in the interests of the government.

14 Q. And to your knowledge did Sanjivan Ruprah have such a
12:58:17 15 passport?

16 A. I guess he could have had one. In his role, I wouldn't
17 know the specifics, but I would think that he would have one
18 because he was doing - from what I understood, he was doing some
19 special work, I don't know what, for the maritime, but he would
12:58:35 20 have one.

21 Q. And who told you about this special work he was doing for
22 the maritime?

23 A. I just said the commissioner would tell me.

24 Q. And at that time that would be Benoni Urey?

12:58:47 25 A. That is correct.

26 Q. Would he tell you what type of special work Sanjivan Ruprah
27 was doing?

28 A. He might, but in this particular case he did not - what he
29 would do is to inform me that - because to issue diplomatic

1 passports you need some tacit approval from the Foreign Ministry
2 and the President. And so he would inform that certain
3 individuals were needed and I would say, well, it is okay to
4 issue the passport. I wouldn't go into the details.

12:59:19 5 Q. So, Mr Taylor, is that what you mean when you say tacit
6 approval; that you would say it's okay to issue the passport?

7 A. Yes.

8 Q. Mr Taylor, do you recall on 4 November 2009 testifying that
9 you had a part in setting up an ECOWAS court?

12:59:39 10 A. Yes. There is an ECOWAS court and ECOWAS set up that court
11 and I said I had a part. We met and finally I can remember
12 setting up that court in Dakar. Yes, there is an ECOWAS court.

13 Q. And when were you part of that effort to set up that court?

14 A. I would put that to - that process started during the
13:00:15 15 administration of Alpha Konare, so that would put that to about,
16 I would say, 2002 or thereabouts.

17 Q. Now, is that when you were part of the effort to set it up
18 or are you talking about when the court actually came into being?

19 A. When I say set it up, I'm not a lawyer. As a member of the
13:00:39 20 authority of ECOWAS, we approved in consensus the setting up of
21 an ECOWAS court, that's what I mean I was part of the process. I
22 was still President and a member of the authority.

23 Q. Do you remember when that court came into being?

24 A. Well, like I say, we completed, if I'm not mistaken, it may
13:01:02 25 slip me, I'm sure it was during the administration of Alpha
26 Konare, and so that's about 2002. Like I say, it could be a
27 little earlier. But I can still remember, we did the final work
28 on that court, and even dealing with which countries would even
29 provide judges, in Dakar, Senegal. I'll put that to 2002 or it

1 could be early 2003, but I would not put it - I'll put it in the
2 general area of 2002.

3 Q. And during what time period were you involved in the
4 efforts that actually culminated in setting this court up?

13:01:45 5 A. All Presidents of ECOWAS were involved in the consensus of
6 setting up that court during my presidency. Every President.
7 I'm not --

8 Q. Mr Taylor, the question was: During what time period were
9 you involved in this effort?

13:01:56 10 A. Throughout my presidency when that issue came before
11 ECOWAS.

12 Q. Do you remember what year that was?

13 A. You've asked me that. I've tried to tell you that around -
14 I can remember about 2002 or thereabouts. We concluded all of
15 the protocols for the setting up of that court and completed the
16 process, I can remember this clearly, in Dakar, Senegal.

13:02:11 17 Q. And, Mr Taylor, when did you first begin the process, you
18 yourself, your involvement in the process that led to the
19 creation of this court?

13:02:26 20 A. From the time that issue came before ECOWAS, all of us,
21 including myself, were involved because ECOWAS operates on a
22 consensus in the approval of the court.

23 Q. And do you remember when that was that the issue first came
24 before ECOWAS?

13:02:39 25 A. No, I don't remember exactly. I have said, in truthfulness
26 to these judges, I can remember it was during the administration
27 of Alpha Konare. I remember that very well. And Alpha Konare
28 led ECOWAS for two years straight, two consecutive years, so I
29 would put that - Alpha would be 2002, maybe a part of 2001,

1 because after Alpha Konare, I think it was Eyadema that took
2 over. I don't remember the exact years, but I remember that it
3 was during the administration of Alpha Konare, because he was
4 very, very interested in this and I was too.

13:03:23 5 Q. Now, Mr Taylor, throughout your direct examination on
6 several occasions in response to Defence counsel's questions, you
7 indicated that in the past you had not foreseen the possibility
8 of facing criminal charges at a later date. Do you recall
9 telling the judges that?

13:03:47 10 A. That is correct.

11 Q. And if we look at 6 September 2009 at page 26167 -
12 actually, that would be 6 August 2009 at 26167. And we see at
13 the bottom of the page, line 27:

14 "Q. In December 1998, did you foresee that you would be
13:05:04 15 facing trials years later on these allegations?

16 A. Not in my wildest dreams, no."

17 And then if we also look at 6 August at 26173 and we look
18 at line 25 and again you were being asked:

19 "Q. When you were writing to President Clinton at the back
13:05:37 20 end of December 1998, did you know that you would be facing
21 trial a few years later?

22 A. Not in my wildest dreams, no, no, no."

23 And then if we could look at 10 August 2009 at page 26275,
24 and if we could look at first line 7:

13:06:35 25 "Q. Now, we need to pause and appreciate the date on which
26 this statement was read."

27 Your counsel at this time is reading a statement into the
28 record and he indicates, "This was 26 January 1999.

29 A. That is correct.

1 Q. In light of some of the content of what comes after,
2 Mr Taylor, can I ask you this: When you authorised this
3 statement to be announced in London, did you anticipate
4 that you would be on trial before this document was taken
13:07:07 5 seriously?

6 A. No, no, no, that was the last thing on my mind, trial
7 or being indicted and all of that."
8 Then at the bottom, line 27:
9 "Q. But did you anticipate at this time that you would
13:07:25 10 have to be explaining yourself about your activities during
11 this period in a Court of law?"
12 A. No, not at all. Never occurred to me."
13 Then we have other similar statements by you, including
14 also on 10 August at page 26412, and if we look at line 16:
13:08:14 15 "Q. Secondly, at the time you were informing your brother
16 President of this, Mr Taylor, back in 1998 no less, were
17 you aware that a decade later you would be on trial on
18 these allegations?
19 A. No.
13:08:26 20 Q. So you were, in effect, setting up a prior Defence?
21 A. No, I had no idea in my wildest dream that I would be
22 sitting here."
23 And then on 31 August your attention is drawn to March
24 2002. This is 31 August 2009 at page 28052. And if we look at
13:09:20 25 line 25:
26 "Q. Pause. By this date, Mr Taylor, March 2002, what was
27 your knowledge of this tribunal being set up in Sierra
28 Leone?"
29 And you say you were not on top of the details regarding

1 this, especially when you knew the tribunal was a Sierra Leone
2 tribunal.

13:09:54 3 And then if we switch over to 28053, at lines 5 through 8,
4 you are asked again if you contemplated that in due course you
5 may become a defendant before that tribunal, and you said,
6 "Never. Never." And you go on to explain from 11 to 16 that
7 your lawyers, as far as you were concerned - "or we were
8 concerned and our lawyers that knew the tribunal was a Sierra
9 Leone tribunal, not a Chapter 7 tribunal and contemplating coming
13:10:22 10 before it was the last thing on my mind."

11 And then also on 31 August, you are again asked about this
12 at page 28062 and 28063 wherein you were talking about an
13 interview in July/August 2002, and this is with the journalist
14 Bafour Ankomah. And we see this in line 21, "In July/August of
13:11:02 15 this year, 2002, I do another very extensive interview with him."
16 And then the question at the bottom of the page:

17 "Q. Six months or so before an indictment is signed
18 against you?

19 A. Yes."

13:11:24 20 And you indicate - you are asked:

21 "Q. At the time of this interview, did you contemplate in
22 due course you would be put on trial for war crimes and
23 crimes against humanity?

24 A. No, I did not at all."

13:11:36 25 And then you were asked:

26 "Q. Were you seeking in that interview to effectively set
27 up a defence to a criminal charge?

28 A. No. No."

29 And then on 14 September, perhaps you remember, your

1 counsel asked you:

2 "Q. You must have had a crystal ball, Mr Taylor, which
3 told you that 'In anticipation of such an indictment I
4 ought to kill Sam Bockarie.' Is that the case?

13:12:07 5 A. No, not the case."

6 Do you remember the Defence counsel on 14 September putting
7 that question to you about "you must have had a crystal ball"?
8 Remember that, Mr Taylor?

9 A. Yes, I do.

13:12:19 10 Q. Now, Mr Taylor, in fact, you were aware from as early as
11 1993 that you could be charged with war crimes for your conduct.
12 Isn't that right, Mr Taylor?

13 A. Now, let me understand your question. You say - you're
14 asking me if I - I want to hear your question so I can --

13:12:52 15 Q. You were aware from as early as 1993 that you could be
16 charged with war crimes for your conduct. Isn't that right,
17 Mr Taylor?

18 A. That I could be tried for war crimes for my conduct?

19 Q. Yes.

13:13:06 20 A. Well, I would say, the way they put it that I could be, I
21 was not aware in that way. To the extent that there are certain
22 crimes that are punishable, that I would say that one would be
23 aware that he could be punished for certain crimes. But the way
24 you put the question, I'm not - I'm not sure that I could be.

13:13:34 25 Well, nobody came to me and told me, say, "Guess what?" You
26 know. I don't have any recollection of that kind of awareness.

27 Q. Mr Taylor, in June 1993 the interim Government of Liberia
28 issued a writ for your arrest for war crimes. Isn't that right?

29 A. I'm not worried about - I'm not aware of the interim

1 government. There were two governments in Liberia, so an interim
2 government - by this time you are talking about the competing
3 governments of Sawyer and myself. It was silly for Sawyer to
4 even think about being in Monrovia and say he issued - I never
13:14:12 5 even knew of it.

6 Q. Mr Taylor, there was one officially recognised government
7 as the Government of Liberia and that was the interim government
8 in 1993. Isn't that correct?

9 A. That was not correct.

13:14:22 10 Q. Mr Taylor, you were aware of this writ that was issued for
11 your arrest, weren't you?

12 A. I'm telling this Court, I was not aware that Amos Sawyer
13 issued any writ of arrest for me as the National Patriotic
14 Reconstruction Assembly Government that had the country was not
13:14:44 15 told about any such thing, and I think it would have been foolish
16 for Sawyer to think about issuing - there were two governments in
17 Liberia recognised.

18 Q. Mr Taylor, as early as 1993 you were also aware of the
19 creation of an international tribunal for crimes in the former
13:15:09 20 Yugoslavia, were you not, Mr Taylor?

21 A. By - you said 1993?

22 Q. Yes, Mr Taylor.

23 MR GRIFFITHS: Madam President, I interrupt at this stage
24 because in our submission this line of cross-examination,
13:15:29 25 prefaced as it was by various references to testimony given by
26 Mr Taylor in answer to questions by me in chief, is totally
27 misleading. The question was based on the premise: Were you
28 aware that you would be indicted by the Special Court for Sierra
29 Leone? Now, to be questioning the witness did he know that there

1 was a writ issued by the Liberian government in 1993, or was he
2 aware of the creation of an International Tribunal For the Former
3 Yugoslavia totally warps the logic of the questions asked in
4 chief. We're talking about two completely different things.

13:16:16

5 If my learned friend is asking Mr Taylor: Mr Taylor, are
6 you a student of international criminal law, and, as a
7 consequence, were you aware of the creation of the ICTY and the
8 indictment of Mr Milosevic, that is a completely different
9 situation altogether. So in our submission, it cannot be right
10 for my learned friend to be approaching the topic in this way.

13:16:40

11 PRESIDING JUDGE: Ms Hollis, do you have anything in
12 response?

13 MS HOLLIS: Yes. We may rely on the plain language that is
14 used by questions and answers in direct examination and, as we
15 went over with this accused, that plain language was not limited
16 to trial before this Court. And we went over the question and
17 answer on 6 August 2009 at page 26167 where he was asked, "In
18 December of 1998 did you foresee that you would be facing trial
19 years later on these allegations?" He is not limiting it to a
20 court. And the answer was, "Not in my wildest dreams."

13:17:01

13:17:33

21 PRESIDING JUDGE: Although the allegations were referred
22 to, specific allegations were referred to. That was the context
23 of that question.

24 MS HOLLIS: It wasn't actually - I will leave your Honours
25 to review the context for that. And if we look at 6 August at
26 26173 at the bottom of the page:

13:18:00

27 "Q. Mr Taylor, let me ask the obvious question. When you
28 were writing to President Clinton at the back end of
29 December 1998 did you know you would be facing trial a few

1 years later?

2 A. Not in my wildest dream."

3 No reference to the indictment in this case; no reference
4 to this trial. So the Defence counsel phrased that question,
13:18:30 5 used that language, and, in our submission, we can ask the
6 questions that we are asking, premised on the direct examination,
7 plain language questions and answers.

8 [Trial Chamber conferred]

9 PRESIDING JUDGE: Ms Hollis, we are of the view that if you
13:20:33 10 are trying to elicit from Mr Taylor his knowledge of the fact
11 that his actions as a Head of State could be challenged in a war
12 crimes court as early as 1993, then that is permissible. But if
13 you are simply asking about the knowledge of the ICTY, which is
14 obviously outside of the indictment, then I think that would not
13:21:01 15 be permissible.

16 So what I would request - I'm not quite sure where you are
17 going with the line of questioning, although I think I can
18 suspect, is you try to quickly get back on track with the
19 questions relating to Mr Taylor's conduct and whether he knew
13:21:20 20 that that conduct could be challenged in a war crimes court. If
21 you wouldn't, you know, go sort of off on a tangent, and try to
22 relate quite quickly what the relevance is of your questions to
23 the indictment and to the charges in the indictment.

24 MS HOLLIS: The line of questioning was not directed to the
13:21:52 25 indictment and the charges in the indictment per se. It was
26 directed to the prior questions that in our view were much
27 broader about his awareness of crimes, as well as his status as
28 Head of State.

29 PRESIDING JUDGE: Yes, the - what we would permit as - what

1 we think is permissible is that the Prosecution can inquire from
2 the witness whether he knew way back in 1993, or whenever, that
3 his conduct - or that any conduct going towards the commission of
4 war crimes could be challenged potentially in a war crimes court.
13:22:33 5 Not necessarily the Court for Sierra Leone. That is permissible
6 to be asked.

7 MS HOLLIS: Thank you. Then with that guidance I will go
8 back:

9 Q. Mr Taylor, it is correct, is it not, that as early as 1993
13:22:48 10 you were aware that your conduct could be the subject of criminal
11 Prosecution in a court that dealt with war crimes. Isn't that
12 right?

13 A. That is not correct as the proposition is put. That is not
14 correct. When you say my conduct, again that would be a
13:23:09 15 question, so I would say as the proposition is I would say no,
16 because my conduct would be another matter that would be of a
17 matter of discussion and debate whether in fact there was a
18 conduct as alleged or that could be alleged in an indictment. So
19 I would say no to your proposition.

13:23:25 20 Q. Indeed, Mr Taylor, you were aware of this as far back as
21 1993 because you were aware that in fact there had been a warrant
22 issued for your arrest for war crimes in Liberia. Isn't that
23 correct?

24 A. I was not aware of any warrant issued for my arrest on war
13:23:45 25 crimes because if you look - you are a lawyer. Technically a
26 government in Monrovia - to charge for war crimes and be brought
27 before a war crimes tribunal are also subject matters of the
28 United Nations. So for Amos Sawyer it was a political move
29 probably that he made, but I did not know of it and probably if I

1 had known of it I would have known of what to do. But I'm not
2 aware that Amos Sawyer was stupid enough from Monrovia to say he
3 was issuing a warrant for my arrest when he knew there were two
4 competing governments right in Liberia. So it was a political
13:24:24 5 situation, so no.

6 Q. And, Mr Taylor, you were also aware of the possibility that
7 your conduct could lead you to face criminal charges on war
8 crimes because you were aware of the creation of two
9 international criminal tribunals to deal with people responsible
13:24:49 10 for war crimes. Isn't that correct?

11 A. Well, if you put all the three questions together, I was
12 not following the - I was not following - in 1993, if I go back
13 to the base of your question, I was busy fighting. I was not
14 following the creation of international tribunals. I was not.

13:25:10 15 Q. Mr Taylor, as the leader of the NPFL in 1993 you were very
16 sensitive to this development, were you not; this creation of
17 these international tribunals?

18 A. No.

19 Q. To try people responsible for war crimes?

13:25:24 20 A. No, I was not.

21 Q. Mr Taylor, you were also aware that in 1993 you would face
22 charges that could be based on crimes against humanity as well as
23 war crimes, weren't you?

24 A. I was not aware, no.

13:25:39 25 Q. Now, you were aware of a meeting of the OAU from 1 to 5
26 July 1996 in Cameroon, weren't you, Mr Taylor?

27 A. 1996 in Cameroon? I can't recollect. There could have
28 been one.

29 Q. The 64th ordinary session of Council of Ministers of the

1 OAU?

2 A. I would not have been involved in that process in 1996, so
3 I was not following that.

4 Q. Could we look at MFI-276, please. This is DCT-184. And if
13:26:47 5 we could look at page 96, please.

6 A. What is this document?

7 Q. Could you bring that down, please. You need to see the
8 front or the cover page itself, Mr Taylor. This was a document
9 that was used by your counsel during your direct examination.

13:27:23 10 A. Yes, I just see a page. I'm asking for - maybe if I saw
11 the front page associated with this. I just see a page, so
12 what's --

13 Q. Could you please put the first page of this document
14 MFI-276. It was marked during direct examination and used.

13:27:41 15 A. Okay. This is an official journal of ECOWAS. Okay.

16 Q. Do you remember, Mr Taylor, in fact your counsel took you
17 through many parts of this document during direct examination?

18 A. 1997 edition, yes.

19 Q. If we could look at page 96, please. And if we could look
13:27:58 20 so we can see the very top of that page. We see, "64th Ordinary
21 Session of the Council of Ministers of the Organisation of
22 African Unity (OAU) held in Cameroon, 1 to 5 July 1996." Then we
23 see, "Resolution on Liberia CM/RES 1650 (LXIV)" and I believe
24 that is 64, but I'm not sure of my Roman numerals on that.

13:28:37 25 Mr Taylor, you were aware of the 64th ordinary session of the
26 Council of Ministers or the OAU, were you not, Mr Taylor?

27 A. In 1996, no, I was not aware of it.

28 Q. You were aware that in this resolution one of the things
29 that they did was to warn the Liberian warring faction leaders

1 that should the ECOWAS assessment of the Liberian peace process
2 during its next summit meeting turn out to be negative, the OAU
3 will help sponsor a draft resolution in the UN Security Council
4 for the imposition of severe sanctions on them, including the
13:29:21 5 possibility of setting up a war crime tribunal to try the
6 leadership of the Liberian warring factions on the gross
7 violation of human rights of Liberians.

8 So, Mr Taylor, you were aware of that warning that was
9 contained in that resolution, weren't you, Mr Taylor?

13:29:40 10 A. Ms Hollis, July 1996 Charles Taylor was not aware of this.
11 I'm not the President of Liberia. This - I'm not aware of this
12 resolution. I'm not saying that it didn't exist. I'm not aware
13 of it. 1996, July? No.

14 Q. And then if we could look in the same document at pages 116
13:30:01 15 to 117, the ECOWAS Committee of Nine on Liberia, 17 August 1996.
16 If we could first look at page 116, please, at the very top of
17 the page. We see this is:

18 "Decision HSGC9-1/8 /96 relating to sanctions against
19 persons who violate the ECOWAS peace plan for Liberia."

13:30:50 20 And then if we look at page 117 at the bottom. If we could
21 show the bottom of the page, please, 117. We see "Done at Abuja
22 this 17th day of August 1996" and it is signed by Sani Abacha,
23 "Chairman for Committee of Nine on Liberia". Mr Taylor, if we
24 look at page 117 and we look at the second paragraph from the top
13:31:25 25 of the page in the left-hand column:

26 "Convinced that adoption of a package of appropriate
27 sanctions which would be imposed on any party, faction or
28 individual would greatly advance the peace process."

29 Then we see "decides" further down, and under Article 1, if

1 we can look at number 10:

2 "For the purposes of ensuring strict compliance with the
3 ECOWAS peace plan for Liberia, the following sanctions are hereby
4 adopted:

13:32:04 5 Invoke the OAU 1996 summit resolution which calls for the
6 establishment of a war crimes tribunal to try all human rights
7 offences against Liberians."

8 So Mr Taylor, by 1996 you were aware that your conduct
9 could be the subject of prosecution in a war crimes tribunal;

13:32:31 10 isn't that correct?

11 A. Well, the way you put the question, you say by 1996 if I'm
12 aware of my conduct that I could be tried. I'm not aware of this
13 decision on the part of the OAU and really, quite frankly, I
14 think if this had been a decision - as I'm reading the other part
13:32:50 15 I see this more as threats, because by now nobody has been put on
16 trial in Liberia. So no, I'm not aware.

17 Q. Mr Taylor, it is not the OAU. It is the ECOWAS decision,
18 the Committee of Nine on Liberia decision, that is invoking the
19 OAU?

13:33:11 20 A. But that's - yes. We're saying the same thing.

21 Q. [Overlapping speakers] And you were aware of this --

22 A. No, I'm not aware --

23 Q. -- Committee of Nine decision, were you not, Mr Taylor?

24 A. I'm not aware. If you go back to that statement, what the
13:33:22 25 OAU said - the OAU said that if certain things were not done --

26 Q. Mr Taylor --

27 A. -- then this would come about --

28 Q. I am talking about --

29 A. -- so ECOWAS is invoking what they said, but I'm not aware

1 of this.

2 Q. Mr Taylor --

3 PRESIDING JUDGE: Ms Hollis, I think we'll have to return
4 to this after the luncheon break. We're already way past our
13:33:42 5 time. We'll adjourn to 2.30.

6 [Lunch break taken at 1.32 p.m.]

7 [Upon resuming at 2.30 p.m.]

8 PRESIDING JUDGE: Good afternoon. Ms Hollis, please
9 continue.

14:33:22 10 MS HOLLIS: Thank you, Madam President.

11 MR GRIFFITHS: Madam President, can I announce a change in
12 representati on. We've been joined by Mr Munyard.

13 PRESIDING JUDGE: Thank you, Mr Griffi ths. Wel come.

14 MS HOLLIS:

14:33:37 15 Q. Now, Mr Taylor, in late January 1999 the Nigeri an
16 government indicated that it would do everything to bring men
17 like you before the courts for the crimes committed in Sierra
18 Leone, di dn' t it?

19 A. I don't know if they di d.

14:34:06 20 Q. Mr Taylor, that would have been very important for you to
21 know, would it not?

22 A. Well, your questi on - before the Court, did you say the
23 Nigeri an government said they would do everything to bring me
24 before the Court? Di d I understand that questi on?

14:34:24 25 Q. Everything to bring - let me repeat it so that we know. In
26 late January 1999 the Nigeri an government indicated it would do
27 everything to bring men like you before the courts for the crimes
28 committed in Sierra Leone, di dn' t it?

29 A. No, I'm not aware of that statement by the Nigeri an

1 government.

2 Q. Now, this sort of a statement in January 1999 would have
3 been very important for you to know, wouldn't it?

4 A. It would be of interest. It would be of interest because
14:34:54 5 of the hostilities between us at this period. It would be of
6 interest to me.

7 Q. And the Foreign Minister stating on a visit to Freetown in
8 late January 1999 that - the Foreign Minister, that is, of
9 Nigeria, stating that "We will do everything to bring men like
14:35:17 10 Charles Taylor and his collaborators to justice," you would have
11 been briefed about that statement, wouldn't you, Mr Taylor?

12 A. No. Quite frankly, I was not aware. I was not aware of
13 that - that would have been a statement, had I been aware, that
14 would have even filtered into my decision to even go to Nigeria.
14:35:37 15 I was definitely not aware of that statement by them.

16 Q. Then, Mr Taylor, in 2000 there were discussions about
17 creating an international court for atrocities in Sierra Leone.
18 Isn't that correct?

19 A. When again?

14:35:51 20 Q. In 2000.

21 A. Yes, there were discussions.

22 Q. And you were aware of those discussions, weren't you,
23 Mr Taylor?

24 A. Yes, I was aware through briefing reports that - at least
14:36:04 25 news reports that that was under consideration, yes.

26 Q. And, indeed, you were aware that July 2000 - by July 2000
27 the Sierra Leonean government was trying to put together
28 legislation for this purpose. Isn't that right?

29 A. No, I was not following on that. I was not following up on

1 that. There were just general reports that Sierra Leone was
2 considering asking for the creation of a court, but what the
3 legislature was doing at the time, I was not following that.

14:36:46 4 Q. And as of July 2000 you were aware that the Sierra Leonean
5 government was trying to obtain the acquiescence of the United
6 Nations in granting assistance for the purpose of setting up this
7 Court. Isn't that right?

8 A. Yes, I had some information that that was being done.

14:37:05 9 Q. Just to be clear about what you've told the Court before,
10 if we could look at 19 August 2009, 27258. If we could look at
11 the question beginning at line 10:

12 "Q. Now, as far as you're aware, by this time, which is
13 July 2000, had any request been made for the setting up of
14 a war crimes tribunal in Sierra Leone?"

14:37:51 15 A. Oh, yes. To the best of my knowledge, the Sierra
16 Leonean government was, I think, putting together
17 legislation, and I think they were trying to obtain the
18 acquiescence of the United Nations in granting assistance
19 for that purpose."

14:38:08 20 So as of July you had that knowledge, yes, Mr Taylor?

21 A. I've already answered that.

22 Q. And you had also heard reports that Foday Sankoh was being
23 put on trial for crimes that were committed during the crisis,
24 the war in Sierra Leone. Isn't that right?

14:38:24 25 A. Yes, I had heard that.

26 Q. And that these were war crimes that involved murder, rape,
27 all of the activities that are so terrible that happened in
28 Sierra Leone. Yes, Mr Taylor?

29 A. No, Ms Hollis, I was not aware. All I knew, that Foday

1 Sankoh was being put on trial. I did not know the specific
2 details of what charges would be involved in that trial. I was
3 not aware of the details.

4 Q. Let's look at that same page, 27258 beginning at line 21:

14:38:56

5 "Q. But do you know what charges Foday Sankoh was facing
6 while in custody at this time?

7 A. I don't know the direct details, but I'm sure it was -
8 all we heard on the reports that reached us was that he was
9 being put on trial for crimes that were committed during
10 the crisis - the war in Sierra Leone, and these were war
11 crimes that involved murder, rape - all of the activities
12 that are so terrible that happened in Sierra Leone, he was
13 being charged with those."

14:39:12

14 So that's what you told the Court on 19 August, yes,
15 Mr Taylor?

14:39:27

16 A. That is correct. That's what I said.

17 Q. Now, also in 2000 you became aware of a resolution of the
18 Security Council that dealt with the creation of a Special Court
19 for Sierra Leone. Isn't that right, Mr Taylor?

14:39:52

20 A. I don't know the details of the resolution, no.

21 Q. Mr Taylor, this would have been Security Council resolution
22 1315, and that is exhibit P-337. If we could take a look at
23 that, please. If that could be brought down just a bit so we can
24 see the top of the page, please, and we "United Nations Security
25 Council S/RES/1315 (2000)". The date is 14 August 2000, and then
26 it says "Resolution 1315 (2000)". Then if we could go to the
27 next page, please. If we could look at the third paragraph down:

14:40:49

28 "Noting the report of the Secretary-General of 31 July 2000
29 (S/2000/751), and in particular taking note with appreciation of

1 the steps already taken by the Secretary-General in response to
2 the request of the Government of Sierra Leone to assist it in
3 establishing a Special Court ..."

14:41:44 4 Then if we could look farther down to where the numbered
5 paragraphs begin and we see number 1:

6 "... request the Secretary-General to negotiate an
7 agreement with the Government of Sierra Leone to create an
8 independent Special Court consistent with this resolution, and
9 expresses its readiness to take further steps expeditiously upon
14:42:01 10 receiving and reviewing the report of the Secretary-General
11 referred to in paragraph 6 below;

12 2. Recommends that the subject matter jurisdiction of the
13 Special Court should include notably crimes against humanity, war
14 crimes and other serious violations of international humanitarian
15 law, as well as crimes under relevant Sierra Leonean law
16 committed within the territory of Sierra Leone;

17 3. Recommends further that the Special Court should have
18 personal jurisdiction over persons who bear the greatest
19 responsibility for the commission of the crimes referred to in
14:42:42 20 paragraph 2, including those leaders who, in committing such
21 crimes, have threatened the establishment of and implementation
22 of the peace process in Sierra Leone."

23 And, Mr Taylor, you indeed were aware of this Security
24 Council resolution, isn't that correct?

14:43:03 25 A. I'm aware of a resolution that was passed by the Security
26 Council assisting Sierra Leone. The details I never really read.
27 I had lawyers do that.

28 Q. And these lawyers that you had, they would have been very
29 aware of this, would they not?

1 A. Of course they would have been.

2 Q. Now, Mr Taylor, you indicated that you and/or your legal
3 team were at some point in contact with international lawyers on
4 the Court in Sierra Leone. Do you remember telling the Court
14:43:37 5 this on 4 November?

6 A. Yes.

7 Q. Mr Taylor, who were these lawyers on the Court in Sierra
8 Leone that you had contact with?

9 A. Who were the lawyers on the Court in Sierra Leone?

14:43:53 10 Q. Yes.

11 A. I'm not sure if I said that they were in contact with
12 lawyers on the Sierra Leonean Court. Is that what I said?

13 Q. Let's take a look at that to make sure we have it right.

14 This is 4 November, 31137. Here you're being asked about - you
14:44:42 15 said:

16 "I was not aware. Maybe it was out. I was not aware that
17 any indictment had been unsealed for Sam Bockarie."

18 Then you were asked:

19 "Q. Had you heard any rumour that it was being suggested
14:44:52 20 that he face criminal charges?"

21 A. What had been rumoured was a court was being set up in
22 Sierra Leone and that several of their leaders could be
23 indicated. It was rife out there."

24 Then you were asked:

14:45:09 25 "If you had knowledge that there was an indictment
26 outstanding against Bockarie, would have you handed him
27 over to the Special Court for Sierra Leone?"

28 Q. Not necessarily."

29 In explaining your answer, if we go to line 18. You say:

1 "The process, my legal people in Liberia and even
2 international lawyers that we had contacted on this Court in
3 Sierra Leone".

4 Does that mean you had contacted them about the Court,
14:45:43 5 Mr Taylor?

6 A. That is correct.

7 Q. Not that they were on the Court itself?

8 A. That is correct, counsel.

9 Q. Mr Taylor, it is not long after that that the Government of
14:46:01 10 Liberia announces - and by that I mean these discussions about
11 setting up a court and the Security Council resolution of August
12 2000 - it is not long after that that the Government of Liberia
13 announced a new policy of disengagement. Isn't that correct,
14 Mr Taylor - disengagement with the RUF?

14:46:27 15 A. Well, I'm not sure I understand the question because, you
16 know, the way how you put the question, maybe you could repeat it
17 in a way that I will understand it. Because I see it from a
18 different perspective, and so maybe you could re-ask the question
19 for me, please.

14:46:49 20 Q. Well, Mr Taylor, we've just talked about resolution - the
21 United Nations Security Council resolution of August that talked
22 about the creation of this Special Court, yes? That was exhibit
23 P-337, Security Council resolution 1315. We just discussed that,
24 yes, Mr Taylor?

14:47:15 25 A. We just discussed the creation by this resolution, yes.

26 Q. And this was dated 14 August 2000, correct?

27 A. 14 August 2000, that is correct.

28 Q. And it was requesting the Secretary-General to negotiate an
29 agreement with the Government of Sierra Leone to create an

1 independent Special Court consistent with the resolution. We
2 just talked about that, yes, Mr Taylor?

3 A. That is correct.

14:47:56 4 Q. Again the date for this - so that we're clear on it for
5 this resolution - was 14 August 2000. Now, Mr Taylor, it wasn't
6 long after this resolution that your government announced the
7 adoption of a new policy of disengagement relating to the RUF.
8 Isn't that correct, Mr Taylor?

9 A. Well, that's why I asked you to repeat the question.
14:48:21 10 Because the disengagement from the RUF was announced in 2001. So
11 when you say it was not long after, that's what I have a
12 difficulty with and for different reasons. So not long after,
13 that's what --

14 Q. It was on 12 January 2001. Do you recall that, Mr Taylor?

14:48:47 15 A. We made the first announcement that Sam Bockarie had been
16 expelled and that we would cease all activities in dealing with
17 the Sierra Leonean peace process in January 2001. That is
18 correct.

19 Q. And in that regard, just to be sure that we have this
14:49:11 20 language correct, could we please look at tab 9 in annex 4. This
21 is S/2001/424. We see "United States Security Council
22 S/2001/424" dated 30 April 2001, yes?

23 A. That is correct, yes.

24 Q. And we see "First report of the Secretary-General pursuant
14:50:35 25 to Security Council resolution 1343 (2001) regarding Liberia"?

26 A. Yes.

27 Q. And then if we look at the column on the right under number
28 4:

29 "The measures that the council took note of in resolution

1 1343 (2001) are the ones announced by the Government of Liberia
2 on 12 January 2001. They include:

3 (a) The adoption of a new policy of disengagement by which
4 the government would no longer support the activities of the
14:51:14 5 Revolutionary United Front (RUF). It called on RUF to lay down
6 its arms."

7 Then if we look at (c):

8 "All persons connected with the RUF were ordered to depart
9 from Liberia."

14:51:33 10 Then we look at number 5:

11 "On 7 February 2001 the Government of Liberia announced
12 the departure from Liberia of Sam Bockarie, alias Maskita, and
13 the closure of the RUF liaison office in Liberia."

14 Mr Taylor, your government took those actions in January
14:51:55 15 2001 because of your concern that you would become a defendant
16 before the Special Court of Sierra Leone. Isn't that correct?

17 A. It's total nonsense. We took those as a result of Security
18 Council resolution 1343 that demanded those actions, not as a
19 result of an impending court. That's total nonsense. It's a
14:52:18 20 result of the resolution that demanded certain things from
21 Liberia, and in trying to comply we're taking these measures, not
22 because of any court. Resolution 1343 is what we are responding
23 to.

24 Q. And, Mr Taylor, you talked about the departure of Sam
14:52:36 25 Bockarie out of Liberia, and you talked about that on 27 October
26 2009. Do you recall that, Mr Taylor?

27 A. 2000 what?

28 Q. 27 October 2009. Your testimony, Mr Taylor?

29 A. I don't recall the exact date, I mean, but I did testify

1 about that.

2 Q. And when you testified about that, you indicated that
3 indeed you threw Sam Bockarie out of Liberia under very intense
4 pressure from the international community and trying to convince
14:53:13 5 Kabbah that he would not pose any harm to the Sierra Leonean
6 government. Then:

7 "I had no reason for this young man to die, not one bit of
8 reason. He left, and to make sure I was not accused, I had no
9 contact with him while he was outside."

14:53:29 10 Do you remember telling the Court that --

11 A. That's my evidence.

12 Q. -- on 27 October, Mr Taylor?

13 A. That's my evidence. That is correct.

14 Q. Mr Taylor, you also became aware, did you not, in 2001 that
14:53:51 15 the former Head of State of the former Yugoslavia had in fact
16 been arrested and transferred to the Yugoslav Tribunal for trial?

17 A. Yes, there was information in the press that a former
18 President had been arrested. I'm not sure about the year, I will
19 take your word for it, but I did - I'm not sure if it's 2001 or
14:54:17 20 what. But I do remember that there were reports that the former
21 President had been arrested.

22 Q. And your legal people would have been very interested in
23 that arrest and transfer to the Yugoslav Tribunal, wouldn't they,
24 Mr Taylor?

14:54:29 25 A. Not necessarily. My legal people had already advised me,
26 if that's where you're going, that the Special Court in Sierra
27 Leone was the Special Court in Sierra Leone and it was a Chapter
28 VII court and that it was not an issue for Liberia. So it would
29 not be of concern to them.

1 Q. So you had been given advice about the Special Court in
2 Sierra Leone, Mr Taylor?

3 A. Oh, we were - yes, we were concerned about the Special
4 Court in Sierra Leone, and once it was special we - and it was a
14:54:57 5 local court, that was sufficient for me. I've already testified
6 to that.

7 Q. When you say "we were concerned"?

8 A. I'm talking about the government. Sorry, I always speak
9 that way when I say "we", because no one person represents the
14:55:13 10 government. We, the Government of Liberia, hired lawyers to look
11 into this. The Government of Liberia even went to the
12 International Court of Justice to speak clarification on this.
13 The government.

14 Q. And the Government of Liberia which was concerned, you - as
14:55:30 15 the President of Liberia, you were one of those who was
16 concerned, isn't that right?

17 A. Well, I wouldn't put it quite that way. I wouldn't put it
18 quite that way. The way you put it would suggest that I had done
19 something wrong. I may be wrong. I may be jumping the gun. I
14:55:51 20 was concerned, you know, because, quite frankly, I've never
21 supported these kinds of United Nations hybrid courts.

22 Q. So, Mr Taylor, what was actually the nature of your concern
23 if it wasn't a concern about you being a possible defendant
24 before this court?

14:56:10 25 A. My concern, to answer your question correctly, was the
26 possibility of certain actions regarding the court and other
27 things prolonging the war in Sierra Leone. That was my principal
28 concern; how would people react; would that mean that we would
29 continue to have crisis? These were my concerns.

1 Q. And those concerns included the possibility you would be a
2 defendant before that court. Isn't that right?

3 A. I've just told you that we always saw the Sierra Leonean
4 court as a Chapter VI court that dealt with the territorial
14:56:51 5 jurisdiction of Sierra Leone. I've said that and I still stand
6 by that.

7 Q. Mr Taylor, when you said you went to the International
8 Court of Justice, you went to clarify what?

9 A. Well, after the indictment was unsealed in 2003, the
14:57:13 10 Government of Liberia hired international lawyers to look into
11 the issue of Sierra Leone trying to extend its jurisdiction
12 beyond its borders and that it could not do that.

13 Q. Now, Mr Taylor, when you were testifying on 4 November you
14 stated that you were not aware Sam Bockarie had been indicted in
14:57:50 15 May 2003 when he was killed. Do you remember telling the judges
16 that?

17 A. I didn't know the list of people that had been indicted.
18 No, I didn't know that Bockarie was indicted. We knew generally
19 that the leaders, but as to the number of individuals, I had no
14:58:06 20 running list. But we knew generally that the leaders would be
21 indicted.

22 Q. Mr Taylor, that's not correct, is it? In fact, Mr Taylor,
23 on 10 March 2003, the Special Court for Sierra Leone publicly
24 announced its first seven indictments. Isn't that right,
14:58:29 25 Mr Taylor?

26 A. So you expect me to know? I've just told you I did not
27 know. We knew generally. I did not follow up on the running
28 list of who were indicted. I've told you.

29 Q. And, Mr Taylor, that public announcement included the name

1 of Sam Bockarie. Isn't that correct, Mr Taylor?

2 A. I did not hear the announcement.

3 Q. And you in fact were aware of such an announcement, were
4 you not?

14:58:55 5 A. I was not aware of the announcement, no.

6 Q. And it would have been very important for you to be aware
7 of this announcement. Isn't that right, Mr Taylor?

8 A. Well, I don't know why it would have been important. It
9 would not have been important for me to know. Why would it be?

14:59:09 10 Sam Bockarie is out of Liberia, that's very clear. Why would it
11 be of importance to me? None.

12 Q. Now, if we could look at tab number 142 in annex 1, please.
13 It should be tab number 149 in annex 1. It would be in binder 2
14 of 3.

15:00:52 15 PRESIDING JUDGE: These tabs, of course, don't go up to
16 number 100. What is the tab number, actually?

17 MS HOLLIS: In this context, Madam President, if you'll
18 look at binder 2 of 3 and you'll look at the cover of it, but
19 then if you look in the binder itself, because the tabs only go
15:01:17 20 up to 100, you'll see 49. On the binder itself, it indicates
21 tabs 56 to 150 on the outside. So then if you would look at tab
22 which is numbered 49.

23 JUDGE DOHERTY: Is it a UNDP report?

24 MS HOLLIS: It should be Amnesty International --

15:01:54 25 PRESIDING JUDGE: 49 or 42?

26 MS HOLLIS: I'm sorry, Madam President, it's 142. I
27 apologise, Madam President. It should be 142. I will in a
28 moment refer to 149. Number 142, in annex 1, and it will be
29 listed as 42. There's an Amnesty International document.

1 PRESIDING JUDGE: Ms Hollis, we don't have a tab 142.

2 That's why I was asking. Our tabs go to 100 and then they begin
3 again with 1.

4 MS HOLLIS: That's correct, Madam President, and the binder
15:02:45 5 title on the outside indicates that it is up to 150, I believe,
6 and then internally you will find it under tab 42 in that binder.
7 It's binder 2 of 3. So it would be 42. It is an Amnesty
8 International document.

9 JUDGE DOHERTY: I don't have Amnesty International. I have
15:03:31 10 a document headed "Memorandum on Economic and Financial Policies
11 of the Federal Government of Nigeria".

12 MS HOLLIS: Your Honour, you have that under tab 42? I
13 don't know quite how that happened. If we look at the
14 screen we see the document which in our master copy would be in
15:03:54 15 binder 2 of the binders for annex 1 and internally it would be
16 42. However, I don't know how it got changed in your binders.
17 But if you look at the document on the overhead, that is the
18 document that I am referring to.

19 PRESIDING JUDGE: It is under binder 43. Has everybody
15:04:40 20 found it? Okay, please proceed.

21 MS HOLLIS: Thank you, Madam President:

22 Q. Now that we have this document, we see:

23 "Amnesty International, public statement, news service
24 number 078, 2 April 2003. Sierra Leone: First indictments
15:05:02 25 before the Special Court for Sierra Leone.

26 On 10 March 2003 the Special Court for Sierra Leone
27 announced its first indictments. Seven people were indicted by
28 the Special Court for war crimes, crimes against humanity and
29 other serious violations of international humanitarian law

1 falling within the jurisdiction of the Special Court. They are"
2 - and then it lists them, "including Sam Bockarie (Mosquito), a
3 leading RUF member."

4 And then if we look at the third paragraph:

15:05:45 5 "Five of those indicted are now in the Special Court's
6 custody. International warrants of arrest have been issued for
7 Johnny Paul Koroma and Sam Bockarie. Johnny Paul Koroma evaded
8 arrest in January 2003 following an attack on a military compound
9 in the capital, Freetown. Sam Bockarie is reported to be in
15:06:08 10 Liberia, where the government of President Charles Taylor has
11 supported the RUF. Reports also suggest that Sam Bockarie is
12 associated with armed opposition groups in Cote d'Ivoire. The
13 Prosecutor has called for them to be handed over to the Special
14 Court as indicted war criminals."

15:06:28 15 Now, Mr Taylor, this Amnesty public statement is dated 2
16 April, referring to 10 March 2003 announcement by the Special
17 Court of its first indictments. Now, Mr Taylor, you were made
18 aware of this information, were you not?

19 A. With all due respect, counsel, I have told you I was not
15:06:53 20 aware of the names of the individuals. I knew that indictments
21 were being issued on the leadership. I was not aware of this
22 Amnesty document that you have put before me.

23 MS HOLLIS: Madam President, if I could ask that be marked
24 for identification.

15:07:14 25 PRESIDING JUDGE: Certainly. The Amnesty International
26 report on "Sierra Leone: The first indictments before the Special
27 Court" dated 2 April 2003 is marked MFI-368.

28 MS HOLLIS: And I would ask that we also look at what we
29 have marked as - it should be in the same binder. It is 149, but

1 in binder 2 for annex 1, it would be noted as number 49. This
2 should be a BBC News report. Let's see if we have problems with
3 that as well.

4 JUDGE LUSSICK: It should be in 50 in our binder.

15:08:13 5 MS HOLLIS: We are talking about "Surprise at Sierra Leone
6 arrests", BBC News, 11/03/03. Is that the article your Honours
7 have at 50?

8 Q. We see this now on the screen, BBC News, world, Africa,
9 Surprise at Sierra Leone arrests. It is dated Tuesday, 11 March
10 2003. If we look at the second page of this article under
11 "extradition request" we see "The chief prosecutor has also
12 called on West African countries harbouring the former rebel
13 commander Sam Bockarie and the former military leader Johnny Paul
14 Koroma to hand them over."

15:09:30 15 Then if we go down to the fourth paragraph:

16 "Sam Bockarie, known by his rebel name Mosquito, is one of
17 the country's most notorious rebel leaders.

18 He left Liberia in February last year where he had sought
19 refuge following pressure on that country by the United Nations.

15:09:55 20 He was reported to be in Ivory Coast."

21 Now, Mr Taylor, you were made aware of this 11 March BBC
22 article, weren't you?

23 A. No. In fact --

24 Q. And you were made aware of the request that Sam Bockarie
15:10:12 25 and Johnny Paul Koroma be handed over. Isn't that right,
26 Mr Taylor?

27 A. No, that is not correct. In fact, if I had been aware that
28 the Prosecutor of the Special Court was asking for somebody to be
29 extradited I would have torn the paper up, because no prosecutor

1 asked for extradition. These are governmental matters. I would
2 have torn it up. I was not aware. Surely, truthfully I was not
3 aware. The Prosecutor of the Special Court doesn't call on a
4 government to extradite somebody. Governments extradite to
15:10:51 5 government. I mean, it would have been foolish for me. But
6 quite frankly, I was not aware of it.

7 MS HOLLIS: Madam President, if I could ask that that be
8 marked for identification.

9 PRESIDING JUDGE: The BBC report dated 11 March 2003
15:11:06 10 entitled "Surprise at Sierra Leone Arrests" is marked MFI-369.

11 MS HOLLIS: Thank you, Madam President:

12 Q. Mr Taylor, contrary to what you've told these judges, from
13 1993 you were aware of the possibility that you would face
14 prosecution for war crimes. Isn't that correct?

15:11:32 15 A. That is not correct. That is not correct.

16 Q. And you were also aware from 1993 that you would face
17 prosecution for crimes against humanity?

18 A. That's totally incorrect. No.

19 Q. And, Mr Taylor, your public statements were made with such
15:11:48 20 an awareness in mind. Isn't that correct?

21 A. Totally incorrect.

22 Q. Mr Taylor, do you recall on 16 November when I asked you
23 about the number of weapons that were eventually destroyed in
24 Liberia?

15:12:33 25 A. I remember the question. I don't remember the exact date
26 of the question.

27 Q. Do you remember replying that:

28 "Numbers I'm not going to fight about. I don't recall the
29 exact amounts, but I can accept that you're being fair about your

1 numbers that you are calling."

2 Do you remember saying that, Mr Taylor?

3 A. Yes. If you are looking at the UN report, yes.

4 Q. I then mentioned that, "Just to be sure that I'm accurate,
15:13:03 5 we'll return to that at a later time."

6 Now, Mr Taylor, if we could look at MFI-121, which is
7 DCT-16. That was tab 32 in binder 1 of 4 for week 33. If we
8 could bring that all the way down so we can see the top of the
9 page. We see "UNOL, office of the representative of the
15:13:53 10 Secretary-General", and a date 5 January 2000.

11 "Note to His Excellency Monie Captan, Minister of Foreign
12 Affairs, statistics on arms and ammunition destroyed by the UN,
13 ECOWAS and the Government of Liberia."

14 Then, Mr Taylor, it indicates that it is attaching copies
15:14:16 15 detailing the status of the arms and ammunition destroyed between
16 July and October 1999. It indicates a final report and an
17 accompanying financial report would be submitted to your office
18 shortly, meaning the office of His Excellency Monie Captan. That
19 is signed by the officer in charge UNOL, Ambassador Bariyu

15:14:56 20 Adeyemi. If we can look at annex 1, at the top it is MFA/18,
21 where the lists the types of heavy weapons and types of small
22 arms that are the subject of the report. Then if we could look
23 at annex 2, MFA/19, "Final status of the weapons destruction
24 exercise on 18 October 1999". It gives a summary, and it
15:15:34 25 indicates that the total number of arms of all sizes destroyed
26 was 19,297. That's consistent with your recollection, Mr Taylor?

27 A. I have no problems with this report, counsel.

28 Q. Indeed, Mr Taylor, this was the total number of arms of all
29 sizes that had been destroyed, and these were arms of all sizes

1 that had been turned in by all the factions, correct?

2 A. That is correct.

3 Q. Then, Mr Taylor, just to be sure that we have a clear

4 picture relating to this number, if we could look at P-32,

15:16:21 5 please. If we could look at the first page of that exhibit, 32,

6 we see "United Nations Security Council S/2001/1015" and again a

7 letter dated 26 October 2001, sending the report of the panel of

8 experts as an annex signed by the chairman, Security Council

9 Committee established pursuant to resolution 1343 concerning

15:17:38 10 Liberia". Then if we could turn to the page that at the top has

11 in large numbers "00004468". "4468" at the top. And if we could

12 look at paragraph 154, which discusses the weapons destruction

13 programme in 1999, indicating that the exercise began on 25 July.

14 And here it says:

15:18:26 15 "... involved the destruction of 19,000 small- and

16 heavy-calibre weapons and more than 3 million rounds of

17 ammunition".

18 And if we can look, please, at the sixth line down where it

19 says:

15:18:45 20 "About 40 per cent of these weapons were rusted or

21 unusable, but others were in good working order."

22 So of the weapons destroyed, some 40 per cent of them were

23 either unusable or rusted. Were you made aware of that,

24 Mr Taylor?

15:19:03 25 A. I saw the report.

26 Q. So we now have numbers as reported by the United Nations

27 relating to the weapons destruction.

28 Now, Mr Taylor, do you recall on 16 November being asked

29 about your request that ECOMOG downsize and reduce its numbers to

1 around 1,500 troops? Do you recall being asked about that?

2 A. Yes, I do.

3 Q. And you were actually asked about that request made on two
4 different occasions, and you were first asked about making such a
15:19:49 5 request about the time of the signing of the Yamoussoukro IV
6 agreement, which was the end of October, and you indicated that
7 you don't recall giving a specific number. You really can't
8 recall that; that there would be a 1,500 somewhere, but you
9 really can't recall it.

15:20:20 10 If we could look at tab 32 in annex 4, which is "ECOMOG: A
11 Sub-Regional Experience in Conflict Resolution, Management and
12 Peacekeeping in Liberia"?

13 PRESIDING JUDGE: Ms Hollis, did we mark the BBC article or
14 were you not interested?

15:20:44 15 MS HOLLIS: I would ask --

16 PRESIDING JUDGE: Yes, we did. I marked it 369.

17 MS HOLLIS: So there should have been two marked. But that
18 was marked, correct?

19 PRESIDING JUDGE: Yes.

15:21:02 20 MS HOLLIS: Amnesty International and the BBC.

21 PRESIDING JUDGE: Yes.

22 MS HOLLIS: So if we could look at page 101 at tab 32 in
23 annex 4. This is tab 32 in annex 4, and it should be "ECOMOG: A
24 Sub-Regional Experience in Conflict Resolution, Management and
15:22:39 25 Peacekeeping in Liberia".

26 Madam President, while we are getting that document might I
27 ask you to mark for identification a document I referred to, but
28 did not request such marking. That was the document at tab 9,
29 annex 4, which was first report of the Secretary-General,

1 S/2001/424. I apologise for my oversight.

2 PRESIDING JUDGE: That document is marked MFI-370.

3 MS HOLLIS: Thank you, Madam President:

4 Q. If we could put the title page on, please, the first page.

15:23:32 5 "ECOMOG: A Sub-Regional Experience in Conflict Resolution and
6 Peacekeeping in Liberia." Then if we could please look at page
7 101. If we could look at the bottom of that page, please. The
8 sixth line up from the bottom, the sentence beginning with
9 "obviously":

15:24:33 10 "Obviously taking its cue from the Carter proposition,
11 Taylor, in a BBC interview in October 1991, asked ECOMOG to
12 reduce its strength from 8,000 to 1,500".

13 A. But what is this document? Who is the author of this
14 document? Because --

15:24:57 15 Q. We have talked about this before, Mr Taylor.

16 A. I just saw the top page of this document, so we haven't
17 talked about this before.

18 Q. This is the book we've talked about before, Lieutenant
19 Colonel Festus B Aboagye.

15:25:10 20 A. Yeah, but how would I know that this page is from that book
21 unless I see who did it? That's why I asked.

22 Q. Mr Taylor, you were shown the front page of the book, and
23 if you could please put the second page on that shows the author.
24 Now, Mr Taylor, in October 1991 you asked ECOMOG to reduce its
15:25:40 25 strength from 8,000 to 1,500. Isn't that correct?

26 A. Well, my evidence remains the same. I don't know as to
27 whether this book is any authority on that, so I cannot change my
28 testimony at the - my evidence at the time was that I was not
29 quite - you know, I couldn't play the figures to make sure and

1 I'm not even sure that this is an authoritative source, so I
2 couldn't change my evidence.

3 MS HOLLIS: Madam President --

4 PRESIDING JUDGE: Ms Hollis, I'm recalling that when this
15:26:20 5 document was first brought to our notice, and I'm referring to
6 the page ending in 42999 and over the page, there was an
7 objection I think from the Defence that this was an opinion, this
8 work was an opinion of somebody, and I thought we did rule on it,
9 that you couldn't use it.

15:26:48 10 MS HOLLIS: I don't think you ruled on the entire book,
11 Madam President. I think you ruled on the page that was referred
12 to previously. There was no - I certainly never made an argument
13 about the entire book. I was arguing about the page that we were
14 dealing with at the time and the reference in that page. That's
15:27:08 15 my recollection, Madam President.

16 PRESIDING JUDGE: So you've asked questions relating to the
17 last four lines on page 101 and are you asking me to mark this
18 for identification yet?

19 MS HOLLIS: Yes.

15:27:30 20 PRESIDING JUDGE: You're asking me to mark it for
21 identification.

22 MS HOLLIS: Yes. And, Madam President, I will be referring
23 to other portions of this book on this topic, so I would ask that
24 we have a cumulative exhibit dealing with this book and this page
15:27:50 25 would be A of that MFI.

26 PRESIDING JUDGE: This is a book by Lieutenant Colonel
27 Festus B Aboagye and the page in question is 101 and that page is
28 marked for identification MFI-371A.

29 MS HOLLIS: Thank you, Madam President:

1 Q. Now, Mr Taylor, on 16 November we continued to talk about
2 your calls to reduce ECOMOG down to - by 1,500 people and I asked
3 you if you recalled asking again on 21 April 1992 that ECOMOG be
4 reduced by 1,500 people or to 1,500 people. Do you recall that,
15:29:05 5 Mr Taylor? And that was - that question to you about the 21
6 April 1992 request was at page 31769.

7 A. What's your question, counsel?

8 Q. Do you recall being asked about that on 16 November,
9 Mr Taylor?

15:29:27 10 A. Not the precise date. I can remember be asked several
11 times about this. I have said that I don't know the correct
12 number, whether I said 1,500, just as I've said about this book.
13 It's not authoritative, so --

14 Q. And, indeed, you stated at page 31770 that you didn't
15:29:47 15 remember the exact numbers, but you did call for a reduction in
16 terms of overall compartmentation. Do you remember that reply?

17 A. Yes. Something to that extent, yes.

18 Q. Now, if we could look at tab 21 in annex 3. This should be
19 the book by Dr Adebajo, "Liberia's Civil War: Nigeria, ECOMOG
15:31:06 20 and Regional Security in West Africa". If you could put the
21 cover page of that book--

22 PRESIDING JUDGE: This is already MFI-330.

23 MS HOLLIS: I believe we had specific pages, but perhaps we
24 could add these pages to it?

15:32:17 25 MR GRIFFITHS: I don't know if this assists, Madam
26 President, but my note is that pages 91 and 187 of this book have
27 already been marked for identification as MFI-330.

28 PRESIDING JUDGE: Yes, it does help, but I think the Court
29 Officer was looking for the first page to put on the overhead and

1 they couldn't locate the first page. I think now they have.

2 Please put the first page on the overhead.

3 MS HOLLIS:

4 Q. We see "Liberia's Civil War: Nigeria, ECOMOG and Regional
15:33:52 5 Security in West Africa. Adekeye Adebajo". And if we could turn
6 to page 103, please, and if we could look at the second full
7 paragraph on the page beginning "after the conference" and if we
8 could go to the sixth line down:

9 "At a week-long national conference in Gbarnga that began
15:34:33 10 on 21 April, Taylor repeated his call for a reduction of ECOMOG
11 forces to 1,500."

12 Mr Taylor, to put this date in context, if we could look up
13 at the first full paragraph on this page it talks about a peace
14 conference that took place in ailing Ivorian leader Felix
15:35:10 15 Houphouet-Boigny's winter home in Geneva between 6 and 7 April
16 1992. Then we move to 21 April. Now, Mr Taylor, 21 April 1992
17 there was this week-long national conference in Gbarnga, correct?

18 A. Yes.

19 Q. And at that conference you asked for a reduction of ECOMOG
15:35:37 20 forces down to 1,500. Isn't that correct?

21 A. Counsel, I don't want to belabour this point. I asked for
22 the reduction of ECOMOG forces. I have told this Court a million
23 times, I don't remember the exact amount. Now, these
24 publications, you are trying to portray them as being
15:36:01 25 authoritative. I'm not going to change my evidence.

26 Q. Mr Taylor, I'm not asking you to change your evidence. If
27 you still do not remember --

28 A. I still do not remember.

29 MS HOLLIS: Now, Madam President, we have, as you

1 indicated, previously marked the book - two pages of the book as
2 an MFI. It was in connection with another topic that questions
3 were being asked about, and so we would ask that we have a
4 different MFI for this page and subsequent pages that we would
15:36:39 5 refer to in relation to the current topic.

6 PRESIDING JUDGE: The book entitled "Liberia's Civil War"
7 by Adekeye Adebajo and the pages are 103 - just page 103 is
8 marked MFI-372A.

9 MS HOLLIS: Thank you, Madam President:

15:37:21 10 Q. Now, Mr Taylor, also on 16 October, do you recall when I
11 asked you if the six Senegalese ECOMOG killed in Vahun by your
12 men were killed because ECOMOG had found a weapons cache in that
13 area? Do you recall being asked that, Mr Taylor?

14 A. Yes. Yes, you did ask that.

15:37:48 15 Q. And your answer was:
16 "A. No, no. Not recollection. This is not the
17 information that reached me. The information reached me,
18 that they were ambushed. As far as the information you
19 just gave of finding a weapons cache, I don't think that is
15:38:07 20 accurate and could not have been."

21 Do you remember giving that answer, Mr Taylor?

22 A. Yes, I do.

23 Q. If we could look at MFI-192, please, which was also
24 DCT-265. That was tab 102 in binder 2 of 4 for week 33 and it is
15:38:38 25 Chapter 5 from Herman Cohen's book. If we could please look at
26 page 159 and if we could look at the second paragraph from the
27 bottom beginning with "the breaking point".

28 A. Yes.

29 Q. "The breaking point for ECOWAS, the Senegalese and the

1 United States came in May 1992 when 6 Senegalese soldiers on
2 patrol in NPFL-controlled territory were deliberately killed in a
3 village called Vanum." Now, he gets that village wrong.

4 "Captured after discovering an NPFL arms cache illegal under the
15:40:12 5 Yamoussoukro III agreement, they were brutally executed."

6 Mr Taylor, it is correct, is it not, that these Senegalese
7 troops were executed because they had discovered an NPFL arms
8 cache?

9 A. So you say he got the village wrong, so what else did he
15:40:30 10 get wrong in there? He's wrong that they were deliberately
11 killed. That was a very sad incident. We regretted that. They
12 were ambushed. And if he got the village wrong, as you say, what
13 else did he get wrong? It was not the case. Those people were
14 ambushed. It was unfortunate. Their bodies were even recovered
15:40:53 15 and turned over. This I disagree with. It's totally wrong.

16 Q. Mr Taylor, those bodies were not turned over until there
17 were protests about the fact you wouldn't turn them over, isn't
18 that right?

19 A. My God, I - that is - the Senegalese bodies were turned
15:41:11 20 over. There was no confusion about holding them. They were
21 turned over.

22 Q. Now, Mr Taylor, do you recall - again talking about 16
23 November - when you were asked if by August 1992 your NPFL held
24 several hundred ECOMOG hostage? Do you remember being asked
15:41:45 25 that?

26 A. I'm not sure about the date.

27 Q. This was at page 31786.

28 A. I remember the question, but I don't know the date. I'll
29 have to take your word I was asked on that day. I remember the

1 question.

2 Q. Mr Taylor, your reply was, "That is not correct", that
3 several ECOMOG troops were stopped because of their hostilities,
4 and we asked their commanders to send vehicles.

15:42:05 5 "They were put in those vehicles and driven to Monrovia.
6 No one was hurt in the process. They were not held hostage.
7 They were treated properly."

8 Do you remember giving that --

9 A. That is correct.

15:42:18 10 Q. -- response, Mr Taylor?

11 A. Yes.

12 Q. If we could please look at tab number 6 in annex 3, which
13 is the Liberian Truth and Reconciliation final report, volume 2.
14 If we could show page 175, please. If we could look at September

15:43:36 15 1992:

16 "Nearly 600 ECOMOG soldiers were taken prisoner, some of
17 whom were severely beaten by their NPFL captors."

18 Mr Taylor, this indicates that this occurred in September
19 1992. Do you recall in September 1992, 600 ECOMOGs being taken
15:44:02 20 prisoner by the NPFL?

21 A. 1992 --

22 Q. September.

23 A. I'm not sure of the month, but I would say vaguely I can
24 recall that. 600 - I'm not sure if it's 600. ECOMOG soldiers
15:44:22 25 involved in problems in our area were taken and sent back to
26 Monrovia. I don't remember the exact numbers, but in 1992, yes.

27 Q. Mr Taylor, in fact some of them were severely beaten by
28 your NPFL. Isn't that correct?

29 A. That is not correct. This Truth Commission incomplete

1 report - really it's still incomplete, just for the records - is
2 wrong. Those soldiers were not beaten. In fact, trucks were
3 sent by ECOMOG, they picked up their soldiers and took them.

15:44:58 4 MS HOLLIS: Madam President, again I anticipate several
5 references to the Liberian TRC report in this line of
6 questioning, so if I could ask an MFI number and a cumulative
7 exhibit. We have already referred to --

8 PRESIDING JUDGE: We have already, I think, two MFI
9 numbers. We have 315A and B, we have 333, and now we start a
15:45:31 10 cumulative number?

11 MS HOLLIS: That is correct. And I would ask that we have
12 a new MFI number, as it deals with a different topic.

13 PRESIDING JUDGE: The Truth and Reconciliation Commission
14 on Liberia report, page 175, is marked MFI-373A.

15:46:18 15 MS HOLLIS: Thank you, Madam President:

16 Q. Now, Mr Taylor, do you recall that on 17 November we talked
17 about United Nations resolution 788, 19 November 1992? Do you
18 remember us talking about that resolution on 17 November? And
19 that is at page 31808.

15:46:45 20 A. I remember talking about it. I get mixed up when you state
21 specific dates, but I remember talking about it.

22 Q. And you were asked that France actually resisted economic
23 sanctions because it had ongoing commercial ties with firms that
24 were doing business within your area of Liberia. Do you remember
15:47:11 25 being asked that?

26 A. Yes, I do.

27 Q. And your reply was:

28 "I'm not - I don't know of any direct French businesses
29 actually that were doing business. There were Italian, I don't

1 know, Lebanese, but no French. I think it was an overall
2 interest maybe on the part of France, just like other countries
3 protect their interest. I think by virtue of timber going
4 through the port of San Pedro, I think a lot of that timber
15:47:43 5 probably ended up into French factories, but I don't recall any
6 French personnel being engaged in business in Liberia in that
7 time."

8 Do you recall giving that answer, Mr Taylor?

9 A. That is my evidence, that is correct. I do.

15:48:02 10 Q. And if we could look again at tab 21 in annex 3,
11 Dr Adebajo's book. At this time if we could look at page 105.
12 If we could look at the third paragraph down beginning "Following
13 former US President", that paragraph, and the fourth line of that
14 paragraph:

15:49:04 15 "A month later, the UN Security Council adopted resolution
16 788 imposing an arms embargo on all factions in Liberia. France,
17 however, resisted economic sanctions due to continuing commercial
18 ties of French firms to the NPFL, mostly timber and iron ore."

19 Now, Mr Taylor, that is correct, is it not?

15:49:33 20 A. That is totally incorrect. That's why this book is not
21 authoritative and it is just this man's opinion. On the two
22 issues - there are two questions there. The first question on
23 timber: There were no French companies doing timber. The second
24 thing on iron ore: We never exported any, any, any iron ore from
15:49:53 25 the Republic of Liberia during the entire crisis, even during my
26 presidency. So he is wrong. That's why these books that are
27 just written are not authoritative. I disagree with that entire
28 nonsense that he wrote there. That's not true. At least he
29 would have said XY firm. That's not true, no.

1 MS HOLLIS: Madam President, if I may ask that this be
2 marked for identification MFI-372B, B as in bravo, page 105.

3 PRESIDING JUDGE: That is correct. The document is so
4 marked, that page 105.

15:50:32 5 MS HOLLIS: Thank you, Madam President:

6 Q. Indeed, Mr Taylor, one of your main connections was a
7 French businessman Robert Saint Pai in Abidjan, isn't that
8 correct?

9 A. Could you ask that again?

15:50:56 10 Q. One of your main connections was French businessman Robert
11 Saint Pai in Abidjan. Isn't that correct?

12 A. What do you mean by "connections" - one of my main
13 "connections", counsel?

14 Q. You don't understand the word, Mr Taylor?

15:51:14 15 A. I don't understand your question, counsel.

16 Q. One of your main contacts was French businessman Robert
17 Saint Pai in Abidjan, isn't that correct, Mr Taylor?

18 A. Well, I would - the way you put the proposition, one of my
19 main contacts, I would have difficulties with. If you're asking
15:51:32 20 me did I know Mr Saint Pai, yes, but contact could include a
21 whole lot of stuff. Did I know Mr Saint Pai? Yes.

22 Q. And you knew him as a French businessman in Abidjan,
23 correct?

24 A. Mr Saint Pai I knew as a - he's married a Liberian woman.
15:51:53 25 I knew him as the husband of an old friend of mine.

26 Q. And he is of French nationality, Mr Taylor?

27 A. Saint Pai - I think Saint Pai is Spanish - I think Saint
28 Pai was Spanish, but he lived in France for a very long time, if
29 I'm not mistaken.

1 Q. And you knew him as a French businessman, correct?

2 A. No, no, no. I didn't know him as a businessman. I said I
3 knew him as - he was the husband to a very good friend of mine.

4 Q. And you had a business connection with him. Isn't that
15:52:26 5 correct?

6 A. None whatsoever. None whatsoever.

7 Q. And, Mr Taylor, you also had an association with the French
8 ambassador in Abidjan, a Mr Michel Dupuch. Isn't that correct,
9 Mr Taylor?

15:52:46 10 A. Well, the way you ask the question I don't know how to
11 answer you really. Did I have association, you said?

12 Q. Yes.

13 A. I wouldn't put it that way. I did not have any quote,
14 unquote association with Mr Dupuch. Did I know Mr Dupuch? Yes,
15:53:06 15 as the French ambassador. I didn't have association with him.

16 PRESIDING JUDGE: Ms Hollis, are we going to have any
17 spelling of names, both for the French businessman and this
18 ambassador.

19 MS HOLLIS:

15:53:19 20 Q. Mr Taylor, do you know how to spell Saint Pai?

21 A. I used to call it St Pai. S-T dash I think P-A-Y-E or
22 P-A-Y.

23 Q. Possibly P-A-I?

24 A. Probably. Yeah, probably that.

15:53:35 25 Q. And our spelling would be S-A-I-N-T P-A-I. And, Mr Taylor,
26 Michel Dupuch, I believe you have identified him in a photograph
27 that was presented to you during direct examination, isn't that
28 correct?

29 A. That is correct.

1 Q. MFI-54?

2 A. That is correct.

3 Q. And if we could see that photograph, please, MFI-54. That
4 was DP-30. That was tab 50 in binder 3 of 3 for week 31.

15:54:16 5 Mr Taylor, Michel Dupuch, how do you pronounce his last name?

6 A. I think I'm as good as you on that, counsel. I just called
7 him Ambassador Dupuch. I think your pronunciation is as good as
8 mine. I accept yours too.

9 Q. We have the spelling as M-I-C-H-E-L for the first name and
15:54:38 10 D-U-P-U-C-H for the last name?

11 A. Yes.

12 Q. And during what period of time was he the ambassador - the
13 French ambassador in Abidjan, Mr Taylor?

14 A. Mr Dupuch, I know he is there - I don't know when he
15:54:54 15 leaves. I'll put it to around '91, '92, but I don't recall when
16 Ambassador Dupuch left.

17 Q. Mr Taylor, during the time that he was ambassador in
18 Abidjan, were you or your representatives going to the French
19 embassy in order to obtain cash payments during that time?

15:55:21 20 A. No, no, no.

21 Q. Now, I believe we have this photograph before us and I
22 thought you had pointed out different people on this photograph
23 before. Are there any markings on this photograph at all?
24 Mr Taylor, could you show us --

15:55:50 25 PRESIDING JUDGE: Why do we have a photograph that is not
26 marked? Because that is not the MFI. The MFI was marked. It
27 has names on it.

28 MS HOLLIS: That was my recollection as well, Madam
29 President. It is MFI-54, which would have been DP-30, according

1 to my notes.

2 PRESIDING JUDGE: Yes, the MFI I have on my screen from the
3 courtroom folder is marked with names, albeit the ambassador's
4 name is not one of them.

15:56:22 5 THE WITNESS: I don't think at that time it was requested
6 to identify him, I don't think.

7 MS HOLLIS: Do we have a marked version?

8 MS IRURA: Your Honour, this is the copy that is in our
9 possession.

15:57:01 10 MS HOLLIS: I seem to recall markings being made and it
11 being signed.

12 PRESIDING JUDGE: The record that we have, and let me make
13 sure it's signed - it's actually not signed. You mean signed by
14 Mr Taylor?

15:57:20 15 MS HOLLIS: Perhaps I was wrong about that, Madam
16 President.

17 PRESIDING JUDGE: This was put to Mr Taylor on 3 August
18 2009, apparently. Now, the copy that we have definitely has
19 names and arrows, but I don't know how those names and arrows
15:57:45 20 came. How could we admit or mark a document for identification
21 with no indications at all by the witness? Is that possible?

22 MS HOLLIS:

23 Q. Mr Taylor, you remember seeing this photograph previously,
24 don't you?

15:58:02 25 A. Yes, I remember seeing the photograph.

26 Q. And, Mr Taylor, do you recall being asked to identify
27 various individuals on the photograph and marking them
28 accordingly?

29 A. There were several of these photographs that I identified

1 and marked - being asked to. Now, I'm not sure if this one
2 specifically - I don't want to mislead the Court because there
3 were, what, almost 60 something of these photographs. But I
4 could help, if the Court wants, to identify. If that's the
15:58:43 5 issue, I can still help to identify the people, but I don't
6 specifically recall this one. But there were many photographs
7 that I did mark and identify.

8 PRESIDING JUDGE: Ms Hollis, I think in view of the fact
9 that the ambassador is not one of the names I see on my copy, you
15:58:59 10 could perhaps ask the questions again relating to the people.

11 MS HOLLIS: Yes. And if we may be permitted to use this
12 copy which is unmarked. It is clearly noted as DP-30:

13 Q. Mr Taylor, first of all, looking at this photograph - and
14 perhaps, Mr Taylor, you would need to move over to where the
15:59:27 15 usher is. Mr Taylor, if you could be given a pen. I'm not sure
16 that would be of best. Perhaps a ballpoint or another pen.
17 Indeed, Madam President --

18 MR GRIFFITHS: Madam President, I'm assisted by Mr Anyah
19 who observes that this is a Defence MFI and it's the only copy I
16:00:25 20 think available. So question whether it should be marked by the
21 Prosecution or whether for their purposes a different copy ought
22 to be provided which can be marked for identification by them,
23 because Mr Anyah has looked up the transcript for the relevant
24 date and it appears that Mr Taylor was not asked to mark this
16:00:51 25 particular document - this particular photograph. So it seems to
26 me that we ought to have a completely separate photograph
27 provided by the Prosecution which is marked and then if in due
28 course it's sought to admit it, it becomes then a Prosecution
29 exhibit.

1 PRESIDING JUDGE: Do you in fact have an extra copy,
2 Ms Hollis?

3 MS HOLLIS: In fact, we do not have an unmarked copy
4 because perhaps, as your Honours did, we actually marked the
16:01:26 5 document, our copy of the photograph, as Mr Taylor was pointing
6 to various individuals. But we have checked the transcript and
7 indeed we are in agreement with the Defence on that. He was not
8 asked to mark it, it was not marked and certainly we do not want
9 him to mark this, which is the Court copy of a document that was
16:01:54 10 used by the Defence. So we will attempt to get a clean copy of
11 that and return to this.

12 PRESIDING JUDGE: However, he still can describe the
13 persons in this picture on the record without marking it.

14 MS HOLLIS: An in terms of marking, we certainly won't ask
16:02:08 15 him to do that.

16 PRESIDING JUDGE: Then we're looking at MFI-54 and your
17 questions will relate to the MFI-54.

18 MS HOLLIS: Yes, thank you:

19 Q. So, Mr Taylor, I won't be asking you to mark it, but I will
16:02:21 20 be asking you to take the non-marking end of an instrument so
21 that you can point out for us, please - in this photograph, can
22 you show us with Michel Dupuch is located in this photograph?

23 A. This is Ambassador Dupuch right here.

24 Q. So as we're looking at that photograph, it would be on the
16:02:49 25 right of the photograph as we look at it and he would be the
26 white gentleman who would be standing in the second row of the
27 individuals there and he would be on the far right. Is that
28 correct, Mr Taylor?

29 A. That description sounds good, yes.

1 Q. Mr Taylor, this photograph was taken during your trip to
2 France, correct?

3 A. That is correct.

4 Q. Do you remember when that was that this photograph was
16:03:15 5 taken?

6 A. I would say in or around - I went to France in 1998 I would
7 say September, October, if I'm not mistaken.

8 Q. At that time what was Michel Dupuch's position in the
9 French government, if any, do you recall?

16:03:42 10 A. I think by this time Ambassador Dupuch has been promoted.
11 He is a senior adviser to President Chirac at the time, to the
12 best of my recollection, in the office of the President.

13 Q. Thank you. And, Mr Taylor, for my purposes, you can return
14 to your other seat. Mr Taylor, had you maintained contact with
16:04:20 15 Michel Dupuch from the time that he left the embassy in Abidjan
16 until this time that you went to France?

17 A. May you just help me here, counsel. When you say "you", as
18 an individual, no. As a government, yes.

19 Q. And the Government of Liberia, who would have been the
16:04:47 20 individuals who had maintained contact with Michel Dupuch?

21 A. The then Minister of State for Presidential Affairs would
22 have maintained contact - did maintain contact with him.
23 Dr Ernest Eastman was the then Minister of State for Presidential
24 Affairs. The Foreign Minister of Liberia, Monie Captan, also did
16:05:22 25 keep in touch with him.

26 Q. And, Mr Taylor, would Musa Cisse have kept in touch with
27 him?

28 A. At Musa's level, I doubt it. Musa knew him. He could have
29 called him, but that would have been unofficial. At Musa's level

1 as chief of protocol, he would not deal with a senior French
2 government official, except he was specifically instructed to do
3 so.

4 Q. Now, just so that we're clear, you said that your
16:05:54 5 recollection was he was ambassador during that period, 1991 to
6 1992, correct?

7 A. Yes, I said that and I said I don't know when he left, but
8 I said I would put it to around that time. That was my evidence.

9 Q. And the contact that would have been maintained by
16:06:15 10 Dr Ernest Eastman, would that have been from '92 onward or would
11 that have been later?

12 A. No, I would say from about that time. Eastman knew Dupuch
13 because he had been a diplomat for many years, but they appeared
14 to have known each other.

16:06:37 15 Q. And what would have been the nature of this ongoing contact
16 between Dr Eastman and Michel Dupuch after he left as ambassador
17 in Abidjan?

18 A. Now, it depends on the - like I say, I don't know when he
19 left. But if we look at the period of my presidency, he's a part
16:06:59 20 of a diplomatic effort to build a very good relationship with a
21 major western country as France.

22 Q. And before your presidency, what would have been the nature
23 of that ongoing contact?

24 A. Dr Eastman was a very good friend of Mr Dupuch, I
16:07:18 25 understand, from years before - before the resolution started,
26 ambassador - I'll call him Ambassador Eastman too because all
27 these people carry the title of ambassador. Eastman was Foreign
28 Minister in the Doe government and had maintained - I think it
29 was when he first made contact with Mr Dupuch. Now, during the

1 crisis, we used his expertise. He was with the NPRAG, and so we
2 just reconnected that contact.

3 Q. Mr Taylor, do you recall on 17 November we talked about the
4 creation of UNOMIL? Do you recall that?

16:08:06 5 A. Yes.

6 Q. And it was put to you that the estimate for the number of
7 observers that it would take to carry out its mandate would - it
8 would take just over 300 actual observers to carry out the
9 mission with other support personnel included in the mission. Do

16:08:36 10 you recall when that was put to you on that date?

11 A. I remember the discussion.

12 Q. And, again, that would be at page 31821.

13 A. I remember the discussion. I apologise, but I do get -
14 with UNOMIL, UNMIL, U this. Sometimes I get mixed up with the
15 different MILs. But I do recall the conversation.

16:08:55

16 Q. And you were asked that, continuing on to page 31822, and
17 you said if we had a document to present, if that document was
18 put forward so that you could see it.

19 So we would at this time ask that tab number 65 in annex 3
16:09:21 20 be brought for Mr Taylor to look at. Tab 65 in annex 3, and that
21 should be United Nations Security Council resolution 866 creating
22 UNOMIL. Now this, as we see, is United Nations Security Council
23 S/RES/866 (1993) dated 22 September 1993, and it is a resolution
24 adopted by the Security Council on 22 September 1993.

16:10:56

25 Mr Taylor, we see on page 1 the Security Council noting the
26 peace agreement signed by the three Liberian parties in Cotonou
27 on 25 July 1993 calls on the United Nations and the military
28 observer group of the Economic Community of West African States
29 to assist in the implementation of the agreement, emphasising, as

1 noted of the Secretary-General's report of 4 August 1993, that
2 the peace agreement assigns ECOMOG the primary responsibility of
3 supervising the implementation of the military provisions of the
4 agreement and envisages that the United Nations' role shall be to
16:11:49 5 monitor and verify this process.

6 Then if we look at the next page, page 2 under Part 2:

7 "Decides to establish UNOMIL under its authority and under
8 the direction of the Secretary-General through his special
9 representative for a period of seven months."

16:12:17 10 Then under number 3:

11 "Decides that UNOMIL shall comprise military observers as
12 well as medical, engineering, communications, transportation and
13 electoral components in the numbers indicated in the
14 Secretary-General's report together with minimal staff necessary
16:12:39 15 to support it."

16 Then it sets out the mandate. So this is the resolution
17 that actually creates UNOMIL, yes, Mr Taylor?

18 A. Yes. I don't think we had problems with this before,
19 counsel. I think the problem was with the number 300, am I
16:13:01 20 correct?

21 Q. Yes. Then if we could look at tab 66 in annex 3, which is
22 S/26422 dated 9 September 1993, report of the Secretary-General
23 on Liberia. We see here what I had just indicated, S/26422, 9
24 September 1993, report of the Secretary-General on Liberia.

16:14:11 25 A. Yes.

26 Q. And if we look at paragraph 2, indicating that the present
27 report is submitted pursuant to paragraph 3 of resolution 856 by
28 which the Security Council requested a report on the proposed
29 establishment of UNOMIL. Then if we could please look at page 5

1 of that document, and if we could look at paragraph 18 on that
2 page:

3 "It is estimated that 303 military observers will be
4 required for the UNOMIL operation."

16:15:13 5 Then it indicates the number of teams: 41 teams composed
6 of six observers per team military observers stationed at UNOMIL
7 headquarters in Monrovia and eight observers at each of the four
8 regional headquarters. It indicates they would be reporting to
9 the chief military observers. Then it indicates that the
16:15:40 10 military observers will be supported by necessary administrative
11 staff.

12 So, Mr Taylor, the estimate from the Secretary-General was
13 303 military observers supported by necessary administrative
14 staff. Yes, Mr Taylor?

16:15:57 15 A. Yes, this satisfies my inquiry at the time as to the
16 exactness of the detail. This satisfies my concern.

17 MS HOLLIS: Madam President, if I could ask that the
18 document at tab 65 in annex 3, the United Nations Security
19 Council resolution 866, be marked for identification.

16:16:27 20 PRESIDING JUDGE: The UN Security Council resolution 866 of
21 1993 is marked MFI-374.

22 MS HOLLIS: And if I could ask that the document at tab 66
23 in annex 3, which is S/26422 dated 9 September 1993, report of
24 the Secretary-General, also be marked for identification.

16:17:05 25 PRESIDING JUDGE: That document is marked MFI-375.

26 MS HOLLIS: Thank you, Madam President:

27 Q. Mr Taylor, I also mentioned to you at page 31826 that by
28 January 1994 the number of UNOMIL had reached a strength of 368
29 personnel, and you had indicated that you did not recall those

1 numbers. Do you remember that exchange, Mr Taylor?

2 A. Yes, I do.

3 Q. If we could look at tab 67 in annex 3, which should be
4 S/1994/168. If we could bring that down so we can see the top of
16:18:27 5 the page, please. We see "United Nations Security Council,
6 S/1994/168, 14 February 1994, Second Progress Report of the
7 Secretary-General on the United Nations Observer Mission in
8 Liberia", and that was referred to as UNOMIL. If we could look
9 at paragraph 15 of that document, which should be on page 4, and
16:19:21 10 we see:

11 "UNOMIL attained its total authorised strength of 368
12 military observers, including 20 medical and 45 engineering
13 personnel, in early January 1994. The preliminary deployment of
14 these military observers throughout Liberia has commenced in
16:19:41 15 accordance with the Cotonou Agreement and the UNOMIL concept of
16 operations presented in my report of 9 September 1993."

17 Do you see that, Mr Taylor?

18 A. Yes, I see that.

19 Q. So by January - early January indeed UNOMIL had attained
16:20:00 20 its maximum - its total authorised strength, and that was 368
21 military observers?

22 A. I accept that.

23 Q. That is the detail given, yes, Mr Taylor?

24 A. I accept that, yes.

16:20:12 25 Q. If we also look at paragraph 16:

26 "At the time of my last report in December 1993, UNOMIL was
27 facing difficulties in gaining free access throughout Liberia. I
28 am pleased to report that, as a result of consultations held with
29 NPFL/NPRAG and ULIMO, UNOMIL is progressively gaining access to

1 the various regions of the country. NPFL/NPRAG has agreed to the
2 timetable for UNOMIL's deployment in the northern and eastern
3 regions. As a result of discussions with ULIMO, UNOMIL has
4 undertaken reconnaissance missions to the western region in order
16:21:02 5 to draw up a timetable for further deployment in the area.

6 To date, three of UNOMIL's four regional headquarters have
7 been established in Monrovia (central region), Tubmanburg
8 (western region), and Gbarnga (northern region). It is expected
9 that the eastern regional headquarters will be established before
16:21:28 10 the end of February. Deployment of military observers at border
11 crossings, seaports and airports has also begun in accordance
12 with UNOMIL's concept of operations."

13 So, Mr Taylor, as they are reporting, they are making
14 progress in their deployments based on their consultations with
16:21:53 15 your group and with ULIMO. Do you recall that, Mr Taylor?

16 A. Well, I accept this - I accept the Secretary-General's
17 report here, yes.

18 Q. Now, if we could look at page 2 of this report at paragraph
19 9:

16:22:33 20 "In a letter dated 18 January 1994, S/1994/51, the
21 President of the Security Council expressed the concern of the
22 council that the transitional government had not yet been
23 installed, disarmament had not yet commenced. The implementation
24 of the Cotonou Agreement was thus being delayed, and efforts to
16:23:00 25 deliver humanitarian assistance to all parts of the country had
26 met with difficulties. He furthermore noted in his letter that
27 the continued support of the international community for the
28 efforts of UNOMIL would depend on the full and prompt
29 implementation by the parties of the Cotonou Agreement."

1 So, Mr Taylor as of mid-January of 1994, the council - the
2 transitional government had not yet been installed and
3 disarmament had not yet commenced. You recall that, yes,
4 Mr Taylor?

16:23:32 5 A. I accept what the report says here.

6 MS HOLLIS: Madam President, if I could ask that that
7 report be marked for identification, Second Progress Report of
8 the Secretary-General on the United Nations Observer Mission in
9 Liberia, S/1994/168.

16:23:51 10 PRESIDING JUDGE: The said document is marked MFI-376.

11 MS HOLLIS: Thank you, Madam President:

12 Q. Mr Taylor, do you recall also on 17 November it being put
13 to you that by mid-December 1993 approximately 166 UNOMIL
14 military observers had arrived in Liberia, and you indicated that
15 you did not recall that. Do you remember that exchange,
16 Mr Taylor?

17 A. Yes. And I think I said a little more than that, I don't
18 know the inter-workings of them, but that sounds reasonable.

19 Q. And if we could look at tab 112 in annex 1. Again, your
16:24:46 20 Honours, this would be in the binder shown as 12 but on the
21 outside it's binder 2. This would be in binder 2 and it would be
22 in tab 12 as we do not have tab numbers that go above 100.

23 PRESIDING JUDGE: I have it under tab 13. Please proceed.

24 MS HOLLIS: Thank you:

16:26:22 25 Q. Now, what we should be looking at is "Liberia UNOMIL
26 background, September to December 1993" and it does not appear -
27 yes, establishment of UNOMIL, relationship with ECOMOG, UNOMIL
28 components, interagency appeal, September to December 1993. It's
29 the second subheading. If we could please go to pages 4 and 5 of

1 that document, starting with page 4.

2 A. Would you please help me? What document is this? What's
3 the source of this document?

4 Q. Could we put the cover page on again, please? We see
16:27:24 5 "UNOMIL" at the top. Do you see that, Mr Taylor? Do you see
6 "UNOMIL" at that top of the document?

7 A. Is this a UN - a see Liberia, UNOMIL. Is this a UNOMIL
8 document?

9 Q. It says "Liberia - UNOMIL background" and at the bottom we
16:27:47 10 see a website page [www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/missions/past/](http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/missions/past/unomil)
11 [unomil](http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/missions/past/unomil). Do you see that, Mr Taylor?

12 A. Yeah, I see what you're reading.

13 PRESIDING JUDGE: Yes. But, I mean, I must, like
14 Mr Taylor, I must ask: What is it? I see all these writings,
16:28:15 15 but what is this document?

16 MS HOLLIS: This is a document that was prepared by the
17 United Nations peacekeeping relating to missions and gives a
18 summary of various actions at various times and it was related to
19 the UNOMIL mission.

16:28:55 20 PRESIDING JUDGE: If you can perhaps ask your questions in
21 the next two minutes, or three.

22 MS HOLLIS: Actually, I wouldn't be able to complete that,
23 Madam President, so it may be better to begin tomorrow with this.

24 PRESIDING JUDGE: Yes, I think, indeed, that would be best.
16:29:15 25 Mr Taylor, before we adjourn I will remind you, as we routinely
26 do, not to discuss your evidence with anyone. We will adjourn
27 the proceedings to tomorrow at 9.30 a.m.

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[Whereupon the hearing adjourned at 4.29 p.m.
to be reconvened on Thursday, 21 January 2010
at 9.30 a.m.]

I N D E X

WITNESSES FOR THE DEFENCE:

DANKPANNAH DR CHARLES GHANKAY TAYLOR	33691
CROSS-EXAMINATION BY MS HOLLIS	33691