



Case No. SCSL-2003-01-T

THE PROSECUTOR OF  
THE SPECIAL COURT  
V.  
CHARLES GHANKAY TAYLOR

THURSDAY, 28 JANUARY 2010  
9.30 A.M.  
TRIAL

TRIAL CHAMBER II

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Before the Judges:

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

For Chambers:

Ms Erica Bussey

For the Registry:

Ms Rachel Irura  
Ms Zainab Fofanah

For the Prosecution:

Mr Nicholas Koumjian  
Mr Christopher Santora  
Ms Ula Nathai-Lutchman  
Ms Maja Dimitrova

For the accused Charles Ghankay  
Taylor:

Mr Courtenay Griffiths QC  
Mr Morris Anyah

1 Thursday, 28 January 2010

2 [Open session]

3 [The accused present]

4 [Upon commencing at 9.30 a.m.]

09:32:41 5 PRESIDING JUDGE: Good morning. We will take appearances,  
6 please.

7 MR KOUMJIAN: Good morning, Madam President, your Honours  
8 and counsel opposite. For the Prosecution this morning,  
9 Christopher Santora, Ula Nathai-Lutchman and Maja Dimitrova, with  
09:33:28 10 myself Nicolas Koumjian.

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

14 PRESIDING JUDGE: I just wish to remind the parties that  
09:33:52 15 after today and starting Monday the new sitting schedule kicks  
16 in. So please be watchful for the new sitting hours.

17 Mr Taylor, I remind you, as we do every day, of your  
18 declaration to tell the truth.

19 Mr Koumjian, you are continuing with your cross-exam.

09:34:17 20 MR KOUMJIAN: Thank you, Madam President, I would like the  
21 witness to briefly be shown P-18. I just want to read one  
22 sentence from paragraph 204 to introduce my next question.

23 DANKPANNAH DR CHARLES GHANKAY TAYLOR:

24 [On former affirmation]

09:34:46 25 CROSS-EXAMINATION BY MR KOUMJIAN: [Continued]

26 Q. Paragraph 204, Mr Taylor, the second paragraph. Mr Serguei  
27 Denissenko is describing a conversation the panel had with him  
28 and it states - well, I will read the whole paragraph:

29 "Serguei Denissenko of San Air told the panel he had bought

1 the rotor blades from Alexander Islamov who was a regular  
2 supplier to San Air and sold them to Sanjivan Ruprah of West  
3 Africa Air Services in Monrovia. He described Ruprah as a  
4 business partner of Victor Bout in Africa."

09:35:52 5 Do you know Victor Bout, Mr Taylor?

6 MR GRIFFITHS: Can I ask which paragraph counsel is reading  
7 from?

8 MR KOUJIAN: 204.

9 MR GRIFFITHS: P-18?

09:36:19 10 MR KOUJIAN: Excuse me, thank you, P-32. P-18 is the  
11 Sierra Leone panel report. P-32 is the Liberian panel report.  
12 My apologies to everyone.

13 PRESIDING JUDGE: For the record this is the UN panel of  
14 experts report on Liberia.

15 MR KOUJIAN: Yes, and perhaps next I will refer to P-18,  
16 but let me start with P-32. For the record this is the first  
17 panel of experts report for Liberia, S/2001/1015, paragraph 204.

18 Q. "Serguei Denissenko of San Air told the panel he had bought  
19 the rotor blades from Alexander Islamov who is a regular supplier  
09:37:11 20 to San Air and sold them to Sanjivan Ruprah of West Africa Air  
21 Services in Monrovia. He described Ruprah as a business partner  
22 of Victor Bout in Africa."

23 Do you know Victor Bout, Mr Taylor?

24 A. No, I do not know him. I have heard the name from reports,  
09:37:30 25 but I don't know him.

26 Q. If we could go now, sorry, to P-18, page 39.

27 PRESIDING JUDGE: Mr Koumjian, could you please repeat the  
28 reference?

29 MR KOUJIAN: I am asking now to read from P-18, the first

1 panel of expert reports for Sierra Leone. I believe that is  
2 S/2000/1195 and I am reading beginning paragraph 229.

3 Q. "Victor Bout is a well known supplier of embargoed  
4 non-state actors - in Angola, the Democratic Republic of the  
09:38:53 5 Congo and elsewhere."

6 Mr Taylor, did you have any contacts in Angola or the  
7 Democratic Republic of the Congo?

8 A. I don't understand your question. Did I have any contact  
9 in Angola with the Democratic Republic of the Congo?

09:39:10 10 Q. I asked you about both, but let's take them one at a time  
11 then. In Angola did you have contacts?

12 A. No, I haven't had no contacts in Angola.

13 Q. In the Democratic Republic of the Congo did you have  
14 contacts?

09:39:23 15 A. When you say contacts what did you mean?

16 Q. Did you have people that you knew on a personal basis?

17 A. Yes.

18 Q. Would that include Mr Bemba, at that time?

19 A. No, I did not know Jean-Pierre. I knew and I still know  
09:39:39 20 the President, Joseph Kabila.

21 Q. Thank you:

22 "Viktor Vasilevich Butt, known more commonly as Victor  
23 Bout, is often referred to in law enforcement circles as 'Victor  
24 B' because he uses at least five aliases and different versions  
09:39:59 25 of his last name. He was born in Dushanbe, Tajikistan, had air  
26 force training in Russia and reportedly worked as a KGB officer  
27 shortly before the end of the Cold War. He then went into  
28 private business, setting up airline companies throughout eastern  
29 Europe. Today" - and again this report is written in the end of

1 2000 - "Victor Bout oversees a complex network of over 50 planes,  
2 tens airline companies, cargo charter companies and freight  
3 forwarding companies, many of which are involved in shipping  
4 illicit cargo."

09:40:39 5 And listen to this, Mr Taylor: "Bout himself lives in the  
6 United Arab Emirates." Yesterday we saw some transfers to  
7 Sharjah. Sharjah is one of the United Arab Emirates, is that  
8 correct?

9 A. That is correct.

09:40:55 10 Q. "Bout has used the Liberian aviation register extensively  
11 in connection with his company, Air Cess Liberia. The United  
12 Nations panel investigating the violations of United Nations  
13 embargoes on UNITA in Angola identified 37 flights, all with  
14 false End User Certificates and false flight schedules, conducted  
09:41:19 15 with the Liberian-registered planes operated by Victor Bout  
16 between July 1997 and October 1998."

17 Mr Taylor, did you have any contacts with UNITA, the rebel  
18 movement in Angola?

19 A. No.

09:41:44 20 Q. "Bout is a resident of the United Arab Emirates and many of  
21 his airline companies are based there." I am just going to just  
22 move on to make this a little bit faster. The next paragraph:

23 "Centrafricain Airlines is one of the many companies  
24 controlled by Bout and his Air Cess/Transavia Travel Cargo  
09:42:06 25 group."

26 Then I would like to turn to the next page, page 40,  
27 paragraph 235:

28 "Virtually all of Bout's companies, regardless of where  
29 they are registered, operate out of the United Arab Emirates.

1 Sharjah airport is used as an airport of convenience for planes  
2 registered in many other countries, such as Swaziland, Equatorial  
3 Guinea, the Central African Republic and Liberia."

4 Unless anyone requests me to read more, I don't plan to  
09:42:56 5 read more at this time. Mr Taylor, do you recall yesterday we  
6 were talking about transfers of money to Sharjah and transfers of  
7 money to Mr Sanjivan Ruprah?

8 A. Yes.

9 Q. Do you recall - I am summarising and if I do it unfairly,  
09:43:18 10 tell me - that you told us yesterday and you had said it on  
11 January 20 to my colleague, Ms Hollis, about how you knew of  
12 Sanjivan Ruprah, how you had appointed him an ambassador-at-large  
13 and approved a diplomatic passport for him and that you knew of  
14 his association with Benoni Urey. I pointed to you two instances  
09:43:46 15 where in your testimony on August 25 and August 26 of last year  
16 you were asked by your counsel do you know Sanjivan Ruprah and  
17 you said you did not know him. I asked you if you were fully  
18 honest with the judges and perhaps you want to explain again your  
19 answer?

09:44:08 20 A. Are you quoting from a record? I have always said that I  
21 did not know Mr - whoever you call him - Sanjay. I know of him.  
22 If you brought him before me as big as this house, I don't know  
23 him. That's what I have said.

24 Q. And you felt that your answer then to the question do you  
09:44:27 25 know him was fully honest because that was the situation as you  
26 have just explained?

27 A. As I have explained, yes.

28 Q. Mr Taylor, I found another time where you were asked by  
29 your counsel about Mr Ruprah and I would like to read the

1 transcript of 9 November 2009. It's just two lines. Page 31460.  
2 Sir, it's at the top of the page. I am going to read the first  
3 five lines:

09:45:53

4 "Q. Let's move on. And we see also in the penultimate  
5 paragraph Melbe's mentioned, yes?

6 A. Yes.

7 Q. Now we see a new name: Ruprah."

8 And your counsel asks, "Who is he?" Not do you know him.

09:46:11

9 "Who is he?" And you answered, Mr Taylor, "No, I don't know  
10 Ruprah."

11 Mr Taylor, do you think it was an honest answer when asked  
12 by your counsel who was Sanjivan Ruprah, when he was your  
13 ambassador-at-large with a diplomatic passport and you had  
14 approved over a million dollars of money transferred to him to  
15 say, "No, I don't know Ruprah"?

09:46:29

16 A. Well, I gave an honest answer based on my understanding of  
17 the question at the time. And you and I can get into know or  
18 knowing of. That's my answer and it's earnest and I have said  
19 consistently before this Court I appointed him, I approved of  
20 him. I don't know him, I had never met him, but I know of him.  
21 And if knowing means that I appointed him as ambassador that I  
22 had to know him, then that would be left to the interpretation of  
23 the judges.

09:46:48

24 Q. Mr Taylor, if I asked you who is Barack Obama would you  
25 say, "No, I don't know"?

09:47:04

26 A. I know of Obama. I have never met Barack Obama before.

27 Q. Excuse me. If I asked you - if someone in the street asked  
28 you, "Who is Barack Obama?" would that be your answer, "I don't  
29 know"?

1 A. If they ask me a question "Who is Barack Obama?" I would  
2 say Barack Obama is President of United States."

3 Q. Sir, in this Court when you are trying to give information  
4 that's helpful to the judges to understand the case and your  
09:47:29 5 lawyer asks you, "Who is Sanjivan Ruprah?" and you have all this  
6 information about him and contact, having personally approved his  
7 nomination as an ambassador-at-large, why did you lie and say,  
8 "No, I don't know Ruprah"?

9 A. Mr Koumjian, you started on yesterday. There is no bigger  
09:47:48 10 liar than you that have lied about my worth and different things.  
11 So you constantly on yesterday used that word --

12 PRESIDING JUDGE: Mr Taylor --

13 THE WITNESS: No --

14 PRESIDING JUDGE: Mr Taylor --

09:47:55 15 THE WITNESS: -- he was really at me on yesterday --

16 PRESIDING JUDGE: Mr Taylor--

17 THE WITNESS: -- that's not a lie.

18 PRESIDING JUDGE: -- I am speaking. I am speaking.

19 THE WITNESS: I am sorry, your Honour.

09:48:02 20 PRESIDING JUDGE: I hope I don't get this outburst from you  
21 again. Certainly we don't deserve it on the Bench.

22 Now, I was saying that the question asked regards today.

23 Mr Koumjian, please ask the question again, and I would like an  
24 answer from the witness.

09:48:28 25 MR KOUMJIAN:

26 Q. Mr Taylor, my question was: When your lawyer asked you on  
27 9 November 2009 "Who is Sanjivan Ruprah?" given all the  
28 information you knew about him and his role in Liberia as your  
29 ambassador-at-large and money transferred to him, why did you lie



1 and say, "I don't know Ruprah"?

2 A. Well, I don't consider that a lie. If my counsel had asked  
3 me to tell me all you know about Mr Ruprah, I would have probably  
4 gone into that. He said do you - I said I don't know the man,

09:49:02 5 and I say that today. I know of him.

6 Q. Let's move on, Mr Taylor. Yesterday - if he can be shown  
7 the transcript, please, of yesterday, page 34230. Yesterday,  
8 sir, on page 34230 I asked you, at the top of the page:

9 "Q. What arms did you receive from Burkina Faso?

09:50:29 10 A. We received a small amount of arms and ammunition,  
11 rifles and ammunition from Burkina Faso in 2002."

12 Now, if the witness could please be shown the transcript  
13 for 30 September, page 29952. Mr Taylor, on that date your  
14 counsel was going over the testimony of a witness Joseph Marzah,  
09:51:34 15 and on page 29952, beginning at the top of the page, you were  
16 asked:

17 "Q. What about Burkina Faso? Did you mention that as a  
18 source of weapons?

19 A. Never. I wouldn't even talk to Marzah, no. Burkina  
09:51:54 20 Faso did not supply me any arms at this particular time.  
21 At the very beginning, 1990, Burkina Faso provided some  
22 radio equipment in April or thereabouts. Burkina Faso was  
23 not involved in giving the Liberian government, my  
24 government, any arms or ammunition when I became President,  
09:52:14 25 no."

26 Now, Mr Taylor, you were President in 2002, correct?

27 A. That is correct.

28 Q. So your testimony on 30 September when you were trying to  
29 discredit Zigzag Marzah and your testimony yesterday are

1 different, correct?

2 A. No, they are not. There is - well, you may have to go back  
3 into the records. I have put on the records here more than once  
4 that Burkina Faso gave me a small amount of material, mostly  
09:52:47 5 ammunition. It's on the records.

6 Q. Why didn't you say that on 30 September when you said --

7 A. Well, I don't know --

8 Q. -- you never --

9 A. -- at which time whether my statement was before or after

09:53:00 10 this, but the records will reflect that I did say to this Court  
11 that Burkina Faso gave material in 2002. The records will speak  
12 for themselves.

13 Q. Yes, the records will speak for themselves. Mr Taylor,

14 let's move on. Can Mr Taylor please be shown the transcript for  
09:53:38 15 5 February 2008. One moment please, I may not be ready for this.

16 I may not have all the pages. Yes, 2008. It's page, excuse me,

17 3083. Just to remind you, Mr Taylor, this was the testimony of

18 King Perry, a radio operator who talked about seeing you in

19 Liberia when the RUF was pushed out, and you and Sankoh coming to

09:55:02 20 give a speech, and you setting up a unit called Black Kadaffa.

21 He also testified being an RUF member, of being with the invading

22 forces in the Freetown invasion, and about the communications

23 between those forces and Sam Bockarie. Are we ready?

24 A. Yes.

09:55:23 25 Q. On page 3083, line 10, it is stated:

26 "Q. Now, you have mentioned Sankoh and Mosquito having

27 satellite phones. Did any other person or any other leader

28 of the organisation get a satellite phone at some stage?

29 A. Yes, the time Sam Bockarie left and went to Liberia to

1 Mr Taylor, and again when Foday Sankoh was arrested in  
2 Freetown during the May incident 2000, Issa took over as  
3 leader, as acting leader of the RUF. During that time  
4 again Issa had a sat phone through Liberia. So he himself  
09:56:21 5 was talking to Mr Taylor."

6 Now, before I ask you questions about that, Mr Taylor,  
7 let's look at your testimony of 16 September, page 29006 of 2009.  
8 16 September 2009, 29006.

9 PRESIDING JUDGE: Is this September 2009?

09:57:56 10 MR KOUMJIAN: Yes, that's correct. That's the right page:  
11 Q. And your counsel begins by reading the testimony of King  
12 Perry. He's reading from the testimony of King Perry:

13 "Yes. The time Sam Bockarie left and went to Liberia to  
14 Mr Taylor, and again when Foday Sankoh was arrested in  
09:58:20 15 Freetown during the May incident 2000, Issa took over as a  
16 leader - as acting leader of the RUF. During that time again  
17 Issa had a satellite phone through Liberia, so he himself was  
18 talking to Mr Taylor. So whatever they discussed, he would do  
19 the same thing by sending messages to all commanders through  
09:58:43 20 field radio communications. And even if the RUF spokesman or  
21 whoever was representing BBC Focus on Africa or the  
22 Voice of America, they would use the same satellite phone to  
23 talk."

24 And after reading that portion of King Perry's testimony,  
09:59:03 25 your counsel asked you:

26 "Q. One question about that, Mr Taylor: Did you provide  
27 Issa Sesay with a satellite phone?

28 A. No, I did not."

29 Discrediting the testimony of King Perry, this witness.

1 Now, Mr Taylor, let's look at your testimony on 12 August  
2 2009. Page 26664, at the top of that page. You were talking,  
3 Mr Taylor, I believe, about the trips of Sam Bockarie to see you  
4 in 1998, and your counsel asked:

10:00:40 5 "Q. Yes. And you told us the first trip was in September.  
6 Did you provide it to him on the first trip, the second  
7 trip?

8 A. I said the second trip I provided him a phone.

9 Q. Why?

10:00:52 10 A. Because we had to be in contact with him and we needed  
11 to talk to him when he left and went back into the bush, so  
12 we had to talk to him.

13 Q. Thank you. Who else did you provide with a satellite  
14 phone?

10:01:05 15 A. I also provided a satellite phone later on in 2000 to  
16 Issa Sesay.

17 Q. Why?

18 A. To be in contact with him after he was made leader of  
19 the RUF in July/August of 2000."

10:01:21 20 Now, Mr Taylor, the truth is you did provide Issa Sesay  
21 with a satellite phone, correct?

22 A. That's - that's correct.

23 Q. And, Mr Taylor, why were you - were you so desperate to  
24 discredit King Perry because he had given evidence of such  
10:01:35 25 importance, including the fact that you created Black Kadaffa to  
26 fight against ULIMO, it was a unit you created, that you chose to  
27 lie to these judges and tell them, in order to discredit King  
28 Perry, no you never gave a phone to Issa Sesay?

29 A. Well, you have asked me several questions and I will break

1 them down. Number one, I did not ever create Black Kadaffa.  
2 Ever. If I had created Black Kadaffa, I would never have  
3 arrested those responsible.

10:02:09

4 Q. Actually that's not my question. I didn't ask that  
5 question.

6 PRESIDING JUDGE: I agree this is not the question asked.  
7 The question is why was your testimony different regarding the  
8 provision of the satellite phone to Issa Sesay. That is the  
9 question.

10:02:22

10 THE WITNESS: With due respect, your Honour, if I  
11 understand what this question says, he included that this was  
12 designed because I had created Black Kadaffa. That's the  
13 question. And I was trying to hide something and lie to you. So  
14 it's about two or three questions together.

10:02:44

15 PRESIDING JUDGE: Mr Koumjian, perhaps you could break your  
16 question down so that we don't argue back and forth about the  
17 interpretation of your question.

18 MR KOUMJIAN:

10:02:59

19 Q. Mr Taylor, there is a diametric opposition, a complete  
20 contradiction, between your claim that Black Kadaffa was a coup  
21 against you and the testimony of King Perry that you created a  
22 unit called Black Kadaffa. That's true, isn't it?

23 A. There is a diametric opposition, yes, but I did not - and  
24 that's why there's this opposition - create Black Kadaffa, no.

10:03:22

25 Q. Now, Mr Taylor, you know you gave a phone to Issa Sesay,  
26 correct?

27 A. That is correct.

28 Q. And despite the fact you knew it, when King Perry's  
29 testimony was read to you where he talked about that, you chose

1 to lie to the judges and tell them you didn't, correct?

2 A. Well, I'll tell you, you can consider it a lie, but I must  
3 admit that I misspoke at the time because I did give him a  
4 satellite phone.

10:03:50 5 Q. Mr Taylor, since Issa Sesay had a satellite phone, why did  
6 you maintain the guesthouse in Monrovia and have Gibriil  
7 Massaquoi, who you told us was in charge during the time of Issa  
8 Sesay, at the guesthouse in Monrovia when you could have talked  
9 to Issa Sesay on a satellite phone?

10:04:13 10 A. Well, let's look at the period in question. We're talking  
11 about the period that Issa Sesay comes into the leadership and  
12 that was a request from Issa Sesay. The peace process was  
13 virtually destroyed and Issa Sesay requested that a guesthouse  
14 should be made available to him and he wanted a spokesperson on  
10:04:36 15 the ground and we proved it.

16 PRESIDING JUDGE: Mr Koumjian, sorry to interrupt. When  
17 this witness, TF1-360, was testifying in open session he  
18 requested to use a pseudonym and his name is not part of the  
19 public record.

10:04:58 20 MR KOUMJIAN: I believe it was because it's even on the  
21 website. I checked it, I doubled checked that. I don't know if  
22 we can have the Court Officer or someone quickly check that.

23 PRESIDING JUDGE: This is what the Court Manager is telling  
24 me, in which case it may be --

10:05:16 25 MR KOUMJIAN: Maybe it was withdrawn at some point. This  
26 witness was open. We have doubled checked. Your Honour may be  
27 thinking of 367.

28 PRESIDING JUDGE: The witness was open, testified openly,  
29 but his name - he requested that his name be not made public.

1 MR KOUMJIAN: Well, this is obviously important so if we  
2 can just take one moment to check.

10:05:49

3 PRESIDING JUDGE: So it is now understood who we are  
4 talking about, if we could please redact references of the name  
5 of this person.

6 MR KOUMJIAN: If your Honour could give us a moment, we're  
7 99 per cent certain - we all remember him using --

10:06:01

8 PRESIDING JUDGE: But there isn't time, you see. Time is  
9 of the essence. I think you could revert to using TF1-360 now  
10 that we all know who it is. But just to be cautious we will  
11 redact references to the name.

12 MR KOUMJIAN: We believe on 5 February in open session the  
13 witness stated his name and pseudonym, his nickname, excuse me,  
14 not pseudonym, his name.

10:06:48

15 PRESIDING JUDGE: Would you like a moment to ascertain this  
16 aspect?

17 MR KOUMJIAN: Thank you very much. 4 February 2008 at page  
18 3021 the witness says his full name.

19 PRESIDING JUDGE: Mr Anyah?

10:07:10

20 MR ANYAH: Yes, Madam President, if it please your Honours,  
21 Mr Griffiths said I should address this point. It is correct  
22 that on 4 February last year, actually 2008, the witness  
23 testified in open court stating his full name. There were parts  
24 of his evidence that were given in closed session, but his name  
25 is known publicly. That's what our records show.

10:07:28

26 PRESIDING JUDGE: Madam Court Officer, could you confirm  
27 that?

28 MS IRURA: Your Honour, I will confirm.

29 PRESIDING JUDGE: Just a moment, Mr Koumjian. We will

1 settle this issue first.

2 MS IRURA: Perhaps if counsel can indicate the page because  
3 I am not getting it on the search for 4 February 2008.

4 MR KOUMJIAN: The page I have is 3021.

10:08:44 5 MS IRURA: Your Honour, I do confirm his name is on the  
6 record.

7 PRESIDING JUDGE: Okay. Then the order for redaction is  
8 rescinded.

9 MR KOUMJIAN: Thank you very much, Madam President, and  
10:08:54 10 it's always better to be safe:

11 Q. Mr Taylor, you were talking about the period of time when  
12 Issa Sesay was leader of the RUF and Gibril Massaquoi was based  
13 at the guesthouse in Monrovia. During those years of 2001 -  
14 excuse me, late 2002, 2001, this period that you're talking about  
10:09:20 15 was the period when the RUF best organised and even mechanised  
16 its diamond mining. Isn't that correct?

17 A. I don't know what they were doing over there.

18 Q. It was the height of the RUF's ability to mine and sell  
19 diamonds, correct?

10:09:37 20 A. I don't know what the RUF was doing. There was a  
21 government, Kabbah was President and there was peace. I have no  
22 idea what they were doing over there in terms of work.

23 Q. The RUF leaders were still on the travel ban, correct?

24 A. To the best of my knowledge, yes.

10:09:56 25 Q. And you were maintaining a guesthouse for them in Monrovia?

26 A. That is correct.

27 Q. Including Gibril Massaquoi, he was on the travel ban list,  
28 correct?

29 A. I don't know if Gibril was on it. I don't know the number



1 of people. I know Sankoh was on it.

2 Q. Mr Taylor, you put Gibril Massaquoi in the guesthouse to  
3 act as your conduit, giving your instructions to Issa Sesay in  
4 order to facilitate the diamond trade with the RUF, correct?

10:10:42 5 A. That is not correct. Gibril Massaquoi was there on the  
6 request of Mr Sesay and I want to believe it was with the  
7 knowledge of the Sierra Leonean government because he spoke  
8 publicly on BBC and other international radio from Liberia and it  
9 was known by all of the parties to Lome that he was there.

10:11:04 10 Q. Issa Sesay called you Papay, just like Sam Bockarie,  
11 correct?

12 A. Yes, there were times - everybody calls me Papay. Papay is  
13 an expression used in West Africa for older people. Everybody  
14 calls me Papay.

10:11:19 15 Q. Issa Sesay was obedient to you, just like Sam Bockarie,  
16 correct?

17 A. Well, that is not correct. That word obedient, what do you  
18 mean by obedient to me.

19 Q. The word obedient means you follow the orders of another  
10:11:37 20 person. That's my understanding. Do you have another  
21 understanding of that word?

22 A. No, I want to see how you interpret it.

23 Q. My interruption, sir, is you are obedient when you follow  
24 the orders of someone else?

10:11:49 25 A. Well, he was not obedient to me. Nobody, Sesay, Bockarie  
26 as you used his name before, was not obedient. We have a  
27 respectful way of dealing with leaders. That's what - people  
28 respect people; they are not obedient to them.

29 MR KOUMJIAN: Could the witness please be shown P-66. If

1 he could be shown the bottom of the page with the signature.

2 THE WITNESS: My copy doesn't show a signature.

3 MR KOUMJIAN:

10:13:04

4 Q. The signature line. Mr Taylor, do you see the letter, the  
5 signature line, the salutation at the end, "Your obedient son",  
6 and underneath the signature line, "Brigadier Sam Bockarie, CDS"?

7 A. I see that.

8 Q. "RUF/SL". Sam Bockarie was your obedient son, correct?

10:13:27

9 A. No, I wouldn't say that. I don't know what his  
10 interpretation was by saying "your obedient son". So I would not  
11 say that's correct. Because you are asking me if he were, I  
12 wouldn't say that, no.

13 Q. Mr Taylor, would you say you had the same relationship with  
14 Issa Sesay that you had with Sam Bockarie?

10:13:44

15 A. What relationship?

16 Q. Well, you know your relationship with Sam Bockarie. My  
17 question for you is do you consider you had the same type of  
18 relationship with Issa Sesay that you had with Sam Bockarie?

10:13:59

19 A. Well, no, I really want you to describe for me what you  
20 mean by the same type. What specific relationship are you  
21 referring to?

22 Q. Mr Taylor, your personal relationship that you described  
23 with Sam Bockarie, according to you, did you have that same  
24 relationship with Issa Sesay?

10:14:17

25 A. Well, I will answer you this way: Both of these people, in  
26 their leadership role, I had the same association with the two of  
27 them equally when they took over the leadership of the RUF.

28 Q. Thank you. Let's look at some of the documents that you  
29 have presented during your testimony. If the witness could be

1 shown MFI-150. Sir, you see this is a printed press communique.  
2 If you turn to the second page, the bottom, it states, "Done in  
3 Monrovia, Liberia, this 21st day of August AD 2000", and a  
4 signature. Do you recognise the signature of Issa Sesay?

10:15:53 5 A. I have no reason to dispute it. It looks like that of Issa  
6 Sesay.

7 Q. I am just going to read a few paragraphs from this, so  
8 beginning - following the bold on the first page, the second  
9 paragraph, the first non-bolded paragraph:

10:16:30 10 "The high command of the RUF today met with His Excellency  
11 Alpha Oumar Konare, President of Mali and chairman of ECOWAS."  
12 Was my pronunciation acceptable, Mr Taylor?

13 A. Yes, you did pretty well.

14 Q. And the name is spelled correctly, is it? Alpha Oumar,  
10:17:01 15 O-U-M-A-R, Konare?

16 A. Mr Koumjian, I will have to - I can't say for sure, but  
17 this looks like the correct spelling to me. It could be spelled  
18 in a different way maybe, but it looks right to me.

19 Q. "And chairman of ECOWAS, His Excellency, Chief OIusegun  
10:17:16 20 Obasanjo". Again my pronunciation of "OIusegun", is that  
21 passable?

22 A. Yes, that's - OIusegun is possible, but the way you read  
23 it, it looks like Obasanjo is chairman. But the way you read it  
24 into the record, Konare is chairman.

10:17:35 25 Q. Thank you. There is a semi colon after "chairman of  
26 "ECOWAS", and clearly Konare is chairman of ECOWAS.

27 A. Okay.

28 Q. "OIusegun Obasanjo" spelt correctly, correct?

29 A. I am sure - maybe your colleague on the other side may be

1 able to help you if I am wrong, Mr Anyah, but it looks right to  
2 me, counsel.

3 Q. "President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, and His  
4 Excellency Dankpannah Dr Charles Ghankay Taylor, President of the  
10:18:08 5 Republic of Liberia". Is "Dankpannah" spelt correctly,  
6 Mr Taylor?

7 A. Yes.

8 Q. Is that a word in Sierra Leone?

9 A. "Dankpannah"? I am not sure, counsel. The last word  
10:18:24 10 "Kpannah" may be used - it's possible it could be used on the  
11 border side in Sierra Leone because it is a traditional name.  
12 But "Da", I am not sure if "Da" is used in Sierra Leone.

13 Q. And the rest of the paragraph is spelt correctly, is that  
14 right?

10:18:41 15 A. That is correct.

16 Q. "The meeting" - I'll read on to the next paragraph:

17 "The meeting was sequel to the one held in Monrovia on 26  
18 July 2000 and the high command's letter dated 1 August 2000 to  
19 chairman Foday Sankoh on developments connected with the peace  
10:19:02 20 process in Sierra Leone.

21 His Excellency President Konare and His Excellency  
22 President Obasanjo brought a handwritten and signed reply to our  
23 letter addressed to chairman Foday Sankoh. We are convinced that  
24 the letter, which confirmed Brigadier General Issa Sesay as the  
10:19:28 25 interim leader of the RUF, is authentic.

26 As the high command of the RUF, we are fully appreciative  
27 of the advice provided us by the three ECOWAS Presidents, and we  
28 pledge our readiness to cooperate with ECOWAS in the achievement  
29 of lasting peace in Sierra Leone."

1 Mr Taylor, your people wrote this press communique, isn't  
2 that correct?

3 A. No, that is - that is not correct, Mr Koumjian.

4 Q. It was done in Monrovia, is that right?

10:20:00 5 A. It was done in Monrovia, yes.

6 Q. And you received a copy, is that right? I see there is  
7 some handwritten notes at the top that says "file"?

8 A. The other leaders too received copies, yes.

9 Q. Do you recognise the handwriting on the handwritten notes  
10:20:16 10 at the top?

11 A. Bring it down. Let me see. No. These could be people  
12 from my office. I see "Presidential Papers 2000", I see from the  
13 file on the side. This could be people from our archives area at  
14 the presidency.

10:20:37 15 Q. Well, Mr Taylor, explain this to me: If this letter was  
16 written by Issa Sesay or by members of the RUF, why is it that  
17 the names of Alpha Oumar Konare, the President of Mali; Olusegun  
18 Obasanjo, the President of Nigeria; Dankpannah  
19 Charles Ghankay Taylor, are all spelt correctly and the name of  
10:21:00 20 Issa Sesay is misspelled? Did you see that?

21 A. I don't know. They would have to account for that. This  
22 is their publication, and I don't know how they could have  
23 misspelled - which part of the document are you referring to as  
24 "Sesay" being --

10:21:23 25 Q. The second-to-last paragraph we see "Brig Gen Issa Sessay",  
26 spelled "S-E-S-S-A-Y". Now "Sessay" - do you see that,  
27 Mr Taylor?

28 A. Yes, I do.

29 Q. Now, Sesay, Mr Taylor, is a very common name in Sierra

1 Leone, correct?

2 A. That is correct.

3 Q. In Liberia it's not as common, is it?

4 A. It is common.

10:21:50 5 Q. It's often in Liberia a Mandingo name and it's spelled  
6 differently, correct?

7 A. Sesay is a Mandingo name.

8 Q. For example, your chief of protocol spelled his name  
9 C-I-S-S-E, correct?

10:22:04 10 A. Sesay is spelt both ways, Mr Koumjian, in West Africa. It  
11 depends on how you want to spell it.

12 Q. You agree with me he spelled it C-I-S-S-E; is that right?

13 A. Yes. He spelled it C-I-S-S-E. He could have spelled it  
14 S-E-S-S-A-Y. But it's spelled in both ways.

10:22:18 15 Q. In Sierra Leone it's spelled S-E-S-A-Y. That's the  
16 spelling in Sierra Leone, isn't it?

17 A. Mr Koumjian --

18 Q. Or you don't know? If you don't know, you can say so.

19 A. I don't - I don't know how it is spelled in Sierra Leone,  
10:22:31 20 but I do know that this name is spelled in both ways and I can  
21 see what's at question here that you are drawing is the  
22 authenticity of this document. But I am sure there will be ways  
23 to prove that this document is authentically done by the RUF, and  
24 so I agree to your challenge. But this document was written by  
10:22:49 25 the RUF delegation in Monrovia.

26 Q. Well, let me make my position clear to you, Mr Taylor, so  
27 there is no doubt about it. Issa Sesay was the puppet and you  
28 were pulling the strings; isn't that the truth?

29 A. That is not the truth, Mr Koumjian.

1 Q. Let's go to the another document you produced, MFI-134.  
2 Mr Taylor, MFI-134, do you recall testifying in your direct  
3 examination about this letter?

4 A. I will have to see the whole document. I just see a date.

10:23:57 5 Q. Perhaps before it's put on the screen it could just be  
6 handed Mr Taylor, he can review it for a moment, and then we  
7 could go back to the screen, if that's acceptable with the  
8 Presiding Judge.

9 A. Yes, okay.

10:24:16 10 Q. Mr Taylor, do you recall testifying concerning this letter  
11 in your direct examination?

12 A. Yes, I have some recollection, yes.

13 Q. Well, tell us, Mr Taylor, how did you get this letter?

14 A. This letter, I am sure it was among my papers. It's May  
10:24:39 15 2000. 290, I am sure it came from my papers.

16 Q. Well, I understand your papers were put together in 2003  
17 when you left. Do you recall seeing this letter in 2000?

18 A. No, no, no, but you just misquoted. You said that my  
19 papers were only put together in 2003 when I left. That's not  
10:25:01 20 true.

21 Q. Mr Taylor, don't you recall testifying that --

22 A. It's a cumulative effect of papers that were put together.

23 Q. Do you recall testifying when you said being aware of this  
24 case, you asked members of your staff to put together papers for  
10:25:15 25 the history and being aware of this case?

26 A. Yes.

27 Q. Now, do you recall seeing this letter in 2000?

28 A. Sure, I may have read this letter. There are thousands of  
29 pages of documents, Mr Koumjian.

1 Q. Mr Taylor, do you recall how you got the letter?

2 A. I am sure this letter came through the RUF office and given  
3 to our people in Monrovia, yes.

4 Q. Well, the RUF office had means - excuse me. This letter,  
10:25:58 5 if you turn to page 2 - if that could please be put on the  
6 screen - you see it's unsigned. Mr Taylor, do you have any  
7 explanation for why Issa Sesay would send you a letter and it's  
8 not signed?

9 A. Because probably this is not the original copy of the  
10:26:26 10 letter. I don't know, but the letter would have been signed, the  
11 original copy.

12 Q. Well, Mr Taylor, why would you have anything but the  
13 original copy of the letter?

14 A. Because the original copy would be still at the archives at  
10:26:39 15 the Executive - I did not - we got copies of materials. Some we  
16 took original copies. But we did not strip the whole archives of  
17 the Executive Mansion.

18 Q. Mr Taylor, if you got the letter, the original, and made a  
19 copy, the copy would have a signature?

10:26:57 20 A. Yes, that would be true. That would be true.

21 Q. So, Mr Taylor, why did you get a letter from Issa Sesay  
22 unsigned?

23 A. Well, I wouldn't say that the letter is unsigned. I would  
24 say this copy - I don't see a signature on this copy, and I  
10:27:13 25 cannot account for why there is no signature on this copy.

26 Q. Could that be, Mr Taylor, because this letter was written  
27 by your staff in Monrovia for Issa Sesay?

28 A. But even if it was written - if that were true,  
29 Mr Koumjian, that my staff wrote a letter for Issa Sesay, he



1 would still have to sign it, wouldn't he? So that conjecture is  
2 wrong.

3 Q. Well, he should. So you agree it could have been written  
4 by your staff --

10:27:38 5 A. No.

6 Q. -- for Issa Sesay?

7 A. No, that's not what I am saying. I am saying if we go by  
8 your line of thinking that my staff wrote a letter for Issa  
9 Sesay, he would still have to sign it. So the issue of who wrote  
10 the letter I don't think is the question. I think the main  
11 question is the signature. I cannot account for why this copy  
12 doesn't have the signature on it. I don't know why, but this is  
13 the copy that we have.

10:28:07 14 Q. Let me make my position clear to you, Mr Taylor. The  
15 signature is not the only thing that I am concerned about. My  
16 position is that this letter was written by your staff because,  
17 again, Issa Sesay is a puppet and you pull the strings?

18 A. That's totally nonsense, I would say. Total, total  
19 nonsense.

10:28:21 20 Q. Let's look at this letter dated 11 May 2000, the addressee  
21 line at the top "HE". Now, we have seen that before on the  
22 personnel bank account statement at LBDI. What does "HE" stand  
23 for, Mr Taylor?

24 A. "HE" simply means His Excellency.

10:28:40 25 Q. "Dankpannah Dr Charles Ghankay Taylor". Is "Dankpannah"  
26 spelt correctly?

27 A. No, that's not - there is an "H". It's supposed to be  
28 D-A-H-K-P-A-N-N-A-H.

29 Q. Let me just skip, to shorten this a bit, down to the middle

1 of the page - the paragraph - the small paragraph beginning:

2 "It is in this environment of complete indifference and  
3 abandonment by all parties the United Nations orchestrated and  
4 executed their unwarranted attack on our positions."

10:29:25 5 Mr President, due to the inability of the United Nations to  
6 guarantee our leader's security as well as that of our other  
7 members in Freetown, and the inability of the government to  
8 control its own militias, Kamajors and SLA-AFRC, we now face a  
9 situation that is more complicated than ever, especially with the  
10:29:52 10 direct involvement of the British army."

11 Now, looking at this date, this would have been - the  
12 incident at Sankoh's house would have happened a few days - May  
13 8, approximately three days before this letter, correct?

14 A. No, I wouldn't agree with you. The incident that I know -  
10:30:17 15 if you say three days before, three days before May 8 would be  
16 May 5. My recollection of the incident at Sankoh's house  
17 occurred on May 8.

18 Q. Mr Taylor, I apologise for my lack of articulateness.  
19 Three days before 11 May, 8 May, we agree, was the incident on  
10:30:36 20 Spur Road. The final paragraph:

21 "Mr President, we have the firm conviction that the  
22 situation in our country can only be resolved by the ECOWAS, and  
23 not by the United Nations, whose involvement was never envisaged  
24 in the Lome Peace Accord."

10:30:58 25 Mr Taylor, this position that ECOWAS should be the military  
26 force deploying to enforce Lome and not the United Nations was  
27 one backed up by you, correct?

28 A. No, that is not correct, Mr Koumjian. That is not correct.  
29 Totally, totally, that's not correct.

1 Q. Mr Taylor, didn't you ask that ECOWAS be deployed in the  
2 diamond region of Kono rather than waiting for United Nations  
3 troops to be deployed?

4 A. Well, I had said, yes, that ECOWAS should go ahead, because  
10:31:34 5 ECOWAS was a part of the United Nations forces. The controversy  
6 at the time was should we wait for the additional training that  
7 the United States was calling for, or should we not waste time.  
8 Don't forget, ECOWAS form a part of the UN forces at that time.  
9 They came under UN command.

10:31:53 10 Q. Under the command of the United Nations, correct?

11 A. That is correct.

12 Q. Now, Mr Taylor, you had long experience in dealing with  
13 ECOWAS and particularly the Nigerian forces in ECOWAS, correct?

14 A. When you say long, that could be relative. I had dealing  
10:32:08 15 with them.

16 Q. Well, since 1990, correct?

17 A. Yes, long is relative, Mr Koumjian. I agree that I had  
18 dealing with them.

19 Q. The older we get the longer seems shorter, I agree with  
10:32:25 20 that. Mr Taylor, when you were dealing with ECOMOG you  
21 eventually learned how to manage them, wouldn't you agree?

22 A. No, I wouldn't agreement. I learned how to manage ECOMOG?

23 No.

24 Q. You would bribe them when you needed to, correct?

10:32:40 25 A. Well, I did not bribe ECOMOG so to speak. There were  
26 elements within ECOMOG that were bribed.

27 Q. And at this time the commander of the ECOWAS force in  
28 Sierra Leone was General Khobe. Is that right?

29 A. Yes.

1 Q. And he was the man in the article you presented that was  
2 called the "Ten Million Dollar Man" for the allegations that he  
3 was taking bribes for allowing diamond mining in RUF territory,  
4 correct?

10:33:09 5 A. Based on an assessment of - yes, in that document, yes.

6 Q. Let's go to the next page:

7 "Here below, Mr President, are the demands we make on  
8 behalf of our movement.

9 1. The unconditional release of our leader who we consider  
10:33:40 10 to be detained by the United Nations.

11 2. The immediate halt to the distribution of weapons to  
12 the militias by the United Nations.

13 3. The convening of an ECOWAS summit to restart the  
14 dialogue with the participation of all parties.

10:33:56 15 4. The immediate re-examination of the Lome Peace Accord  
16 in Monrovia.

17 5. The creation of a National Council of State to govern  
18 the country during a transitional period until elections are  
19 held.

10:34:17 20 6. The complete disarmament of the country, including the  
21 so-called national army, created by President Kabbah, comprising  
22 the other factions, without the RUF.

23 7. The immediate cessation of hostilities, followed by the  
24 establishment of a verification committee directed by the ECOWAS.

10:34:40 25 8. The travelling band" - that's misspelled - "should be  
26 lifted on all RUF and walk forward to the Lome Peace Accord.

27 Mr President, we are convinced that your mediation will  
28 achieve an end to the war in our country, given your experience  
29 and your abilities which are recognised by all."

1 Now, Mr Taylor, going to number 4 on that, tell me, were  
2 you aware of this demand to have the Lome Accord re-examined in  
3 Monrovia?

4 A. According to the letter, I was aware of this demand that  
10:35:22 5 would never happen.

6 Q. According to you, what was the reason that the RUF wanted  
7 Lome re-examined?

8 A. I have no idea. You have to ask them. I have no idea.  
9 That would not happen because my official position on this matter  
10:35:38 10 even reported by the Secretary-General even when Sankoh was  
11 arrested was that there would be no quid pro quo about Sankoh's  
12 release and that is widely reported by the Secretary-General in  
13 his documents presented here. So whatever they thought was their  
14 thinking, but Lome I had said to Johnny Paul Koroma and everybody  
10:36:02 15 else would not be revisited. That was my position.

16 Q. Mr Taylor, does the style of writing in this letter, the  
17 vocabulary, the tone, does it ring a bell with you?

18 A. No.

19 Q. Doesn't it sound very, very much like the public statements  
10:36:15 20 released by your government such as the response to the panel of  
21 experts?

22 A. Mr Koumjian, no, it doesn't sound. They are educated  
23 people in Sierra Leone. If you know Gibril Massaquoi, he is a  
24 very articulate fella. This is not the work of the Liberian  
10:36:33 25 government and there would be ample time to prove it.

26 Q. Did you have lengthy discussions with Gibril Massaquoi?

27 A. No, no, no, Gibril Massaquoi and I did not have long  
28 conversations. Gibril Massaquoi was there. We met very shortly.  
29 Gibril Massaquoi was not an official that I could sit down with

1 for hours talking about what, no.

2 Q. Well then, Mr Taylor, why did you just say, "If you know  
3 Gibril Massaquoi, he is a very articulate fella"?

4 A. Yes, because I have listened to his pronouncements on the  
10:37:05 5 air. He has done interviews. Gibril is a very - for the few  
6 minutes I spent with Gibril, he is very articulate. That's what  
7 I mean. He is very articulate.

8 Q. Mr Taylor, who do you believe this letter was written by?

9 A. I have no idea and I am not going to speculate.

10:37:21 10 Q. Well, it wasn't written by Issa Sesay, correct?

11 A. I have no idea. This for me is an RUF letter and this  
12 letter will be authenticated that it is an RUF document.

13 Q. Sir, this was not written by a Sierra Leonean, was it?

14 A. I have no idea and I am not going to speculate.

10:37:38 15 Q. Well, let's help you. Let's look at the name that's  
16 listed, there is no signature but it's below where the signature  
17 would be. General Essa, E-S-S-A, Seasay, S-E-A-S-A-Y. Issa in  
18 Sierra Leone is spelled I-S-S-A. It's always spelled I-S-S-A in  
19 Sierra Leone, correct?

10:38:08 20 A. I don't know. I can't answer that. I can only talk about  
21 Sesay I know is spelled both ways in Sierra Leone, Liberia and  
22 other parts of West Africa. I don't know how they spell it in  
23 Sierra Leone. I have no idea.

24 Q. In some countries like the Gambia, Essa would be spelled  
10:38:29 25 E-S-S-A as it is here, correct?

26 A. I don't know, Mr Koumjian. I will take your word for it.

27 Q. And Sesay is misspelled in this letter although it is one  
28 of the most common names in Sierra Leone. Isn't that right?

29 A. Well, you know, it's relative as to whether it is

1 misspelled or not spelled. These names, Sesay can be spelled  
2 depending on, you know, different individuals at the time. I  
3 don't know. But I wouldn't say it's misspelled because anybody  
4 reading this would Sesay, C-I-S-S-I-E, S-E-S-S-A-Y, S-E-S-A-Y. I  
10:39:09 5 think the point you want to make, and I understand the point and  
6 you do have a point, but I tell you that this document is a  
7 document that was delivered to my government by the RUF and that  
8 would be authenticated.

9 MR KOUMJIAN: Could I ask the witness be shown a document  
10:39:29 10 which is number 76 in annex 1. Your Honours, in our submission  
11 it is a document that does not go to guilt. I could describe it  
12 briefly, if you would like:

13 Q. Now, this should be a one page document, number 76 in annex  
14 1, with the letterhead of the Special Court for Sierra Leone.

10:40:49 15 Mr Taylor, below paragraph 3, I am simply interested, this  
16 document says it's a power of attorney in the signature line. Do  
17 you recognise the signature as being the same as the signature we  
18 looked at earlier of Issa Sesay that was on, I believe, the press  
19 communique?

10:41:11 20 A. They look alike to me. I am not a signature expert, but.

21 Q. And do you see how Mr Issa Sesay's name is spelled there  
22 printed next to it I-S-S-A, Hassan and then Sesay, S-E-S-A-Y?

23 A. If you want to make that an argument let's look at the top  
24 of the paper. It's misspelled at the top, so how do we call  
10:41:40 25 that?

26 Q. That clearly could be written by a Canadian, or it could be  
27 written by someone from any other country. That's not written by  
28 Issa Sesay?

29 A. So it's different. It's different, so --

1 Q. Maybe it's written by a Liberian, Mr Taylor. Do you know  
2 who wrote it?

3 A. I don't know, but at the top of the page it's misspelled,  
4 so how do we look at that?

10:41:54 5 Q. Well, perhaps that shows that people who are not from  
6 Sierra Leone may not know how to spell this name --

7 A. I am not from Sierra Leone either.

8 Q. Exactly, Mr Taylor. Exactly.

9 A. So is this document authentic since at the top it's spelled  
10:42:08 10 one way and at the bottom is spelled one way. I am not a  
11 signature expert. Just looking at it, it looks like a signature.  
12 So, I mean, that's the best I can say. So what is this document?  
13 Is it authentic, you see.

14 Q. Thank you, Mr Taylor. I'd like to move to another  
10:42:27 15 document. May this be marked for identification, please?

16 PRESIDING JUDGE: This document, which is a Special Court  
17 for Sierra Leone document, it is marked - actually the heading is  
18 "Case no. SCSL-03-05-PT, Prosecutor versus Issa Hassan Sesay".  
19 It's marked for identification MFI-393.

10:43:39 20 MR KOUJIAN: When the Court Officers are ready I will ask  
21 that P-302 be shown to the witness:

22 Q. Sir, this document is labelled "Press release SC/6472. The  
23 Security Council committee on Sierra Leone releases list of junta  
24 members affected by sanctions." I am going to read a little bit  
10:44:32 25 of the first two paragraphs:

26 "The following was issued today by the Security Council  
27 committee established pursuant to resolution 1132 (1997)  
28 concerning Sierra Leone:

29 The Security Council committee established pursuant to



1 resolution 1132 (1997) concerning Sierra Leone decided to release  
2 the following list of members of the military junta in Sierra  
3 Leone, adopted by the committee on 8 January 1998, whose entry  
4 into or transit through other states is to be prevented in  
10:45:18 5 accordance with paragraph 5 of the Security Council resolution  
6 1132 (1997). "

7 Now, just going down to the bottom of the page, just so we  
8 are clear, notice it does have a date, it says, "Press release  
9 SC/642, 28 January 1998". At the very top of the page you also  
10:45:51 10 see, top left, above the seal of the United Nations, the date "28  
11 January 1998". If you turn to the second page under paragraph 3  
12 you again see, "Press release SC/6472, 28 January 1998".

13 Now, Mr Taylor, I would like to go through just a few of  
14 the many names that are on this list. If we can go to page 1,  
10:46:32 15 number 6, we see the name of Bockarie, Sam, Colonel,  
16 Revolutionary United Front, aka Commander Maskita, RUF. That's  
17 the Sam Bockarie you brought to Liberia three times in 1998,  
18 correct?

19 A. That is correct.

10:46:55 20 Q. Number 12, Moses Kabia, Staff Sergeant, Chief Security  
21 Officer. We have heard testimony in this Court about Moses  
22 Kabia, known as SLA Rambo, security officer for JPK; do you  
23 recall that?

24 A. I don't quite recall about the name, but I take it that you  
10:47:19 25 are stating it correctly.

26 Q. Let's turn to the next page. Number 18, Samuel Kargbo;  
27 number 21, Johnny Paul Koroma, Major, chairman of the Supreme  
28 Council of the Armed Forces Revolutionary Council (AFRC), Head of  
29 State and Commander-in-Chief. You see some other names we

1 recognise here, but let me draw your attention to number 24;  
2 Massaquoi, Gibril, Colonel, arrested.

3 Now, there was a time during the junta time before the  
4 intervention when Gibril Massaquoi was arrested by the junta and  
10:48:21 5 he was - remained in that jail when the ECOMOG took over Freetown  
6 until the January '99 invasion, correct?

7 A. That's your evidence. I --

8 Q. Well, did you talk to him about that?

9 A. No, I didn't.

10:48:38 10 Q. When Gibril Massaquoi was based at the guesthouse this  
11 travel ban was still in effect, correct?

12 A. Yes, it was.

13 Q. Then, Mr Taylor, were you aware and did you knowingly  
14 violate the travel ban in keeping Gibril Massaquoi in Monrovia?

10:49:10 15 A. That's your question?

16 Q. Yes.

17 A. Oh, I thought you were continuing, I'm sorry. I was not  
18 aware that Gibril Massaquoi was on the travel ban. But if I had  
19 been aware that Gibril Massaquoi was on the travel ban, like all  
10:49:20 20 the others, like Johnny Paul Koroma - this process continued and  
21 if you look at some of the Secretary-General's reports,

22 subsequent to that you will see where exceptions were given for  
23 individuals to travel. The process is not - that's why these  
24 processes should not come to courts. They are different. Johnny  
10:49:42 25 Paul Koroma was there. Gibril Massaquoi was in Liberia. Nobody  
26 from the Security Council of the United Nations say, You're  
27 violating this, get them back. This process was ongoing. There  
28 were approvals. Even some approvals were given after people  
29 travelled. There were some approvals before the travel. It was

1 an ongoing process for peace. And if you look at the AFRC people  
2 that came to join Johnny Paul Koroma in Liberia were transported  
3 by the UN to Liberia, and at that time they did not have any  
4 clearance, they were on - so it's an ongoing process,

10:50:16 5 Mr Koumjian. But they were there, and that's the way the process  
6 worked at that time.

7 Q. There was travel of some of these individuals because the  
8 United Nations issued specific exemptions for certain travel,  
9 such as the travel to Lome, correct?

10:50:35 10 A. For some of these travels it came before, yes, and some  
11 came after, yes.

12 Q. And in fact, I think, for Johnny Paul Koroma to go to  
13 Monrovia in August, correct?

14 A. I don't recall whether it was done specifically in August.  
10:50:50 15 It came some time later, if I am not mistaken. I was not on top  
16 of that. But because of the circumstances at the time, the UN  
17 facilitated the travel, and I am sure later the approval was  
18 made. But at times these things happen and then you seek  
19 approval.

10:51:09 20 Q. Did you seek approval for Johnny Paul Koroma's travel to  
21 Monrovia on that occasion?

22 A. My government did not. If I am not mistaken - I don't know  
23 who did. It could have been the Sierra Leonean government or  
24 something. I don't recall who did, but I think that an approval  
10:51:29 25 came later, if I am not mistaken.

26 Q. Now, Mr Taylor, you said you're not aware that Gibril  
27 Massaquoi, who was based for a couple of years in Monrovia,  
28 according to your testimony, was on the travel ban list?

29 A. No, but that's not true. Gibril Massaquoi was not based in

1 Liberia for two years, no.

2 Q. He came there after Issa Sesay was appointed, correct?

3 A. Yeah, but he did not say there, to my recollection, very  
4 long. Gibril - I would put it to not more than about - I will

10:52:09 5 put it maybe six, seven months. Because if I remember, Gibril  
6 Massaquoi was changed in his position as spokesperson, and I  
7 could be wrong on this, but I think Jonathan Kposowa took over.  
8 So Gibril did not stay for two years. There was Kposowa that  
9 took over - I could be wrong about the name, but somebody  
10:52:40 10 succeeded him. He was not there for two years.

11 Q. Mr Taylor, could you assist us with a spelling - even a  
12 phonetic spelling of the name that you've mentioned and I'm not  
13 familiar with?

14 A. Jonathan is as Jonathan.

10:52:51 15 Q. Is that Jonathan?

16 A. Yes, Jonathan. And Kposowa, K-P-O-S-O-W-A, or with an H.  
17 Maybe later we can correct it. But I think Kposowa took over  
18 certain activities of Gibril, but he did not stay for two years.

19 Q. Mr Taylor, you are saying you are not really keeping up on  
10:53:18 20 the travel ban. Let me first refer to testimony from 24  
21 September 2009, page 29690. Beginning at line 12, I will read a  
22 few lines to you, Mr Taylor, and please follow along. Tell me  
23 when you are ready.

24 A. I am ready. Go ahead.

10:54:21 25 Q. You were asked by your counsel.

26 "Q. And is there a UN travel ban at this stage?

27 A. There is. There is a travel restriction on them.

28 Q. So was it to your knowledge that individuals like  
29 Ibrahim Bah were using Monrovia as a transit point for

1 travel between RUF-held territory and other parts of the  
2 African continent?

3 A. It was not to my knowledge, but it's possible that he  
4 could have been doing that, yes.

10:54:51 5 Q. Now, were you, as President, monitoring such travel?

6 A. No.

7 Q. Why not?

8 A. Well, I mean, Ibrahim Bah was not on any travel ban, so  
9 he was not of interest to the Liberian government."

10:55:06 10 Now, Mr Taylor, we see that this list in P-302 - and if you  
11 need to look at it, you can do so again - it has parts of two  
12 pages and a full page of names. There's many, many names on this  
13 list. You were familiar enough with the list, or interested  
14 enough in Ibrahim Bah, that you knew his name does not appear; is  
10:55:38 15 that right?

16 A. Now, that's two questions. I was familiar with, which is  
17 not true. I was not familiar with the list of individuals that  
18 were on the travel ban from Sierra Leone, in the first instance.

19 Q. So then let's ask the second point. So since you were not  
10:55:54 20 familiar with the list, but you knew Ibrahim Bah was on the list,  
21 why was that? Had he told you that?

22 A. Ibrahim Bah came through in 1999. The United Nations  
23 brought him in Liberia. He was the first individual that the UN  
24 flew into Liberia. I did not know whether he was on a travel ban  
10:56:11 25 list or whether he was not on a travel ban list, because he was  
26 brought in by the UN. He traversed Liberia throughout the peace  
27 process by the United Nations planes and nobody raised it as an  
28 issue. But I was not aware of the individual members - no, I  
29 withdraw that. I was aware of Foday Sankoh. I was aware of Issa

1 - of Sam Bockarie, okay, because these were in leadership  
2 positions. I was not aware of an individual called Ibrahim Bah  
3 being directly on the list because he had been moving in and out  
4 with the United Nations people.

10:56:44 5 Q. Well then, Mr Taylor, please explain your testimony that  
6 was just read to you where you said Ibrahim Bah was not on the  
7 list. How did you know that, unless you were very interested in  
8 knowing about Ibrahim Bah?

9 A. No, you mentioned - the question was, was he - I said he  
10 was not simply because this man was coming to Liberia under U -  
11 I mean, he was moving with the - the first two people that come  
12 to Liberia are Ibrahim Bah and - what they call the gentleman,  
13 the lawyer?

14 Q. Omrie Golley?

10:57:23 15 A. Omrie Golley. Nobody is raising questions about these  
16 people. They took their plane, they go up and down. I don't  
17 know that this man is on a list. I didn't even know that he was  
18 going to be representing the RUF when they come to Liberia. So I  
19 am asked if he - and I say no, he's not on the list because this  
10:57:40 20 man is moving up and down. That's why I responded that way.

21 Q. Ibrahim Bah was --

22 A. Now, I could have been presumptive of that answer, but for  
23 me, the man is moving up and down.

24 Q. Ibrahim Bah was carrying messages between - for you to

10:57:54 25 Foday Sankoh regarding the Lome negotiations, correct?

26 A. That is totally, totally incorrect, Mr Koumjian.

27 Q. And that's why you were interested in him and knew that he  
28 was not on the travel ban list?

29 A. That is not correct. Ibrahim Bah had never brought any

1 message to me. During Lome I had a former Foreign Minister  
2 there. The chairman of ECOWAS, President Eyadema, was calling me  
3 on the telephone. Why would Ibrahim Bah come to me? No.

10:58:23

4 Q. Because you do monitor the list as the President of  
5 Liberia, correct?

6 A. No, I have better things to do than monitoring a list from  
7 Sierra Leone on travel. That is not - even Liberian travel  
8 lists, I don't know all of the people that were on the list, no.

10:58:54

9 Q. I would ask for a page of yesterday's transcript, page  
10 34212, to be shown to the witness. 34212 starting at line 14. I  
11 am reading it from line 14, Mr Taylor. I asked you - excuse me,  
12 you answered:

11:00:02

13 "A. From the news reports. Minin's name is on the United  
14 Nations asset freeze and whatchamacallit, and I think there  
15 is a note in there and I may have read that he lives in  
16 Israel. It's a UN document.

17 Q. So you are well aware of the United Nations travel ban,  
18 and you keep yourself aware of the people listed on these  
19 travel bans?

11:00:17

20 A. It's my business, yes.

21 PRESIDING JUDGE: Mr Taylor, what's the 'whatchamacallit'?

22 THE WITNESS: I withdraw the word.

23 MR KOUMJIAN:

11:00:33

24 Q. Well, I believe, Mr Taylor, to help you out, maybe  
25 because I'm American I am familiar with that word,  
26 that's - in this case you meant the travel ban. Is that  
27 correct?

28 A. Yes, I meant the travel ban."

29 So, Mr Taylor, yesterday it was your business to monitor

1 the travel ban.

2 A. Of Liberia, Mr Koumjian. Of Liberia. There is a travel  
3 ban, an asset freeze. I'm not talking about the Sierra Leonean  
4 travel ban; I am speaking about Liberia. And since I have been  
11:01:01 5 incarcerated, I have followed that list. There is a Liberian  
6 travel ban and asset freeze, and this man whose name appears here  
7 is a name that appears on the Liberian travel ban list.

8 Q. Mr Taylor, you talked about the United Nations giving some  
9 exemptions and I want to show you some examples of those.

11:01:29 10 Could the witness please be shown number 73 in annex 1.  
11 The document is entitled "S/1999/1300". In our submission it  
12 does not - it could not go to guilt. It's a list of exemptions  
13 from the travel ban. I would ask the witness to be shown page  
14 3 - well, perhaps, just to get the title, let's look at page 1.

11:02:57 15 It's entitled, "Letter dated 31 December 1999 from the chairman  
16 of the Security Council committee established pursuant to  
17 resolution 1132 (1997) concerning Sierra Leone addressed to the  
18 President of the Security Council." Now, if we could turn to  
19 page 3, please, paragraph 7:

11:03:37 20 "On 16 April 1999, the committee approved a request from  
21 the Government of Sierra Leone for an exemption to paragraph 5 of  
22 the Security Council resolution 1171 (1998), for an initial  
23 period of 30 days, in order to permit the travel to Togo, on 18  
24 April 1999, of Corporal Foday Saybana Sankoh and a delegation of  
11:04:08 25 the Armed Forces Revolutionary Council (AFRC/RUF), in order to  
26 facilitate the peace process. On 19 May 1999, in light of the  
27 continuing dialogue, and reports of a ceasefire agreement, as  
28 well as planned direct talks between the parties concerned, the  
29 committee approved an extension of the above travel exemption for



1 an additional 30 days. On 18 June 1999, the committee agreed to  
2 further extend the current travel exemption for members of RUF to  
3 participate in the ongoing peace talks."

4 Paragraph 8:

11:04:54 5 "With a view to resolving a hostage situation in Sierra  
6 Leone, involving several UNOMSIL and ECOMOG personnel, and  
7 non-United Nations civilians, the committee granted an exemption  
8 on 6 and 9 August 1999, for 30 days, to paragraph 5 of  
9 Security Council resolution 1171 (1998), in order to allow the  
11:05:22 10 travel outside Sierra Leone of Johnny Paul Koroma and Brigadiers  
11 Bazzy Karama, Hassan Karama, Gabriel Mani and Major Paul Bonke  
12 Leke, respectively."

13 Let me pause there for a moment. This paragraph 8 is  
14 dealing with the situation where some UNOMSIL, ECOMOG and some  
11:05:59 15 civilians were being held hostage by the West Side Boys. Isn't  
16 that correct?

17 A. Well --

18 Q. Let's say in the Okra Hills, they were being held hostage  
19 in Okra Hills?

11:06:15 20 A. I really want to stick to the paragraph, Mr Koumjian.  
21 These things bite you later on. This paragraph does not refer to  
22 Okra Hill and the West Side Boys, so I just want to stick to the  
23 language of what they use in that paragraph. This could be a  
24 different situation. I don't know.

11:06:32 25 Q. Well, you would agree the paragraph indicates it's a  
26 hostage situation?

27 A. I agree.

28 Q. And that's the reason Johnny Paul Koroma, because the  
29 United Nations basically was being held hostage - why Johnny Paul

1 Koroma was being permitted to travel to Monrovia in order to try  
2 to save the lives of some UN and non-UN personnel, correct?

3 A. Yes. Well, it doesn't say Monrovia, but he did come to  
4 Monrovia. The paragraph doesn't say to travel to Monrovia. But,  
11:07:05 5 Mr Koumjian, if you look at that, it's only for 30 days. From 6  
6 to 9 August, 30 days would be September. So one would want to  
7 believe that, because Johnny Paul Koroma was in Liberia during  
8 this period and longer, than he would have the need of further  
9 extension and maybe we may come into that document. This is only  
11:07:25 10 to point to you that we are dealing with diplomatic matters that  
11 are not legal as you are trying to pursue it and there are ups  
12 and downs in these processes.

13 Q. Well, Mr Taylor, is what you are pointing out then that  
14 Mr Koroma in violation of the travel ban was allowed to stay in  
11:07:46 15 Monrovia over 30 days?

16 A. Based on this discussion, that would be in violation. But  
17 there was no issue. It doesn't work that way as exact as you are  
18 trying to put it. Because Johnny Paul Koroma stays in Monrovia  
19 and returns on October 1 with Foday Sankoh. This process is  
11:08:03 20 together and it is not as fluid as you are trying to project it.  
21 That's the point I am trying to make.

22 Q. Because basically, Mr Taylor, the United Nations doesn't  
23 have a police force to go and enforce the travel ban. It depends  
24 upon the goodwill of the member states to follow the United  
11:08:28 25 Nations Security Council resolutions, correct?

26 A. I think you put it properly, to follow the goodwill of  
27 member states. That is correct.

28 Q. And you didn't do that, did you?

29 A. Well, I would think that I did. The circumstances at the

1 time, I did what I did and I think it was the goodwill of the  
2 Government of Liberia where the ultimate process for the UN was  
3 peace and that would happen. So I don't think the UN would  
4 accuse and didn't accuse the Government of Liberia of being in  
5 violation.

11:09:00

6 Q. I will quickly read paragraph 9 for some other examples:

7 "On 26 November 1999, the committee approved a request from  
8 the Government of Sierra Leone for an exemption to paragraph 5 of  
9 Security Council resolution 1171 (1998) for Brigadier

11:09:19

10 Mike Lamin, Minister of Trade and Industry, to enable him to lead  
11 his country's delegation to the World Trade Organisation meeting  
12 in Seattle, Washington, United States of America. On 30 November  
13 1999, a similar request was approved for Mr Paolo Bangura,  
14 Minister of Energy and Power, to attend the African Energy

11:09:45

15 Ministers Conference in Tucson, Arizona, the United States of  
16 America."

17 So, Mr Taylor, do you see anywhere in this document any  
18 exemptions for Sam Bockarie to travel to Liberia or anywhere  
19 outside of Sierra Leone?

11:10:04

20 A. In this paragraph, no.

21 Q. In the document, do you see it? Anywhere in the document?  
22 Do you want to read through it?

23 A. Is this the only document that exists from the UN that  
24 talks about exemption, or this is one of many documents?

11:10:17

25 Q. Well, it's --

26 A. So in this document I agree that it's not mentioned that I  
27 see.

28 Q. It's one of a few. Let's look at another.

29 PRESIDING JUDGE: Mr Koumjian, we note page 2 is missing

1 and probably page 4 as well. So we don't know what is on those  
2 pages.

3 MR KOUMJIAN: That's fair, your Honour. We have those and  
4 we will be willing to provide the whole document.

11:10:40 5 PRESIDING JUDGE: In fairness to the witness, if you are  
6 going to ask him.

7 MR KOUMJIAN: Absolutely. I actually see something in that  
8 document on page 4 that I would like to come back to, so perhaps,  
9 out of fairness, if we could hold off, we will make copies at the  
11:12:10 10 break of the document to distribute to everyone and --

11 PRESIDING JUDGE: Fair enough. So you will provide pages 2  
12 and 4 to the judges for completeness.

13 MR KOUMJIAN: Yes, we will provide a complete copy of the  
14 document.

11:12:36 15 PRESIDING JUDGE: Then continue with your  
16 cross-examination.

17 MR KOUMJIAN: If we could then have the witness shown  
18 P-323:

19 Q. Mr Taylor, I would like to refer you on exhibit P-323,  
11:13:55 20 which is a United Nations Security Council letter dated 26  
21 December 2000 from the chairman of the Security Council committee  
22 established pursuant to resolution 1131 (1997) concerning Sierra  
23 Leone, addressed to the President of the Security Council,  
24 S/2000/1328, 26 December 2000.

11:14:23 25 A. I don't see the --

26 Q. That's actually the exhibit label which gives the title of  
27 the document. It's the exhibit label provided by the Court  
28 Officer on the first page. Would you like to see that?

29 A. Yes.

1 Q. Could the witness be shown the exhibit label. Tell us when  
2 you're satisfied, Mr Taylor?

3 A. Okay. This is an exhibit label. I don't know whether this  
4 is the document title, but, I mean, I can see this is the label  
11:15:22 5 as is done by the Court Officer.

6 PRESIDING JUDGE: Mr Koumjian, do you have this letter with  
7 you in full? Because obviously the title page should have been  
8 included as part of the exhibit. It wasn't, but we can rectify  
9 that by showing the witness now. The page in question --

11:15:53 10 MR KOUMJIAN: We don't have it with us. We can print it.  
11 We can even print it in the courtroom, I believe, and we'll do  
12 that - or at the break? We can print it at the break.

13 PRESIDING JUDGE: Okay, please put your question.

14 MR KOUMJIAN:

11:16:10 15 Q. Mr Taylor, I want to read to you just from paragraph 9 of  
16 this document:

17 "On 29 February 2000, the committee approved two requests  
18 for exemption to paragraph 5 of Security Council resolution 1171  
19 (1998): One for Paolo Bangura to enable him to attend the first  
11:16:36 20 follow-up Ministerial Conference on Integrated Water Resources  
21 Management in West Africa in Ouagadougou, on 1 and 2 March 2000;  
22 and the second for Foday Sankoh and Johnny Paul Koroma to attend  
23 a meeting concerning Sierra Leone organised by the President of  
24 the Republic of Mali, current chairman of the Economic Community  
11:17:09 25 of West African States (ECOWAS), in Bamako, on 1 and 2 March  
26 2000. On 14 April 2000, the committee approved a request for  
27 exemption, for Paolo Bangura to visit the United States of  
28 America to hold discussions with officials of the World Bank from  
29 24 to 28 April 2000. On 7 November 2000, the committee approved

1 a request for exemption for Colonel Gibril Massaquoi to travel to  
2 Abuja on 9 November 2000, to participate in the peace talks under  
3 the auspices of President Olusegun Obasanjo and to return to  
4 Sierra Leone at the conclusion of those talks. Concerning the  
11:17:57 5 request for travel of other individuals, no such authorisation  
6 was required since their names do not appear on the list subject  
7 to the above travel restrictions.

8 So we see here, Mr Taylor, that even when people are  
9 attending, as we have seen before, peace talks or negotiations  
11:18:21 10 for the release of hostages, exemptions are written - are issued  
11 and published by the United Nations. Would you agree?

12 A. Well, exemptions are written and published, but I do not  
13 agree that these are all the documents that show that these  
14 exemptions were given.

11:18:39 15 Q. Well, Mr Taylor --

16 A. These are part of them.

17 Q. Mr Taylor, do you claim that there was any exemption issued  
18 by the United Nations for the travel of Sam Bockarie to Liberia  
19 in 1998 or 1999?

11:18:55 20 A. No. I have said to this Court that I did not request any  
21 exemptions at the time for Sam Bockarie to travel. I did not  
22 think that it was necessary. In fact, because the United Nations  
23 was kept abriefed [sic] of all the activities. For example,  
24 let's look at July 2000. When Issa Sesay comes to Liberia to  
11:19:20 25 meet the Heads of State of West Africa, there is no exemption for  
26 that. When he comes back at the airport to meet us to be  
27 confirmed as leader, there is no exemption.

28 So, you know, you can take it the way you want, but there  
29 is not every case during this particular peace process - when

1 something was hot and had to be done, it was done. And I haven't  
2 received any complaint from the United Nations about those  
3 travels of Foday Sankoh to Liberia or the travel of Issa Sesay to  
4 Liberia, and they were there and it was public that they were  
11:19:56 5 there. So that's how I can put it.

6 Q. Well, Mr Taylor, you didn't receive any objections from the  
7 United Nations to the travel of, for example, Sam Bockarie to  
8 Liberia in 1998 because it was secret. You never told anyone  
9 about that, did you?

11:20:10 10 A. Well, that is not correct. All of the member states of  
11 ECOWAS involved with the peace plan were aware. And if you  
12 remember, Sam Bockarie also travelled to Burkina Faso to meet  
13 with the chairman of the OAU. Where is the exemption for that?  
14 That was not secret. It was with the acquiescence of all the  
11:20:36 15 leaders. So it is not as clear, black and white, as you are  
16 talking about it. I would disagree.

17 Q. Mr Taylor, Sam Bockarie, along with your chief of protocol,  
18 Musa Cisse, who you said is the person that you used to arrange  
19 arm shipments in violations of United Nations sanctions,  
11:20:51 20 travelled together to Ouagadougou to Burkina Faso in late 1998 in  
21 order to arrange for the large shipment of weapons through  
22 Liberia to Sierra Leone. That's the truth, isn't it?

23 A. That's total nonsense. That's not the truth. That's total  
24 nonsense.

11:21:08 25 Q. Mr Taylor, do you have any letter that you wrote anyone  
26 informing them of Sam Bockarie's travels to Liberia in 1998?

27 A. I didn't have to write letters. A telephone call to my  
28 associates was sufficient for them to travel.

29 Q. Do you have a formal request or an informal request, any

1 memorialisation of any request to the United Nations to permit  
2 the travel of Sam Bockarie who was on the travel list to come to  
3 Liberia?

11:21:44 4 A. Well, no, I do not have in my possession any and I do not  
5 know of the existence of any. The fact of the matter is, this  
6 process, I keep saying, was done for the good of peace and there  
7 were many, many instances that I can name that there were no  
8 specific clearance for, but it was done in the interest of peace  
9 and it was known and recognised by all.

11:22:06 10 Q. Well, who recognised it?

11 A. The United Nations surely did because of all - of course,  
12 the United Nations and the international community recognised --

13 Q. Can you tell us where you can show us where they recognised  
14 your efforts in speaking to Sam Bockarie in 1998?

11:22:22 15 A. No, no, no, no. That was not what I responded to,  
16 Mr Koumjian. No, that's not what I responded to. My evidence is  
17 that there were cases where I cannot tell these judges that I  
18 have the express approval from the United Nations for Sam  
19 Bockarie, Issa Sesay or Foday Sankoh to travel. They travelled,  
11:22:49 20 they met United Nations officials. These reports were made by  
21 those officials. They were recognised - by recognition I mean  
22 the Secretary-General reported in his reports about these ongoing  
23 things, and for me this satisfied what we set out to do. It was  
24 about peace. That's what I am saying to you.

11:23:11 25 Q. Mr Taylor, yesterday you mentioned Foday Sankoh's trip to  
26 South Africa in 2000. That trip, he was expelled by South  
27 Africa, which was embarrassed when they realised he was there in  
28 violation of the travel ban, correct?

29 A. To the best of my knowledge, yes.



1 Q. And he was there meeting with Nico Shefer, correct?

2 A. I don't know who he was meeting with. But even more  
3 interesting, counsel, if you permit me. Foday Sankoh left  
4 Freetown. Why did the Sierra Leonean government permit Foday  
11:23:42 5 Sankoh to leave, if the Sierra Leonean government knew he was  
6 under the travel ban? So it doesn't work as black and white,  
7 that's what I am saying. He left Sierra Leone.

8 Q. How do you know that, Mr Taylor?

9 A. Yeah, but why did he leave to go from - he was  
11:23:54 10 Vice-President.

11 Q. Well, he could drive to several countries and fly out of  
12 those airports.

13 A. But even if you had to drive, you must go through  
14 immigration. You will be checked. So Sierra Leone, the country  
11:24:07 15 that is supposed to be enforcing the travel ban, let its  
16 Vice-President go through.

17 Q. In fact, when Foday Sankoh was - after being expelled from  
18 South Africa he came and visited you in Monrovia, correct?

19 A. He came through Monrovia, yes. He came back, that was the  
11:24:23 20 route, and flew. And he flew all of the time. And mind you now,  
21 if the information is correct, he stopped in other - he stopped  
22 in La Cote d'Ivoire before coming to Monrovia. So we could say  
23 the same thing: Why didn't La Cote d'Ivoire say, No, no, no, you  
24 cannot enter? The point I am making is it's not as black and  
11:24:40 25 white as you want it to sound.

26 Q. In fact, he was returned on a flight to Cote d'Ivoire  
27 because that's where he came from. Because when you expel  
28 someone, you take them back to the place that they came from,  
29 correct?

1 A. Yes, but he entered there and so - and La Cote d'Ivoire  
2 could - in the first instance, even if Liberia failed or refused  
3 to, La Cote d'Ivoire could have enforced the travel ban.

4 Q. Mr Taylor, let's finish this topic before the break with  
11:25:04 5 just one more brief document. It would be in annex 1, number 74.  
6 This is a document from the Security Council dated 14 January  
7 2002, S/2002/50.

8 PRESIDING JUDGE: Whilst that is being put on the overhead,  
9 what do you want us to do with the document previous to that?

11:25:42 10 MR KOUJIAN: I would ask that that be marked for  
11 identification.

12 PRESIDING JUDGE: We are waiting for the other two pages.

13 MR KOUJIAN: Yes. I am wondering if we want to skip an  
14 MFI, just for the record to be more clear about the order of  
11:25:56 15 documents. Well, we can deal with that at the time.

16 THE WITNESS: I would ask your Honours if I would have an  
17 opportunity to see those two pages before they are marked?

18 PRESIDING JUDGE: Yes, that is my understanding.

19 THE WITNESS: Thank you, your Honour.

11:26:12 20 MR KOUJIAN: In fact, your Honours, what I propose is that  
21 you can give this to the Defence immediately at the break, and we  
22 will make our own copies:

23 Q. Sir, just reading the title on the first page, this is  
24 "Letter dated 11 January 2002 from the chairman of the Security  
11:26:39 25 Council Committee established pursuant to resolution 1131 (1997)  
26 concerning Sierra Leone addressed to the President of the  
27 Security Council". I am just going to read a few brief  
28 paragraphs. If we could turn to page 3.

29 Again, your Honours, this is one of the 92 bis documents,

1 so the only pages that are admitted are - sorry. This is not.  
2 This is one of our recent disclosure documents. They are marked  
3 with the paragraphs that we are seeking. So paragraph 10:

4 "On 9 February 2001, the committee approved a request from  
11:27:26 5 the Government of Sierra Leone for exemption to paragraph 5 of  
6 resolution 1171 (1998), for Johnny Paul Koroma, chairman of the  
7 Commission for the Consolidation of Peace, to enable him to  
8 attend the conference on demilitarisation in West Africa in  
9 Accra, Ghana, from 28 February to 1 March 2001."

11:27:58 10 Now move down to paragraph 14:

11 "On 15 November 2001, the committee approved a request from  
12 the Government of Sierra Leone for exemption to paragraph 5 of  
13 resolution 1171 (1998) for Paolo Bangura to travel to Nigeria for  
14 the purpose of undergoing training to assist in transforming the  
11:28:27 15 RUF into a political party."

16 And then finally we have paragraph 15: "To date" - excuse  
17 me, was only paragraph 14 that I wanted to read.

18 So, sir, what we see is - we have seen repeatedly that the  
19 United Nations does issue exemptions from the travel ban for  
11:29:02 20 legitimate travel, including travel to engage in peace  
21 negotiations. Isn't that correct?

22 A. Well, I don't know if we had any disagreement on the fact  
23 that I did state before this Court that the United Nations, I was  
24 aware, did issue some exemptions. I don't think we have a  
11:29:25 25 disagreement on that. So - but regarding your specific question,  
26 you know, I don't know what you want me to say again, because I  
27 don't think we had an agreement - I mean, a disagreement on my  
28 knowledge of the issuing of some of these things. I think we  
29 agreed on that before.

1 Q. Thank you.

2 PRESIDING JUDGE: Okay. Mr Koumjian, the tape has run out.  
3 We will pick up from here after the break. We will return at 12  
4 o'clock.

11:29:53 5 [Break taken at 11.29 a.m.]

6 [Upon resuming at 12.02 p.m.]

7 PRESIDING JUDGE: Mr Koumjian, please.

8 MR KOUMJIAN: Your Honour, the one document that Mr Taylor  
9 asked to see the four pages, the full document for, those four  
10 pages have been provided. That is the document that was tab 73  
11 in annex 1, S/1999/1300. Well, I provided a copy to the Defence.  
12 Apparently Mr Taylor - I don't know if he got it or not. I  
13 provided my copy to the Defence. If that could be given to  
14 Mr Taylor, if he hasn't seen it yet:

12:05:49 15 Q. Mr Taylor, did you have a chance over the break to read  
16 this or do you need to look at it now?

17 A. No, I didn't have a chance over the break. I'm just seeing  
18 it, counsel.

19 Q. Mr Taylor, the question I had asked you, which Madam  
12:07:01 20 President correctly pointed out would not be fair without the  
21 full document, was: Do you see Sam Bockarie's name listed for an  
22 exemption to the travel ban anywhere in that document? Can you  
23 answer that?

24 A. Yes. My answer is no.

12:07:21 25 MR KOUMJIAN: Your Honour, may this document be marked for  
26 identification next in order.

27 PRESIDING JUDGE: That as per all the new pages provided?

28 MR KOUMJIAN: Yes. It has four pages - five pages.

29 MR GRIFFITHS: We are talking about, are we not, the

1 Security Council document S/1999/1300?

2 PRESIDING JUDGE: Yes, that is what we're talking about.

3 MR GRIFFITHS: Well, the fourth page which has now been  
4 provided contains material which directly goes to guilt and  
12:08:07 5 Mr Koumjian has not sought to argue the admissibility of that  
6 part of the document.

7 PRESIDING JUDGE: Let's do this: Page 4 has been  
8 circulated for purposes of completeness, to show this page - this  
9 and other pages to the witness so that he's satisfied the  
12:08:42 10 document is complete. But for purposes of marking for  
11 identification, I think it would suffice if we simply marked the  
12 cover page and page 3 which you have put to the witness. And so  
13 those pages of the document S/1999/1300 dated 31 December are  
14 marked MFI-394.

12:09:17 15 MR KOUMJIAN: Your Honour, the last document which  
16 Mr Taylor was looking at, which was tab 74 in annex 1, S/2002/50,  
17 may that be marked next in order.

18 PRESIDING JUDGE: That document is marked MFI-395.

19 MR KOUMJIAN:

12:12:07 20 Q. Mr Taylor, tell us about Sam Bockarie's wife.

21 A. I don't know.

22 Q. Did you ever meet her?

23 A. No, not to my knowledge. I don't remember meeting Sam  
24 Bockarie's wife. Maybe very briefly, but I don't remember her.

12:12:23 25 Q. Does the name Hawa Bockarie, Hawa, does that ring a bell  
26 with you? H-A-W-A.

27 A. The name Hawa rings a bell. It's a normal name around  
28 Liberia, but I don't recall her at all.

29 Q. Do you know what happened to her?

1 A. No, I can't say I know. Testimony in this Court said that  
2 she was killed. That's as much as I know.

3 Q. Mr Taylor, when Sam Bockarie came to Liberia in December  
4 1999, relocated to Monrovia, how many members of his family  
12:13:13 5 accompanied him, to your knowledge?

6 A. I really don't know, counsel. I really have no idea of the  
7 number. There was a large amount of people that came, but I do  
8 not know the exact number.

9 Q. How many houses were they given?

12:13:30 10 A. They were given four houses.

11 Q. How many children did Sam Bockarie have?

12 A. I really don't know, counsel. I really don't know.

13 Q. What happened to his children?

14 A. I don't know. I'm sure they are somewhere. I don't know.

12:13:57 15 Q. When Sam Bockarie died, did you try to contact his wife?

16 A. No, I did not try to - Sam Bockarie had left Liberia. I  
17 did not try to contact his wife, no.

18 Q. Sam Bockarie was killed by your security forces. That's  
19 something we agree on, correct?

12:14:13 20 A. We agree on that, yes.

21 Q. Did you try to give condolences to the widow?

22 A. You've asked me, I said I did not try to contact her.

23 Q. Why is that, sir?

24 A. Well, why was it necessary?

12:14:26 25 Q. Sir, you're saying you were upset by the death of Sam  
26 Bockarie, your own security forces had killed this man, it's a  
27 man you had been providing for he and his family for a  
28 significant period of time and you didn't try to have condolences  
29 sent to the wife or do anything to provide for her welfare after

1 her husband was killed by your security forces?

2 A. Well, that is just so loaded. That is to assume that she  
3 was still in my care, I knew where she was. These are the kind  
4 of questions that bring arguments. Sam Bockarie left Liberia. I  
12:15:03 5 closed the chapter on Sam Bockarie. I did not know where his  
6 wife was. I did not know where she lived or any other thing. So  
7 that question would presuppose too many things. So maybe if you  
8 broke it down one by one I would answer rightly for the Court.

9 Q. Mr Taylor, the house that Sam Bockarie and his family lived  
12:15:24 10 in, it actually was a compound of four houses. Is that correct?

11 A. That's correct.

12 Q. And that was a compound rented by the Government of  
13 Liberia, correct?

14 A. That is correct.

12:15:36 15 Q. From the Foreign Minister of Liberia, Monie Captan,  
16 correct?

17 A. No, I'm not - I don't think Monie owned those houses, four  
18 houses, no. You're wrong. I really don't know. The house,  
19 counsel, to help you move on quickly, the house that was rented  
12:15:54 20 from Mr Captan was the guesthouse near the Nigerian embassy that  
21 was used as a guesthouse. But the four houses, to the best of my  
22 knowledge, they were not owned by Mr Captan and I stand corrected  
23 on that.

24 Q. Mr Taylor, when Sam Bockarie was expelled by you from  
12:16:28 25 Liberia, that was 7 February that you announced it, 2002,  
26 correct?

27 A. There was an announcement, but - I know where you're going,  
28 but if you look - there's another document on January when we  
29 said that. That's the second document that talks about another

1 announcement, but there's also a January part to that in  
2 documents we've discussed here last week.

3 Q. Why would you announce on February 7 that you had expelled  
4 him on February 7, if you'd expelled him in January?

12:17:00 5 A. I'm not sure if the document said specifically that - I'm  
6 not sure if the document read that we said on February 7 that he  
7 had been expelled, which doesn't really say that that's the exact  
8 date, because there's another document that says that Sam  
9 Bockarie had been put out of Liberia in January 2000.

10 Q. Could the witness be shown --

11 A. Excuse me, that's wrong. I said January 2000. That's  
12 wrong. At the end of 2000.

13 Q. And I've been misstating the year. It was 2001 that you  
14 announced expelling Sam Bockarie, correct? 7 February 2001, is  
12:17:58 15 that correct?

16 A. He was expelled in January. I know the notice that you're  
17 talking about where there's an announcement, I think, that came  
18 out in a subsequent report. But I'm trying to say there is a  
19 document also in that folder that talks about Sam Bockarie  
12:18:11 20 leaving in January. Now, I think that document is saying that on  
21 February 7. This could have been a repeat of what we had said,  
22 but Sam Bockarie - I think the two documents are not in conflict.

23 Q. Mr Taylor, just so we don't waste time, since you've  
24 acknowledged that is a document, I will just say that I'm  
12:18:28 25 referring to MFI-370, paragraph 5, that talks about on 7 February  
26 2001, the Government of Liberia announced the departure from  
27 Liberia of Sam Bockarie, alias Maskita, and the closure of the  
28 RUF liaison office in Liberia. Would you like to see that?

29 A. No, no, no, I'm aware of that document. I'm aware of that



1 document.

2 Q. When Sam Bockarie was expelled his family remained in the  
3 compound, correct?

4 A. I think some of - I think, yeah, some of - I think his  
12:19:15 5 mother or some other people - I do not know the exact number of  
6 people, but - I don't know who really remained in there, but I  
7 think some of them did stay.

8 Q. Who was living with him? You said his mother. Were you  
9 aware his mother was with him?

12:19:28 10 A. Yes, I was aware that - his mother was with him. I was  
11 aware that he had a wife with him and a host of security, because  
12 his family did not just occupy the four houses; other officers, I  
13 think that they were in one house, and the other houses were  
14 occupied by some other senior people.

12:19:52 15 Q. Including some Liberian SSS, correct? Were they living  
16 there, or just assigned there?

17 A. I'm not sure, counsel, but I know there were SSS assigned  
18 to - as security. As to whether they were living in the  
19 compound, I really don't know.

12:20:13 20 MR KOU MJIAN: Could the witness be shown the transcript  
21 from 26 October, page 30201:

22 Q. Mr Taylor, your counsel had been reading from the previous  
23 page from the testimony of another witness, I believe, and the  
24 question begins:

12:21:17 25 "Q -- in a single fence, but Sam Bockarie was living there  
26 together with Sampson and Jungle. First of all, did you  
27 buy a house for Sam Bockarie in Monrovia --

28 A. Never did, no.

29 Q -- consisting of four new houses?

1 A. No. I never did. We leased a compound for Sam  
2 Bockarie and his entourage that came in December of 1999.  
3 Never bought it.

12:21:50

4 Q. And he was living there, as far as you're aware, with  
5 Sampson and Jungle?

6 A. No. Sampson and Jungle never lived there. Sam  
7 Bockarie lived in that compound with his mother, his wife,  
8 children, and some of his other senior individuals. But,  
9 no, Sampson and Jungle, not to my knowledge, because  
10 Sampson would have had his own place in Liberia long before  
11 Sam Bockarie came."

12:22:11

12 Mr Taylor, where did Jungle live?

13 A. Jungle, I don't - well, I would say that Jungle probably  
14 lived with one of his friends, but I do not know because that  
15 particular - those houses were given to Sam Bockarie and his  
16 people, so for Sampson to live there or Jungle to live there,  
17 that would be impractical for me. I mean, it was given for the  
18 guests, and Sampson was not a guest, and except whoever Sam  
19 Bockarie - I mean, whoever they wanted to live with them. But to  
20 my knowledge, they were not living there.

12:22:34

12:22:59

21 Q. Who were the friends of Jungle that he might have been  
22 living with?

23 A. Oh, Jungle was a Liberian, and so I don't know his friends.  
24 Jungle is a Gissi boy and he could have had friends in Monrovia.  
25 But I don't know his friends and I don't --

12:23:19

26 Q. Well, he was SSS, correct?

27 A. Yes. From evidence that I've seen here, yes.

28 Q. You know him. He's a Gissi boy. You know him, is that  
29 right?

1 A. I've said I don't know him in the way you're talking about.  
2 I've seen Jungle here on the list. I've seen his picture here.  
3 But I had no association with him. I didn't know Jungle in that  
4 way, no.

12:23:47 5 Q. Well, I know you've claimed that. But then how would you  
6 answer this question and say Jungle was not living with Bockarie,  
7 if you didn't know who he was?

8 A. The fact of the matter is that as a Liberian, as I know  
9 Jungle is a Liberian, that property was for Bockarie and those  
12:24:04 10 that came in. So in answering this logically, I'm saying that  
11 Jungle could not be living there. But I can accept it's possible  
12 that he could have stopped there. But that was for the guests  
13 that came into the country.

14 Q. So when you told the judges on 26 October, 30201, Jungle  
12:24:26 15 never lived there, that was just speculation on your part. You  
16 don't know whether he lived there or not?

17 A. Well, if you put that way - if you put it that way, I can  
18 yield to that because of my expectation that Liberians should not  
19 be living in that compound. So I can yield on that, that I had -  
12:24:51 20 I don't know Jungle, but I know he's a Liberian and he should not  
21 have been living there. So I would yield to your proposition.

22 Q. Mr Taylor, the houses that you were renting for Sam  
23 Bockarie and his entourage, what was the cost of the rent?

24 A. I hope we're clear when you say "you", I hope you are using  
12:25:25 25 "you" in the plural as the Government of Liberia. There was  
26 nothing personal about this. I want for the records to reflect  
27 that.

28 Q. The Government of Liberia, of which you were President,  
29 Mr Taylor, how much was the Government of Liberia spending on the

1 home of - the housing for Sam Bockarie and his entourage?

2 A. I can't recall. That's something I'd have to look into.

3 For those four houses in that compound, I can only for the value  
4 of the Court - I wouldn't even call that speculation. I would

12:25:59 5 just give at that time particular time in Liberia for those kinds  
6 of houses, it could have cost as much, I would say, as \$1,000 to  
7 \$1,500 a month for the compound, I'd put it to. But I don't know  
8 exactly. There's an agency - the General Services Administration  
9 would have leased the houses, and, quite frankly, I think I just  
12:26:32 10 need to cut this short, I really don't know the amount, instead  
11 of playing around with it and speculating.

12 Q. The money was coming out of the budget of the Liberian  
13 government. Is that what you're telling us, correct?

14 A. That is correct.

12:26:45 15 Q. And Sam Bockarie was also --

16 JUDGE DOHERTY: Mr Koumjian, sorry for interrupting, but is  
17 that American dollars or Liberian dollars?

18 THE WITNESS: That would be US dollars, your Honour.

19 MR KOUMJIAN:

12:26:56 20 Q. Mr Taylor, I think we made this agreement one other day,  
21 but let's remind and see if we can follow it today. If either of  
22 us says "dollars", presume - let's say we're talking about -  
23 agree we're talking about American dollars unless we say  
24 otherwise. Is that acceptable?

12:27:11 25 A. Okay, that's not - okay, that's acceptable. Unless we say  
26 otherwise, that's acceptable.

27 Q. Thank you. Sam Bockarie was also given a car, correct?

28 A. Okay, well, let's straighten that up now. Except we  
29 understand, I gave Sam Bockarie a jeep now. There's a difference

1 now between a jeep and a car for us in Liberia.

2 Q. Okay.

3 A. He was given a jeep.

12:27:38

4 Q. Now, Mr Taylor, were the houses that the Bockarie family  
5 and entourage were living in, was that typical of the level of  
6 housing that Liberian citizens, the average citizens, had at that  
7 time?

12:27:59

8 A. Mr Koumjian, that's a loaded question. That's not fair to  
9 me. Of course not. In any country what's given to guests and  
10 others would not be typical to the ordinary person. I mean,  
11 that's the normal thing.

12 Q. Why was Sam Bockarie not ordinary and above, in your mind,  
13 the rights, the rights - the economic rights of the average  
14 Liberian citizen?

12:28:18

15 A. Well, that's - I'll put it this way: We have a tradition  
16 all over Africa. We treat guests a little better. Maybe in  
17 other countries they don't. Sam Bockarie came into Liberia under  
18 a condition that was very, very serious for peace and stability,  
19 and so foremost on my mind as President was to provide the  
20 optimal assistance to him, and of course I would not have taken  
21 him and thrown him in a ghetto somewhere around Monrovia. It  
22 would not have been proper. So at that time that was foremost in  
23 my mind, counsel.

12:28:48

24 MR KOUMJIAN: Could the witness be shown the testimony of  
25 19 January, page 33641. Beginning from the second line my  
26 colleague asked you:

12:29:07

27 "Q. And who paid the salaries of the judiciary, Mr Taylor?

28 A. The Government of Liberia, Ms Hollis.

29 Q. So for whatever reason, for some two and a half years

1 your government failed to pay the salaries of the judiciary  
2 members. Isn't that correct?

3 A. There was no money for anybody to get paid."

4 Mr Taylor, apparently, is it correct, that answer does not  
12:30:22 5 include Sam Bockarie. There was money for Sam Bockarie to be  
6 paid?

7 A. Well, Mr Koumjian, Sam Bockarie got paid. The judiciary is  
8 not one person. And for the interest of the Court, during that  
9 particular time there were certain priority programmes in  
12:30:39 10 government, like security and others, that did get paid during  
11 that particular time and you would put a Bockarie situation, a  
12 situation in Sierra Leone, as a security situation. And the  
13 judiciary is huge, the legislature is not as huge, the rest of  
14 the executive is very big, but it is not that - some emergency  
12:31:03 15 projects were taken care of.

16 Q. Mr Taylor, we've discussed the dates of departure of Sam  
17 Bockarie. I showed you --

18 THE WITNESS: Excuse me, your Honour. Before you ask your  
19 next question, I made a mistake. Before I came in and I didn't  
12:31:18 20 take care of certain acts of nature. I'd just like to run before  
21 the question comes for one second, please?

22 PRESIDING JUDGE: We will pause for five minutes. And  
23 Mr Taylor may be escorted out.

24 THE WITNESS: Thank you, your Honour.

12:33:19 25 MR KOUMJIAN:

26 Q. Mr Taylor, just a few moments ago when we were talking  
27 about the date of departure you said two different dates were  
28 given. Would you agree, Sam Bockarie left in early to  
29 mid-February 2001? That's when he was taken to Cote d'Ivoire by

1 your security, correct?

2 A. I put it - if my recollection - I put it more to January.  
3 I think an announcement - that could have been a second  
4 announcement, but I put it more towards January and not February

12:34:08 5 7. I think that was a subsequent announcement, but there's a  
6 January departure.

7 Q. You announced it in January and then there were reports in  
8 the media that Sam Bockarie was still being seen in Monrovia.  
9 Isn't that correct?

12:34:20 10 A. I don't know what the media reported, but that was wrong.  
11 That was wrong.

12 MR KOUJIAN: Can we please show Mr Taylor the testimony  
13 from 27 August, page 27916.

14 PRESIDING JUDGE: Mr Koumjian, whilst that is being done, I  
12:35:07 15 just thought I'd point out something on the record that might  
16 escape the people correcting it. That's at page 72 where  
17 Mr Taylor replies or responds: "... but I put it more towards  
18 January and not February. Sorry, I think that was a subsequent  
19 announcement," et cetera, et cetera. He did not say February 7  
12:35:31 20 as appears in the transcript.

21 MR KOUJIAN:

22 Q. Sir, on page 27916 on 27 August last year your counsel  
23 asked:

24 "Q. Does that include Sam Bockarie?

12:35:51 25 A. Sam Bockarie departed Liberia in 2001, yes.

26 Q. When?

27 A. That's in 2001, early February, early to mid-February  
28 Sam Bockarie leaves.

29 Q. And goes where?

1 A. Well, he goes through La Cote d'Ivoire and we do not  
2 know where he goes beyond that.

3 Q. Who else leaves with him?

12:36:21

4 A. I think Sam Bockarie took a handful of individuals. I  
5 don't think more than five or ten persons, but the rest of  
6 the people are in Liberia, they are Liberians. So, for us,  
7 that's not our problem."

12:36:40

8 So, Mr Taylor, you've previously testified on direct that  
9 it was early to mid-February that Sam Bockarie departed Liberia,  
10 correct?

12:37:00

11 A. Mr Koumjian, yes, I mean - in my recollection, I put it  
12 more towards January, but I see here early February. This is why  
13 sometimes I don't like to get - these things happen long time -  
14 into specific dates. I'm aware of the document on February 7,  
15 but I think we announced in January the Sam Bockarie situation.

12:37:23

16 Q. Mr Taylor, let's move on. When Sam Bockarie left, his wife  
17 and family remained in the compound for quite some time, correct?

18 A. I tell you, I can't be sure. I know some people were  
19 there. I am not sure if his wife was there. She could have been  
20 there. But I know when he left, some of his family stayed  
21 behind. That I can say.

22 Q. And the United Nations panel of experts was asking to speak  
23 to Hawa Bockarie, Bockarie's wife, through your Foreign Ministry  
24 and eventually was able to do so in Monrovia. Correct?

12:37:42

25 A. I don't know. If they requested of that, I'm sure there  
26 was no reason, if she was there to deny that, and they would let  
27 it happen. I don't have any reason to deny that they saw her,  
28 but if she was there, it was the right thing for them to see her.

29 MR KOUMJIAN: Before we move into Sam Bockarie's travels



1 after leaving Liberia, could Mr Taylor please be shown the  
2 testimony from 11 August 2009, page 26488. Excuse me, I'm going  
3 to move on:

12:38:46 4 Q. Let's go now to the travels of Sam Bockarie. Mr Taylor -  
5 and before I do, let me just correct myself - the guesthouse for  
6 the RUF, that was leased by Monie Captan, correct?

7 A. It was leased - well, reversing, it was leased from him. I  
8 would say it was leased from him.

9 Q. That's what I said, but I apologise if --

12:39:01 10 A. You said by him.

11 Q. Thank you. It was leased from Monie Captan. How much did  
12 you pay to lease the guesthouse for the RUF?

13 A. I don't know. The General Services Administration leased  
14 it and I wouldn't know the amount.

12:39:16 15 Q. So, again, that rent came out of the budget of the  
16 Government of Liberia?

17 A. Surely, yes.

18 Q. Now, Mr Taylor, when you've told this Court that you didn't  
19 know where Sam Bockarie was going when taken to the border of  
12:39:32 20 Ia Cote d'Ivoire, that's not true, is it?

21 A. That's true. Sam Bockarie did not tell me, neither did I  
22 meet with him to discuss where he was going to. No, he did not  
23 tell me.

12:39:48 24 Q. In fact, you had made some arrangements with UNITA, the  
25 Angolan rebel movement, regarding Sam Bockarie. Isn't that  
26 correct?

27 A. That is not correct.

28 Q. And just to remind us, UNITA, fighting in Angola, was a  
29 force led by Jonas Savimbi, correct?

1 A. That is correct, to the best of my knowledge.

2 Q. And the word "blood diamonds" that we've heard so much  
3 about, that actually was first applied to that conflict and the  
4 financing of his army by Jonas Savimbi, correct?

12:40:21 5 A. Counsel, you know, I never - I must be very frank. I never  
6 heard of blood diamonds being applied. I know UNITA was first  
7 supported by the United States government under President "Old  
8 Man" Bush, and so I never heard blood diamond being applied to  
9 them. I never heard that. I first heard blood diamond applied  
12:40:50 10 to Sierra Leone, not UNITA.

11 Q. And, Mr Taylor, we even heard this morning that the air  
12 arms supplying network of Victor Bout that Sanjivan Ruprah was  
13 associated with had supplied weapons in Angola. Correct?

14 A. Well, that's what we heard. But, again, that is - that's  
12:41:11 15 what we heard, but, you know, I've always said that panel of  
16 experts reports have always been controversial in governments and  
17 disputed, so that's what the report said. I have no knowledge of  
18 that transaction or those transactions.

19 Q. UNITA was assisted in its fight, it was during the Cold  
12:41:35 20 War, they were fighting a government that declared itself to be  
21 Marxist and was supported by the United States government. Is  
22 that correct?

23 A. When you say - that is correct, to the best of my  
24 knowledge. I'm saying, I know the United States government  
12:41:52 25 supplied arms and ammunition to UNITA. I'm aware of that, yes.

26 Q. And, sir, then you must be aware that UNITA was actually  
27 supported militarily by troops from the apartheid South African  
28 regime, correct?

29 A. According to reports, yes.

1 Q. Fred Rindel, your employee who trained your SSS, a former  
2 officer from that force, did he serve in Angola?

3 A. Yeah. There were reports that General Rindel did serve -  
4 I'm not sure if he served in Angola, but he did serve on the  
12:42:34 5 South African force that were dealing with the Angolan crisis.

6 Q. Mr Taylor, what contacts did you have with UNITA?

7 A. UNITA, really, I knew - I had never - I never met Savimbi,  
8 but I knew of Savimbi. He was close to President

9 Houphouet-Boigny that I was close to. And each time I spoke to

12:43:00 10 President Houphouet-Boigny, he always referred to Savimbi and  
11 myself as his two sons. But I never had an opportunity to ever  
12 meet Savimbi.

13 Q. You don't know Savimbi?

14 A. Well, I know of him, but I never met him.

12:43:17 15 Q. Okay. So if you had known - you wouldn't say you know  
16 someone unless you met them. That's what you've told us about  
17 Sanjivan Ruprah.

18 A. Well, knowing can be very controversial. It will take us  
19 long to argue. I know of Mr Savimbi and - but I never spoke to  
12:43:34 20 him and I never met him, so I wouldn't claim before this Court  
21 that I know him in that know way.

22 MR KOUMJIAN: I'd ask the Court Officer to please print a  
23 page from a transcript from 29 October. It's a private session.  
24 Page 30667 of last year. 29 October 2009, page 30667.

12:46:13 25 Q. While that's being prepared, Mr Taylor, you sent Musa Cisse  
26 on this trip with Sam Bockarie, correct?

27 A. Musa Cisse I've understood talking - no, I did not assign  
28 Musa Cisse to take Sam Bockarie, no.

29 Q. Well, did Musa Cisse accompany Sam Bockarie?

1 A. From testimony here - it appears that from testimony before  
2 me here that Musa Cisse is said to have accompanied him, but I  
3 just have to look at it as the testimony of whoever said that.

4 Q. You accept that as a possibility?

12:46:49 5 A. Well, to be frank, I wouldn't say yes to that, because  
6 that's the testimony. I have no factual knowledge that Musa  
7 Cisse actually accompanied Sam Bockarie beyond what this witness  
8 said in Court, and it would only take some of the individuals  
9 named by that witness that would be able to give this Court a  
12:47:16 10 clear indication, but I'm not - I have no factual evidence that  
11 Musa Cisse actually accompanied Sam Bockarie in the way that this  
12 witness said that he took him to Ivory Coast and to - what did he  
13 say? Zambia --

14 Q. Sir, let's stop for now on this subject in open session.

12:47:38 15 I'd like just for context, Mr Taylor, for you to read - for  
16 everyone to read, so we understand the context, page 30667.

17 A. I'm through.

18 Q. I'm quite confused about what I have here. First, it is  
19 important that everyone read this silently.

12:49:01 20 PRESIDING JUDGE: Is this the page that you asked to be  
21 printed?

22 MR KOUMJIAN: Yes.

23 PRESIDING JUDGE: I thought you said page 30667.

24 MR KOUMJIAN: Yes, that's what I have in my hand.

12:49:22 25 PRESIDING JUDGE: For some reason I have a completely  
26 different page, 30643. Okay, please proceed. I now have the  
27 right page.

28 MR KOUMJIAN:

29 Q. Mr Taylor, having read the top of the page, I'm going to

1 read - because I do not believe it would endanger anyone openly -  
2 beginning in the middle in the beginning in line 14.

3 A. I've seen that.

4 Q. "... his departure from Liberia, Sam Bockarie ended up in  
12:50:16 5 Zambia with Jonas Savimbi's ambassador." That was part of a  
6 question. You answered: "Not at all. I didn't know what  
7 happened to Sam Bockarie after he left Liberia, no." And then  
8 you answered on line 22: "I know nothing about it. If Musa  
9 Cisse, my chief of protocol, had travelled out of the country as  
12:50:43 10 far as Zambia that is something I would have had to know. I  
11 doubt it very much. I doubt that 100 per cent that Musa Cisse  
12 would travel out of Liberia, and I saw Musa Cisse almost every  
13 day at work. That he would travel all the way to Zambia and I  
14 wouldn't know? No."

12:51:08 15 A. But that's what I said today.

16 Q. Mr Taylor, are you saying today then it's impossible, in  
17 your view, for Musa Cisse to have travelled all the way to  
18 Zambia?

19 A. That's what I have said. I said I have no evidence that  
12:51:21 20 Musa Cisse travelled with Sam Bockarie. None --

21 Q. No. Sir --

22 A. -- except for what the witness said in court. That was my  
23 evidence.

24 Q. And you stick with what you said - you stick with what you  
12:51:31 25 said back on 29 October that you're 100 per cent that that is -  
26 sure that that is false, because you saw Musa Cisse almost every  
27 day at work and he couldn't have gone on this trip without your  
28 knowledge?

29 A. Musa Cisse reported to work. Yes, that's what I said.

1 Q. So you're 100 per cent sure that this is false; Musa Cisse  
2 could not have been in Zambia in that period of time. Is that  
3 correct? Is that your testimony under oath?

4 A. That is correct.

12:52:11 5 MR KOUMJIAN: Your Honours have colour copies of tab 90,  
6 annex 3, and I have the original of a passport that I would like  
7 shown to the witness. It's in binder 3, annex 3, tab 90:

8 Q. Mr Taylor, before you look at this passport, you've looked  
9 at copies of this as part of the Prosecution disclosure, correct?

12:53:01 10 A. I can't recall looking at - at a disclosure at what time?

11 Q. December last year.

12 A. No.

13 Q. In fact, that's why you started hedging your bets this  
14 morning about you don't know whether or not Musa Cisse was there  
12:53:21 15 or not; isn't that true?

16 A. Why would I hedge my bets when I had answered before you  
17 made these new disclosures that I did not - that I thought it  
18 didn't happen, so --

19 Q. Because you knew you were lying before and it looks like  
12:53:32 20 you've been caught. That's why, isn't that true?

21 A. That's not true. I'm not God to answer something before  
22 you bring a new disclosure document. I don't know what it is.  
23 Let me take a look at it.

24 Q. We'll do that. Mr Taylor, while your counsel is  
12:54:25 25 reviewing - if he doesn't mind - the passport, you're an  
26 experienced traveller, correct?

27 A. What do you mean by "an experienced traveller"?

28 Q. You've travelled to a lot of foreign countries, correct?

29 A. I've travelled to a few.

1 Q. You're familiar with passports, correct?

2 A. Well, there are different kinds of passports. Passports  
3 can be forged, there are different kinds, so I wouldn't - I'm not  
4 a passport expert, so I can't say I'm familiar with passports.

12:54:57 5 Q. In fact, you've had false passports, correct?

6 A. I have not used, to the best of my knowledge, any false  
7 passports.

8 Q. How about in Burkina Faso when you were under the name of  
9 Michel Some, was it?

12:55:13 10 A. That was not a passport. That was an identification card.

11 It was not a passport. Do we agree on that?

12 Q. Mr Taylor, I never saw it, but I'll take your word for it  
13 today.

14 I'll be referring principally to page 8 on this passport,

12:55:46 15 just for when your Honours are reviewing it.

16 PRESIDING JUDGE: Mr Koumjian, do you want the original  
17 passport to be shown to the witness physically?

18 MR KOUMJIAN: Yes, I think that's the best copy, and I  
19 think he's entitled to see that. Perhaps I think if we have an  
12:57:17 20 extra copy of the colour, we could put the colour copy on the  
21 screen while Mr Taylor is looking at the original:

22 Q. Mr Taylor, you tell me when you're ready.

23 PRESIDING JUDGE: Please put a coloured copy on the screen,  
24 particularly page 8. There are two pages together, 8 and 9.

12:58:38 25 MR KOUMJIAN: Just so we're clear, I'm waiting for

26 Mr Taylor to tell me he's ready for questions.

27 THE WITNESS: Yes, I'm ready.

28 MR KOUMJIAN:

29 Q. Let's start with the cover of the passport, the red cover?

1 A. Yes.

2 Q. Do you recognise this, Mr Taylor?

3 A. If what do I recognise?

4 Q. This is the normal red cover of a diplomatic passport from  
12:59:06 5 the Republic of Liberia during the time of your presidency,  
6 correct?

7 A. I'm not sure if it was red or blue, but it appears to have  
8 under here "The Republic of Liberia".

9 Q. Let's just quickly turn the page. And by the way, the red  
12:59:26 10 stamp, just so everyone is clear, is, of course, the ERN number.  
11 This is stamped by the Special Court. The red numbers are not  
12 from the passport that are on the copy.

13 A. Yes.

14 Q. And, sir, do you recognise - again, the inside indicates on  
12:59:44 15 page 1 "Republic of Liberia diplomatic passport" and then has a  
16 number "D/002115" with a symbol I don't recognise.

17 A. I don't know how passport numbers run.

18 Q. Let's get a little more interesting and open to page 2.

19 A. Yes.

13:00:17 20 Q. There's a photograph, and on the top it appears to be  
21 printed in blue "Republic of Liberia"; below, handwritten "Chief  
22 of Protocol, Executive Mansion RL". Mr Taylor, do you recognise  
23 this photograph as being a photograph of Musa Cisse, your chief  
24 of protocol who, you have testified, is a person that would do  
13:00:42 25 special assignments for you in arranging arms shipments, in  
26 paying bribes to foreign officials to allow arms to pass through  
27 their country?

28 A. I recognise this photograph as being that of Musa Cisse.

29 Q. And this is the man you said worked with you every day,



1 correct?

2 A. That is correct.

3 Q. This is the man you said could not have been away in Zambia  
4 without your knowledge, correct?

13:01:10 5 A. That is correct.

6 Q. Now, sir, let's move on to page 8. Do you recall the  
7 testimony I read to you from your direct examination when you  
8 said Sam Bockarie departed in early to mid-February 2001?

9 A. That is correct.

13:01:32 10 Q. The top stamp, do you recognise this? First of all, it's a  
11 square stamp at the bottom and it says "Aeroporto Felix  
12 Houphouet-Boigny".

13 A. Are you saying on page 8? Yes, I see that.

14 Q. And do you recognise this as a stamp from the airport in  
13:01:55 15 the Ivory Coast, Abidjan?

16 A. No, I can't say that I recognise it. It looks like a  
17 stamp. I'm not familiar.

18 Q. Are you familiar with the word - the name "Aeroporto Felix  
19 Houphouet-Boigny"?

13:02:14 20 A. Yes, I'm familiar with that word. I'm not fighting over  
21 the stamp here, counsel.

22 Q. Is that an airport in Abidjan?

23 A. Yes. You asked me if I recognised the stamp, I don't have  
24 any recollection of the stamp, but it looks like a stamp issued  
13:02:33 25 at that place.

26 Q. I'll try to be more precise in my language. Sir, there's a  
27 word that's somewhat smeared in the middle of the left of that.  
28 Do you recognise this - you've talked about speaking some  
29 French - as being the French word "sortie" for "exit"?

1 A. I'll move this along. It looks like sortie.

2 Q. There's a date on that, stamped on that and that is,  
3 correct me if I'm wrong, 9 FEV, which I presume, not being a  
4 French speaker, is the abbreviation for February in French, 2001.

13:03:13 5 Is that correct?

6 A. It looks like February 2001.

7 Q. So this would indicate that the bearer of this passport  
8 left Abidjan airport Felix Houphouet-Boigny on 9 February 2001,  
9 correct?

13:03:37 10 A. As it looks here, if sortie means exit, it looks like, from  
11 what I can see here - unless in the future I don't have any fuss  
12 with you about that - that this person left in 2001.

13 Q. Now, let's look at the next stamp down. It's somewhat at a  
14 45 degree angle and there's a date stamped "10 FEB 2001". Do you  
15 recognise the word just above that "entry"?

13:04:08 16 A. The second - yes, I see something that says "entry" on the  
17 second one there.

18 Q. And, sir, there is in the bottom, and it's difficult on the  
19 copies, I think a little easier on your original, the bottom  
20 centre to right is printed the words "valid to" and then  
21 handwritten "13/02/01". Do you agree with that?

13:04:36 22 A. From what I'm seeing, yeah, I see the writing there, yes?

23 Q. Now, do you see - I can't make out the top writing, other  
24 than it appears to say something immigration in the top above the  
25 word "entry". Can you read anything from that?

13:05:14 26 A. No. I have to leave that to you, counsel. No.

27 Q. Now, sir, easier to read is if we go down to the circular  
28 stamp below that. Do you recall the "10 February" was stamped  
29 valid to 13 February. The circular stamp is a stamp dated 13

1 February 2001. Would you please read the name of the airport at  
2 the bottom of the stamp?

3 A. 13 February 2001, I see here Lusaka International Airport.

4 Q. And, Mr Taylor, where is Lusaka?

13:06:05 5 A. Lusaka, as far as I know, is in Zambia.

6 Q. So, Mr Taylor, this would indicate that the person bearing  
7 this passport departed Lusaka International Airport on  
8 13 February 2001, correct?

9 A. That's what it appears here. We haven't talked yet,  
13:06:28 10 Mr Koumjian, about these stamps and what they mean. I'm only  
11 responding to what you asked me to read on the passport. You  
12 haven't asked me beyond that. That's what it says on the  
13 passport.

14 Q. And looking at the top of that circular stamp, if it was  
13:06:48 15 correctly at a correct angle, some of it is smeared, but do you  
16 see the letters "ZA" before it becomes smeared?

17 A. Do I see before it comes --

18 Q. Well, it becomes illegible, but do you clearly see the  
19 letter "Z"?

13:07:14 20 A. That's in the upper top part of that stamp?

21 Q. Yes.

22 A. I see something that looks like "Z", yes. I could say  
23 that's a "Z".

24 Q. And then we see something smeared and you can make out the  
13:07:29 25 end of a word "gration", something "gration".

26 A. I'm not going to speculate. One can assume, but I'm not  
27 going to speculate.

28 Q. Now, we see one more stamp on this page that's on the right  
29 bottom and I'm going to read how it reads to me and correct me if

- 1 you read anything incorrect. "Republique de Cote d'Ivoire", and  
2 I'm sorry, I can't make out much more after that, "direction".  
3 And then at the bottom it appears to be "Aeroport Felix" and we  
4 can't make out the rest of the word, but "Aeroport Felix", the  
13:08:23 5 letters "UPH" are visible in the middle. Mr Taylor, you've  
6 travelled through Cote d'Ivoire many times, correct?  
7 A. Yes, I've travelled through Cote d'Ivoire many times.  
8 Q. This is an exit stamp from Cote d'Ivoire, correct?  
9 A. I have said --  
13:08:42 10 Q. Excuse me, an entry.  
11 A. I have said, normally when Presidents travel, I don't see  
12 the passports. People handled those. So I'm not --  
13 PRESIDING JUDGE: Mr Taylor, the question is: This is an  
14 entry stamp for Cote d'Ivoire. That is the question.  
13:09:00 15 THE WITNESS: Well, I would say it appears to be an entry  
16 stamp. I can't say for real it is an entry stamp for la Cote  
17 d'Ivoire. It appears to be.  
18 MR KOUMJIAN:  
19 Q. So, Mr Taylor, what we have is Musa Cisse on 9 February in  
13:09:23 20 the airport at Abidjan. We have him then being in Zambia and  
21 departing Zambia on 13 February 2001. Then entering the Ivory  
22 Coast on 16 February 2001 - 15 February 2001. So between the 9th  
23 and the 15th, if you include those days, that's seven days. You  
24 would know if Musa Cisse was outside of Liberia for a week.  
13:10:06 25 You're a hundred per cent certain you would know about that,  
26 correct?  
27 A. Of course I would know about that.  
28 Q. And he wouldn't go to Zambia without your orders, correct?  
29 A. Well, I wouldn't say without my orders. He could go to

1 Zambia, but - I mean, he could go also without my orders.

2 Q. He would not go without your consent, correct?

3 A. I wouldn't say that either. I wouldn't say that either.

13:10:41

4 Q. You would know if Musa Cisse was - you were a hundred per  
5 cent certain back when you testified previously in direct  
6 examination that you would know if he'd been away for days in  
7 Zambia. Correct?

8 A. Yes. For the seven days that is mentioned here, if Musa  
9 Cisse was away, I would know.

13:10:59

10 Q. The reason you said that you were certain he wasn't there  
11 when you were discussing the testimony of this witness is because  
12 this is a witness you were very desperate to discredit. Correct?

13 A. No, that is not correct.

13:11:19

14 Q. And you certainly didn't want to have exposed your plan for  
15 Sam Bockarie and his relocation to Angola. Correct?

16 A. That is not correct.

17 Q. If Mr Taylor could be shown - or perhaps we need to have it  
18 printed, it's a private session, the testimony from 29 October  
19 2009.

13:11:52

20 A. Before you leave this passport, quite frankly, I don't  
21 know, we may have to - now that we've got this, we may have to  
22 check on the authenticity of this passport. We've seen many,  
23 many incidents of fake passports and fake stamps and what. So  
24 I'm just saying this, we'll have to go through this and see as to  
25 whether this passport is authentic, even through the Liberian  
26 Foreign Ministry, as to whether this is an authentic passport. I  
27 don't think we've gotten into that yet.

13:12:16

28 MR KOUMJIAN: Before counsel speaks, I just want to tell  
29 the Court Officer I believe you don't have to print that because

1 I've reviewed it and I think we can put it on the screen, that  
2 page. It doesn't include --

3 PRESIDING JUDGE: Could I hear from Mr Griffiths?

4 MR GRIFFITHS: I wonder if I could make this inquiry, given  
13:12:39 5 that the Prosecution have had this document for some time and no  
6 doubt have studied it in detail: Mr Koumjian has directed the  
7 witness's attention to three of the stamps on page 8. There is a  
8 square stamp bearing the date 10 February. Do we know to which  
9 country that refers?

13:13:11 10 MR KOUMJIAN: Your Honours, I'll give counsel, since he's  
11 asked, the best of my analysis and those who I have shown this  
12 to. We cannot read - someone, and I can't, claims they can read  
13 a "Z" in the upper left. I can't read that. But we note that  
14 this is an entry dated 10 February 2001 valid to 13 February  
13:13:37 15 2001, and then we see an exit 13 February 2001 Lusaka  
16 International Airport. We all can make the logical deductions  
17 from that.

18 MR GRIFFITHS: Well, I ask the question for good reason,  
19 because the evidence which this particular individual gave was to  
13:14:03 20 the effect that the trip to Zambia was via Abidjan, Malawi,  
21 Johannesburg airport and then Zambia. So where are the stamps  
22 for Malawi and South Africa consistent with the proposition being  
23 put by Mr Koumjian? They should appear in the sequence --

24 MR KOUMJIAN: These are private sessions matters that  
13:14:29 25 counsel is discussing, unfortunately. I'd ask for that to be  
26 redacted and then I would ask to respond in private session.

27 MR GRIFFITHS: There's nothing that I've said which  
28 identifies the witness.

29 PRESIDING JUDGE: First of all, there is nothing that has

1 been said that would identify the witness but, more importantly,  
2 I think this is a matter for re-examination. And I think we've  
3 noted what has been said both by the witness and by lead counsel  
4 for the Defence, but properly these are matters for  
13:15:01 5 re-examination. So, Mr Koumjian, please continue.

6 MR KOUMJIAN: Thank you:

7 Q. Mr Taylor, then one more question on passports. Sir, when  
8 you transit a country, your passport is not stamped normally when  
9 you transit without entering a country. That's your experience  
13:15:19 10 as an international traveller, correct?

11 A. No, that is not my experience. I know of countries that I  
12 have - that you transit and your passport is stamped that you  
13 transited through that country. So I would disagree with you.  
14 Fully disagree with you. If I'm not mistaken, France, in earlier  
13:15:52 15 days that I travelled, was one of those countries that in transit  
16 would stamp your passport in transit. They would stamp it that  
17 you entered and passed through. Years ago now. I don't know if  
18 it still exists before you say it's still happening. Years ago  
19 when I travelled, before I became President, transiting in France  
13:16:12 20 would carry a stamp.

21 Q. Mr Taylor, this afternoon you've been telling us the name  
22 Jonas Savimbi, and UNITA we've discussed, and you started telling  
23 us about your relationship with Jonas Savimbi through President  
24 Felix Houphouet-Boigny?

13:16:27 25 A. That is correct.

26 Q. Let's read your testimony from 29 October 2009, page 30661.  
27 Excuse me, may the passport please be marked for  
28 identification?

29 PRESIDING JUDGE: The passport of one "Moussa Cisse" is

1 marked MFI -396.

2 MR KOUMJIAN:

3 Q. Do you have, Mr Taylor, the testimony on the screen from 29  
4 October, page 30661?

13:17:20 5 MS IRURA: Your Honour, this is private session material.  
6 I'm printing the relevant page.

7 MR KOUMJIAN: I have reviewed the whole page, I believe.

8 PRESIDING JUDGE: Still, to be on the safe side we'll take  
9 a printed copy.

13:17:36 10 MR KOUMJIAN: Thank you:

11 Q. Mr Taylor, on this page, 29 October of last year, you were  
12 asked:

13 "Q. Were you aware that he would be meeting with a  
14 representative of Jonas Savimbi?

13:19:15 15 A. No, not at all.

16 Q. When you were at the Mataba in Libya, Mr Taylor, did  
17 you meet Jonas Savimbi?

18 A. Angola had no connections, to my knowledge, with the  
19 Mataba, no.

13:19:29 20 Q. Had you at any stage met Jonas Savimbi?

21 A. No, never met Savimbi.

22 Q. Did you have any lines of communication with Jonas  
23 Savimbi?

24 A. Yes. At some point, yes.

13:19:44 25 Q. Now, Jonas Savimbi at this time in 2000, Mr Taylor,  
26 what was his status?

27 A. I don't even remember what Jonas was doing in - some  
28 connections that are made - because Jonas Savimbi worked  
29 strictly with the United States. He was not involved with



1 Libya. Jonas Savimbi was strictly - and I, when I made  
2 contact - let me see the year. Prior to my presidency. I  
3 don't know - I can't recall 2000, but we had tried to  
4 make some contact to get it - to make some American contact  
13:20:21 5 because Savimbi was very close to Washington, because  
6 Washington supported him and we were trying to hook up with  
7 him. I don't recall what Savimbi was doing in 2000.  
8 Q. Now, I ask for this reason, Mr Taylor: On the face of  
9 it, it looks as if - well, let me start again. Jonas  
13:20:44 10 Savimbi led a rebel movement, didn't he?  
11 A. That is correct.  
12 Q. You were the former leader of the rebel movement as  
13 well".  
14 I don't think we need - unless anyone asks for it - the  
13:21:02 15 answer. So, Mr Taylor, why didn't you tell the judges on 29  
16 October about your connection to Jonas Savimbi through the former  
17 President of Cote d'Ivoire, Houphouet-Boigny?  
18 A. But I was not asked. I was not asked how did I have the  
19 connection. And I want - if I recall, at some other point in the  
13:21:30 20 transcript some place, and not on this page, I did reiterate that  
21 there was some connection through Houphouet-Boigny that looked at  
22 Savimbi and myself as his sons. At some point I can recollect  
23 that I did say that, and like on line 10 when I say we did have a  
24 line of communication with Savimbi, that is also very clear.  
13:21:59 25 Savimbi in la Cote d'Ivoire had an ambassador. I forgot the  
26 man's name. He had an ambassador in la Cote d'Ivoire. I met the  
27 ambassador, but I had never met Joseph Savimbi - I mean, Jonas  
28 Savimbi. But if I had been asked to state through what means I  
29 had connection I would have said it, because Houphouet-Boigny was

1 very close to us.

2 Q. Well, let's look carefully at what you were asked on this  
3 page, line 8:

4 "Q. Had you at any stage met Jonas Savimbi?

13:22:33 5 A. No, never met Savimbi."

6 Is that the truth?

7 A. Never in my life met Jonas Savimbi. Never met him.

8 Q. You were asked on line 10:

9 "Q. Did you have any lines of communication with Jonas  
13:22:47 10 Savimbi?

11 A. Yes, at some point."

12 A. Yes.

13 Q. And then you talked about a connection through the United  
14 States that you tried to make prior to your presidency but you  
13:22:56 15 were not able to make.

16 A. No, no, no, no. Read that again. No, no, no, no. That's  
17 not what this says.

18 Q. Okay, let's read it entirely. The next question from  
19 counsel was:

13:23:10 20 "Q. Did you have any lines of communication with Jonas  
21 Savimbi?

22 A. Yes, at some point, yes.

23 Q. Now, Jonas Savimbi at this time in 2000, Mr Taylor,  
24 what was his status?

13:23:22 25 A. I don't even remember what Jonas was doing."

26 Well, Mr Taylor, you know that Jonas Savimbi in 2000 was  
27 fighting a civil war in Angola, correct?

28 A. Yes, he was involved in fighting a civil war, but he was  
29 also doing other things.

1 Q. Buying arms and ammunition through diamonds, correct?

2 A. I don't know. I don't know what Jonas was doing.

3 Q. And then you go on to say:

4 "Some connections that are made - because Jonas Savimbi  
13:23:56 5 worked strictly with the United States, he was not involved with  
6 Libya. Jonas Savimbi was strictly - and I, when I made contact -  
7 let me see the year - prior to my presidency - I don't know - I  
8 can't recall 2000, but we had tried to make some contact to get  
9 it - to make some American contact."

10 So prior to your presidency, Mr Taylor --

11 A. Because Jonas - because Savimbi was very close to the  
12 Americans. That's the full paragraph. Okay, go ahead, counsel.

13 Q. So where is the indication about your relationship through  
14 Cote d'Ivoire - through the President of Cote d'Ivoire? Where  
13:24:37 15 did you tell the Court about that connection to Jonas Savimbi?

16 A. I was not asked. And I did not deny what was my connection  
17 or how did I get to know him.

18 Q. Well, the question was, "Did you have any lines of  
19 communication?"

13:24:49 20 A. And I said yes.

21 Q. And you only talked about Washington, an unsuccessful  
22 attempt?

23 A. Not an unsuccessful attempt with Washington. Savimbi had  
24 the connections. His ambassador in La Cote d'Ivoire was the main  
13:25:03 25 line of communication, as I have said in this testimony. Because  
26 Savimbi was close to Washington, we were trying to use his  
27 ambassador to get to Savimbi to also use those links for our  
28 government, because he was very, very close, from our  
29 understanding, to Washington. So we were just trying to - you

1 know, to do a link for diplomatic purposes to get some of the  
2 pressure reduced on my government. That's what is being conveyed  
3 here.

4 MR KOUMJIAN: Could the Court Officer to - I'm not sure if  
13:25:42 5 it's private session - check 24 August? I believe it's open.

6 27484. And most of what I will read will actually be the next  
7 page, 27485:

8 Q. While that's coming up, Mr Taylor, let's read one more time  
9 line 8: "Had you at any stage met Jonas Savimbi?" You answered  
13:26:09 10 under oath, 29 October, "No, never met Savimbi."

11 This is open session, so I want to go to very last line of  
12 27484. Mr Griffiths asked you:

13 "Q. UNITA rebels, who led them?

14 A. Savimbi. The late Savimbi led UNITA.

13:26:38 15 Q. Did you know him?

16 A. Yes, I knew him. I knew Savimbi.

17 Q. Where did you meet him?

18 A. Oh, Savimbi, in La Cote d'Ivoire. We became very good  
19 friends from La Cote d'Ivoire.

13:26:55 20 Q. When?

21 A. I put it back to about '90.

22 Q. 1990?

23 A. Yes.

24 Q. So this was - was it the commencement of your  
13:27:07 25 revolution in Liberia?

26 A. That is correct.

27 Q. And how did you come to meet Savimbi?

28 A. Savimbi was considered almost like a son to the late  
29 President Houphouet-Boigny."

1           So, Mr Taylor, why did you lie to these judges on 29  
2           October and say you had never met Savimbi? Why did you perjure  
3           yourself on that point?

13:27:33 4           A.     Well, I tell you, quite frankly, I - you - that's a very  
5           strong point. In this lead examination - quite frankly, I've  
6           never met Savimbi. I've never met Savimbi. So that particular  
7           statement in my examination-in-chief, I admit it's incorrect. I  
8           have never met Jonas in my life, and I - I - I consent to that.

13:27:59 9           Q.     So you agree that you lied under oath on 24 August when you  
10          said, "Yes, I knew him, I knew Savimbi." You were asked, "Where  
11          did you meet him?" "Oh, in La Cote d'Ivoire. We became very  
12          good friends from La Cote d'Ivoire." You perjured yourself on 24  
13          August is what you're telling us now, correct?

14          A.     Well, I'm trying to say I have never met Jonas - I have  
13:28:16 15          never met Savimbi.

16          Q.     Mr Taylor, there's a very good reason why this plan to send  
17          Bockarie to Angola in the middle of February didn't succeed.  
18          Isn't that correct?

19          A.     No, that is not correct.

13:28:32 20          Q.     What happened to Jonas Savimbi on 22 August - excuse me, 22  
21          February 2001?

22          A.     I don't remember. Is that the time he got killed? I don't  
23          - I know Savimbi got killed somewhere in 2001. I don't remember  
24          the date.

13:28:51 25          Q.     In February 2001 UNITA was under extreme military pressure,  
26          and on 22 February Jonas Savimbi and two of his top generals were  
27          killed in battle with government forces, UNITA was near collapse.  
28          Isn't that true, Mr Taylor?

29          A.     He got killed in 2001.

1 MR KOUMJIAN: Thank you. Your Honours, this would be an  
2 appropriate time for the break.

3 PRESIDING JUDGE: Thank you. We will take a break until  
4 2.30.

13:29:25 5 [Break taken at 1.30 p.m.]

6 [Upon resuming at 2.30 p.m.]

7 PRESIDING JUDGE: Good afternoon. Mr Koumjian, please.

8 MR KOUMJIAN:

9 Q. Mr Taylor, the reason that you lied to these judges and  
10 told them that you were 100 per cent certain that Musa Cisse  
11 could not be in Zambia and that you had never met Jonas Savimbi  
12 was because you were desperate to discredit the testimony of that  
13 particular witness who had spoken about these individuals,  
14 correct?

14:32:43 15 A. No, that is not correct. We haven't agreed that that  
16 passport is valid. No, we haven't. No, that is not correct.

17 MR KOUMJIAN: If the witness could please be shown the  
18 testimony from 28 October, page 30632:

19 Q. While that's coming up, Mr Taylor, is there a chance you  
14:33:07 20 have a bank account in Switzerland?

21 A. A chance?

22 Q. Yes. Is that possible?

23 A. Not that I know of. If there would be one then I would  
24 know about it, no.

14:33:34 25 Q. I'm sorry, did you say if there would be one?

26 A. Then I would know about it.

27 Q. One would think so. You would agree with that, correct? I  
28 have to go back to the testimony, so let me finish with what I  
29 asked for first. Is that testimony on the screen yet?

1 A. Yes.

2 Q. Mr Taylor, on 28 October 2009 I want to go down the page  
3 and - actually, I perhaps better start reading from the second  
4 line. Your counsel was quoting from a witness's testimony, 579:

14:34:42 5 "But before leaving Buedu when he said he wanted a jeep  
6 there was a tank. A war tank with a chain under it. Those big  
7 military tanks. It was captured behind the Moa River where they  
8 were fighting. And he said Mr Taylor said he wanted a tank. He  
9 said that he should sent it to him in Monrovia. So we used this  
14:35:06 10 jeep. We drove from Buedu to the Moa River and when we got to  
11 the river, the tank was across the river. You could stand at the  
12 other side of the river and see the tank."

13 Then I want to go down and your counsel asked you a few  
14 lines below:

14:35:24 15 "Q. Or do you recall a conversation with Sam Bockarie when  
16 he said, 'Guess what, chief, I've got a tank for you'? Did  
17 you have such a conversation with him?

18 A. No, I did not.

19 Q. Do you know anything at all about this tank episode?

14:35:44 20 A. None whatsoever. If Sam Bockarie had a tank that I  
21 wanted, I would have sent for it."

22 Mr Taylor, that in fact sums up your relationship with Sam  
23 Bockarie. If he had something you wanted, you could just  
24 instruct him to send it to you, correct?

14:36:05 25 A. That is incorrect.

26 Q. I just started talking to you about a bank, so I want to  
27 finish that. If the witness could be shown testimony from 18  
28 November, page 32024. Mr Taylor, I believe you were being asked  
29 about Grace Minor?

1 A. That is correct.

2 Q. And on line 6 you were asked this question:

3 "Q. One of the things that she did for you is to open a  
4 bank account for you in Switzerland, isn't that correct?

14:37:39 5 A. Not to my knowledge. Well, what Grace did do - now  
6 what time are you talking about now?

7 Q. This is before you were President, during the NPFL  
8 days.

9 A. No, I am not aware of that. I'm not aware of that. I  
14:37:54 10 am aware of a bank account that she opened for me after my  
11 presidency. I'm not sure before. I don't have any  
12 recollection of that.

13 Q. What bank account was that after you were President?

14 A. Similar to American laws, as President I could not get  
14:38:13 15 involved in any business transaction. A building that was  
16 being used by the Taiwanese embassy was leased, and I could  
17 not manage anything as President under our laws. I do not  
18 know where she opened the account, but the lease from that  
19 payment was made and she handled it as a trustee during my  
14:38:39 20 presidency.

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

23 A. No. Maybe she did. I have no recollection of that."

24 So is that still your testimony, that you're not sure  
14:38:58 25 whether or not a bank account was opened for you in Switzerland?

26 A. Grace did open an account, it could have been in  
27 Switzerland. I didn't have a signature to the account if I  
28 recall, but there was an account that was opened.

29 Q. What's the relationship between Grace Minor and Monie



1 Captan?

2 PRESIDING JUDGE: Mr Koumjian, the witness said, "Grace  
3 could have opened an account for me." You said that, Mr Taylor,  
4 didn't you?

14:39:23 5 THE WITNESS: Yes.

6 PRESIDING JUDGE: Well, that's not reflected in the  
7 transcript. I hope it's picked up.

8 MR KOUMJIAN: Thank you, Madam President:

9 Q. Sir, just very quickly, Grace Minor, did she have any  
14:39:33 10 relationship with Monie Captan?

11 A. Yes, she had.

12 Q. What is that?

13 A. Monie Captan is married to Grace Minor's daughter.

14 Q. Sir, now you talk about here an embassy being leased.  
14:39:49 15 We're talking about a building. Is that the building that was  
16 across from White Flower being used for the Taiwanese embassy?

17 A. No.

18 Q. What building are you speaking about in that testimony,  
19 sir?

14:40:01 20 A. That building across from White Flower was the chancery.  
21 The embassy is where the ambassador lives.

22 PRESIDING JUDGE: I don't know what is the matter, maybe  
23 you are speaking all too quickly. But this transcript keeps  
24 missing a lot of what is being said. Perhaps you could both slow  
14:40:21 25 down in the way the questions are asked and answered.

26 MR KOUMJIAN: I'm sure it was my fault. I'll try to speak  
27 more slowly:

28 Q. Mr Taylor, what building were you speaking of when you  
29 talked about receiving money for the lease?

1 A. There's a building that was located at the - across the  
2 bridge in Monrovia, what we call across the bridge. There was a  
3 residence. The embassy is the residence of the ambassador, not  
4 the chancery which is the office that was next to White Flower.

14:40:56 5 Q. Which side of the river was it on? When you say across the  
6 river, what area of Monrovia?

7 A. It is in - near - it's in Virginia.

8 Q. And, sir, did you own that building?

9 A. I owned it at the time.

14:41:12 10 Q. What time was that that you owned the building?

11 A. During my Presidency.

12 Q. What year did you purchase it?

13 A. Oh, boy. I would say about '96, '97.

14 Q. Sir, if it was being used as the embassy and residence of  
14:41:35 15 the Ambassador of Taiwan it must have been - would you agree it  
16 was a very nice building?

17 A. Well, it depends what you say - I would say yes.

18 Q. How much did you receive for the lease?

19 A. I think the lease was - what was it \$75,000 a year? I  
14:42:03 20 think \$75,000 a year. I may not be sure about it but I think it  
21 was around 75,000. It could be more.

22 Q. Now, Mr Taylor, I understand under certain conflict of  
23 interest laws that blind trusts are set up and people don't take  
24 part in the management of assets when they are in office. So are  
14:42:24 25 you saying you did not take part in the negotiation of the lease.  
26 Is that correct?

27 A. That is correct. I didn't take part in the negotiations.  
28 It was done by her.

29 Q. But, Mr Taylor, what need was there to hide the bank

1 account?

2 A. What do you mean to hide? What do you mean to hide the  
3 bank account?

4 Q. Where was the money going?

14:42:45 5 A. Grace Minor - I'm President of Liberia. I'm not involved  
6 in any transaction - she was the trustee at the time and she  
7 negotiated and she opened a bank account to keep the money.

8 Q. Why didn't it just go to you or go to your personal bank  
9 account in Tradevco whichever account you claim was your personal  
14:43:06 10 bank account?

11 A. Because, as she as the trustee, that's the way I wanted it.  
12 She was the trustee of the property and she negotiated it and  
13 received the money.

14 Q. What happened --

14:43:15 15 A. So I -

16 Q. Thank you. Sorry.

17 A. Go ahead.

18 Q. When did you dispose of this property?

19 A. Following the time I left office, the property was in fact  
14:43:28 20 given to Grace, so I gave it to her when I left the country. So  
21 she owns the property now.

22 Q. When you were broke you gave it away?

23 A. When I was leaving the country, there was no need and I  
24 gave it to her. It was practically destroyed, so I had no more  
14:43:43 25 use for it. During the war in that area, that's where LURD  
26 operated and the building was practically destroyed and I told  
27 her she could have it.

28 Q. Did you transfer the deed?

29 A. The deed is in her name now.

1 Q. Well, that wasn't my question. Was the deed - let me ask  
2 another question. Was the deed ever in your name?

3 A. No, the deed was not - at the time that the property was  
4 bought, the deed was not in - I don't think the deed - no, the  
14:44:15 5 deed was not in my name. Hold on a minute. I want to be sure  
6 about this.

7 PRESIDING JUDGE: Mr Taylor, the question was simply: Was  
8 the deed ever in your name?

9 THE WITNESS: That's what I'm trying to reflect on. If at  
14:44:28 10 the time of the trusteeship, if the property was bought in my  
11 name or if it was bought in the name of the trustee, that's what  
12 I am trying to recall.

13 PRESIDING JUDGE: The answer is quite simply either yes or  
14 no or I don't remember. It should be one of those three.

14:44:43 15 THE WITNESS: Yes, okay. Well, the easiest answer would be  
16 at this time I don't remember. I just didn't want to deceive the  
17 Court by saying yes or no, to be confronted. I really don't  
18 remember now.

19 MR KOUMJIAN:

14:44:53 20 Q. Did you sign formal papers to transfer ownership to Grace  
21 Minor after you left the country?

22 A. I don't recall signing any formal papers.

23 Q. So the property would still be in the name of whatever name  
24 it was put in when you purchased it. Is that correct?

14:45:12 25 A. That is correct.

26 Q. How much did you pay for it?

27 A. Grace negotiated that. I don't remember the exact amount.

28 Q. What need was there to have Grace Minor negotiate the  
29 purchase?

1 A. Because I was President and that type of transaction had to  
2 be done by a trustee.

3 Q. So it was purchased after August 1997 when you became  
4 President?

14:45:32 5 A. I will put it to about that.

6 Q. Before or after you were President or you don't know?

7 A. I think it was done after I became President.

8 Q. How much did you pay for this property?

9 A. I don't - I don't remember the amount, counsel. I just  
14:45:47 10 said that.

11 Q. Approximately how much did you pay for it?

12 A. I'm not going to approximate. I don't know the amount  
13 because I will be confronted later to say, "Well, you said you  
14 paid this for that property." I don't remember the amount.

14:45:58 15 That's my evidence.

16 Q. Mr Taylor, was it more than \$100,000 that you paid for it?

17 A. I do not remember the amount.

18 Q. Is it possible you paid over \$200,000 for this property,  
19 sir?

14:46:08 20 A. I do not remember the amount.

21 Q. Sir, when we add up all the properties you purchased from  
22 about 1997 and 1999 that you told us about previously, it would  
23 be over \$400,000 before we add this property, correct?

24 A. Well, it all depends on - I don't know your calculations.

14:46:25 25 What are you calculating now?

26 Q. Let's not spend time on that.

27 A. So we disagree on your calculations.

28 Q. The record will speak for the calculations. We can all add  
29 that up later. Mr Taylor, where did you get all the money to buy

1 all these properties?

2 A. What properties are you referring to?

3 Q. White Flower. Refurbishing White Flower, the property in  
4 Gbarnga, the other property near Monrovia, where did you get the  
14:46:50 5 money to buy all these properties, plus the embassy of Taiwan  
6 building?

7 A. Well, let's put it this way: You have asked five  
8 questions. White Flower, if I recall telling this Court about  
9 White Flower, before I became President. It was only renovated.

14:47:06 10 And at that particular time, friends made contributions to me  
11 before elections and people made contributions and people gave  
12 gifts all the time. A lot of people gave me gifts. The money to  
13 buy whatever property I got was based on gifts that had been  
14 given to me by various individuals.

14:47:32 15 Q. Were these people that gave you gifts, did they include  
16 arms dealers like Leonid Minin?

17 A. No, Minin did not give me any gifts of that sort.

18 Q. Sanjivan Ruprah?

19 A. No.

14:47:40 20 Q. Did Guus Kouwenhoven give you gifts?

21 A. Yes, Guus, during the - before I became President, during  
22 the campaign, Guus did give gifts, yes.

23 Q. What did he give you?

24 A. Money.

14:47:55 25 Q. How much?

26 A. His total contribution during the campaign could have been  
27 - I would just speculate - as much as maybe \$80,000 to \$100,000  
28 in total.

29 Q. So you were accepting cash donations from non-Liberians

1 during your campaign?

2 A. Well, yes. Under the laws of Liberia, he cannot contribute  
3 to the campaign, but he can give a gift to the individual, yes.

14:48:27

4 Q. Did you use that money for the campaign or did you put it  
5 in your pocket?

6 A. Not specifically. I did it - it was a gift to me and I  
7 used it as I felt necessary.

8 Q. Mr Taylor, you still maintain you were broke when you left  
9 Liberia?

14:48:43

10 A. Very much so.

11 Q. And you said that shortly before your arrest you were given  
12 \$500,000 by President Obasanjo?

14:49:02

13 A. No, I've never - oh, you mean before my arrest for the  
14 Special Court? Okay, I'm sorry, you're right. Yes, he did give  
15 me \$500,000.

16 Q. Well, I think you understand the saying when I say "that's  
17 not chicken feed", although you say it was for a chicken  
18 business. What was the money for, Mr Taylor?

19 A. It was for the chicken business.

14:49:21

20 Q. Mr Taylor, was that money that - from the Treasury of  
21 Nigeria or was it from the personal assets of President Obasanjo?

22 A. I have no idea, Mr Koumjian. President Obasanjo will  
23 verify to this Court if he is questioned that he did give me  
24 500,000. Where he got it from, I don't know. I have to assume  
14:49:47 25 he got it from the Government of Nigeria, I think. That's my  
26 assumption.

27 Q. In return for what did you receive this money, Mr Taylor?

28 A. There was no - I had said, I have explained to this Court  
29 that before President Obasanjo left to go to the States, we had

1 been discussing a long time on how I could help myself instead of  
2 just relying on the Nigerian government to support me, because  
3 the Nigerian government gave me a villa, a compound, houses,  
4 everything that I had over there, plus paid all my salaries and I  
14:50:17 5 just felt that it was just too much a burden and I said, "Listen,  
6 I need to do something here to help myself." And because he was  
7 in the chicken business, he suggested that I could do a poultry  
8 farm and that was the money that he gave me to do that.

9 Q. Sir, you said you took \$50,000 when you went to see  
14:50:42 10 President Deby in Chad. Is that correct?

11 A. On my way, I think I said a little - I said - I think I  
12 said between 50 and 75, if I'm not wrong.

13 Q. Sir, how long were you planning to be in Chad?

14 A. I had planned to be in Chad for about maybe as much as a  
14:51:03 15 month or so.

16 Q. Doing what?

17 A. Idriss Deby is a long time friend of mine.

18 Q. So were you invited by President Deby?

19 A. At that time, no, I had not spoken to Idriss. I had sent a  
14:51:19 20 message to him, but Idriss and I had been friends from our days  
21 in exile in Burkina Faso.

22 Q. So did you expect to stay with him?

23 A. When you say "stay with him", counsel, what do you mean?

24 Q. Usually when a President has a guest they have quarters for  
14:51:34 25 their guests, correct?

26 A. Well, I expected that he would have given me quarters.

27 Q. So why did you need to bring \$50,000 to \$75,000?

28 A. I was travelling with a full delegation, and while I was  
29 there, I intended not to be a full burden.



1 Q. Well, because time is short, let's move on, Mr Taylor.

2 A. I was not --

3 Q. Did you finish?

4 A. And while there was this delegation there will be certain  
14:52:16 5 things we will need: Fuel for the vehicles, maybe a different  
6 kind of food, whatever, because Obasanjo had said that he was  
7 going to America, and during the period of this debate they were  
8 having over the third term and all of the pressure, he wanted me  
9 to cool off. So the possibilities are I could have been there  
14:52:36 10 maybe more than a month, so I took sufficient money. It didn't  
11 mean I had to spend every dime while I was there, but I did take  
12 sufficient that I would not fall short.

13 Q. Now, you had three vehicles with you, correct?

14 A. While travelling, yeah. One, two - yeah, I was travelling  
14:52:55 15 with about three vehicles, yeah.

16 Q. Did they belong to you?

17 A. The three vehicles - two belonged to me and one belonged to  
18 the Nigerian Secret Service.

19 Q. Where did you get the two vehicles that belonged to you?

14:53:13 20 A. They were my personal vehicles. I brought with me from  
21 Liberia. My personal vehicles.

22 Q. Let's move on to another topic, Mr Taylor. Could the  
23 witness be shown testimony from 30 September, page 30027.

24 Mr Taylor, just while that's coming up, just to remind you, this  
14:54:00 25 was the testimony of witness 334, open, AB Sesay, who had - and  
26 at this time your counsel is asking you about part of his  
27 testimony, where the witness was discussing conversations with  
28 you in Monrovia and what you told the SLAs who had come to meet  
29 with Johnny Paul Koroma and Foday Sankoh eventually came. So in

1 discussing that meeting --

2 A. I see it, counsel.

3 Q. Your counsel is reading. I was a little bit confused. So  
4 let's go to the answer that begins "Yes, he said to make sure" at  
14:54:59 5 the bottom of the page of what's shown right now:

6 "A. Yes, he said to make sure that the SLPP government  
7 headed by Tejan Kabbah should be - to make sure it was  
8 overthrown, that it should be out of power. And I can also  
9 recall he said in fact the visit that we paid, that there  
14:55:18 10 was small pressure - some pressure - because in that  
11 area" - excuse me, let me read from the top of the page  
12 because I believe we're missing something - my fault - to  
13 understand importance. Your counsel begins reading this answer  
14 from line 3:

14:55:37 15 "A. Yes, my Lord. That was not hidden. He did not hide  
16 that from us. He said, 'I have been giving assistance',  
17 and even the SLAs who came from Guinea and who surrendered  
18 who came to Liberia, he said, 'I gave them safe passage.  
19 They came in and I reorganised them and I sent them to  
14:56:01 20 Kailahun so that they will go and join you to continue to  
21 fight.'

22 Q. Did he say where these SLAs would go to join you?

23 A. Yes, my Lord. He said they were to pass through. He  
24 said he had sent them to General Mosquito so that they will  
14:56:21 25 also join the troops that were coming towards Freetown.

26 Q. When you say that he said 'so that they', meaning the  
27 SLAs would go and join you to continue the fight, did he  
28 say which fight he was talking about?

29 A. Yes, he said to make sure that the SLPP government

1 headed by Tejan Kabbah should be - to make sure that it was  
2 overthrown, that it should be out of power. And I can also  
3 recall he said in fact the visit that we paid, that there  
4 was some small pressure - some pressure - because in that  
14:56:56 5 area Mosquito Spray's squad was there and that he had even  
6 ordered General Mosquito to move and come to the Voinjama  
7 area to repel that squad that had come from Guinea, because  
8 we were in Liberia, in Monrovia, when Mosquito Spray's  
9 squad attacked that area."

14:57:17 10 And, Mr Taylor, it is correct, is it not, that the same  
11 time that this delegation from Okra Hills came to Monrovia, that  
12 at the same time, August 1999, the Mosquito Spray attacked  
13 occurred in Lofa County?

14 A. That is totally incorrect. If we recall for the sake of  
14:57:41 15 the judges, when the RUF delegation is going to Lome in July 1999  
16 we have problems and we have to route them through - what they  
17 call the place? The military base outside in Lofa. Vahun.  
18 That's where we have to route them through. So the time that he  
19 mentioned here is totally wrong, it's totally incorrect, and the  
14:58:11 20 records reflect that, that they had to be routed through Vahun in  
21 July.

22 Q. Sir, we're talking about this group from Okra Hills came.  
23 The Okra Hills that came following the capture of the hostages in  
24 the West Side, they came in August 1999, correct?

14:58:28 25 A. That is correct. In fact, excuse me, I'm sorry, I made a  
26 mistake. In fact I said July. It's actually April. It's  
27 actually April when the delegation is moving through to Lome. In  
28 April that --

29 Q. I understand you want to talk about April. I'm talking

1 about August 1999 when the Okra Hills group, the SLAs, including  
2 this witness, came to Monrovia, including Johnny Paul Koroma.  
3 That was August 1999, correct?

14:58:58 4 A. I have answered that, counsel, but I'm also correcting the  
5 record that I made an error in saying that the RUF delegation was  
6 moving in July. They were moving in April. So to answer your  
7 question, it is August. That is correct.

8 Q. Okay, fair enough. And Mosquito Spray attack is also  
9 August 1999, correct?

14:59:18 10 A. No, not to my knowledge. There's a totally different  
11 situation, no.

12 Q. Mr Taylor, we've been through this. You don't recall the  
13 testimony - your own testimony that Mosquito Spray was August  
14 1999?

14:59:31 15 A. The name. There is attack in August. I'm not sure if the  
16 fellow calls himself Mosquito Spray. There is an attack in  
17 Voinjama at the time, if my recollection is correct. Out of  
18 Voinjama or Kolahun. But the Mosquito Spray attack occurred  
19 earlier in - before August

15:00:06 20 Q. Okay, Mr Taylor, this is what you answered on 30 September.  
21 If we could move to the next page, page 30028. You said at one  
22 point that - reading from the top, second line, your counsel  
23 asked you:

15:00:36 24 "Q. Now in August 1999 whilst this Okra Hills delegation  
25 was in Monrovia was there not an incursion in that same  
26 month from Guinea?

27 A. Yes, that's in Voinjama.

28 Q. Mmm?

29 A. Voinjama.

1 Q. So that part, was that by Mosquito Spray?

2 A. No."

3 A. I said no.

4 Q. "Q. Who was it by?

15:00:53 5 A. I don't know. I'm not sure. They gave a name.

6 Mosquito Spray is '98 in Foya."

7 Mosquito Spray was not '98 in Foya, was it, Mr Taylor?

8 A. No, no, no. Mosquito Spray, I've already said, no, that in  
9 August it is not Mosquito Spray and I'm fumbling over what name.

15:01:12 10 These boys come with all kinds of names. But I remember the

11 Mosquito Spray was not as you've mentioned. The actual problem  
12 started in '99. That's when the RUF delegation is routed to

13 Vahun in '99. But Mosquito Spray - the Voinjama attack, I'm

14 saying here for the record that I don't remember the name of the

15:01:34 15 group but it was not Mosquito Spray. That's why I said no.

16 Q. Okay, we'll have to spend a little bit of time. 20 August,  
17 please, page 27287. Your counsel was reading from a document  
18 from the Liberian government, I believe. The question in the  
19 second line:

15:02:21 20 "Q. The current strained relationship between Guinea and

21 Liberia has serious implications not only for the two

22 countries, but also for all members of the Mano River

23 Union. The deterioration in relations has its genesis in

24 the first armed attack in Voinjama, the capital of Lofa

15:02:40 25 County, on 21 April 1999 which the Government of Liberia

26 blamed on Guinea. The second attack, launched less than

27 four months later on 10 August 1999 and the latest on 8

28 July 2000."

29 So there were three attacks, the second was 10 August 1999,

1 correct?

2 A. That is correct. But it's not Mosquito Spray. Your  
3 question was that second attack was Mosquito Spray and I keep  
4 saying, no, it is not Mosquito Spray. Mosquito Spray occurred  
15:03:11 5 earlier. I think that's where we are. I don't disagree that  
6 there was a second attack.

7 Q. Okay, let's go to testimony from 10 September, page 28638.  
8 10 September 2009, page 28638. From the top:

9 "Q. Now, Mr Taylor, we should deal with care. Was there  
15:04:04 10 not an incursion, you told us, into Liberia in August 1999?

11 A. Yes, we had an incursion that had been handled very  
12 rapidly by Mosquito Spray, yes."

13 So Mosquito Spray was August of 1999, correct?

14 A. No, no. Mosquito Spray occurred in April of 1999 as the  
15:04:34 15 delegation was going to Lome. That's Mosquito Spray. The August  
16 attack, quite frankly maybe going through these thousands of  
17 things and we just called the name. Mosquito Spray was in April  
18 of 1999 as the delegation was going to Lome. No, it's not  
19 August. There is a second attack in August, but that name is not  
15:04:51 20 called as Mosquito Spray.

21 Q. Mr Taylor, it was the first attack that was not called by  
22 any name and it was the August attack that someone called into  
23 the international media and said, "I'm Mosquito" - they asked his  
24 name and he said, "Call me Mosquito Spray." Isn't that right?

15:05:08 25 A. That is not correct because the first attack that occurred  
26 occurred around the Kolahun axis. That is not correct. The  
27 first attack was called Mosquito Spray.

28 Q. And we have in the records from your testimony the records  
29 of a UN report about that April attack, correct? Do you recall

1 that? We had the UN office's report?

2 A. The April 1999 attack?

3 Q. Yes.

4 A. Yes.

15:05:33 5 Q. So we can check that when people have time. Mr Taylor, let  
6 me just ask you a quick question. You want the judges in this  
7 case to believe that you had a policy that no children under 18  
8 were admitted into your fighting forces. Is that correct?

9 A. I want the judges to understand what I have said, that the  
15:06:02 10 NPFL had no official policy of recruiting, training and arming  
11 individuals under the age of 18. I have also told this Court  
12 that young people were around. Their families, brothers, took  
13 them. They were with them. We collected some of them. We put  
14 them in orphanages. That's my evidence.

15:06:31 15 But may I just remind you, Mr Koumjian, I'm not sure -  
16 maybe the Court can help me. I have not answered - you read a  
17 passage before that I never answered to. I don't know, the one  
18 where my lawyer was quoting where the witness had said certain  
19 things. I don't know as to whether I ever responded to that.

15:06:54 20 Q. You responded to my question, Mr Taylor.

21 A. Okay.

22 Q. Mr Taylor, you've heard in this case many times from  
23 members, former members of the RUF, the term - and from citizens  
24 of Sierra Leonean, victims of crimes, the term SBU. You've heard  
15:07:17 25 that in this trial, correct?

26 A. Yes, I have.

27 Q. When did you first hear that term?

28 A. SBU? I first heard that term - the letters SBU, I heard it  
29 in Liberia.

1 Q. Mr Taylor, is it just a coincidence that the same term SBU  
2 occurs in Liberia and in Sierra Leone?

3 A. It could be a coincidence. That's speculative, but.

15:07:46

4 MR GRIFFITHS: Madam President, I've been slow in rising to  
5 my feet, but I do think that there has to be a limit to the  
6 number of times a particular subject can be traversed during the  
7 course of Mr Taylor's cross-examination.

15:08:13

8 You will recall that on Tuesday of this week lead counsel  
9 for the Prosecution spent much of the day dealing with the topic  
10 of child soldiers and here we are, a couple of days later,  
11 revisiting the same topic. How many times are we going to go  
12 over the same area of evidence? In my submission, there has to  
13 be a degree of finality here.

15:08:39

14 MR KOUMJIAN: Your Honours, I do not believe my question  
15 when he first heard the term was asked by Ms Hollis on Tuesday.  
16 We have 7,200 pages, four months of direct examination to deal  
17 with, and it's going to take us some time to deal with the  
18 various aspects of that. If I asked the same question of course  
19 I apologise and please stop me, but I don't believe Ms Hollis  
20 asked that question before.

15:09:00

21 PRESIDING JUDGE: My recollection of what happened earlier  
22 this week was the questions related to child soldiers in Liberia.  
23 Now the question you are asking is related to child soldiers in  
24 Sierra Leone?

15:09:18

25 MR KOUMJIAN: Specifically the term SBU.

26 PRESIDING JUDGE: As used in Sierra Leone?

27 MS HOLLIS: Both countries, correct.

28 PRESIDING JUDGE: Both countries, and I think this is a  
29 slight variation of what was asked before. So, in any event, it



1 is the practice of this Court not to permit areas to be traversed  
2 in cross-examination but I think in this case I will indulge you,  
3 Mr Koumjian, because I believe this is slightly different a  
4 question from what was asked before.

15:09:48

5 MR KOUMJIAN:

6 Q. Was it just a coincidence in your mind, Mr Taylor?

7 A. Well, I don't know what you mean by a coincidence. I don't  
8 know how it was applied in Sierra Leone. The testimony of Moses  
9 Blah in even dealing with SBU, for Liberia your little brother  
10 with you could be saying, "I have my unit with me." And this is  
11 what even explained by a Prosecution witness of what it meant in  
12 Liberia, and that's exactly what it meant. I do not know what it  
13 meant in Sierra Leone.

14 Q. What exactly did it mean in Liberia, SBU?

15:10:20

15 A. Well, Moses Blah explain. Your little brother --

16 Q. We want your explanation, sir.

17 A. Your little brother with you, you could say, "This is my  
18 Small Boy Unit." Your little brother with you, that's how it was  
19 called. Moses Blah even said, "I had an SBU with me, my little  
20 brother." So, I mean, that's how it was used. It was not used  
21 in Liberia as a military force of people trained, armed, in  
22 formation going to combat.

15:10:35

23 Q. Was it an auxiliary force?

24 A. No, no, no, no, it was not an auxiliary force.

15:10:50

25 MR KOUMJIAN: Can we have the testimony from 21 July, page  
26 24901, the very bottom, and then the top of 902. 21 July, 2009.

27 PRESIDING JUDGE: Remember to slow down a bit for the sake  
28 of the record.

29 MR KOUMJIAN: Thank you. I have received complaints today

1 from the court reporters. I'll try to keep that in mind. Or,  
2 rather, the request to slow down:

3 Q. Sir, on the very bottom of that page you were asked:

15:11:54

4 "Q. Was there a formal organisation within the NPFL called  
5 SBU?

6 A. The truth of the matter is - well, there was a group  
7 that was referred to in I will almost say like a joke form  
8 that there is a unit of young people, almost like an  
9 auxiliary, like you have a Boy Scout, but they were just  
10 called a unit of boys. Yes, it was known. That word was  
11 used throughout Gbarnga, yes."

15:12:15

12 Is that what you want the Court to believe, that the SBUs  
13 were like Boy Scouts?

15:12:31

14 A. The SBU were not a military - yes, they were not an armed,  
15 trained military force, never. That word as it was used, SBU,  
16 referred to individuals, and groups got together, but they were  
17 not a military force for combat, no.

15:12:50

18 PRESIDING JUDGE: Mr Taylor, the question was not whether  
19 the SBUs were a military force. It was whether they were like  
20 Boy Scouts. That is the question. Were they like Boy Scouts?

21 THE WITNESS: I wouldn't say exactly like Boy Scouts, no.  
22 I wouldn't say exactly. You know, these things - because a Boy  
23 Scout operates as a unit. I mean, I'm referring to how Boy  
24 Scouts function.

15:13:14

25 PRESIDING JUDGE: Mr Taylor, the answer is quite simply  
26 either yes or no or you don't know. Were they like Boy Scouts?

27 THE WITNESS: They were like Boy Scouts.

28 MR KOUMJIAN:

29 Q. Mr Taylor, let's move on to a new topic. The killing of

1 Sam Bockarie, let's talk about that. Now, after Sam Bockarie had  
2 left Liberia in February 2001, in March 2003 you became aware,  
3 did you not, that he was indicted by the Special Court for Sierra  
4 Leone?

15:13:52 5 A. In March 2003 if I became aware that he was indicted?

6 Q. Is the question difficult or what are you trying to think  
7 about, sir?

8 A. No, no, I'm not trying to think about anything, because the  
9 way how you throw questions, it's good to get you real.

15:14:10 10 Q. Do you want me to repeat it?

11 A. No, no, I understand the question.

12 Q. Were you aware of that?

13 A. In March 2003? I can't be certain I was aware that he was  
14 indicted in March 2003.

15:14:23 15 Q. When are you certain you were aware that he was indicted?

16 A. I really don't know. I really don't know when I really  
17 became aware that Sam Bockarie was indicted. I can't be sure  
18 right now.

19 Q. Mr Taylor, when did you become aware of Issa Sesay's  
15:14:42 20 arrest?

21 A. Issa Sesay --

22 Q. You heard that on the news, didn't you, when Issa Sesay was  
23 arrested?

24 A. No, no. I'm trying to think. I think - I think Issa Sesay  
15:15:00 25 was arrested somewhere in 2003, but I don't - I really don't know  
26 when Issa was arrested, quite frankly.

27 Q. But you recall hearing the news that there had been arrests  
28 by the Special Court in Sierra Leone and that Issa Sesay and  
29 others were arrested. You remember -

1 A. I recall that reports were given me that arrests had been  
2 conducted in Sierra Leone. I just don't recall the exact time.  
3 And that several people, including the - they said Defence  
4 Minister, but I know it was the Deputy Defence Minister. I don't  
15:15:43 5 recall the exact time.

6 Q. And that was Hinga Norman, he was arrested at approximately  
7 the same time, correct?

8 A. Yes, I can say - that's what I was told.

9 Q. And it was announced at the same time - well, you recall  
15:15:55 10 hearing the news about that?

11 A. No, there are two questions.

12 Q. You are correct. Let me make sure I'm clear. I started a  
13 question. I didn't finish it. My question is: You recall  
14 hearing news about Issa Sesay's arrest?

15:16:13 15 A. Specifically, I am saying that I received reports of  
16 arrests in Sierra Leone. I don't know the time. Including Issa  
17 Sesay. I'm not sure if that's the name that came up, but I  
18 remember of the names Hinga Norman. I remember the Hinga Norman  
19 situation very well.

15:16:33 20 Q. Well, Mr Taylor, Issa Sesay was someone well-known to you,  
21 correct?

22 A. I'm saying I don't recall if I was told at that time that  
23 he was arrested along with Hinga Norman. What I do recall is  
24 that there were a series of arrests. The name that comes to my  
15:16:49 25 mind now is Chief Hinga Norman.

26 Q. What about Foday Sankoh? You heard that he was transferred  
27 to the custody of the Special Court, correct?

28 A. Not directly. Not directly. He was already in custody. I  
29 do not know when he got transferred, but I didn't hear that

1 announcement.

2 Q. He was your friend, right?

3 A. Oh, I'm not going to deny that. Foday Sankoh, at some  
4 point we became friend, yes.

15:17:15 5 Q. Didn't you take note of the news that he had been  
6 transferred to the custody of the Special Court?

7 A. I did not get that information. Neither did I take note of  
8 it. It was something that he was in custody and I'm sure it's  
9 normal that he would be, but I did not take note of that.

15:17:32 10 Q. Were you aware then that when the arrests were made, it was  
11 announced that others were under indictment?

12 A. I can't recall that. I cannot recall that it was said that  
13 others were under indictment or even mentioned them. I can't  
14 recall that, really.

15:17:57 15 Q. Mr Taylor, in May, two months after this, what I say is the  
16 arrest of Issa Sesay and the announcement -- well, perhaps --

17 A. When was Issa arrested? In May?

18 Q. Can we go, please, to MFI-368 and 369? Can those be shown  
19 to the witness. While that's being done, Mr Taylor, did your  
15:18:35 20 national security adviser or other staff inform you that these  
21 indictments mentioned your name?

22 A. No. Nobody ever - as far as I'm concerned, nobody ever  
23 said to me that I had been named at that particular time. The  
24 first time I heard that I had been indicted was while I was in  
15:19:05 25 Accra. Nobody ever told me - and I - if it were announced, that  
26 would be strange to me. But no.

27 Q. Mr Taylor, just so we're clear, I'm not saying it was  
28 announced that you were indicted. I'm saying that when these  
29 indictments were released in March 2003, your name appears in the

1 indictments of people like Issa Sesay, Sam Bockarie, Foday Sankoh  
2 --

3 A. Nobody told me that. Nobody told me that.

4 Q. You would agree, Mr Taylor, that your national security  
15:19:40 5 council adviser should have told you that? You would agree with  
6 that, don't you?

7 A. Why would they want to tell me that? I mean, if the story  
8 important - we did not get a copy or see or get any reports of my  
9 name being included in an indictment of these people.

15:19:57 10 Q. You have heard allegations of your involvement fuelling the  
11 conflict, supporting the RUF, for years, correct?

12 A. Oh, definitely.

13 Q. So didn't you ask to have it reported to you, what was  
14 being alleged about your role in these indictments?

15:20:12 15 A. I did not.

16 Q. Could we put 368 on the screen, please. Sir, just so we're  
17 clear about this, this is a report from Amnesty International:

18 "On 10 March 2003, the Special Court announced its first  
19 indictment. Seven people were indicted by the Special Court for  
15:20:48 20 war crimes, crimes against humanity and other serious violations  
21 of International Humanitarian Law falling within the jurisdiction  
22 of the Special Court."

23 It then lists individuals: Number 1, Foday Sankoh, the  
24 person you said was your friend; number 2, Issa Hassan Sesay; and  
15:21:15 25 if we just look down the list, Johnny Paul Koroma; Sam Bockarie;  
26 Samuel Hinga Norman.

27 So, Mr Taylor, didn't this news reach you in March 2003,  
28 that Sam Bockarie had been indicted?

29 A. I've just told you, Mr Koumjian, I received reports that

1 indictments had been unfolded in Sierra Leone and the name that  
2 comes - that I recall foremost on my mind right now is Hinga  
3 Norman. I do not recall the rest of the list. I don't know if  
4 you want me to change that. That's my evidence to this Court.

15:21:51

5 Q. Just quickly look at 369. Again, we see a BBC article,  
6 Tuesday, 11 March 2003, "Surprise at Sierra Leone arrest":

7 "Sierra Leoneans have welcomed the speed with which the  
8 United Nations War Crimes Tribunal has indicted a senior  
9 government politician and two former rebel leaders. Those

15:22:27

10 detained are Sierra Leone Minister of Internal Affairs Sam Hinga  
11 Norman and former rebel leaders Issa Sesay and Morris Kallon of  
12 the Revolutionary United Front."

13 A. Was Hinga Norman Internal Affairs Minister?

14 Q. At that time he was, wasn't he?

15:22:45

15 A. I don't know. I just know him to be Deputy Defence  
16 Minister.

17 Q. Let's turn to the second page. In the middle of the page  
18 "Extradition request":

19 "The chief Prosecutor has also called on West African  
20 countries harbouring the former rebel commander Sam Bockarie and  
21 former military leader Johnny Paul Koroma to hand them over."

15:23:10

22 Mr Taylor, are you trying to say you were not aware between  
23 March and, let's say, May of this request to extradite Sam  
24 Bockarie to the Special Court of Sierra Leone?

15:23:33

25 A. I will answer this again because it's on the record.  
26 Ms Hollis went through this with me and I told Ms Hollis that  
27 such was never brought to me. It could not have been brought to  
28 me, because Prosecutors do not ask for extradition. It's on the  
29 record. I answered this with Ms Hollis the other day, and I even

1 went as far to say that - in fact, I'm not going to repeat what I  
2 said, but I dealt with it the other day. It was never brought  
3 because states ask for extradition and not Prosecutors, I said.

15:24:08

4 Q. Let's move on then. Mr Taylor, when did you become aware  
5 that Sam Bockarie had re-entered Liberia in 2003?

6 A. I would say a few days before the - before the exchange of  
7 fire. About a day or so before the exchange of fire at the  
8 border.

9 Q. A few days or a day or so? Which is it?

15:24:29

10 A. I would say about a - I would say a few days.

11 Q. And what was the first report that you received about Sam  
12 Bockarie entering Liberia?

13 A. Repeating that, again, I think we've gone through that with  
14 another cross-examination, but I'll go through it again.

15:24:49

15 PRESIDING JUDGE: Mr Koumjian, what exchange of fire are we  
16 talking about here?

17 THE WITNESS: Between the government forces and Sam  
18 Bockarie.

19 MR KOUMJIAN:

15:24:58

20 Q. Mr Taylor, you are talking about the killing of Sam  
21 Bockarie?

22 A. That is correct. Exchange of fire between his forces and  
23 our force - and the Government of Liberia forces.

24 Q. And that happened in May 2003, correct?

15:25:13

25 A. That is correct. Yeah, I think it was in May.

26 Q. Mr Taylor, before Sam Bockarie crossed into Liberia, you  
27 had information that he was - he wanted to come back to Liberia,  
28 correct?

29 A. Yes. A few - yes, we had information that it was the



1 intent of Sam Bockarie to re-enter Liberia.

2 Q. And then a few days after he entered the country, you had a  
3 series of meetings about what to do about Sam Bockarie, correct?

15:25:49

4 A. No, that was not - to the best of my knowledge, it was not  
5 a few days after he entered the country. There were - in fact,  
6 Sam Bockarie was held outside at the border for some time and  
7 that's when he got fed up and forced his way in, from information  
8 that reached me.

15:26:07

9 Q. How many times did you meet with your national security  
10 council about what to do about Sam Bockarie?

11 A. The Sam Bockarie question, I think we talked about - I met  
12 with them I think once. We talked about Sam Bockarie.

13 Q. Who attended the meeting?

15:26:29

14 A. I don't remember everybody, but the Vice-President was  
15 there.

16 Q. Was the Foreign Minister there?

15:26:42

17 A. I don't know. I have to think about it. Depending on the  
18 time, he could have been out of the country, but the  
19 Vice-President would be there. I know the Defence Minister was  
20 there. The national security adviser was there.

21 Q. John T Richardson at that time?

22 A. Yes. I don't know if the Foreign Minister was there,  
23 because he could have been out of the country. If he was in the  
24 country, probably he would have been there.

15:26:57

25 Q. Is immigration part of the national security council?

26 A. No.

27 Q. Was John Enrique Smythe present at the meeting?

28 A. John - John Smythe? I don't think so. Except where he was  
29 in his capacity as a military general, no. I don't recall. I

1 don't recall. He should not have been there, I mean, so I don't  
2 recall him being there.

3 Q. The correct spelling is S-M-Y-T-H-E. Is that correct?

4 A. That is correct.

15:27:32 5 Q. You said general. He had been a general for the NPFL?

6 A. Yes. He had carried the rank of general.

7 Q. Is he any relation to you?

8 A. No.

9 Q. Are you related through marriage?

15:27:44 10 A. No, not at all.

11 Q. What was his position at the time?

12 A. At which time, Mr Koumjian?

13 Q. The time Sam Bockarie was killed.

14 A. John Smythe, 2003. The last position - I can't be sure but  
15:28:04 15 the last position that John Smythe held was Commissioner of  
16 Immigration and Naturalisation and Deputy Attorney-General. And  
17 he was subsequently removed - I'm not sure if he was still  
18 commissioner, I don't know what exactly. But he was removed I  
19 think before - by this time I don't think John was still  
15:28:25 20 commissioner.

21 Q. Killing of Sam Bockarie is just three months before you  
22 leave the country, correct?

23 A. Just about, yes.

24 PRESIDING JUDGE: Was that Commissioner of Immigration and  
15:28:36 25 nationalisation?

26 THE WITNESS: No, naturalisation.

27 PRESIDING JUDGE: Naturalisation?

28 THE WITNESS: Yes, and Deputy Attorney-General. That's the  
29 title.

1 MR KOUMJIAN:

2 Q. Was Benjamin Yeaten present at this meeting?

3 A. It's possible, yes. He is a member of the council, yes.

4 Q. In fact you had a series of meetings, correct?

15:28:58 5 A. With the national security council? I can recall one  
6 meeting, not a series of meetings.

7 MR KOUMJIAN: Could the witness be shown 4 November, page  
8 31142:

9 Q. I want to start towards the bottom of that page. It says,  
15:29:57 10 line 20, start reading from there to the next page:

11 "Now, Mr Taylor that timing. Two or three days after  
12 Bockarie entered the country. How quickly was it that the  
13 meeting was held when the decision was made for him to be  
14 arrested?

15:30:11 15 A. Within the same time he is talking about. But they  
16 come at the border. There is this standoff. We know that  
17 Sam is advancing towards the border. We get the  
18 information and it is very clear. Instructions are given  
19 he is not to enter Liberia at all. And if there is going  
15:30:32 20 to be any entry by the people, everyone entering the  
21 country should be disarmed. We've given that instruction.  
22 There is this tension at the border. The national security  
23 council is meeting frequently during this particular time.  
24 A decision is made that: Look, Sam Bockarie, we are  
15:30:55 25 getting constant reports that Sam Bockarie has forced his  
26 way in and I say, 'Oh, my God, we have a war on our hands  
27 in the city. We are not going to have another war on the  
28 border.' "

29 So, Mr Taylor, is it correct that you had frequent meetings

1 of the national security council to discuss what to do about Sam  
2 Bockarie under indictment at that time by the Special Court?

3 A. There are meetings but not the council - maybe part of the  
4 council, but there are constant meetings to discuss what to do.

15:31:33 5 Q. Mr Taylor, at any of these meetings did anyone say to you,  
6 "Well, the Special Court has announced an indictment of this man.  
7 They're looking for him"?

8 A. No, I don't remember anyone saying that to me that the  
9 Special Court in that meeting - I don't remember anybody saying  
15:31:53 10 that to me.

11 Q. Mr Taylor, you want us to believe that during this time,  
12 with all these discussions about what to do with Sam Bockarie,  
13 there was no discussion that he had been indicted by the Special  
14 Court for Sierra Leone?

15:32:04 15 A. No, but that was not your question. I don't want to  
16 mislead the Court. You asked me if anyone told me in that  
17 meeting and I'm saying no. I'm not saying to this Court that at  
18 some time we didn't get to know that Sam Bockarie was indicted.

19 Q. When did you get to know that?

15:32:20 20 A. I would say later on we got to know that Sam Bockarie was  
21 one of those individuals that as leader of the RUF, you know,  
22 would be wanted by the Court.

23 Q. Mr Taylor, his indictment was announced, we saw, in March.  
24 You are having these meetings in May. Is that correct?

15:32:46 25 A. Yes.

26 Q. No one brought that to your attention, that Sam Bockarie  
27 had been indicted when he was subject of your meetings?

28 A. Mr Koumjian, in that meeting, no, nobody brought it to my  
29 attention. Indictment had been issued, I was aware. The number

1 of people I say that really come to my mind is Hinga Norman.  
2 I've also said it was said in the reports that the leaders of the  
3 RUF had been indicted. So one must assume right away that Sam  
4 Bockarie, being the former leader, would be a part of it. But in  
15:33:16 5 that meeting nobody mentioned it to me.

6 Q. So being aware that in all probability, since he was one of  
7 the leaders, he was indicted, did that have any consideration -  
8 did it factor into your decision to have him brought to Monrovia?

9 A. No.

15:33:34 10 Q. What were you planning to do when you brought him to  
11 Monrovia?

12 A. If Sam Bockarie had been arrested and brought to Monrovia  
13 to me, we would have sent him - we would have deported him out of  
14 Liberia.

15:33:51 15 Q. Like you did before, sending him to Cote d'Ivoire where he  
16 ended up in Burkina Faso?

17 A. I don't know. Like I say, I don't know what he did when he  
18 left here. But I'm answering your question. I would have  
19 deported him.

15:34:04 20 Q. Just to try to move things, you said you wouldn't have  
21 turned him over to Kabbah because of the Victor King situation.  
22 Is that correct?

23 A. That and - I would not have turned him over to Kabbah.  
24 I've said that.

15:34:14 25 Q. Mr Taylor, Kabbah - you knew that the Special Court for  
26 Sierra Leone had jurisdiction over the Sierra Leone courts for  
27 cases when they indicted someone. You knew that, didn't you?

28 A. If I knew what again? Could you ask that again.

29 Q. That if the Special Court had someone under indictment they

1 would take custody of the person and not the courts of Sierra  
2 Leone?

3 A. Quite frankly I did not really know. I tell you I did not  
4 know because even if you look at the documents of the body of Sam  
15:34:48 5 Bockarie, the Government of Liberia turned the body of Sam  
6 Bockarie over to the Government of Sierra Leone and not to the  
7 Special Court. And we made sure of that.

8 Q. And, sir, the Special Court was set up by agreement between  
9 the Government of Sierra Leone and the United Nations. You were  
15:35:07 10 aware of that, correct?

11 A. Yes, I was aware of that.

12 Q. And you were aware that there was no death penalty and is  
13 no dealt penalty permitted under the Statute and Rules of the  
14 Special Court for Sierra Leone, correct?

15:35:19 15 A. No, quite frankly I did not review the Statutes of the  
16 Special Court. I will be lying if I were to say so. No, I did  
17 not know what the Statutes were. Once - the legal people in my  
18 country advised that the Special Court was a Sierra Leonean  
19 court, assisted by the United Nations under Chapter VI that is  
15:35:42 20 what we dealt with. I did not go into studying the Court or  
21 anything.

22 Q. But you got some quite sophisticated legal advice, from  
23 what you've told us just now and previously --

24 A. Yes.

15:35:52 25 Q. -- about the jurisdiction, the extradition rights, the  
26 chapter - whether the Court had Chapter VII powers or not. You  
27 got all that kind of legal advice about the Special Court,  
28 correct?

29 A. They are trained lawyers in Liberia, yes.

1 Q. And didn't they tell you that Sam Bockarie could not face  
2 the death penalty in the Special Court for Sierra Leone?

3 A. My dear - excuse me for saying my dear.

4 Q. Mr Taylor, I just want your answers; I don't care what you  
15:36:18 5 call me. Continue.

6 A. No, I want to be courteous to you, Mr Koumjian, as I expect  
7 that of you. So I'm sorry. When I do something wrong I will say  
8 I'm sorry.

9 Q. Please, let's move on.

10 A. I did not pursue what would or may happen to Sam Bockarie,  
11 no. I did not get into that. Would there be a death penalty?  
12 Would they do this? I didn't get into that, no. My government  
13 pursued the legal questions of the Court especially after the  
14 indictment had been opened against me in - what was that? April  
15:36:52 15 or something. What is it? That's when we got into the legal -  
16 the legalities of the whole workings of the Court.

17 Q. June 2003.

18 A. June, okay.

19 Q. Mr Taylor, you've told this Court in detail during your  
15:37:21 20 testimony about your role and your relationship with the RUF in  
21 1998 and you also heard the Prosecution evidence. And you've  
22 told this Court, contrary to the Prosecution evidence that you  
23 were supplying arms to the RUF and supporting them throughout  
24 this period 1998 all up through the Freetown invasion in January  
15:37:44 25 1999, that during that time your role was limited to facilitating  
26 peace negotiations by, for example, bringing Sam Bockarie to  
27 Monrovia three times in 1998. Is that correct?

28 A. So what's your question now, Mr Koumjian?

29 Q. My question, sir, is the person who would have absolutely

1 the best knowledge, besides you, of what exactly was your  
2 relationship with the RUF would have been Sam Bockarie, correct?

3 A. Sam Bockarie would be one of the many individuals. There  
4 are many senior people in the RUF. He is one of the many people  
15:38:28 5 I would say that would know, but not the only person.

6 Q. Who would know as well as Sam Bockarie, according to you,  
7 your role with the RUF in 1998?

8 A. I would hope - when I say senior people I mean something  
9 like the leaders or the deputy leaders or some of the --

15:38:50 10 Q. Who, Mr Taylor?

11 A. -- principal commanders. Of course one person that would  
12 be able - that could assist would be the leader that took over  
13 from Sam Bockarie - in fact the only person alive right now would  
14 be Issa Sesay, the leader of - who else I would say --

15:39:12 15 Q. Let's start with Issa Sesay.

16 A. Or Johnny Paul --

17 Q. Go ahead, please. Johnny Paul Koroma?

18 A. I don't know. No, I mean, he was with the SLA. But any  
19 senior general or one of the - one or more of the vanguard that  
15:39:29 20 were principal commanders I would say could or would know.

21 Q. You've given us the names Issa Sesay, Johnny Paul Koroma.  
22 I just want to give you --

23 A. No, please delete Johnny Paul. He was not RUF. I'm sorry.  
24 He was SLA. You asked me about RUF.

15:39:45 25 Q. And he couldn't give us information anyway, could he?

26 A. Johnny Paul on the RUF? I don't know, I doubt it, but he  
27 was SLA.

28 Q. Not any more he can't, can he? Sir, Issa Sesay is the  
29 other name you mentioned.



1 A. He is one of the - he is the leader that emerged from the  
2 two leaders. He would know.

3 Q. He wasn't the person you were dealing with in 1998, was he?

4 A. In 1998 the individuals that I can remember names of - I  
15:40:17 5 can remember the Sam Bockarie. He's gone. I can remember the  
6 other person that played a permanent role at that time was Eddie  
7 Kanneh played a role. And then this old man, every time I talk  
8 about him I forget his name. I will think about it. A shortish  
9 old man.

15:40:40 10 Q. Eddie Kanneh played a role in trafficking in diamonds,  
11 correct?

12 A. I don't know what you mean by role - I don't know what role  
13 he played in trafficking in diamonds. I have no idea. The role  
14 that I'm talking about is his role in going to my ambassador and  
15:40:59 15 securing - in August of 1998 to secure Sam Bockarie's coming to  
16 visit Liberia. That's the role I'm talking about.

17 Q. We promised not to go over material we've already covered,  
18 so I won't ask you about that, because I've asked you about that  
19 before.

15:41:15 20 A. Yes.

21 Q. Sir, Issa Sesay, the other name you mentioned, you couldn't  
22 kill him in May of 1998. He was out of your reach in custody  
23 with the Special Court, correct?

24 A. In May 1998, counsel?

15:41:27 25 Q. Excuse me, May 2003 when Sam Bockarie was killed.

26 A. That question is presumptive, you know, to ask me a  
27 question, "Well, you couldn't kill him because he was out of your  
28 reach." I'm not sure of the fairness of that question.

29 PRESIDING JUDGE: It's a proposition that you could agree

1 with or disagree with.

2 THE WITNESS: I disagree.

3 MR KOUMJIAN:

15:41:57

4 Q. Sir, after you sent, you said, Moses Blah to bring Sam  
5 Bockarie back to Monrovia, tell us about the report - the first  
6 report you received about what happened to Sam Bockarie?

15:42:22

7 A. The first report I received, I received it from Moses Blah.  
8 Moses Blah came back to Monrovia and Moses Blah told me that he,  
9 Moses Blah, went up and there was an exchange of fire between Sam  
10 Bockarie and some Liberian soldiers. A lot of - some of our  
11 people were killed. Sam Bockarie was killed. And that he had  
12 brought - that he had brought the body down to Monrovia and had  
13 deposited the body along with another body at the - at a funeral  
14 home. And that his special assistant at the time, a gentleman

15:42:46

15 called Eugene Nagbe had taken the body and he had continued on to  
16 me to give me the news. That's what Moses Zeh Blah told me.

17 Q. Sir, did you conduct an investigation to determine exactly  
18 what happened, or order one to be conducted?

19 A. No, I did not.

15:43:03

20 Q. Who was in charge --

21 PRESIDING JUDGE: What was Eugene's surname?

22 THE WITNESS: Eugene Nagbe. That name is spelled  
23 N-A-G-B-E, Nagbe. I may be a little wrong. I will correct it,  
24 but it's N-A - it may be N-A-N-G-B-E, Nagbe.

15:43:24

25 MR KOUMJIAN:

26 Q. And who was the person in charge of the troops that killed  
27 Sam Bockarie?

28 A. I don't recall, but the commander - the commander in - in  
29 Nimba at the time, on the ground commander was a general called

1 Erickson Balea. That name has come up. It's in the records by  
2 one - even the Prosecution witnesses. I do recall that General  
3 Yeaten did accompany the Vice-President who was in the area. I'm  
4 not sure if that answers your question.

15:44:06 5 Q. Sir, I would like to read to you from a bit of testimony  
6 and I need to briefly go into a private session. 6 November  
7 2008, page 11984. I see there is no one in the audience.

8 PRESIDING JUDGE: You want to go into a private session?

9 MR KOUMJIAN: Is it possible that we ask it not to be  
10 broadcast, what's put on the ELMO, and if it only appears on the  
11 courtroom screens.

12 PRESIDING JUDGE: Madam Court Officer, is it possible to do  
13 that, to cut the audio from the public?

14 MS IRURA: Your Honour, it would be possible to cut the  
15 audio from the public gallery, but the audio would also have to  
16 be cut from the broadcast.

17 PRESIDING JUDGE: In that event, then let's go into private  
18 session, briefly.

19 MR KOUMJIAN: I don't know if Mr Taylor needs a copy. I'm  
15:45:08 20 going to read from 6 November 2008, page 19984. I'm sorry, I'll  
21 wait until I hear we are in private session.

22 MS IRURA: Your Honours, in view of the fact that there is  
23 no one in the gallery, can I put this on the - no?

24 PRESIDING JUDGE: No, because counsel wishes to read the  
15:46:19 25 text. What has happened to the private session?

26 MS IRURA: Your Honour, the transcript is what I am  
27 referring to. May I show it to Mr Taylor?

28 MR KOUMJIAN: Just so she doesn't have to print for  
29 everyone, we can put it just on the screens in the courtroom.

1           PRESIDING JUDGE: Yes, that can happen. But we're waiting  
2 for the private session.

3           MR KOUMJIAN: We've lost our audience, Mr Taylor, today.

4                           [At this point in the proceedings, a portion of  
5 the transcript, page 34421, was  
6 extracted and sealed under separate cover, as  
7 the proceeding was heard in private session.]

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1 [Open session]

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

3 MR KOUMJIAN:

4 Q. Beginning a few lines down, I said:

15:48:55 5 "Q. Now, Mr Witness, in your previous answer you said your  
6 sister had told you that there were some soldiers - some  
7 armed men - around the market and you walked down there  
8 where you saw a friend. We will call this friend Mr X.  
9 What happened when you saw Mr X?

15:49:09 10 A. When I saw him, the first thing he did was to hold me  
11 by my hand and he said, 'You are very lucky.' That was the  
12 first thing he told me, 'You are very lucky.'

13 Q. I thought something was missed in the interpretation.  
14 Mr Witness, would you please repeat what did Mr X tell you  
15:49:27 15 after grabbing your hand?

16 A. He said, 'My man, you are very lucky.' That was what  
17 he told me. That was the first thing he told me, 'My man,  
18 you are very, very lucky.' That was the first thing he  
19 told me.

15:49:42 20 Q. Then what did he say?

21 A. Then he held me by my hand and we went behind the house  
22 and he said, 'You saw the convoy that passed just now?' I  
23 said, 'Yes.' Then he said, 'We are just from killing  
24 General Mosquito along with his wife and your friend James  
15:49:59 25 Kemu was also killed and beheaded, so you are very lucky.  
26 It was good that you were not present, because had you been  
27 present you would have been the one that would have been  
28 killed.' Then I started asking him. I said, 'What is  
29 going on? Can you brief me?' Then he decided to brief me.

1 He said, 'What I am coming to tell you I do not want you to  
2 tell anybody else because you are one of those whose names  
3 was called. Personally, you had been assigned to Sam so  
4 you were the one who was supposed to have been killed.'  
15:50:33 5 Then I said, 'No, I won't discuss it with anybody.' Then  
6 he said, 'When we left, an order came from Monrovia that  
7 was given to Mr Blah from Mr Taylor. This order came down  
8 and it was delivered to General Yeaten that Sam Bockarie  
9 was a serious embarrassment to Mr Taylor so for this reason  
15:50:54 10 Sam Bockarie should be killed along with all his men.'"  
11 Mr Taylor, did you ever give such an order to Mr Blah?  
12 A. My orders - no. My orders to Blah were to arrest - disarm  
13 and arrest --  
14 Q. Sorry, your microphone is off. If you can just wait a  
15:51:19 15 moment.  
16 A. To arrest Sam Bockarie, and if there were any resistance,  
17 to use whatever force necessary. Those were my orders.  
18 Q. Sir, you said the commander of the force in the area was  
19 someone by the name of Erickson Balea --  
15:51:34 20 A. {Redacted}  
21 MR KOU MJIAN: May that be stricken from the transcript,  
22 your Honour.  
23 PRESIDING JUDGE: Yes. What should be stricken?  
24 MR KOU MJIAN: {Redacted}  
15:51:48 25 THE WITNESS: We can just move that --  
26 PRESIDING JUDGE: The answer, {redacted} should  
27 be redacted from the public record.  
28 MR KOU MJIAN:  
29 Q. Sir, did you ever ask Erickson Balea what happened when Sam

1 Bockarie was killed?

2 A. No, Mr Koumjian. The Vice-President of the Republic of  
3 Liberia is sent on an assignment, I would not go back down to a  
4 junior person to ask, no. The Vice-President went. He returned.  
15:52:20 5 He brought me a report. I did - in fact, when that report was  
6 brought to me, I picked up the phone in front of him and I called  
7 the Defence Minister Daniel Chea to go to the funeral home and  
8 make sure that - because of the issue of Sam Bockarie, that  
9 everything should be put into place, the preservation of the  
15:52:44 10 body, and that all evidence should be kept that it would not be  
11 destroyed for any other question. I would not ask anybody to go  
12 to investigate after the Vice-President, no.

13 Q. How many people with Sam Bockarie were captured and  
14 arrested by your forces?

15:52:57 15 A. Oh, I don't remember. I know there were several people  
16 killed. I don't know who all were captured.

17 Q. Everyone was killed. Isn't that the truth?

18 A. Not to my knowledge, no. That's not the truth.

19 Q. What happened to Sam Bockarie's children?

15:53:10 20 A. I have no idea if Sam Bockarie's children were there. I  
21 don't know. What came to me was the death of Sam Bockarie,  
22 several of our soldiers. I was not even aware that Sam Bockarie  
23 had come to Liberia or had his family with him. That was not  
24 reported to me.

15:53:27 25 Q. What happened to Sam Bockarie's wife Hawa?

26 A. I have no idea. That was not the report that was brought  
27 to me. Hawa could be very well be alive someplace. I don't  
28 know. My question was about Sam Bockarie and that report was  
29 given to me and the body was brought to Monrovia by Moses Blah.

1 Q. The report that was given to you was oral only, is that  
2 what you are telling us?

3 A. There was an oral report given to me by the Vice-President.  
4 Following that, the Defence Minister was called, and from there a  
15:54:02 5 government statement was released. The Vice-President did not  
6 write a report for me.

7 Q. You have no report, there was nothing that was ever given  
8 to you or eventually ended up in your archives about what  
9 happened to Sam Bockarie?

15:54:14 10 A. There's a statement, I said, released by the government.

11 Q. Press release, correct?

12 A. Yeah, a statement.

13 Q. How many people were killed with Sam Bockarie?

14 A. Vaguely, I can - I can't really, really tell. But I can  
15:54:36 15 vaguely say, for the benefit of the Court, that between Bockarie  
16 and our people, there could have been as many as a dozen or more  
17 persons that got killed in that exchange, from my recollection.

18 Q. How many of those were your people?

19 A. I don't recall the number. I don't recall the number.

15:54:55 20 Q. Tell us some of the names.

21 A. I don't know the soldiers. I don't remember any of the  
22 names of the soldiers that were killed. They were soldiers on  
23 the ground. I don't know their names.

24 Q. Because of the limited time I'll move to a different topic.

15:55:11 25 Could the witness be shown P-32, page 43, paragraph 195. I just  
26 want to complete some information from yesterday. I'm reading  
27 paragraph 195:

28 "The flight movements for West Africa Air Services as  
29 recorded by different flight information regions in Africa and



1 Europe are shown in the table below."

2 And below appears table 1. It's titled "Flight movements  
3 of aircraft of West Africa Air Services used for illegal  
4 shipments." And looking after the third line down, and those in  
15:56:27 5 italics are the shipments of ammunition from Abidjan to Monrovia  
6 which we talked about yesterday. So I'm going to just  
7 concentrate on those that are in italics and read those. So  
8 looking at the table, we see the first italicised date 18 July  
9 2000. I won't read all the call signs. Itinerary,

15:56:58 10 Monrovia/Abidjan. Second, 19 July 2000, Monrovia/Abidjan.  
11 Third, 19 July 2000, Abidjan/Monrovia.

12 Going to the next page, page 44, these are flight  
13 movements. 20 July 2000, Monrovia/Abidjan. Then 20 July 2000,  
14 Abidjan/Monrovia. 21 July 2000, Monrovia/Abidjan. 21 July 2000,  
15:57:41 15 Abidjan/Monrovia. 2 August 2000, Monrovia/Abidjan. 2 August  
16 2000, Abidjan/Monrovia. 5 August 2000, Monrovia/Abidjan.

17 And then we have two that are not italicised and then we go  
18 back down again, we see West Africa Air Services, 4 September  
19 2000, Monrovia/Abidjan. Then 4 September 2000, Abidjan/Monrovia.

15:58:21 20 Mr Taylor, these were flights delivering the arms and  
21 ammunition you had used by obtaining an End User Certificate  
22 through General Robert Guei, correct?

23 A. That is incorrect. Wouldn't it be presumptuous of anyone  
24 to see a flight moving when there is commercial traffic between  
15:58:39 25 Monrovia and Abidjan just saying, "Oh, they've got arms"? It's  
26 really presumptuous of anyone to say that.

27 PRESIDING JUDGE: Mr Taylor, all you were asked is whether  
28 this is correct. You do not need to give your own commentaries  
29 after that.

1 MR KOUMJIAN:

2 Q. Let's go to paragraph 436 on page 93:

3 "Mr Ruprah is also a close business partner of Victor Bout.  
4 He himself acknowledged this in an interview by the panel and the  
15:59:30 5 panel has found documents to prove this close relationship."

6 Do you recall, Mr Taylor, this morning we heard allegations  
7 that Mr Bout had supplied arms to Angola?

8 A. Yes.

9 Q. "In this capacity Ruprah also set up the ghost airline West  
15:59:46 10 Africa Air Services as is described in the section in this report  
11 on the violations of the arms embargo."

12 Skipping to paragraph 437:

13 "The West Africa Air Services operation was run through San  
14 Air of the United Arab Emirates by Ruprah. As we have already  
16:00:08 15 seen, Urey insisted that the LISCR make payments to their  
16 accounts in June and July 2000 and also authorised a direct BMA  
17 payment to San Air on 10 September 2000. These payments were for  
18 delivery of weapons including 1,000 sub-machine guns that were  
19 smuggled from Uganda to Liberia."

16:00:35 20 Mr Taylor, was Uganda one of the transit points for weapons  
21 you received?

22 A. No.

23 Q. Did you receive weapons from Slovakia, 1,000 sub-machine  
24 guns that transited another African country to reach you?

16:00:57 25 A. Not that I recall.

26 Q. And Uganda seized the second shipment that was due to your  
27 country. Isn't that correct?

28 A. Not that I recall.

29 Q. Now let's go to P-18. It's a separate document. P-18.

1 Paragraph 189 on page 33. Just going to the bottom of that  
2 paragraph 189, the last sentence. It's discussing above - it  
3 begins with: "Nico Shefer is a businessman located in South  
4 Africa and was chairman CEO of the Greater Diamond Company in  
16:02:26 5 Liberia." The last sentence says: "Shefer met with RUF leader  
6 Foday Sankoh in South Africa in February 2000." Mr Taylor, did  
7 you know that Foday Sankoh met with Nico Shefer in South Africa  
8 in February 2000?

9 A. No.

16:02:47 10 Q. That was a trip where he was expelled from South Africa,  
11 correct; Sankoh?

12 A. I'm not sure. So I --

13 Q. Nico Shefer was the man you nominated to be your consul or  
14 honorary consul in South Africa. Is that correct?

16:03:03 15 A. That is correct.

16 Q. Let's go then to page 35. Case study, beginning at the  
17 second column, the bottom: "Case study. Burkina Faso delivery  
18 of Ukrainian weapons." Paragraph 203:

19 "A shipment of 68 tons of weapons arrived in Ouagadougou on  
16:03:38 20 13 March 1999. It included 715 boxes of weapons and cartridges  
21 and 408 boxes of cartridge powder. The inventory also included  
22 anti-tank weapons, surface to air missiles and rocket propelled  
23 grenades and their launchers."

24 Mr Taylor, let me just stop there for one moment. You  
16:04:03 25 know, do you not, that weapons can often be used for other than  
26 their primary purpose. For example, anti-aircraft guns, which  
27 are very heavy machine guns, can be used to fire on ground forces  
28 very effectively, correct?

29 A. I'm not a military man, Mr Koumjian. I don't want to

1 speculate. If it's true, I don't know.

2 Q. Thank you. Let's move on. Paragraph 204:

3 "This shipment has now been well documented. Documentation  
4 provided in April and June 1999 by the Ukraine government to  
16:04:43 5 United Nations sanctions committees shows that the weapons were  
6 part of a contract between a Gibraltar-based company representing  
7 the Ministry of Defence of Burkina Faso, and the Ukrainian  
8 state-owned company Ukrspetsexport. An aircraft of the British  
9 company Air Foyle acting as an agent of the Ukrainian air carrier  
16:05:11 10 Antonov Design Bureau shipped the cargo under a contract with the  
11 Gibraltar-based company Chartered Engineering and Technical  
12 Services. A Ukrainian licence for sale of the weaponry was  
13 granted after Ukrspetsexport had received had received an End  
14 User Certificate from the Ministry of Defence of Burkina Faso."

16:05:50 15 Mr Taylor, you bought that shipment from the Ukrspetsexport  
16 through a payment that you sent through John Enrique Smythe.  
17 Isn't that correct.

18 A. That's not correct?

19 Q. John Enrique Smythe made three transfers of money to pay  
16:06:15 20 for that shipment from a bank in Liberia through banks in Boston  
21 and New York to Kiev to the Ukrainian exporter, correct?

22 A. Not to my knowledge.

23 Q. Did John Enrique Smythe seem like a man to you that had  
24 more than a million dollars?

16:06:39 25 A. I wouldn't be able to know, counsel.

26 Q. "The End User Certificate was dated 10 February 1999. The  
27 document authorised the Gibraltar-based company to purchase the  
28 weapons for sole use of the Ministry of Defence of Burkina Faso.  
29 The document also certified that Burkina Faso would be the final

1 destination of the cargo and the end user of the weaponry. The  
2 document is signed by Lieutenant General Gilbert Diendere."

3 Is that the correct pronunciation, Mr Taylor?

4 A. I would say - it's pronounced - the way I know it they call  
16:07:31 5 it Diendere.

6 Q. And you know him. Is that correct?

7 A. I know Gilbert, yes.

8 Q. How do you know him?

9 A. During my days in Burkina Faso Gilbert was one of the  
16:07:45 10 military personnel there.

11 Q. Continuing to read after his name:

12 "... head of the presidential guard of Burkina Faso.

13 During a visit by a panel member to Ukraine, this sequence of  
14 events was reconfirmed."

16:08:03 15 206. The authorities of Burkina Faso, in correspondence  
16 with the United Nations sanctions committee in Sierra Leone,  
17 denied allegations that the weapons had been re-exported to a  
18 third country, Liberia, and during a visit to Burkina Faso the  
19 panel was shown weapons that were purportedly in that shipment.

16:08:24 20 207. The weapons in question, however, were not retained  
21 in Burkina Faso. They were temporarily off-loaded in Ouagadougou  
22 and some were trucked to Bobo Dioulasso. The bulk of them were  
23 then transshipped within a matter of days to Liberia. Most were  
24 flown aboard a BAC-111 owned by an Israeli businessman of  
16:08:53 25 Ukrainian origin, Leonid Minin. The aircraft bore the Cayman  
26 registration VP-CLM and was operated by a company named LIMAD,  
27 registered in Monaco. Minin was, and may remain, a business  
28 partner and confidant of Liberian President Charles Taylor. He  
29 is identified in the police records of several countries and has

1 a history of involvement in criminal activities ranging from east  
2 European organised crime, trafficking in stolen works of art,  
3 illegal possession of firearms, arms trafficking and money  
4 laundering."

16:09:48 5 Mr Taylor, do you recall seeing in court photographs of an  
6 airplane with a basketball logo on it?

7 A. Yes, I do.

8 Q. You had been on that plane previously. Is that correct?

9 A. Yes, I had been on - if that's the BAC-111, that plane, if  
16:10:15 10 that's the BAC-111 - I don't know if that's the plane. All I  
11 saw, based on your question, is the logo on a plane.

12 Q. I'm not asking if you know the model numbers of the planes,  
13 but you recognised that the plane - you saw pictures of a plane  
14 with a basketball logo. You had been on that plane, correct?

16:10:31 15 A. No, I can't recall being on that plane, no. The plane that  
16 I was on didn't have a basketball logo, no.

17 Q. Well, the plane you were on belonged to Leonid Minin. Is  
18 that right?

19 A. That is correct.

16:10:43 20 Q. And what kind of plane was it?

21 A. It was a BAC-111.

22 Q. Continuing I think where I left off:

23 "Minin uses several aliases. He has been refused entry  
24 into many countries including Ukraine and travels with many  
16:11:05 25 different passports. Minin offered the aircraft mentioned above  
26 for sale to Charles Taylor as a presidential jet and for a period  
27 between 1998 and 1999 it was used for this purpose. It was also  
28 used to transport arms.

29 209. Regarding the shipment in question, the aircraft flew

1 from Ibiza in Spain to Robertsfield in Liberia on 8 March 1999.  
2 On 15 March, two days after the arrival of the Ukrainian weapons  
3 in Ouagadougou, the plane flew from Monrovia to Ouagadougou. On  
4 16 March the plane was loaded with weapons and flew back to  
16:11:47 5 Liberia. On the 17th it returned to Ouagadougou. After a flight  
6 to Abidjan in the Ivory Coast, the plane flew again from  
7 Ouagadougou to Liberia with weapons on the 19th. On the 25th the  
8 plane flew again from Liberia to Ouagadougou and returned on the  
9 same day with weapons. On the 27th the plane flew again to  
16:12:19 10 Ouagadougou and from there to Bobo Dioulasso for the weapons that  
11 had been trucked there. The aircraft made three flights over the  
12 next three days between Bobo Dioulasso and Liberia. On 31 March  
13 the plane flew back to Spain. Because the plane had a VIP  
14 configuration, it had only limited cargo capacity, which is why  
16:12:48 15 so many flights were necessary."

16 Mr Taylor, the plane that you flew on, did it have a VIP  
17 configuration?

18 A. Yes.

19 Q. "A second plane, an Antonov operated by a Liberian company  
16:13:07 20 named Weasua" - is that the correct pronunciation?

21 A. Weasua, that's correct.

22 Q. "... is reported by eyewitnesses to have flown part of the  
23 cargo to Liberia from Bobo Dioulasso."

24 Mr Taylor, who owned at this time in 1999, Weasua?

16:13:29 25 A. Weasua was owned by - I forgot the guy's name. A Spanish  
26 guy, I think, on his name. But it was privately owned by this  
27 Spanish guy. I don't remember his name right now.

28 Q. "211. Minin's BAC-111 was used for an earlier shipment of  
29 weapons and related equipment from Niamey Airport in Niger to

1 Monrovia. This occurred in December 1998, shortly after Minin  
2 purchased the plane and started to operate it in the region."

3 Now Mr Taylor, you've talked before about Niger in your  
4 testimony, do you recall?

16:14:16 5 A. Yes, I do recall.

6 Q. And you told us that Niger had been a transshipment point  
7 for weapons that you had purchased in violation of sanctions, and  
8 you had bribed officials from Niger in order to allow weapons to  
9 pass through that country, correct?

16:14:33 10 A. That is correct. I didn't say I had, but that is correct.

11 Q. It was under your orders, correct?

12 A. To help, counsel, so the records can be straight, the man  
13 who owned Weasua, I remember his name. It's Kringa. I think  
14 Kringa. K-R-I-N-G-A. It's something like that. It's a Spanish  
16:14:54 15 guy. He had been in Liberia.

16 Q. Sir, my last question was not answered. The bribes to  
17 officials in Niger to allow weapons in violations of United  
18 Nations sanctions to pass through that country, that was done  
19 with your authorisation, correct?

16:15:17 20 A. That is correct.

21 Q. "On the second trip it took a consignment of weapons,  
22 probably from existing stocks of the armed forces of Niger. The  
23 weapons were off-loaded into vehicles of the Liberian military.  
24 A few days after these events, the RUF rebels started a major  
16:15:40 25 offensive that eventually resulted in the destructive January  
26 1999 raid on Freetown."

27 Mr Taylor, the bribes you paid to have weapons brought  
28 through Niger were weapons you were sending to reinforce the RUF  
29 and its allies in its December offensive that culminated in the



1 attack on Freetown in January 1999.

2 A. That is not correct. If I recall my evidence to this Court  
3 of this bribe to Niger involved the weapons that we ordered from  
4 Serbia. So you have reduced the time, but that is incorrect.

16:16:22 5 Q. Mr Taylor, these weapons that some of the victims in this  
6 case testified to the crimes that they suffered, the forces that  
7 were inflicting those crimes in December 1998 and January 1999  
8 were armed by you, correct?

9 A. Incorrect. Totally incorrect.

16:16:43 10 Q. There's a few other paragraphs I'll go through quickly in  
11 this report. Paragraph 219 on page 37.

12 I've received a note from those that are much better  
13 organised than myself that we need to revise a marking. We're  
14 requesting a possible revision if, Madam President, you believe  
16:17:24 15 it's appropriate. MFI-395 should perhaps include a cover page.  
16 This was tab 74 in annex 1, binder 2 of 3. It was marked today,  
17 but we didn't have - include the cover page.

18 PRESIDING JUDGE: Mr Koumjian, I think we marked the entire  
19 document.

16:19:04 20 MR KOUMJIAN: Okay, that's fine. If the cover page is  
21 included, that's fine, thank you.

22 PRESIDING JUDGE: Yes, that's correct. We marked the  
23 entire document.

24 MR KOUMJIAN:

16:19:22 25 Q. Paragraph - returning to P-32. If the witness could be  
26 shown page 37, paragraph 219:

27 "There are many examples of this problem. On 18 July 2000  
28 an Ilyushin 18D with Liberian registration EL-ALY requested  
29 permission to land at Conakry in Guinea. The aircraft was

1 operated by a company named West Africa Air Services. The crew  
2 were citizens of the Republic of Moldova and the plane had flown  
3 from Kyrgyzstan to Burkina Faso, then to Guinea, and finally to  
4 Liberia."

16:20:18 5 I want to move on to the next page, but if we can - if we  
6 can just quickly - recalling paragraph 219, the Liberian  
7 registration EL-ALY - turn back to table 1 on page 43 of P-32,  
8 the other document. This was the table where the italics  
9 indicate shipments of ammunition from Abidjan to Monrovia. And  
16:21:08 10 if we look at the bottom of page 43, the last two rows in the  
11 table and the top of page 44, we see many entries with the same  
12 registration in italics, "EL-ALY".

13 I'm sorry for - I keep switching, but back to P-18, page  
14 38. Paragraph 225:

16:22:01 15 "In November 1999, Ruprah was authorised in writing by the  
16 Liberian Minister of Transport to act as the global civil  
17 aviation agent worldwide for the Liberian Civil Aviation  
18 Regulatory Authority and to investigate and regularise the  
19 Liberian Civil Aviation Register."

16:22:28 20 Skipping to paragraph 226: "Sanjivan Ruprah travels using  
21 a Liberian diplomatic passport in the name of Samir M Nasr."  
22 That's S-A-M-I-R N-A-S-R. "The passport identifies him as  
23 Liberia's Deputy Commissioner of Maritime Affairs."

24 Mr Taylor, who authorised this passport in the name Nasr  
16:23:02 25 for Sanjivan Ruprah?

26 A. Well, I really am not aware of this. I authorised a  
27 passport for Ruprah - Sanjivan Ruprah. Nasr, I don't - I'm not  
28 familiar with that name or alias. I don't know.

29 Q. Page - next page 39, paragraph 231:

1 "Centrafricain Airlines is one of the many companies  
2 controlled by Bout and his Air Cess/Transavia Travel Cargo  
3 Group."

4 Skipping to the next paragraph 232:

16:24:05 5 "An Ilyushin 76 registered in Liberia in the name of Air  
6 Cess Liberia in 1996 was later registered in Swaziland. It was  
7 subsequently removed from the Swaziland register by the Civil  
8 Aviation Authority because of irregularities. The plane then  
9 moved to the register in the Central African Republic, where it  
16:24:37 10 obtained the designation TL-ACU in the name of Centrafricain  
11 Airlines."

12 Skipping to the next sentence:

13 "As with other Bout aircraft, the plane is based in Sharjah  
14 in the United Arab Emirates.

16:25:02 15 233. This plane was used in July and August 2000 for arms  
16 deliveries from Europe to Liberia. This aircraft and an Antonov  
17 made four deliveries to Liberia: Three times in July and once in  
18 August 2000. The cargo included attack-capable helicopters,  
19 spare rotors, anti-tank and anti-aircraft systems, missiles,  
16:25:33 20 armoured vehicles, machine guns, and almost a million rounds of  
21 ammunition."

22 Skipping to paragraph 234:

23 "The transactions were set up by Victor Bout in the United  
24 Arab Emirates and by Guus van Kouwenhoven mentioned in paragraph  
16:25:58 25 217 above.

26 235. Virtually all of Bout's companies, regardless of  
27 where they are registered, operate out of the United Arab  
28 Emirates. Sharjah Airport is used as an airport of convenience  
29 for planes registered in many other countries such as Swaziland,

1 Equatorial Guinea, the Central African Republic and Liberia. In  
2 October 1998, 15 planes of Santa Cruz Imperial /Flying Dolphin,  
3 all registered in Liberia but operated from Sharjah, were  
4 temporarily grounded by the Liberian Aviation Authority."

16:27:09 5 PRESIDING JUDGE: Mr Koumjian, you have about three minutes  
6 left this afternoon.

7 MR KOUMJIAN: Then I do not have time to get to the  
8 document I want. Could I have the transcript put on the screen  
9 from 27 January at page 34212.

16:27:26 10 Q. But while it's being done, Mr Taylor, we've talked about  
11 Mr Minin. Do you recall Mr Minin was arrested in Italy in August  
12 2000; do you recall that?

13 A. Vaguely from here in the Court, yes.

14 Q. Have you heard from him since his arrest?

16:27:47 15 A. No.

16 Q. Well, how is it that you were able to tell us that Mr Minin  
17 - I believe I've asked this question before?

18 A. Was in Israel.

19 Q. Let me skip to another question in the few minutes  
16:28:14 20 remaining. Mr Taylor, you talked about Zigzag Marzah being an  
21 orderly and shining the shoes of Benjamin Yeaten. Do you recall  
22 that?

23 A. Yes, I do.

24 Q. How is it that you know that?

16:28:24 25 A. That's what orderlies do in Liberia.

26 Q. How do you know Zigzag Marzah is an orderly?

27 A. Because that's what Benjamin Yeaten said, he was a  
28 bodyguard and an orderly.

29 Q. When did Benjamin Yeaten tell you that Zigzag Marzah was an

1 orderly and bodyguard?

2 A. All of his bodyguards are - Zigzag Marzah, as far as I  
3 know, back - I will put it to as far as 2003, I got to know that  
4 he was a shoe shiner - I mean, he was an orderly for Benjamin.

16:29:00 5 Q. So you know Zigzag Marzah?

6 A. I don't know the individual. I saw him in Court here, but  
7 I did not know him in Liberia face-to-face.

8 Q. Well, then my question, sir, is, how is it that you know  
9 that he is an orderly, if you don't know him?

16:29:12 10 A. Because Benjamin said that a group of his boys were  
11 orderlies and Zigzag was one of the people that fell in that  
12 category.

13 Q. Can you explain that? You had a conversation with Benjamin  
14 Yeaten. In what year, sir, was this conversation?

16:29:23 15 A. 2003.

16 Q. And he said to you, what, sir, about Zigzag Marzah?

17 A. I remember the face here. I went out one day. We were  
18 about to travel. And I saw the group of boys. I said, "Who are  
19 these boys?" And he said, "These are my orderlies."

16:29:39 20 Q. So you recognised Zigzag Marzah here?

21 A. When his face showed up here, I remembered - I tried to  
22 recall the face.

23 Q. And you remember him as a man that you sent to kill people  
24 on your orders. That's how you know Zigzag Marzah, correct?

16:29:52 25 A. That is not correct.

26 Q. Mr Taylor, you said once in your testimony he could be  
27 captain or major. Do you recall that?

28 A. That who could be a captain or major?

29 Q. Zigzag Marzah.

1 A. He could be anything.

2 Q. Sir, an orderly who shines shoes would be a captain or  
3 major?

4 A. I said he could be. I didn't say he was.

16:30:14 5 MR KOUMJIAN: I have no further questions. Thank you.

6 PRESIDING JUDGE: This is a good time to adjourn. Before I  
7 adjourn, Mr Taylor, you are reminded of the standing order not to  
8 discuss your evidence. Proceedings are adjourned to Monday at 3  
9 o'clock in the afternoon.

16:30:34 10 THE WITNESS: Excuse me, your Honour, it's not a Court  
11 matter. I just want to say I'm sorry for the outburst today. It  
12 was just due to my human emotions. I'm sorry about that.

13 PRESIDING JUDGE: That should have gone on the record, I  
14 suppose, but apologies accepted.

15 [Whereupon the hearing adjourned at 4.30 p.m.  
16 to be reconvened on Monday, 1 February 2010  
17 at 3.00 p.m.]

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I N D E X

WITNESSES FOR THE DEFENCE:

DANKPANNAH DR CHARLES GHANKAY TAYLOR	34298
CROSS-EXAMINATION BY MR KOUMJIAN	34298