



Case No. SCSL-2003-01-T

THE PROSECUTOR OF
THE SPECIAL COURT
V.
CHARLES GHANKAY TAYLOR

MONDAY, 31 AUGUST 2009
9.30 A.M.
TRIAL

TRIAL CHAMBER II

Before the Judges:

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

For Chambers:

Ms Sidney Thompson
Ms Kate Gibson

For the Registry:

Ms Rachel Irura
Mr Benedict Williams

For the Prosecution:

Ms Brenda J Hollis
Mr Christopher Santora
Ms Maja Dimitrova

For the accused Charles Ghankay
Taylor:

Mr Courtenay Griffiths QC
Mr Morris Anyah

1 Monday, 31 August 2009

2 [Open session]

3 [The accused present]

4 [Upon commencing at 9.30 a.m.]

09:30:53 5 PRESIDING JUDGE: Well, welcome back, Ms Hollis. We'll
6 take appearances, please.

7 MS HOLLIS: Thank you, Mr President. Good morning,
8 Mr President, your Honours, opposing counsel. Today for the
9 Prosecution, Christopher Santora, Brenda J Hollis and our case
09:31:11 10 manager, Maja Dimitrova.

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

12 MR GRIFFITHS: Good morning, Mr President, your Honours,
13 counsel opposite. For the Defence today, myself, Courtenay
14 Griffiths, assisted by my learned friend, Mr Morris Anyah, and
09:31:23 15 also with us today is Ms Haydee Dijkstal, who has been with us
16 before.

17 PRESIDING JUDGE: Thank you, Mr Griffiths. Mr Taylor, just
18 before we continue, I'll remind you, you're still bound to tell
19 the truth.

09:31:45 20 DANKPANNAH DR CHARLES GHANKAY TAYLOR:

21 [On former affirmation]

22 EXAMINATION-IN-CHIEF BY MR GRIFFITHS: [Continued]

23 Q. Mr Taylor, last Thursday when we concluded for the week, we
24 were looking at a letter written by you to the Secretary-General
09:31:55 25 of the United Nations. Do you recall that?

26 A. Yes, I do.

27 Q. A letter dated 29 October 2001. Now, we concluded that
28 letter last Thursday, and I'd like us to move on, please. So
29 we're now at towards the end of 2001, yes?

1 A. That is correct.

2 Q. I'd like us now, please, to consider a slightly unrelated
3 topic. Now, the SSS had responsibility for what in Liberia?

09:32:38

4 A. The Secret Service, SSS, that's a Special Security Service,
5 was responsible for the protection of the President and other
6 VIPs in the country.

7 Q. And were they deployed according to any particular
8 category?

09:33:10

9 A. Yes, the SS are deployed at various locations, depending on
10 whether it's the Executive Mansion where the President lives and
11 works, or whether it's at any vacation, or other areas where he
12 may reside or she, for that matter, from time to time, and other
13 top officials of government, including the Vice-President, the
14 chief justice and other places. And those areas are given

09:33:35

15 assigned code names and they are assigned according to that
16 procedure, to the best of my knowledge.

17 Q. Now, in terms of those assignments, are particular named
18 individuals assigned to those?

09:33:59

19 A. Yes. For example, their code names, where the President -
20 wherever the President is is called White Flower. It may be
21 White Flower A, White Flower B, White Flower C or White Flower D,
22 wherever he is, and the groups responsible are the motorcade
23 groups and they have their commanders.

09:34:28

24 It may be interesting to note that you may be in the Secret
25 Service or the SSS but you may not have a specific assignment
26 with the President at any particular time.

27 Q. Okay. Now, are you, as President, informed about where
28 particular people are assigned?

29 A. No, no. I am not informed, no.

1 Q. Do you receive any notification with regard to that?

2 A. No, not particularly. The President moves and individuals
3 are just assigned. You don't probably even know the individuals.
4 There are just too many to know. You may not know who was
09:35:09 5 assigned. There is, however, a stationary - there are about one
6 or two stationary officers. For example, there is always an
7 officer that stands, no matter which President it is - that
8 stands directly behind the President. That commander is
9 virtually stable, so you may know who that person is because

09:35:39 10 there are not too many in numbers. There may be just about maybe
11 two of them, and those two, the President will always know. But
12 the rest of the crew, yes, you may know a few of them, say, by
13 facial expression, maybe they are around you all of the time, but
14 very rarely are you informed X, Y and Z will be around you.

09:36:04 15 Q. Now, when, for example, the President is meeting with other
16 Heads of State, are the SSS present?

17 A. Well, as a total - well, you say the SSS. Not - not - no,
18 no, no. If the President is meeting other Heads of State in,
19 let's say, a room, no one is really present. People are within
09:36:36 20 the vicinity, but, no, you are not present. You are not privy to
21 such conversations, no. Other types of delegations that are not
22 at that presidential level, there may be an aide-de-camp or a
23 Secret Service person posted somewhere in the room, sometimes out
24 of sight, but he's in the room anyway.

09:36:59 25 Q. What about when there are cabinet meetings. Are they
26 present?

27 A. Senior personnel may be in there, yes. An aide-de-camp
28 with security clearance may be - will be in there and the SSS
29 director who has top security clearance could be in there, yes.

1 Q. What about when you have meetings with, say, UN officials?

2 A. UN officials, yes. Depending on the level of that
3 official. At the Secretary-General level, no, because we met
4 several times. At, let's say, the special representative level,
09:37:48 5 depending on how acquainted, maybe certain subject matters, no,
6 that may not be necessary. Maybe a large delegation of lower
7 people, yes.

8 Q. What about when you were meeting, for example, RUF
9 delegates, are they present then?

09:38:07 10 A. Yes, they have to be. They must be. There will be at
11 least two individuals. These are combatants and so you have - an
12 aide-de-camp would definitely be in the room, and nine out of ten
13 chances, the special security director will himself be in the
14 room and probably somebody else.

09:38:28 15 Q. Yes. And, Mr Taylor, can you provide us with any
16 assistance from your archive material on this?

17 A. Yes. I have amongst my documents a full schedule of
18 postings around different areas and their titles and the
19 personnel that were assigned to those areas. They are among my
09:38:58 20 papers.

21 Q. Yes. And how do they come to be amongst your papers?

22 A. Well, this shows the posting for an entire period. This
23 was given to the Ministry of State, the director of the cabinet,
24 who - in some countries, for example, in the United States, to
09:39:27 25 the best of my knowledge, and I stand corrected on this, the
26 Secret Service comes under the Treasury Department in the United
27 States, to the best of my knowledge. I hope it hasn't changed.
28 In the case of Liberia, the Secret Service falls under the
29 Ministry of State. So the Minister of State would have this as a

1 notice to him of the postings for the month. I could call for it
2 and see where I would be going for that period, and that's how I
3 got a copy.

4 Q. And what kind of information does that contain?

09:40:07 5 A. It would have personnel, areas. For example, let's say,
6 White Flower B, that could be probably in Lofa County, it would
7 show who is assigned on the motorcade for that position. There
8 are Secret Service personnel assigned at every position. Let's
9 say, White Flower C in Buchanan, Grand Bassa County, you will
09:40:41 10 have a detachment assigned there with a commander, that would be
11 listed. That would show the motorcade responsible for that
12 position. And so, let's say, if you are assigned at White Flower
13 B in Lofa, you are stationed there, and if you are assigned in
14 White Flower C in Buchanan, you will be stationed there until
09:41:05 15 changes are made. People rotate from time to time. I don't know
16 the frequency of the rotation, but I do know that people rotate.

17 Q. I'd like us now, please, to have a look at a document.
18 It's in binder 3 of 4 for week 33 behind divider 121.

19 Can I indicate at the outset, your Honours, that the
09:42:23 20 document should be a 15-page document but it's been duplicated
21 more than once in error, so we can discard the additional copies.

22 Now, Mr Taylor, is this the document you were referring to?

23 A. Yes, this is a document.

24 Q. Now, let us just look at this carefully, please. We see
09:43:08 25 it's headed, "Republic of Liberia, Special Security Service,
26 Executive Mansion, Monrovia, Liberia", and it's to U-50. Who is
27 U-50?

28 A. U-50 that's unit - U stands for Unit 50. That's the
29 director of Special Security Service.

1 Q. So who's that?

2 A. Benjamin Yeaten.

3 Q. And who is U-51?

4 A. At this time U-51 is Unit 51, Zwannah Johnson.

09:43:48 5 Q. Now, we see thereafter there appears the word
6 "recommendation"?

7 A. Yes.

8 Q. Can you explain, please, what it is we're looking at on
9 that page?

09:44:09 10 A. Yes, these are various locations. For example, let's look
11 at A where it says "RIA", that's Roberts International Airport.
12 Now, at this point we have six Secret Service personnel assigned
13 at the airport. They stay there. And the reason this is, since
14 the President or other VIPs are going in and out, the Secret

09:44:41 15 Service is posted there. They are in touch - you see the
16 dispatcher. They are in touch with headquarters. They know all
17 of the movements, but their assignment is there. Whether the
18 President comes there or leaves the area, they are assigned
19 there. So what we are looking at here are the areas of
09:45:02 20 assignment where individuals are posted. So we go further under
21 A you see "Arthington", which is my hometown where I visited from
22 time to time, and that goes on down as we see. These are just
23 assigned personnel to areas.

24 Q. To that location?

09:45:19 25 A. That is correct.

26 Q. Now help us, Mr Taylor. You mentioned that in relation to
27 RIA, they are stationed there since the President or other VIPs
28 are going in and out?

29 A. Yes.

1 Q. Apart from personal protection in that sense, do they have
2 any other purpose in being at RIA?

3 A. The Secret Service is there for VIP protection. They are -
4 if they collect any information, they pass it on to headquarters,
09:45:55 5 but their function is strictly VIP. They've got nothing to do
6 with the operation of the airport; that's not their problem.
7 They protect certain facilities for the President, for the
8 service, and provide information, let's say for any subject
9 matter that directly impacts upon the safety and security of the
09:46:20 10 President or other VIPs. That's their function.

11 Q. When you mentioned that if they collect any information
12 they pass it on, do they have any intelligence gathering
13 function?

14 A. Well, I would not say directly. There may be one person
09:46:35 15 there. Within the Secret Service you have an assistant director
16 responsible for intelligence. In every unit you may have one or
17 two intelligence personnel, but their function basically is if
18 they come across information, they pass it. But they are there
19 to protect the property, make sure there's no infiltration into
09:47:01 20 that property. But, of course, if they pick up information that
21 impacts upon the security of the President, they would pass it on
22 to headquarters.

23 Q. Okay. Now, Mr Taylor, for good reason I intend to go
24 through the names listed under each category. Now, we see at RIA
09:47:23 25 it might be best if you help us with the pronunciations by
26 telling us who was stationed there at this particular time, 9
27 November 2001?

28 A. Well, the first name is Patrick S Korquoi; you have Stephen
29 Kollie; Henry S Tolon; Davis S Wleh; Ben A Whyte; and Isaac

1 Nyana.

2 Q. And Arthington, which is your home town, who do we have
3 based there?

09:48:01

4 A. You have Johnson Matthew as the commander; you have
5 Emmanuel Bracewell; Charles Wright; William Taylor; Victor
6 Raynes; David Rouhlac, Abraham T Kiadii, Samuel D Askie, Joe
7 Crawford; and Albert Harris.

8 Q. Now, when under B it says "Unit 2 detail", where's that?

09:48:40

9 A. Unit 2 is the code assigned to the Vice-President. That
10 would be - the President is Unit 1. The Vice-President is Unit
11 2. So these are the individuals that are assigned at the
12 Vice-President's house.

13 Q. And this is 9 November 2001. Who is the Vice-President?

14 A. That would be Blah.

09:49:01

15 Q. Moses Blah?

16 A. Yes.

17 Q. So who is assigned at Moses Blah's address?

18 A. That would be George F Kermee; Mary L Daniels; Alvin T
19 Sumo; and Jean D Harmon.

09:49:18

20 Q. And Unit 1, from your previous explanation, that's you, is
21 it?

22 A. That's is correct.

23 Q. What's that word there after "Unit 1"?

24 A. Children. That should be "children".

09:49:32

25 Q. That is Unit 1's children?

26 A. That is correct.

27 Q. And who assigned to them?

28 A. You have - the commander is Emmanuel Nelson; then you have
29 Jefferson Sackie; then you have Narmawolee M Kolleh; and Junior

1 Wl u.

2 Q. Okay. Now 51 detail, who's that?

3 A. 51 would be the Deputy Director of the Special Security
4 Services for Administration. That's Zwannah, Z-W-A-N-N-A-H,
09:50:17 5 Johnson.

6 Q. So are those two names assigned to him?

7 A. Yes, they are. As Deputy Director, he has a Secret Service
8 personnel assigned to him.

9 Q. And who are they?

09:50:32 10 A. You have Napoleon Govego and Ericson Mason.

11 Q. Thank you. Let's go over the page, please. Who is Unit 1B
12 detail?

13 A. Unit 1B is the wife of the President. That's the First
14 Lady.

09:51:04 15 Q. And who is assigned to her?

16 A. You have Captain Andrew Koinah; Paul S Whyne; Peter Askie;
17 and Abraham Dennis.

18 Q. Yes. Now "KISS FM", what's that?

19 A. That's a radio station you have - where officials went to
09:51:32 20 with pronouncements all of the time. You have - it's commanded
21 there by Dorothy B Bassah and you have J Venecious Fallah. That
22 should be Fallah. Fallah.

23 Q. Now, pausing again. Is the purpose of that detail to
24 protect the radio station, or VIPs who attend at the radio
09:52:00 25 station?

26 A. VIPs that attend the radio station. For example, there are
27 times that we don't - we had to go - if there's a very important
28 pronouncement, the President would drive to the station because
29 of the facilities there, and so the Secret Service is assigned

1 there. It's important to note here, counsel, that everywhere in
2 the world you may see uniformed personnel at different places.
3 The Secret Service is assigned almost every possible part of the
4 country, whether they're in - they are not in uniform, but, you
09:52:43 5 know, to make sure that even when the President has to go to an
6 area, it is secured.

7 Q. Now U-50, you mentioned, is?

8 A. U50 is the Director of Special Security Services.

9 Q. Who is?

09:53:02 10 A. Benjamin Yeaten.

11 Q. And he has his own security detail, does he?

12 A. That is correct.

13 Q. And the names are?

14 A. You have Adolphus Sampson, you have Kakama Lartoe, and
09:53:22 15 Arthur Yeaten.

16 Q. Is he a relation, do you know?

17 A. No, I don't know, but these are would not be all the
18 individuals. These are people assigned at his house, but his
19 main detail would be more than this.

09:53:35 20 Q. Now, NPP Chairman?

21 A. Yes, the ruling party of the government, which was the
22 National Patriotic Party, the Chairman of the party had a Secret
23 Service personnel assigned to him.

24 Q. Now, Mr Taylor, let us pause. And this might seem rather
09:54:05 25 tedious, but help us with this: So far out of all the names
26 called, has any one of them been called to give evidence in this
27 Court?

28 A. So far, no. Not yet.

29 Q. Well, let's carry on with the process, tedious has it may

1 be. The Honourable Emmett Taylor, who's that?

2 A. Emmett Taylor is the first - it's a member of the First
3 Family. He is a first cousin, and he is a minister in
4 government.

09:54:44 5 Q. And who's assigned to him?

6 A. You have Michael Gaye.

7 Q. Now help me, what is the Protective Intelligence Section?

8 A. The Protective Intelligence Section, within the Secret
9 Service there are individuals that are trained as intelligence
09:55:08 10 individuals, just as in the basic army you have intelligence
11 unit. These individuals are Secret Service personnel, but maybe
12 the director and another senior person will know who these
13 intelligence people are. They are not - they are designated, but
14 very rarely would you get to know the real crop of the
09:55:43 15 intelligence. For example, you may have a Secret Service
16 personnel. What if he becomes a rogue agent? He becomes a
17 threat to the President. So you have - even within the Secret
18 Service protecting the President you have intelligence personnel
19 that are also observing the behaviour of those that are around
09:56:05 20 the President.

21 Q. Okay.

22 A. Yes.

23 Q. Now, who's involved in that?

24 A. In this particular area you have an Inspector Finda
09:56:18 25 Kandakai; then you have Gunpul Dehtay; you have Helena Trygo;
26 you have Annie Weah-Weah; you have Alice Nulor and Andrew Tomah;
27 and also you have Moses Jallah.

28 Q. And then you have the presidential boat?

29 A. Yes.

1 Q. Who's that?

2 A. You have Prosper Quelwon; Amos Etheridge and Muana Perry.
3 It's a small boat. It didn't say yacht here. A small boat that
4 we use on the river when I went fishing sometimes.

09:57:22 5 Q. Public relations and welfare section and archive sections
6 are fairly self-explanatory?

7 A. Yes.

8 Q. But what are those three names, tell us?

9 A. Oscar S Sackie. You have Jefferson [sic] Kpainingboge. You
09:57:39 10 have Captain Joseph Kerkula.

11 Q. Over the page, please.

12 JUDGE DOHERTY: Mr Griffiths or Mr Taylor, the abbreviation
13 AGT, what does that stand for? It appears on a few - for
14 example, paragraph 5, paragraph 12 of page 2.

09:58:15 15 THE WITNESS: AGT would be adjutant, your Honour.

16 JUDGE DOHERTY: Thank you.

17 PRESIDING JUDGE: There's no G in the word adjutant.

18 THE WITNESS: Well, I stand corrected on that. That's as
19 best as I can help, your Honour.

09:58:37 20 MR GRIFFITHS:

21 Q. Page 3, please, Mr Taylor. Under the Command of Inspector
22 Richard Flomo (General Inspectorate), what's that?

23 A. There is an inspector that observed the personnel that - as
24 they function in their line of duty on duty, the general

09:59:11 25 inspectorate may go to see the - let's say, if you're supposed to
26 be assigned at a particular doorway in, let's say, the building
27 and you are not there, that inspectorate will be able to know.

28 So he circles looking at a chart that he has to see if agents are
29 where they ought to be, if they are attired properly and as to

1 whether they are alert.

2 Q. And then U-52 is who?

3 A. U-52 would be the Deputy Director of Special Security
4 Services for Operation.

09:59:47 5 Q. And who's that?

6 A. That would be Joseph Montgomery.

7 Q. And who is assigned to him?

8 A. You have Bono Massaquoi, Fredrick Woods and Junior Savage.

9 Q. Who is U-56?

10:00:09 10 A. U-56, that would be the assistant director - I stand
11 corrected on this one. I'm not - that would probably be the
12 assistant director for administration.

13 Q. And who was that?

14 A. Etmonia Diggs.

10:00:37 15 Q. Now, Joseph Montgomery has a security detail. Do you
16 recall now, what was Varmuyan Sheriff's number?

17 A. Sheriff might be 59, if I'm not wrong. I could be wrong on
18 this one. I think the assistant director for motorcade services
19 may be 59.

10:01:12 20 Q. Okay. Now, we can go through 17 to 23 quite quickly. So
21 U-1 Mother, self-explanatory?

22 A. That is correct.

23 Q. Your mother, yes?

24 A. Yes.

10:01:27 25 Q. Zoe Taylor, who is she?

26 A. That's my daughter.

27 Q. Thelma Taylor Saye is who?

28 A. Sister.

29 Q. Jackie Taylor is who?

- 1 A. Sister.
- 2 Q. Dorothy Harvey Taylor is who?
- 3 A. First cousin.
- 4 Q. Jubia Taylor Cassell?
- 10:01:45 5 A. Sister.
- 6 Q. Francis Taylor?
- 7 A. Cousin.
- 8 Q. And each is assigned an SSS individual. Is that right?
- 9 A. A single person, yes.
- 10:01:56 10 Q. Just go through the names for me, please, starting with U-1
- 11 Mother.
- 12 A. You have David Kollie. You have then Richard Taylor. The
- 13 next, 19, is Amos Johnson. The next you have Curtis Laywokay.
- 14 The next, number 21, you have Nyah Zawolo. 22, you have Charles
- 10:02:35 15 Normah. Number 23, you have Terrino Kollie?
- 16 Q. And then we come to the Gbarnga detail. Gbarnga being
- 17 what?
- 18 A. Are we looking at the --
- 19 Q. Bottom of the page, Gbarnga detail, 24.
- 10:02:50 20 A. Okay. 24 would have - Gbarnga would be my farm where I
- 21 went frequently.
- 22 Q. And who's there?
- 23 A. You have the commander, just the commander here, James
- 24 Nyateh.
- 10:03:16 25 Q. Now, page 4, Assignment. What is the presidential advance
- 26 team?
- 27 A. This is the unit - let's say the President is travelling,
- 28 let's say I'm going to Kakata, up to about two, maybe three days
- 29 in advance - and I can't be sure of this, I'm just dealing with

1 what I picked up - there would be Secret Service personnel sent,
2 okay, into the general location and the vicinity to, really,
3 inspect the entire area. They will go through the route from
4 Monrovia to Kakata. Major towns, they may drop off people. But
10:03:58 5 that advance detail will cover the entire route and the area
6 where the President will be. If there's a major town or a
7 company or bridges, they would at least be responsible to make
8 sure that the trip going in is all secured and where the
9 President is going is already secured.

10:04:19 10 Q. Good. Thank you for that. And who is involved in that?

11 A. The commander you have here is Inspector - that would be at
12 least the rank of colonel - Anthony Paye.

13 Q. Go on. Who else is there?

14 A. You have Richmond Quartey; Augustine Kollie; Benjedid K
10:04:49 15 Si affa; Arthur Jikpamu; James Thomas; John T Bengue; Kingston
16 Sneh; Daniel Tamba; William Russ; Francis Nah; Peter Wilson;
17 Arthur Teblee; Moses Brunskine; Amos Geekoah; Matthew Nyoannah;
18 Sumo Sidi affa; Ruth Wleh; Tarnue CN Jayah; Morris Jones; Cecelia
19 Giklah; Augustine Menwon; Alfred Jalah; James Jerbo; Ernest
10:05:55 20 Barkut; Lavalla Tokpah; Josephine Kollie; Prince Heinna; Victor
21 Paye; Elizabeth Smith; Theofelix Wrobeh; Martin Zayzay; Harris
22 Paye; Otis Brown; Thomas Ganbangba; Stephen S [sic] Weamie;
23 Freeman Khaye; Christopher Johnson; and Festus Lonbeh.

24 Q. Go back over the page, please. Number 9 under that list,
10:06:45 25 Mr Taylor, Daniel Tamba, who is he?

26 A. Second Lieutenant Daniel Tamba, at this level, this is - I
27 don't know the individuals, but this is - as second lieutenant,
28 this is a very low level personnel. There may be many, many
29 Daniel Tambas. This is not the Daniel Tamba as we know as

1 Jungle, no. This is a second lieutenant. Jungle, as we have
2 known, it would be at least - Jungle would be the level of at
3 least a major or lieutenant colonel.

10:07:26

4 Q. What are you telling us? Is this the Daniel Tamba
5 mentioned in this case, Jungle?

6 A. No, this is a second lieutenant. No, this is not Jungle.

7 Q. How do you know this is not Jungle?

10:07:41

8 A. Because at this level - that Jungle that is mentioned here
9 would not be at - his military level would not be a second
10 lieutenant in the SSS, no. That's a very low level, as Jungle is
11 mentioned here. If Daniel Tamba is a runner of mine, he would
12 not be a second lieutenant.

10:08:06

13 Q. Over the page, please. And whilst we're on that topic,
14 Mr Taylor, the Daniel Tamba mentioned in this case, Jungle, was
15 he a member of the SSS?

16 A. To the best of my knowledge, I am not sure. He could have
17 been and assigned with Benjamin Yeaten, but I'm not too sure. I
18 don't know Jungle personally.

10:08:39

19 Q. Go back over the page to page 5, please. Motorcade A, what
20 is that?

21 A. Now, the motorcade is the - this is the group that is going
22 to ride in the convoy while the President is moving. That's the
23 motorcade.

24 Q. But if we stay on that page we see there's a Motorcade B.

10:09:05

25 A. Yes.

26 Q. And, in need, if we flip over the page, there's also a
27 Motorcade C.

28 A. That is correct.

29 Q. What's the distinction?

1 A. These are different groupings that may move with the
2 President at any given time. Okay, for example, these Secret
3 Service personnel changed shifts. Let's say, if the President
4 moved, let's say, to the - from his private residence to the
10:09:32 5 Executive Mansion in the morning to go to work and you work until
6 4.30, 5, I may work until 6, 7, and this shift is gone. There is
7 always - there are always individuals to take the President where
8 he wants to go.

9 Q. Right. And same procedure, please. Who is attached to
10:09:55 10 Motorcade A?

11 A. You have an inspector. That would be - that's a colonel
12 level - Joseph Y Wehngbo. You have Bill Teah. You have G Andy
13 Quamie. You have Dickson Zarwurah. You have Martin Kesselly.
14 You have Jonah Johnson; James Wleh; Emmanuel Kollie; Emmanuel G
10:10:29 15 Dossen; Calvin Malley; Prince Collins; Alfred Suah; Phillip
16 Miller; Charles Y Cooper; Alphonso Bryant; Amos Miller; William
17 Akoi; Mark Teah; Charles Kouadia; Winston Kpangbar; Maxin Bonner;
18 Boniface Browney. This should be Ohratio D Tuah; Anthony S Doe
19 and James Kardoe; Junior Passawe; Charles Wallace; John B Larma;
10:11:26 20 Charles Wallace; Richard O Smith; Lortaniel Philip; Joseph
21 Massaquoi; Mamadee Kamara; Abu Kamara; Cooper Martin; Sam Kpan;
22 John Togba; James Tamba; Cephass Horace; Robert Moore; Sabentos
23 Kamara; Boakai Perry and Cephass Horace. That's Motorcade A.

24 Q. Before we move on to Motorcade B, help us with this: Who
10:12:15 25 was in charge of the motorcades?

26 A. The motorcades were under the assistant director for
27 motorcade at the - by 2001 now, this is 2001, it would not be
28 Varmuyan Sheriff. I don't know exactly who was in charge of
29 motorcade now, but when Varmuyan was assistant director, he would

1 have been over motorcade.

2 Q. Why do you say "by this time it wasn't Varmuyan Sheriff"?

3 A. By 2001, when this document is done, Varmuyan is already
4 transferred.

10:12:53 5 Q. To where?

6 A. He's at immigration.

7 Q. Why has he been transferred?

8 A. There are about two reasons. Varmuyan, in the fracas that
9 we had in Monrovia with Roosevelt Johnson --

10:13:20 10 Q. August, September of which year?

11 A. That would be '98. Varmuyan was involved in the facilities
12 that we were asked to straighten out belonging to the oil company
13 - what they call them? I have forgotten the name now, but I'll
14 get to it. He was removed from the post. Subsequently he got

10:13:44 15 sick. He went - we call it in Africa he went mad, and I had to
16 send him away to Mali. When he returned, we sent him over to
17 Immigration.

18 Q. So as of the autumn of 1998, was Varmuyan Sheriff involved
19 in any way with the SSS?

10:14:10 20 A. No, not at all. Not at all. Varmuyan Sheriff had been
21 transferred. Once he did that looting of that property and got
22 sick, we transferred him.

23 Q. All right. Motorcade B, let's go through the name
24 procedure, please?

10:14:26 25 A. You have Inspector William Korvah; Sylvester Toe; then you
26 have Anthony Kpozeh; you have James Sahn; Cyril S Perwood;
27 Stephen Brown; Verney Williams; Moses Tomkollie; Stephen Gono;
28 Fofee Kamara; Jimmy Tieah; Adama Passawe; T Barcon Toe; Charles M
29 Seton; Christian Sackie; Dexter Roberts; James Poweh; Emmanuel

1 Hill; Edwin Guambie; Peter Smith; Eric Thompson; Amos Harris,
2 Morris Walker; Isaac [sic] Gibson; Oscar Dean; Josiah Mongor;
3 Edward T Dajue; Rubel Johnson; Ben Musa; Adama Passawe; Joseph
4 Sol ee; Gabriel Sundaygai; Charles Miller; Ernest Tokpah; Sam
10:16:11 5 Parker; Boimah Joe; Mi away Yoodo; and Tom Sargeor.
6 Q. Motorcade C, please.
7 A. Johnny Ndebe; Logan Davis; Newton Nyanneh; Stephen Newton;
8 Nathaniel Christopher; Bobby Togba; Morris Williams; Sunnyboy
9 Cooper; George Blazon; Sam H Tuazama; Henry Saway; Ikee Sirleaf;
10:16:55 10 Peter Gramie; Lawrence Wamah; John F Scotland; Dennis Gray;
11 Shadrick Nyema; James Pewee; Nathaniel Enders; Manam Ballah;
12 Elijah Paye; Wallace Karsuah; Jackson Kenneth; Cooper Wesseh;
13 Emmanuel Whalo; Nathaniel J Chea; Patrick Kollie; Momoh Mayson;
14 Clarence Harris; Amos Morris; James C Kermue; Charles Normah;
10:17:44 15 Aaron Tarbah; Ballah Jones; Cora Smucker; Felton Roberts; Jacob
16 Contoe; Richard Dogba; Ernest Dumui; Robert Moore.
17 Q. Now, what is Proton A?
18 A. Proton A now is the residence. The Executive Mansion is
19 Proton, and that's where the President lives. That's Proton A.
10:18:23 20 Q. So proton A is Executive Mansion, yes?
21 A. That is correct. I wanted just to note here, counsel, that
22 as we're going through the names, a witness that appeared before
23 this Court implied that so-called there was a prosecution of
24 Mandingos, and it is very good to point out that a lot of these
10:18:56 25 names here are Mandingos who are in the Secret Service. That
26 witness tried to portray Mandingos as being persecuted by my
27 government, so I just wanted to point this out. A lot of the
28 names here are Mandingo names. They are part of the Secret
29 Service.

1 Q. Who is involved with Proton A?

2 A. Milton Farley; Joseph Borbor; Matthew Chaplay; John
3 Menyongar; Isaac Myama; Cecelia Wallace; Isaac Hill; Paul Willie;
4 Francis Nye; Lawrence Muni e; Junior Weeks; Saye Guanue; Zico
10:19:52 5 Dolo; Korpeh Cooper; Carshor B Barsley; Adama Fallah; George
6 Toul ee; Gaye R Sarmue; Moses Nanon; Sam G Weah; Sam M Meanyeah;
7 David Banks; Solomon G Dyer; Alfred G Mulbah; Sam Kesselly;
8 Darlington Smith; George Massaquoi; Levi Johnson; Joel K Doe;
9 Seleke Kanneh; N Gyidi a Nah; Malcolm G Horace; Victor Scott;
10:20:48 10 George Coker; Duke M Kollie; David F Monah; Sankpannah H D
11 Roberts; Papa Crawford.

12 Q. Now, a couple of matters, Mr Taylor. First of all this:
13 Was there accommodation for the President at the Executive
14 Mansion?

10:21:16 15 A. Yes, that's the real place.

16 Q. And so this assignment was to protect what?

17 A. These are - this is the presidency. That's virtually the
18 home of the Secret Service. These are the people at any given
19 shift are in the presidency.

10:21:43 20 Q. Now, Mr Taylor, help me. I note that in this document you
21 are not referred to by name; rather, you're referred to as Unit
22 1?

23 A. Yes.

24 Q. And help us, was that the normal practice within the SSS?

10:21:58 25 A. Oh, definitely. All Secret Service agencies are around the
26 world don't refer to the President by name. They don't.

27 Q. Now help me, do you recall a single witness referring to
28 you as Unit 1?

29 A. No, I don't, no.

1 Q. Do you recall a single witness referring to the Executive
2 Mansion as Proton?

3 A. No.

4 Q. Let's look at Proton B.

10:22:30 5 A. Proton B: C Darlington Gurmoe; Isaac T Dixon-Doe; T
6 Blowene Kyne; Anderson M Forkay; James Saah; Nathan Powo; Victor
7 Singbeh; Chayee M Dyea; Roddicious Kollie; Rachel Sarkpateh;
8 Simeon S Parwon; Benjamin Kamara; Alfred C Warnley; Felix Payne;
9 Walter Wriyee; Moses Harris; Alfred Suah; James Togbatie; Junior
10:23:36 10 Flomo; Omoko K Quaye; Randolph H Wilson; Henry Boimah; James C
11 Torbor; Joseph Brown; Lawrence Dean; Mark Bracewell; Victor M
12 Grant; Herbert Cheeks; Amos K Bleah; Maxwell William; Samuel N
13 Cooper; Mohammed Kaba; Julius Kruah; James G Hokie; Peter Robert;
14 Abraham Teah; Wilkins Obie; and Moses D Peal.

10:24:26 15 Q. Before you deal with the membership of Proton C, we note
16 that in relation to the motorcade, that was divided into A, B and
17 C?

18 A. Yes.

19 Q. We see now that Proton is divided into A, B and C. Does
10:24:48 20 that reflect the same division of labour?

21 A. Yes, definitely.

22 Q. So what, are we talking about a shift system?

23 A. A shift system of who was assigned, yes.

24 Q. Proton C, please.

10:25:01 25 A. Jorgious M Teage; Michael S Kumeh; Augustine D Landford;
26 Amelia J Kandakai; J Feika Morris; Allen V Burphy; Amadu M
27 Bility --

28 Q. Pause. That surname, Bility, what's its ethnic origin?

29 A. That's Mandingo. Amadu too. Amadu Bility's Mandingo.

1 Q. Go on.

2 A. Joseph T Bolue; Joseph J Jomah; William Toe; Michael O Tye;

3 Allieu V Fofana; K Allicious Kollie; Stephen Kollie; Nehpor

4 Wesseh; Borbor Willie; Kennedy Wleh; Anthony B Dweh; Gabriel

10:26:17 5 Wilson; Nyan B Zowoloe; Jerry Bracewell; Jackson G Barsiah;

6 Timothy T Bassah; Martin Zayzay; Sampson Hinneh; it should be

7 Watson S Otis; Eugene Korboi; William Moyo; William S Lablah;

8 Victor Nah; Abraham Freeman; Eric S Moore; Siaffa S Morris; James

9 Moore; Cyrus Junior; David Kollie; Victor Kerkula; Morris Toure;

10:27:05 10 Jerry Toe; Josiah Duo; Tefleh Nyanmieh.

11 Q. Now we come to White Flower, and let us pause. There is

12 White Flower A on that page. Flick over to the next page,

13 please. There's White Flower B and White Flower C, yes?

14 A. Yes.

10:27:33 15 Q. Now, starting with White Flower A, where is that?

16 A. White Flower refers to the personal residence of the

17 President.

18 Q. Yes. Now, why White Flower?

19 A. It's just a code. It's just a code given to the residence

10:27:57 20 - the property owned by the President is White Flower, where the

21 President may stay. The property owned by government, by the

22 republic, is Proton.

23 Q. Now, help me. When did White Flower originate? Did it

24 originate with your presidency or was it the same with previous

10:28:18 25 presidencies?

26 A. No, it originated with my presidency. Other Presidents had

27 a different code.

28 Q. Right.

29 A. Yes.

- 1 Q. Now, White Flower A is located where?
- 2 A. White Flower A is located in Monrovia, Congo Town.
- 3 Q. So that's Monrovia, Congo Town, yes?
- 4 A. Uh-huh.
- 10:28:48 5 Q. White Flower B is where?
- 6 A. That would be my hometown of Arthington.
- 7 Q. White Flower C is where?
- 8 A. That would be my house on my farm.
- 9 Q. And that's located where?
- 10:29:07 10 A. In Gbarnga, Bong County.
- 11 Q. Now, before we go any further, Mr Taylor, pause again.
- 12 Help me, do you recall any witness called by the Prosecution in
- 13 this case distinguishing between White Flower A, B and C?
- 14 A. No, I don't.
- 10:29:33 15 Q. So when the name White Flower is used without that
- 16 qualification, how precise is that?
- 17 A. It is not precise, so it's not precise. It could be any of
- 18 the three locations.
- 19 Q. Now, would you expect someone who is a member of the SSS to
- 10:29:55 20 know to distinguish between the three?
- 21 A. Definitely. If you are a member of the SSS, in any rank, I
- 22 would say from the rank of major going up, you would definitely
- 23 know.
- 24 Q. Now, dealing with each in turn, who is assigned to White
- 10:30:15 25 Flower A?
- 26 A. White Flower A, you have Inspector Casely Roberts; Adolphus
- 27 Gbarlay; William K Sevelle; Charles S Yebahn; Franky K Paye;
- 28 Orlando H Konyon; James M Kollie; Adam B Boakai; Dennis Mulbah;
- 29 Paul Mehn; Jerry Lewis; Justin Willie; Eddie N Taylor; Franklin G

1 Nyanukiyan; C Curtis Layworkay and James Bright.

2 Q. White Flower B?

3 A. Yeagoan Nyanquoi; Joseph Karma; Randolph Harris; Kennedy
4 Yanqain; Joseph Tokpah; Gloria B [sic] Browne; Zinneh Cueh;
10:31:33 5 Francis Morris; Melvin Nyan; Morris Kollie; Abraham Williams
6 [sic]; D Sabentos Kamara; Tassalue Freeman; Gombah Dennis.

7 Q. Now, help us with this: Where these individuals are
8 assigned to a particular White Flower location, do they actually
9 reside on the premises or are they only stationed there?

10:32:01 10 A. They are stationed there. They live within the vicinity
11 and come to work.

12 Q. White Flower C, please.

13 A. You have Inspector Obacco Flomo; Boakai She; G Sackor
14 Williams; Edwin Cammue; William Jimmy; Latoyo Doinah; Augustine
10:32:34 15 Cooper; John D Verdier; Abraham Kpanneh; Francis Johnson; Patrick
16 Korquoi; Abraham Wollie; Albert Harris; Thomas Gibson; Daniel
17 Menquah.

18 Q. Now, over the page, please. And can I seek your assistant
19 again. "Special Bodyguard on Various Assignment", what does that
10:33:17 20 mean?

21 A. These are seniors, very senior people that have certain
22 specific assignments. They are more - how do I describe this?
23 They are more specialised assignments. For example, if you look
24 at number 2, Vasco Bulgar, these are special attendants. They
10:33:57 25 carry ranks. They do not command units in the field. These are
26 colonels. These are special attendants. Special attendants are
27 those SSS personnel that are responsible for, let's say - they
28 are about the first people that any President will meet when he
29 gets up in the morning, and not counting his immediately family,

1 his wife. The first or the second - the first person the
2 President meets. And all of these people fall under the butler.

3 The special attendant is responsible to bring - he may
4 bring the President his newspaper, a newspaper, early, even
10:34:40 5 before the national security adviser people get there. He's
6 responsible for - when the President is travelling, to pack what
7 the President carries. His clothes, everything that the
8 President travelled with. Next to the wife in the house, the
9 special attendant practically lives in the place. The

10:35:02 10 President - maybe what his wife can't find, the special attendant
11 will be able to find. They are speciality people that are around
12 the President as almost like handy personnel. They carry his
13 baggages. They are not entrusted - not every Secret Service
14 personnel has control of the President's personal luggage.

10:35:22 15 That's the job of the special attendant and the butler. That's
16 their job.

17 So these are all senior officers that have specific - when
18 I call them special - we used to call them special bodyguard
19 because these are people that at any given time have clearance.

10:35:42 20 These people have clearance to be within the vicinity of the
21 President. And let me just clarify this because when it says
22 "special" here, they are given certain tasks. Let's say, if one
23 of these individuals, like the special attendant, was seen within
24 several feet of the President, nobody will query him, "What are
10:36:05 25 you doing there?" Okay, these are speciality people.

26 PRESIDING JUDGE: I'm sorry to interrupt, Mr Griffiths. I
27 just wanted to clarify something there. You said that all of
28 these people fall under the butler. Do I assume that the butler
29 is in charge of all of these people?

1 THE WITNESS: No, no, no. The special attendant - when I
2 spoke about it, the special attendants fall under the butler, but
3 the rest of these people are speciality people. I specifically
4 referred to number 2, Vasco Bulgar, and the special attendants
10:36:37 5 and, your Honour, my reference to those that fall under the
6 butler are the special attendants, that's numbers 2 and 3.

7 MR GRIFFITHS: Does that clarify it, Mr President?

8 PRESIDING JUDGE: Yes.

9 MR GRIFFITHS: I'm grateful.

10:36:53 10 Q. But just so that we can be totally clear about this,
11 Mr Taylor, omitting numbers 2 and 3, all the other 22 names here,
12 do they come under the butler?

13 A. No, no, no, no.

14 Q. Okay. Good. Right. And just again so that we're clear
10:37:16 15 about this situation, out of all the names we've gone through
16 tediously so far, which of these individuals comes into the
17 closest proximity to the President?

18 A. The commanders only of those units and this group that we
19 see here of 24. And to give some clarification for your Honours,
10:37:55 20 if, for example, let's look at number 6. Number 6 is the
21 presidential boat. The guy that commands that boat, when the
22 President - the President may get up one day on the weekend and
23 say, "I want to go out for a boat ride today." They do not have
24 to go and process number 6 to see as to whether he has clearance.
10:38:18 25 These are people that have clearance that when the President is
26 going into the area or they are in the vicinity of the President,
27 they don't have to be queried. They already have what you call
28 in some countries top security clearance at all times.

29 Q. Top clearance to be on the inside with the President?

1 A. That is correct.

2 Q. So these are true insiders?

3 A. Definitely. That's why they call them special. They are -
4 these are the commanders that are very, very close, yes.

10:38:53 5 Q. And help us with the names, please.

6 A. Johnny Ndebe. If you go back to motorcade C, you will see
7 he commands that motorcade. Of course, the two special
8 attendants, Vasco Bulgar and William Dennis, these are those.

9 Then you have the Chief of the Archive Section, Prince Koinah;

10:39:13 10 then you have Henry R Wolo, the Commander of the Minister of
11 State detail. Well, that's the chief of staff, and that's the
12 chief of staff of the President. That Secret Service personnel

13 assigned with him is also cleared. Logistics Unit 1B, Thomas
14 Glaywea. That's Unit 1B. We've gone through that; that's my

10:39:44 15 wife. That commander is cleared because - he's always in her
16 presence, so he's cleared. Then you have the Commander of Proton

17 B, Darlington Gurmoe. Then you have Commander of Unit 52 detail,
18 Bonor Massaquoi; Unit 50 detail, the Deputy Commander is Prince

19 Massaquoi. Otis Richards, Commander Belle Dumbar unit; D Clifton
10:40:17 20 Tweh, Commander KISS FM; Corina B Teewon, Commander of Unit 50
21 details; Rose B Larmie; Alex Y Francisco; Aaron Barclay; Milton
22 Farley; Jigious Teague; Bill Teah; Alice Nulor; Findai Kandakai;
23 Moses Jallah; J Obacco Flomo; and Susana Kaine.

24 Q. Now, let's go back to, for example, number 9, Bonor
10:41:07 25 Massaquoi, Commander U-52 detail, yes?

26 A. Yes.

27 Q. So that individual is in command of the detail for that
28 individual?

29 A. Yes.

1 Q. So how close would you anticipate the relationship to be
2 between that individual and U-52?

3 A. That would be very close. U-52 again, just for reference,
4 U-52 is the Deputy Director For Operations. So that person would
10:41:33 5 be very senior and close.

6 Q. Would you refer to such a person as the right-hand man of
7 that individual?

8 A. I would - yes, I would. I would say that, yes.

9 Q. So when then we look at number 10, Unit 50 detail, would
10:41:51 10 Prince Massaquoi fall into the same category vis-a-vis Benjamin
11 Yeaten?

12 A. Prince Massaquoi would be very close, yes, as a Deputy
13 Commander, yes.

14 Q. Let's go over the page, please. Explain the title to us,
10:42:23 15 please?

16 A. So you have bodyguards under the command of Inspector
17 Charles Kollie at Proton. Now, this inspector I know very well.
18 This unit - this unit is - the unit is the inner unit. Once in
19 this Court I described three layers, the outer, the middle and
10:42:56 20 the inner unit, that forms a particular formation whilst the
21 President - these are the people that are right next to the
22 President, and it's commanded by some Inspector Charles Kollie.
23 He commands this unit, and these are the people that are - if the
24 President is walking, if he's standing anywhere, these are the
10:43:16 25 authorised Secret Service personnel that can be within a foot or
26 two of him, and this commander - the commander of that unit is
27 the guy that stands behind directly that always covers the back
28 of the President. Normally he must be taller than the President.
29 This is this unit.

1 Q. And who's in it?

2 A. It's commanded by Charles Kollie: You have Irving
3 Massaquoi; Lovette Lablah; Gorpu G Morris; Sam G Gborlay; Paul
4 Gogbey; Aloysius B James; Franklin G Lablah; Anthony R Morris;
10:44:04 5 Emmanuel W Nyanway; Dominic Peal; David F Towee; Jackson Yirah; B
6 Tracey Strother; Bobby N Calphen; Emmanuel Dalamo; Freeman Z
7 Gaye; and Benjamin Urey.

8 Q. Let's pause with that name, Benjamin Urey. Did you have a
9 minister by that name?

10:44:43 10 A. No, not a minister. I had the head of the Maritime
11 Services by the name --

12 Q. And what's his name, just so that we're clear?

13 A. His name is Benjamin Urey also, but this is not him here on
14 this unit. This is another Ben Urey.

10:45:05 15 Q. Now, pronounce the next word for me, please. Beginning
16 G-B-O-T-U-O?

17 A. This is Gbutuo. This is actually Gbutuo detail.

18 Q. What is that?

19 A. Gbutuo is a town on the border. It's - I don't know why
10:45:26 20 they spell it "Gbotuo", but it's Gbutuo. This is the town at the
21 Ivorian border that we enter, okay? These are the people
22 assigned there.

23 Q. Why?

24 A. This is a point of entry. It happens in the United States,
10:45:50 25 every major airport, every point of entry in the United States,
26 whether they are police or state security, the Secret Service is
27 there. So they are there, three individuals there to observe
28 what's coming in, what's going. They do not interfere in custom
29 matters or immigration matters. They are just there. There may

1 be something that other people do not pick up that relates
2 directly to the security of the President that they will pick up.
3 There may be somebody that the Secret Service - other people are
4 looking for that pose a threat to the President's life. They are
10:46:27 5 there to pick up anything and pass it on to headquarters to be
6 evaluated as to whether it poses any threat to the security of
7 the President, yes.

8 Q. Interesting, that. So help us, we've gone through all of
9 this document. Were there such assignments on the Sierra
10:46:45 10 Leone-Liberian border?

11 A. Definitely.

12 Q. For example, at Voinjama?

13 A. Voinjama is --

14 Q. Or Foya?

10:46:51 15 A. Probably not Foya, but a little closer to the border, yes.

16 Q. But help us, why are they not listed in this document?

17 A. This is 2001. Probably the Secret Service didn't see any
18 reason for any threat in that particular area. These assignments
19 may change, depending on the threat level.

10:47:20 20 Q. Let's go over to the next page, page 12. What does this -
21 just explain this page to us, please?

22 A. All officials of government have at least a Secret Service
23 personnel assigned with them. All.

24 Q. And the persons listed here, in general terms who are they?

10:47:48 25 A. These are senior officials of the government, senior VIPs
26 in the country.

27 Q. Right. Now, I think that's fairly self-explanatory so we
28 won't dwell overlong on that, but let's go over to page 13,
29 please. What are we looking at here?

1 A. This looks like a personal evaluation of a report on those
2 people that are not doing very well, you know. The Secret
3 Service is very - because I asked this question many times. It's
4 a very, very, very, very serious organisation. For example, if
10:48:39 5 you do not go to work on a particular day, it is not just as
6 taking off from work if you feel like it. I mean, you are asked
7 a lot of questions as to whether - as to why you didn't have to
8 go to work on a particular day. Because you could have stayed
9 away from work for a clandestine reason; to come back and cause
10:49:03 10 damage. So it's a very strict organisation. So you have - here,
11 for example, you see "failure", people that did certain things
12 wrong; "poor fitness"; this is a training programme; "AWOL",
13 absent without leave during the course; and just the overall, I
14 would say, health of the organisation.

10:49:28 15 Q. So was there in place, then, some system of evaluation and
16 supervision in the SSS?

17 A. Oh, definitely. Oh, definitely. Definitely.

18 Q. Why was that thought to be necessary?

19 A. Even getting recruited into the SSS, the Secret Service,
10:49:50 20 you are evaluated properly, and there's got to be an ongoing
21 evaluation: Mental state, state - there's a lot that goes in - I
22 mean, you may see - if, for example, a secret service personnel
23 is assigned to the President and he begins to take off duty many
24 times, that's reason to investigate and probably move him from
10:50:16 25 that assignment within close proximity of the President. So the
26 process is ongoing because, first and foremost, they are
27 responsible for the security of the President, the First Family
28 and VIPs, so they must be in a position that they are evaluated
29 as being fit at all times, being conscious of what they are

1 doing. It is a very rigorous process of evaluation for security
2 reasons.

3 Q. I'm grateful. Whilst we're looking at that page, for
4 clarity's sake, just at the end of the first Category A, "the
10:50:51 5 above personnel returned to bravo", what is bravo?

6 A. That's just B, base.

7 Q. Pardon?

8 A. Base.

9 Q. Base?

10:51:05 10 A. Yes.

11 Q. And where was the SSS base?

12 A. The SSS trained - depending on what the training is, they
13 trained at about three locations: They trained at Camp

14 Schefflein for certain programmes; they trained at Gbatala for

10:51:20 15 certain programmes; they trained at the police academy. Bravo

16 here, I think - if I didn't make it clear when I said base - you

17 know, when you go in the alphabet, A is alpha, B is bravo. So

18 instead of saying they returned to base, they returned to bravo.

19 So bravo is not the name of a base; they're just saying they

10:51:46 20 returned to base.

21 Q. Yes. And just to complete the process, help us with the
22 names who failed?

23 A. Francis Manneh; Paul J Harris; Eric O Thompson; Eric
24 Zekpeh, David Gargar; and Moses Harris.

10:52:04 25 Q. Poor fitness?

26 A. Momo Charles; Amos Johnson; Obacco Flomo; Kingsley Roberts;

27 Adolphus Gbalea; T Isaac Dixon-Doe; Oscar S Sackie; Dehtay

28 Gunpul; Annie Weah-Weah; Curtis C Laywokay; Nyan Zawolo; Joe

29 Crawford; Emmanuel Bracewell; Momo Banda; Ericson C Mason;

1 Charles Normah.

2 Q. And AWOL?

3 A. That looks like Ericson C Mason; Francis Nye; Prince Heina;
4 Albert Harris; Andrew Koinah; Sabentos Kamara; Normawolee Kollie.

10:53:17 5 If you look at the first note, counsel, these people, they were
6 sent to base for retraining. So they --

7 Q. And numbers 8 and 9 are who?

8 A. Under B?

9 Q. Under C.

10:53:39 10 A. I didn't look. I'm sorry, your Honour. I didn't look on
11 the other side of the page. That is Terrino Kollie and Harris
12 Paye.

13 Q. And the note at the bottom of the page, for completeness?

14 A. You have Helen Trygo as not being fit.

10:54:05 15 Q. Right. Let's look at the final page. Well, the
16 penultimate page, yes? All fairly self-explanatory, but I'm
17 interested in number 5 at the bottom of the page, Arms and
18 Ammunition. Now, if we read that paragraph collectively,
19 "Inspector Alex Y Francisco will request the below-listed items
10:54:40 20 to enhance his assignment, Maryland County," and then amongst the
21 items requested is arms and ammunition, yes?

22 A. Yes.

23 Q. So how did the system operate? Did a request have to be
24 made in this way for arms and ammunition to be dispensed?

10:55:00 25 A. Oh, definitely. Any Secret Service personnel having
26 possession of arms and - definitely listed the arm, the arm
27 number, even the number of rounds of ammunition assigned to you,
28 and even if you have - you have to account for those at every
29 time of inspection and if you discharge one round, you have to

1 tell why it was discharged and you must report it.

2 Q. Now help me. From where did this arms and ammunition come?

3 A. The Secret Service have their own arsenal. They have their
4 own weapons. They keep them, different types of weapons. They
10:55:50 5 are listed, but kept within their own custody.

6 Q. And for good reason I ask, Mr Taylor: Where was that
7 Secret Service armoury?

8 A. The main armoury was at the Executive Mansion.

9 Q. Now, on the question of armouries, taking things slowly,
10:56:22 10 who was in control of that armoury at the Executive Mansion?

11 A. I really don't know who was in control of the armoury. I
12 don't know, but I know who would be authorised to get anything
13 from the armoury. But I don't know from time to time who is in
14 charge.

10:56:45 15 Q. Well, who would be authorised?

16 A. Well, at that particular level the Director of SSS, what
17 you call the head of the Secret Service, would have the ultimate
18 powers to remove material from the armoury or authorise the
19 removal.

10:57:05 20 Q. And whilst we're on the question of armouries, was there an
21 armoury at White Flower?

22 A. At all of the White Flowers there was - I wouldn't call it
23 an armoury. Arms were kept at White Flower A, B and C, that is,
24 Monrovia, Arthington and Gbarnga. When - and it's important
10:57:34 25 because of your question, counsel. When the motorcade that is
26 mentioned here, for your Honours, this motorcade, when the
27 motorcade is travelling with the President, they travel with
28 whatever they need to protect the President. It is not just
29 sidearms. For the sake of the Court, historical fact, if we - in

1 fact, some people in the United States were caught a little short
2 when the terrible incident happened when former President Reagan
3 got shot, unfortunately. People in America, as though they did
4 not know, were shocked when they saw machine guns coming out of
10:58:24 5 Secret Service guards, and people were like: Oh, my God, we
6 didn't know. But the Secret Service takes along what it needs to
7 protect the President, so that goes along. But on the ground -
8 on the ground where the President may be most of the time or some
9 of the time, you have a certain amount of arms and ammunition,
10:58:44 10 especially ammunition, kept there. For example, it is kept there
11 that - say the President came under attack. The Secret Service
12 will have to fight off that attack until a larger force like the
13 army moves in. So they keep extra ammunition and different
14 things on the ground in addition to what they travel with just
10:59:08 15 for protection, yes.

16 Q. And who would be in charge of those armouries at the three
17 White Flower Locations?

18 A. Well, when you say who would be in charge, there would be
19 an inspector and those responsible for armoury. But in terms of
10:59:26 20 order for those armouries, the Director of SSS has the ultimate
21 authority for those armouries.

22 Q. And who's that?

23 A. Benjamin Yeaten.

24 Q. Now, before we finally leave this document, Mr Taylor, we
10:59:49 25 have ad nauseam gone through the various names. Now, can I ask
26 you this: Did you see the Joseph Zigzag Marzah anywhere on that
27 list?

28 A. No, Marzah - these were not people that were considered
29 Secret Service people. I mean, you may have people like - and

1 it's important for the Court to know this, and I'm going to take
2 about a minute on this one. An orderly of the directors, their
3 orderlies - what you see here are mostly officers and orderly -
4 there's several people that are assigned with - even more than
11:00:39 5 mentioned here, like the Deputy Director For Administration or
6 the Deputy Director For Operation, they may have additional
7 people, whether they are service people and different things, you
8 would have some very, very junior people or nonessential people
9 assigned with them, okay? But they are of no - they are not like
11:00:59 10 - you see they are not in the motorcade because they are not
11 trained as a motorcade - or people to be with the President for
12 his protection or even on a VIP assignment. They may have
13 assignment with a director; for example, a driver. A driver is
14 in the SSS but he's just a driver, okay? And these directors may
11:01:21 15 have their orderlies - maybe two orderlies or maybe two or three
16 drivers. That's the difference between: Yes, you are in the
17 SSS, you are part of the Secret Service; but you're just a
18 driver, that's what you are. But they carry you on the SSS
19 payroll, you're in the SSS, but you're just at that level.

11:01:46 20 Q. So to what extent would you have contact with, say,
21 Benjamin Yeaten's orderly?

22 A. Why would the President - he wouldn't come within yards -
23 almost, may I say, miles, of the President. He would have
24 nothing to do with the President. No. No.

11:02:05 25 JUDGE SEBUTINDE: So exactly what was Zigzag Marzah's role
26 and position?

27 MR GRIFFITHS: I was going about to ask that.

28 Q. What was Zigzag Marzah's position, Mr Taylor?

29 A. Zigzag Marzah was an orderly, from my understanding, to

1 Benjamin Yeaten. Zigzag Marzah, he doesn't read, he doesn't
2 write; he was just an orderly to Benjamin Yeaten, that's all. So
3 he would not be listed as any serious officer in the Secret
4 Service that could go on an assignment, no. For Benjamin Yeaten
11:02:37 5 he worked as an orderly.

6 Q. Mr Taylor, did you have come in contact with that man?

7 A. I never came in contact with Zigzag Marzah at all. At all.
8 Never.

9 Q. And just so that we're clear, Mr Taylor, the man referred
11:03:06 10 to as Jungle, to the best of your knowledge was he a member of
11 the SSS?

12 A. I really think that Jungle was in the SSS. I want to
13 believe so. From what I have seen here I - you know, unless I'm
14 told to the contrary, I have no - I'll put it this way: I have
11:03:34 15 no reason to doubt that there was someone in the SSS called
16 Jungle or Denis Tamba, but I don't know him personally.

17 JUDGE SEBUTINDE: Mr Griffiths, do we have a complete list?
18 Is this a complete list? And if so, why isn't this individual on
19 it: Tamba, Jungle?

11:04:01 20 MR GRIFFITHS: Well, let's ask the question:

21 Q. Mr Taylor, if we go to the pagination of this document we
22 see it's numbered 1 through 15, and on the last page there are
23 signatures, yes?

24 A. Yes.

11:04:15 25 Q. As far as you're aware, is this a complete copy of the
26 document?

27 A. Yes, this is a complete copy of this document.

28 Q. Now, if, as you suggest, you want to believe that Jungle is
29 a member of the SSS, why does he not appear in this document?

1 A. This document is not a roster, your Honour, of the Special
2 Security Service. This is an assignment roster of those that
3 have responsibility with the President, either in escorting him
4 or at his residence. Now, there are other members of the SSS
11:04:54 5 that are not mentioned here. That's why I'm saying that I have
6 no reason to doubt that Jungle was a part of the SSS, but I
7 really don't know. But this is an assignment; this deals with
8 the President, his house, VIPs, and these are people that have
9 training in dealing with VIPs and that the President at some
11:05:19 10 point, whether I know them or not, would come within certain
11 proximity of the President.

12 PRESIDING JUDGE: Just to clarify the status of this
13 document, are you saying, Mr Taylor, that every security service
14 member charged with the security of the President is named in
11:05:44 15 this document?

16 THE WITNESS: That would have - yes, I would say that, your
17 Honour. I would say that who have an assignment that deals with
18 the President or VIPs and with the relevant training, yes.

19 MR GRIFFITHS:

11:06:00 20 Q. Now, Mr Taylor, I just want us to be clear about this. Is
21 this document a complete list of everyone who was employed in the
22 SSS?

23 A. No, this is not a roster of the SSS, no.

24 Q. And this document is relevant - is it time specific, or
11:06:23 25 what? If you go back to the front page you'll see a date, 9
26 November 2001. Is this time specific to that date, or what?

27 A. Well, let me see if I can put it in some context. Because,
28 you see, I know what you mean if it's time specific to this date,
29 and I want to not mislead the Court at all.

1 This is specific to this period, but the personnel, while
2 they may change at different locations, but these individuals are
3 specific to the assignment, okay, of protection of the President.
4 For example, just to make it clear, you may today be at - let's
11:07:25 5 say on motorcade A, and maybe after about let's see three months
6 you could be on motorcade C, for example, or, you know, A. These
7 individuals may change from motorcade to assignment, but they are
8 specific to this type of VIP protection. I don't know if I'm
9 clear about this.

11:07:55 10 Q. All right. Let's see if we can clarify it. Let us look,
11 by way of example, at page 5 of this document?

12 A. Yes.

13 Q. Yes?

14 A. Yes.

11:08:11 15 Q. Under motorcade A we see listed between numbers 32 and 38 a
16 number of drivers, yes?

17 A. Yes.

18 Q. Now, would those drivers be permanently based in - assigned
19 to motorcade A?

11:08:36 20 A. No. No. Okay? For this time they may be assigned there.
21 It may be possible that they could be assigned to motorcade C at
22 another time, and some people from C could be - so no, that's why
23 I didn't want to say it's time specific because - okay.

24 Q. But help us with this: Does this document faithfully

11:08:59 25 represent the organisational structure of those responsible for
26 these various duties?

27 A. Yes, I would say that. It does represent that.

28 Q. And did the organisational structure change?

29 A. No. The structure did not change. The personnel may

1 change, but the structure did not change.

2 Q. Right. Now, one other issue in relation to that for
3 clarity's sake, Mr Taylor. If you're still looking at page 5, we
4 see Joseph Massaquoi - Major Joseph Massaquoi is a driver, yes?

11:09:48 5 So that a man who is a driver within the SSS. Would that be his
6 permanent role within the SSS?

7 A. As a driver.

8 Q. Would that be his permanent role?

9 A. Well, I don't want to look at permanence that way. He
11:10:08 10 would be a driver maybe until he has improved or qualified,
11 maybe, and moved up, okay? Because let me just - for the judges:
12 When you say driver here, don't look at it as just an ordinary
13 driver that can drive a car. No. Before you drive in these
14 convoys you go through a training programme to learn how to

11:10:33 15 escape danger. One of the things that we were always - as
16 President, we were always - when we get in the car, in most cases
17 we had to - it's good to put on a seatbelt because these guys
18 used to do something - this car can be going at full speed and
19 there could be an emergency, and they have a way of hitting the
11:10:57 20 brakes and spinning the car around and turning back in the other

21 direction. So these drivers are specialised drivers. They are
22 trained. Not just go and get a licence and come and drive. No,
23 no, no. They are trained to evade, to move - these guys can run
24 at a certain speed that maybe the ordinary person can't, and
11:11:15 25 that's why the convoys go - so these are specialised people,
26 okay? Having said that, a driver may be very qualified and there
27 are ongoing training programmes, and some of them have an
28 opportunity to enhance their education, and he may advance and
29 maybe sit an examination and move, maybe, from the rank of driver

1 to something else. That's why I do not want to say it is a
2 permanent thing. But just to emphasise, that it is a speciality.

3 Q. Now, two other matters, hopefully, before we leave this
4 document. Go back to page 10, please. Now, I asked you earlier
11:12:11 5 about permanency of assignment, Mr Taylor. Do you recall that?

6 A. Yes.

7 Q. Now, this special bodyguard on various assignment, was
8 there any permanency about their position?

9 A. There are a few here that are permanent; the rest, no.

11:12:29 10 They just have top clearance. But there are a couple here on
11 this list that are permanent.

12 Q. Well, help us, who are they?

13 A. The special attendants are permanent positions.

14 Q. So Vasco Bulgar, William Dennis?

11:12:46 15 A. Yes.

16 Q. Now, when you say permanent, how permanent is permanent?
17 Were they serving in that role throughout your presidency?

18 A. Throughout my presidency. And there are a few. The water
19 the President drinks, everything, these people - next to the
11:13:09 20 President's wife in the house these people are indoors, they are
21 there. The President moves from this room to the other room,
22 there is a special attendant right outside of the door. There's
23 an aide-de-camp. But if he needs anything, whether it's a little
24 snack you called for from the kitchen or something where the
11:13:28 25 special attendant goes, these the closest people in-house to the
26 President. Anywhere, his clothes, his food, everything, the
27 special attendants do that.

28 Q. Now, would such an individual be aware of who comes to
29 visit the President?

1 A. He has to.

2 Q. Why?

3 A. Because he is there 24 - there is a special attendant on
4 duty 24 hours a day. They may change shift, but there is a
11:14:01 5 special attendant there at all times. All times.

6 Q. So, Mr Taylor, if one could locate such an individual, that
7 individual, based on what you've told us, would be a mine of
8 information about who came to see you, wouldn't he?

9 A. In fact yes. More than even I would almost say the head of
11:14:23 10 SSS because the SS, of the Secret Service, does not have to be
11 there. They have to be there. They have to be there.

12 Q. One other matter before we move on and it's this: Do you
13 recall photographs of the man called Jungle being shown during
14 the currency of the Prosecution case, Mr Taylor?

11:14:46 15 A. Yes, I do.

16 Q. Now it may be that in due course after the break we may
17 remind ourselves of those photographs, but when you saw those
18 photographs did you recognise him?

19 A. No, I did not. I did not.

11:15:02 20 JUDGE SEBUTINDE: Mr Griffiths, the individuals described
21 as attendants who the witness says were always present, were they
22 present at the residence or are they always present wherever the
23 President goes?

24 MR GRIFFITHS:

11:15:19 25 Q. The question's very clear, Mr Taylor. What's the answer?

26 A. Wherever, your Honour, the President is the special
27 attendant is there. Whether at his private residence, whether at
28 the mansion, whether he's in office, there's a special attendant.
29 That's the hand - I would almost say the hands and feet of the

1 President. Even the aide-de-camp may be outside of that door,
2 but the special attendant is the closest. Like I said, he goes
3 into the President's dressing room to pack his clothes to travel.
4 That's the job of the special attendant that works under the
11:15:54 5 butler. Those are the people - when you talk about somebody that
6 sees the President besides his wife, the butler and the special
7 attendants, and we copy after our big country, those are the
8 important people.

9 Q. And who was your butler?

11:16:13 10 A. My butler is an old childhood friend of mine called David
11 Norris.

12 Q. And, Mr Taylor, how long was David Norris with you?

13 A. Throughout my presidency.

14 Q. Was he with you before in Gbarnga?

11:16:33 15 A. Yes, David Norris was with me.

16 Q. Help us. It may be important. For how long had he been
17 with you?

18 A. David Norris had been with me I would say from about - I
19 would say '94. About '94.

11:17:04 20 Q. Until?

21 A. Until I left office.

22 Q. And did he go with you when you left office?

23 A. Yes, he went with me in exile, yes.

24 Q. So he was with you in Nigeria, was he?

11:17:18 25 A. That is correct.

26 Q. And what about Bulgar and Dennis; when did they first
27 assume that role?

28 A. Throughout. In fact, Bulgar I would say from almost the
29 day I landed in Liberia all the way back in 1990, yes, Bulgar had

1 been with me.

2 Q. He was with you?

3 A. Bulgar has been with me, yes.

4 Q. And did he accompany you to Nigeria?

11:17:55 5 A. Yes, he did.

6 Q. What about Dennis?

7 A. William Dennis, no. In Monrovia, upon my election as
8 President, William Dennis joined the unit.

9 Q. And, Mr Taylor, as far as you are aware, is David Norris
11:18:13 10 alive and well?

11 A. Alive, but he is not well.

12 Q. And where is he, if you're aware?

13 A. Yes, I'm aware. He's in Liberia.

14 Q. What about Vasco Bulgar. As far as you're aware is he
11:18:34 15 alive and well?

16 A. Yes, Vasco Bulgar is alive and well.

17 Q. Where?

18 A. In Liberia.

19 Q. And William Dennis?

11:18:40 20 A. William Dennis is alive and well in Liberia.

21 Q. In Liberia?

22 A. That is correct.

23 MR GRIFFITHS: Unless there are any further questions on
24 this document could I ask, please, that it be marked for
11:19:03 25 identification MFI-207.

26 PRESIDING JUDGE: Yes, that document is marked for
27 identification MFI-207.

28 MR GRIFFITHS:

29 Q. Now we've spent a little time looking at this document,

1 Mr Taylor, for good reason, but taking up the narrative again
2 from last Thursday, you will recall that we stopped on 29 October
3 2001, yes?

4 A. That is correct.

11:19:41 5 Q. In that document where you set out various matters to the
6 Secretary-General, you will recall that you mentioned expelling
7 all RUF members, yes?

8 A. That is correct.

9 Q. Now despite that expulsion were you still keeping a weather
11:20:03 10 eye on what was going on in Sierra Leone?

11 A. Yes.

12 Q. And in the autumn of 2001 what was going on?

13 A. They were still having - we were following very closely on
14 the disarmament and demobilisation programme that was going on
11:20:25 15 and the various meetings that they were having, we tried to keep
16 in touch with that so we could know what was going on so if
17 anything happened out of the ordinary we could try to help to
18 control it.

19 Q. But I thought you were disengaged from the process,
11:20:47 20 Mr Taylor?

21 A. No, at this time we are not disengaged. They don't
22 encourage me to do so even though I warned - but we are not
23 disengaged from the process.

24 Q. Now, you say you were keeping an eye on events in Sierra
11:21:09 25 Leone. Are you also provided with documentation, et cetera,
26 regarding what's going on over there?

27 A. Yes. We are provided through our offices in Sierra Leone.
28 I mentioned that we still have a chancery going on over there.
29 They have one of these DDR meetings, the first one we mentioned

1 was - the delegation was headed by Gibril Massaquoi but this
2 particular time Gibril now is still to the best of my
3 recollection in Monrovia. Now Omrie Golley heads the delegation
4 into the DDR programme where they sign further movements on the
11:22:03 5 disarmament, demobilisation process.

6 Q. How do you know that?

7 A. Because I received a copy of the document signed by Omrie
8 Golley and the UN representatives.

9 Q. Have a look behind divider 120, please. What is this
11:22:38 10 document, Mr Taylor?

11 A. This is the communique that was done by the DDR programme
12 that I spoke about.

13 Q. And is this a document which comes from your archives?

14 A. Yes, definitely.

11:22:58 15 Q. Now we see the document is entitled "Communique Issued By
16 the Joint Government of Sierra Leone, RUF, UNAMSIL Committee on
17 Disarmament, Demobilisation and Reintegration":

18 "The joint committee on disarmament, demobilisation and
19 reintegration, comprising representatives of the government, the
11:23:26 20 RUF and UNAMSIL held its seventh meeting in Freetown on 8
21 November 2001, under the chairmanship of the special
22 representative of the Secretary-General to Sierra Leone,
23 Ambassador Oluyemi Adeniji. The government delegation was led by
24 the Attorney-General and Minister of Justice, the Honourable
11:23:48 25 Solomon Berewa, and the RUF delegation was headed by Mr Omrie
26 Golley, the chairman of the RUF Peace Council. The meeting took
27 place in an unprecedented atmosphere of cordiality and
28 constructive dialogue."

29 Let us pause. As far as you were aware, Mr Taylor, was the

1 relationship between the parties mentioned here that of properly
2 described as operating in an atmosphere of cordiality and
3 constructive dialogue as far as you were aware?

4 A. Yes. As far as I was aware, yes. I had mentioned that
11:24:41 5 Issa Sesay had done an extraordinary job in really moving this
6 process forward and really trying to stick to what he had
7 promised when he took over as leader of the RUF. So to the best
8 of my knowledge to this point we haven't received any - or I
9 haven't received any information that would have led to any
11:25:05 10 intervention on my part.

11 Q. "The government and RUF delegations expressed their deep
12 sympathy to UNAMSIL at the loss of life caused by the UNAMSIL
13 helicopter crash which took place on 7 November. The meeting
14 observed a minute of silence in memory of the victims of the
11:25:23 15 tragedy.

16 The parties expressed satisfaction at the progress made in
17 the disarmament process and at the completion of UNAMSIL's
18 deployment throughout the country."

19 Now, pause again, Mr Taylor. Remind us, when was Issa
11:25:44 20 Sesay appointed interim leader of the RUF?

21 A. Issa Sesay was appointed interim leader of the RUF in
22 August - late August of 2000.

23 Q. We're now in November of 2001 and we note that this
24 document suggests that UNAMSIL are now deployed throughout the
11:26:09 25 country, yes?

26 A. That is correct.

27 Q. Now what was the purpose of UNAMSIL's deployment throughout
28 the country, Mr Taylor?

29 A. For the purpose of demobilising and disarming - well, no,

1 not disarming. Demobilising and receiving the arms of disarmed
2 personnel because if I say disarming they were not there to
3 disarm because it sounds like forceful disarmament, but to
4 receive the arms of the disarmed personnel of the RUF.

11:26:43 5 Q. And following Issa Sesay's appointment as interim leader,
6 Mr Taylor, you've described a process of compliance with the
7 peace process and with disarmament, demobilisation and
8 reintegration fostered by his position as interim leader, yes?

9 A. Yes.

11:27:07 10 Q. So putting things together, appointed late August 2000,
11 we're now in the beginning of November 2001?

12 A. Yes.

13 Q. So we're, what, 13 months later. During that period,
14 Mr Taylor, did you see any need to send arms and ammunition to
11:27:34 15 Sierra Leone?

16 A. No. No. No, they didn't need arms and ammunition. They
17 were giving it up.

18 Q. Help us. Could you conceive of any practical reason why
19 during that time period you would need to provide that kind of
11:27:55 20 logistics, given what was developing in that country?

21 A. No reason whatsoever. None.

22 Q. And of course we appreciate that a couple of months after
23 this communique President Kabbah declared the war over in January
24 2002, did he not?

11:28:15 25 A. Yes, he did.

26 Q. "However, concern was expressed that the undertaking made
27 by the leaders of the CDF and RUF to inform their combatants
28 clearly on agreed criteria for disarmament has not been fully
29 discharged. The leaders are urged to take immediate action so as

1 to facilitate the fast disarmament in accordance with paragraph 3
2 below.

3 The joint committee formally declared Koinadugu and Moyamba
4 Districts disarmed. Disarmament will be declared complete in the
11:28:57 5 Western Area, as well as Bombali and Bo Districts, as of 10
6 November 2001.

7 The joint committee reviewed the progress of the
8 disarmament process and reaffirmed its decision taken at the
9 sixth meeting on the completion in Tonkolili and Pujehun
11:29:16 10 Districts by 14 November. Similarly, disarmament in Kenema and
11 Kailahun Districts will be undertaken between 15 and 30 November
12 2001.

13 The joint committee urged the government to expedite the
14 deployment of the Sierra Leone police in all areas where
11:29:39 15 disarmament has been completed.

16 The joint committee appealed to the international community
17 to continue to support the DDR programme and in particular
18 accelerate the disbursement of pledges already made.

19 After deliberating on the draft Community Arms Collection
11:29:56 20 and Destruction Programme presented by the government, the
21 parties agreed as follows:

22 All arms not within the disarmament programme must be
23 collected. The programme will be implemented between 15 November
24 and 31 December 2001. A wide publicity and sensitisation effort
11:30:17 25 will be undertaken to ensure maximum success.

26 The next meeting of the joint committee will be held in
27 Freetown on 13 December", and we see it's signed by Messrs Berewa
28 and Omrie Golley.

29 PRESIDING JUDGE: I think we're just about out of tape now,

1 Mr Griffiths.

2 MR GRIFFITHS: Very well.

3 PRESIDING JUDGE: We'll take the morning adjournment and
4 resume at 12 o'clock.

11:30:58 5 [Break taken at 11.30 a.m.]

6 [Upon resuming at 12.00 p.m.]

7 PRESIDING JUDGE: Yes, please, continue, Mr Griffiths.

8 MR GRIFFITHS: Before I continue, Mr President, could I
9 ask, please, that that communique issued by the Joint Government
10 of Sierra Leone, RUF, UNAMSIL Committee on Disarmament,
11 Demobilisation, Reintegration be marked for identification
12 MFI-208, please.

13 PRESIDING JUDGE: Marked MFI-208.

14 MR GRIFFITHS: I am grateful:

12:02:26 15 Q. Mr Taylor, I'd like us to pause, now that we've reached the
16 end of 2001, to look at some photographs, please.

17 Could the witness please be shown bundle 4 of 4 for week
18 33, and could I invite your attention behind divider 203, please.

19 When last we looked at these photographs, Mr Taylor, the
12:03:42 20 last photograph we looked at was DP122 behind divider 202. So we
21 are looking at the next photograph in the series, DP123. Help
22 us; firstly, what's the location of this photograph?

23 A. This is the Unity Conference Centre.

24 Q. Where?

12:04:10 25 A. In Virginia, just outside Monrovia.

26 Q. I think it would be much better, Mr Taylor, if once again
27 we adopted the same procedure and you change seats.

28 Apart from yourself, who is of interest in this photograph?

29 A. This is my wife then, now Senator Taylor - Jewel, first

1 name - Howard-Taylor. This gentleman standing here is Dr Roland
2 Massaquoi.

3 Q. Who is he?

12:05:20

4 A. Dr Roland Massaquoi is - he was then serving as Minister of
5 Agriculture, but he is chairing this conference. The gentleman
6 here is my deputy. He is the second-most senior traditional
7 chief in the country. His name is Chief Jallah Loong. That has
8 come before here and we had struggled trying to spell that Loong
9 word. It's L-O-O-N-G, Loong. Of course, that's - right here is

12:06:02

10 the gentleman that we spoke about in the exhibit I just went
11 through. This is Colonel Charles Kollie. Remember, we talked
12 about the SSS personnel that commands the unit that is within the
13 immediate vicinity of the President. This is Colonel Charles
14 Kollie.

12:06:30

15 Q. Anybody else?

16 A. These are all Secret Service personnel. I don't know.
17 Here is then the Director General of the Cabinet, Honourable
18 Blamoh Nelson, now Senator Blamoh Nelson. He is one of the
19 coordinators of the conference. And by "conference" I mean the -

12:06:57

20 I think we talked about this Vision 2024 conference.

21 Q. This is the Vision 20 --

22 A. 24 conference.

23 Q. Date?

12:07:24

24 A. That was back in '98. This is a traditional lady. I can
25 see her with - it looks like a sahsah. But I don't know their
26 names, but they are attending the conference too.

27 Q. Can you give us an idea as to the date; a month in 1998?

28 A. I can't recall right now. I can't.

29 Q. Very well. Okay. Over the page, Mr Taylor. DP124, we see

1 Unity Conference Centre in the background. Is this the same
2 occasion, or what?

3 A. That's the same occasion, just a different day.

4 Q. This is a different day at the same conference, yes?

12:08:07 5 A. That is correct.

6 Q. So this is Vision 2024 conference?

7 A. That is correct.

8 Q. Now, Mr Taylor, what I would like you to do is to flick
9 through photograph DP135 and see if we are all - we are talking

12:08:36 10 about the same occasion, okay?

11 A. Yes.

12 Q. So go through from 124 right through to 135 and tell us if
13 it's the same occasion or not, all right?

14 A. Yes, that's the same conference.

12:09:03 15 Q. 126, please, if we can do this as quickly as possible, then
16 we will come back to just one.

17 A. Yes, it looks like the same conference.

18 Q. Keep going.

19 A. Yes, same conference.

12:09:37 20 Q. Right through to 135, please.

21 A. Yes. Yes. Yes. Just different angles, yes.

22 Q. What number is that one, Mr Taylor?

23 A. 130.

24 Q. Just five more to go. We can do this quite quickly. Yes?

12:10:40 25 A. Yes. Yes.

26 Q. No, wrong one. We've seen that one before. We should be
27 up to 134. Yes, Mr Taylor?

28 A. Yes, same.

29 Q. And finally 135.

1 A. Same thing.

2 Q. There should be one more. Yes, Mr Taylor?

3 A. Yes.

4 Q. Same occasion?

12:11:46 5 A. Yes.

6 Q. All right. Now, Mr Taylor, I would like now, please, DP125
7 to be put back on the overhead, please. Who is the gentleman
8 with you?

9 A. That's again Dr Roland Massaquoi.

12:12:22 10 Q. So, Mr Taylor, all of the photographs I've just shown you
11 are all of the same occasion, Vision 2024 conference, yes?

12 A. Yes.

13 Q. In 1998?

14 A. That is correct.

12:12:36 15 Q. Yes?

16 A. Yes.

17 MR GRIFFITHS: Could I therefore ask, Mr President,
18 photographs DP123 through to 135 be marked for identification
19 MFI-209 A through to --

12:13:03 20 PRESIDING JUDGE: I think it's 209M, but please check that.

21 MR GRIFFITHS: Sorry, 209. MFI-209 A through to --

22 PRESIDING JUDGE: M. I think it's M. Those photographs
23 are marked for identification going to - photographs DP123
24 through to 135, they are marked MFI-209 A to M.

12:13:43 25 MR GRIFFITHS: I am grateful:

26 Q. Right, Mr Taylor. Let's have a look at DP136 now. Right.
27 It may be self-evident. Who is this?

28 A. This is Muammar Gaddafi. This is an English interpreter,
29 even though he speaks English. And that's me right there.

1 Q. And the occasion?

2 A. I will put this to about 2001. This is the event - we are
3 preparing for the discussions of the change from the OAU to the
4 African Union. This is a conference in Libya.

12:14:59 5 Q. Okay. Over the page, please. It looks like the same
6 occasion, Mr Taylor, is it? DP137?

7 A. Yes. Yes, this is the same occasion. Now we have
8 officials from both sides present during our discussions.

9 Q. Right. Now that we've got a wider view, can you help us
12:15:35 10 with any identities?

11 A. Yes. Right here is - this is the press secretary to the
12 President, Honourable Reginald Goodridge. This is the ambassador
13 - Liberian ambassador to Libya, Yanks Smythe.

14 Q. Pause. Now, he has been mentioned before, Mr Taylor,
12:16:55 15 hasn't he?

16 A. That is correct.

17 Q. Of Gambian origin, but currently of Liberian citizenship?

18 A. That is correct.

19 Q. All right. Who else?

12:17:04 20 A. I don't know. These are Libyans here. I can't make out
21 anybody else here. These are just - these could be Libyan
22 officials. I don't know anybody on this side and I don't know
23 whose back this is turned here. I really don't.

24 Q. Now, the gentleman on the left of the photograph with the
12:17:31 25 beard sitting nearest to you, who is that?

26 A. Right there?

27 Q. Yes, with the beard.

28 A. Well, I'll tell you I'm not too sure because this could be
29 from the - I don't want to mislead. It could - it looks like

1 Monie Captan but I am not too sure, so I don't want to say what I
2 am not sure of. From the side view it looks like Monie Captan,
3 but this will be a place that, for example, he would sit there,
4 but I don't want to come back later and say oh, I thought so. It
12:18:17 5 appears to be, but I'm not too sure, your Honours.

6 Q. Okay. Fine. Just flick over the page briefly. Same or
7 different occasion?

8 A. No, this is a different occasion.

9 Q. Right. Let's go back to the previous one, please. Can I
12:18:45 10 ask, please, Mr President, that photograph DP136 and DP137 be
11 marked for identification MFI-210A and B respectively.

12 PRESIDING JUDGE: Yes, photographs DP136 and 137 are marked
13 MFI-210A and B respectively.

14 MR GRIFFITHS: I am grateful:

12:19:13 15 Q. Now, can we put photograph 138 back up on the overhead,
16 please. What occasion is this, Mr Taylor?

17 A. We are honouring the President of FIFA, Sepp Blatter.

18 Q. This is Sepp Blatter?

19 A. That is correct, at the Executive Mansion.

12:19:45 20 Q. Just so that we're sure, which one is Sepp Blatter?

21 A. That is Sepp Blatter right here.

22 Q. And who is Sepp Blatter for those not of a sporting bent?

23 A. I have been in jail now, I don't know, but at the time he
24 was President of FIFA, the Federation of International Football.

12:20:07 25 Q. And what's he doing in Liberia?

26 A. Liberia at the time was holding - I would put this to about
27 2000/2001. He was running for the position to become the head of
28 FIFA and Liberia had - from the African Football Federation we
29 had a voting member sitting on the African Football Federation

1 council. And he travelled to lobby government. Well, not the
2 Government of Liberia, but at least the Liberian Football
3 Association. For such an important person we hosted a luncheon
4 for him.

12:20:49 5 Q. So this is 2000/2001, yes?

6 A. I would put it to that, yes.

7 Q. Right. Who is the gentleman adjusting his seat?

8 A. This is one of the - he works in the butler department that
9 serve - that do the catering for the President directly.

12:21:12 10 Q. Now, I ask merely to see whether it was one of the
11 individuals we spoke about this morning?

12 A. No, no, no, no, no.

13 Q. Who is the gentleman with the greying hair to the right of
14 Sepp Blatter?

12:21:25 15 A. Right here is the Speaker of the House of Representative of
16 the Republic of Liberia, Honourable Yundueh Monorkomna. We have
17 that in the records.

18 JUDGE SEBUTINDE: Could you give us the spelling of the
19 white gentleman, please.

12:21:54 20 MR GRIFFITHS: Sepp Blatter, S-E-P-P B-L-A-T-T-E-R:

21 Q. Let's have a quick look at photograph 139, please. Same or
22 different occasion?

23 A. Same occasion. Just a different shot.

24 Q. 140, please. Same or different occasion?

12:22:32 25 A. This is about the same occasion.

26 Q. Because if you flick back to 139, I'm sure as President you
27 owned more than one tie, and you seem to be wearing the same tie
28 in 139 as in 140, save that you don't have the green sash?

29 A. That is correct.

1 Q. Okay. Have a quick flick over to 141, please. Same or
2 different occasion?

3 A. This is a totally different occasion.

12:23:16

4 Q. Okay. Let's go back then, please. Can I ask that
5 photographs 138, 139 and 140 be marked for identification
6 MFI-211A, B and C.

7 PRESIDING JUDGE: Yes, those photographs are so marked.

8 MR GRIFFITHS: I am grateful:

12:24:02

9 Q. Now let's go to photograph DP141. Who do we see in this
10 photograph, Mr Taylor?

11 A. I don't know the name of the gentleman, but this is in
12 Libya and I think he is about the number three in the hierarchy
13 there that had come to the airport. This is the airport in
14 Tripoli, receiving me in Libya.

12:24:23

15 Q. So this is at the airport in Tripoli?

16 A. That is correct.

17 Q. What's the occasion?

12:24:51

18 A. This must be again maybe an African Union meeting. I would
19 put this - I must be honest about this. I've struggled with the
20 year, but I would put this around 2001/2002. More 2001, I would
21 say.

22 Q. And the gentleman in the uniform betwixt the two of you,
23 who is he?

24 A. He is a Libyan army personnel, I guess, yeah.

12:25:16

25 Q. Okay. Very well. Over the page. Same or different
26 occasion? Remind yourself of 141, if necessary.

27 A. It looks like the same occasion. Let me just see. It
28 looks like the same occasion.

29 Q. Okay. So this is Libya at the airport, yes?

1 A. That is correct.

2 Q. And the gentleman behind the chap who in the previous
3 photograph you say you couldn't name, he is the same gentleman
4 who is between the two of you in photograph 141, yes?

12:26:12 5 A. Right here?

6 Q. No, no, the other one. He was in the previous photograph?

7 A. Yes.

8 Q. And I want to distinguish him now from the chap who is
9 behind you. Who is he?

12:26:22 10 A. That is the aide-de-camp. The Liberian aide-de-camp.

11 Q. And what's his name?

12 A. Musa N'jie. We have heard that here before.

13 Q. Okay. So that's 142. Have a quick look at 143. Same or
14 different occasion?

12:26:51 15 A. Totally different occasion.

16 Q. Very well then. Leave that on the screen. Can I ask that
17 DP141 and 142 be marked for identification MFI-212A and B
18 respectively, please.

19 PRESIDING JUDGE: Yes, those photographs are marked
12:27:12 20 accordingly.

21 MR GRIFFITHS:

22 Q. DP143, Mr Taylor?

23 A. This is in Nigeria. We are attending a church service in
24 Nigeria. I don't know - I don't quite remember the occasion.

12:27:41 25 These happened so many times. But this is definitely Abuja,
26 Nigeria.

27 Q. So it's Abuja, Nigeria. Year?

28 A. I would put this to about 2002.

29 Q. Now, front row left to right, who is who?

1 A. This is President Obasanjo.

2 Q. Yes, pause. The lady next to him?

3 A. Mrs Obasanjo.

4 Q. You we recognise. To your left?

12:28:33 5 A. This is President Gnassingbe Eyadema, the President of
6 Togo.

7 Q. Next to him?

8 A. This is President Mathieu Kerekou of Benin.

9 Q. Right. You are going to have to help us with a spelling, I
12:29:04 10 think.

11 A. I am going to need some help myself on this not to mislead
12 the Court, please. Just phonetically I would say K-R-A-K-U-E,
13 but I stand corrected on this one.

14 Q. But it's Benin?

12:29:21 15 A. Yes, the President of Benin. General Mathieu Kerekou.

16 Q. I am told that the spelling is K-E-R-E-K-O-U.

17 Now, that you've identified the individuals, Mr Taylor, are
18 you able to - are you better able now to assist us as to the
19 occasion?

12:29:59 20 A. No, I really can't recall. Most times - at best, I can
21 say, with the number of Heads of State present here - and there
22 could be others on the other side - I would put this - this has
23 got to be an ECOWAS meeting somewhere, I would say, around 2002.
24 It would be an ECOWAS meeting.

12:30:25 25 Q. Right. So this is ECOWAS, 2002, Abuja?

26 A. Uh-huh.

27 Q. Flick over to the next photograph, please. Same, or
28 different occasion?

29 A. It's the same occasion, just the shutter angle.

1 Q. Any additional individuals you can identify in this
2 photograph?

3 A. Yes. This is my aid de camp on this assignment. This is
4 General Edwin Charles. That's the only person I can - this must
12:31:10 5 be the Lady in Waiting for the First Lady behind her. This is
6 the aid de camp of President Obasanjo, but I don't know his name.

7 Q. Okay. Flick over quickly to 145. Same, or different
8 occasion?

9 A. This is at a different point, not the same occasion. I put
12:31:39 10 this - there was a similar photo we went through. This, I put it
11 to around the ECOWAS jubilee, because next to my left is Mbeki
12 and we have a similar photo to this. That occasion is what is
13 reflected here. We went through that the other day.

14 Q. And the sign above President Obasanjo looks like an ECOWAS
12:32:08 15 emblem, doesn't it?

16 A. That is correct; it is.

17 Q. Right. Leave that for a minute.

18 Can I ask, please, that DP 143 and 144 be marked for
19 identification MFI-213A and B, please?

12:32:25 20 PRESIDING JUDGE: Yes, those two photographs are marked
21 MFI-213A and B respectively.

22 MR GRIFFITHS:

23 Q. Right. Let's now go to DP145; ECOWAS what occasion?

24 A. I would put it to the Silver Jubilee.

12:32:47 25 Q. And just quickly, Mr Taylor; Obasanjo, yes?

26 A. That's Obasanjo, Jerry Rawlings and myself.

27 Q. Right. Flick over to 146. Same occasion?

28 A. Same occasion.

29 Q. 147?

1 A. Yes, same occasion. Mbeki is in there now, yes.

2 Q. Flick over to 148. Same, or different occasion?

3 A. This is a different occasion.

4 Q. Right.

12:33:34 5 Can I ask, please, that DP145, 146 and 147 be marked for
6 identification MFI-214A, B, C respectively, please?

7 PRESIDING JUDGE: Yes, those photographs are marked
8 accordingly.

9 MR GRIFFITHS:

12:33:52 10 Q. Right. So, DP148, Mr Taylor, where are we?

11 A. We are at Roberts International Airport in Liberia.
12 Harbel, Liberia.

13 Q. Occasion?

14 A. I am waiting here for a Head of State. That's when I would
12:34:20 15 come for this kind of thing, and I am standing out here. I
16 really - this would be - I really couldn't help as to maybe who
17 or what - I may have to see some other pictures.

18 Q. All right. Limit yourself to identities. Who is the
19 female to your right?

12:34:47 20 A. This is a cousin of mine.

21 Q. Name?

22 A. Her name is - her last name - she is married now.

23 Q. Just give us the first name.

24 A. Keisha Urey.

12:35:16 25 Q. Spelling?

26 A. Keisha, K-E-I-S-H-A, and U-R-E-Y, Urey.

27 Q. Female to your left, who is that?

28 A. This is my daughter, Zoe Taylor, Z-O-E.

29 Q. Right. So that's the Zoe Taylor referred to in the SSS

1 document we looked at earlier?

2 A. That is correct.

3 Q. Who is the female to her left?

4 A. This is a protocol officer at the Executive Mansion.

12:35:51 5 Q. Name?

6 A. Her name is Miata, M-I-A-T-A, and her last name is - well,
7 I am not going to - I don't remember, because normally we just
8 called her Miata. I just call - I do not know her last name.

9 Q. The gentleman in the uniform behind Zoe, your daughter?

12:36:18 10 A. This is general Edwin Charles, aid de camp.

11 Q. Right. He is becoming rather familiar now. So that's
12 Edwin Charles again, yes?

13 A. Uh-huh.

14 Q. The gentleman in the sunglasses immediately behind you?

12:36:33 15 A. That's Colonel Charles Kollie, Secret Service.

16 PRESIDING JUDGE: What was that last name?

17 THE WITNESS: Kollie, your Honour. K-O-L-L-I-E.

18 MR GRIFFITHS:

19 Q. SSS?

12:36:54 20 A. That is correct.

21 Q. We encountered him in the document this morning as well.

22 A. That is correct.

23 Q. The gentleman behind Keisha Urey?

24 A. This is the butler, David Norris.

12:37:06 25 Q. Right. We finally see him then. So that's David Norris,
26 right, the butler?

27 A. That is correct.

28 Q. Now, help us, Mr Taylor, pausing there. Why is the butler
29 with you at RIA?

1 A. The butler, special attendant, this is the just the most
2 senior of them. At RIA I may want - if I call for a drink of
3 water, or when the Heads of State come in the VIP lounge, they
4 may want to be served a drink, Coca-Cola or water. The butler is
12:37:58 5 responsible in there with the service people.

6 Q. So Mr Taylor, he is not just restricted to the Executive
7 Mansion or to --

8 A. No, no, no. The butler and the special attendant, wherever
9 the President is, the butler or the special attendant, they are
12:38:16 10 there as the - the President would never eat from a stranger. No
11 one can just walk up to the Head of State and offer him
12 something. Even if you are a Secret Service personnel, the
13 butler or the special attendant would hand the glass or whatever
14 to the President, or the service person. Like in the picture

12:38:32 15 before, the gentleman that you see that was adjusting the seat of
16 Mr Blatter, that you asked who is that gentleman, these are the
17 only people - he is there because he is serving me and he is
18 serving my guest, and nobody else can bring food to the
19 President, even from the kitchen, except that person. Yes. So
12:38:58 20 the butler is there. If I need anything from this point, no one
21 would move from here to go and get it for me except the butler.
22 The Secret Service man here cannot move; the aid de camp cannot
23 move; she doesn't work for government. She's a protocol officer,
24 she's - so the butler is there to serve the President.

12:39:17 25 Q. Okay. Got it. Over the page, please; DP149, same or
26 different occasion?

27 A. No, no, no. This is a different occasion here, completely
28 different.

29 Q. Pause.

1 DP148, can I ask for that to be marked for identification
2 MFI-215, please?

3 PRESIDING JUDGE: Yes, marked MFI-215.

4 Q. DP149, who is this?

12:39:53 5 A. This is the special representative of the Secretary-General
6 of Liberia, Honourable Downes-Thomas.

7 Q. Right. So this is he?

8 A. That is correct.

9 Q. Mr Taylor, are you able to - I appreciate there is not a
12:40:24 10 great deal to go on in this photograph, but can you assist us as
11 to the occasion?

12 A. No, I can't help. But this must be an official occasion
13 for the special representative of the Secretary-General to be
14 speaking. This must be a very important occasion, but I can't
12:40:44 15 help you on that.

16 Q. Okay. So now we can put a face to the name.

17 That's DP149. Can I ask for that to be marked for
18 identification MFI-216?

19 PRESIDING JUDGE: Yes, that photograph is marked MFI-216.

12:41:07 20 Q. Now, Mr Taylor, DP150, you are wearing the hat of a British
21 tea planter. Now, what occasion is this?

22 A. This is - I'm clearing, this the beginning of my farm in
23 Gbarnga. I am getting into the agriculture business now at my
24 farm in Gbarnga.

12:41:35 25 Q. Right. Help us with the few personalities, please, if
26 possible. The gentleman in the white shirt to your right?

27 A. This is Colonel Mohamed Adams.

28 Q. Who is he?

29 A. Colonel Adams is Ghanaian. I have known him for many, many

1 years during my years of exile in Ghana, and he frequents
2 Liberia.

3 Q. So he is just a guest?

4 A. Yes.

12:42:14 5 Q. What about the gentleman in uniform?

6 A. This is General Momo Dgi ba.

7 Q. Anybody else?

8 A. No. These are just Secret Service personnel. I don't know
9 their names.

12:42:38 10 Q. So who is the Secret Service personnel, Mr Taylor? Just
11 point them out to us.

12 A. This is one right here. This is one right here. This is
13 definitely one right here.

14 Q. Now, help us, Mr Taylor. You are on your farm doing a bit
12:42:56 15 of soil tilling?

16 A. Yes.

17 Q. Why do you need Secret Service people there?

18 A. Well, who protects the President? The President, whether
19 you are on your farm or whether you are on vacation, you still
12:43:11 20 must get the protection of the Secret Service.

21 Q. So are you telling us that they accompany you everywhere?

22 A. They have to, yes. They have to. Everywhere the President
23 goes, he must be. In fact, you will not go unless the Secret
24 Service accompanies you. Secret Services can stop the President
12:43:39 25 from moving. They can stop him. If the President wants to go,
26 let's say, anywhere and the Secret Service says, Mr President, we
27 have reason to believe one, two, three, four, five and there is
28 danger, the President - there are many times we have planned to
29 go to places that the Secret Service will give you sufficient

1 reason that you have to change your mind.

2 Q. Now, can you identify who those three Secret Service
3 individuals are?

4 A. No, I don't know the details, but they must have clearance
12:44:12 5 to be where they are. They have to have clearance to be where
6 they are. Even you see, the general here is armed, he has a
7 light weapon with him. Everybody here, you can't see, but they
8 are all armed. Everybody here is armed. Side armed.

9 Q. Now, so this is your farm in?

12:44:34 10 A. Gbarnga, Bong County.

11 Q. Can you help us with a date?

12 A. This looks like the very early part. I would put this to
13 about late '97, '98. Early '98.

14 Q. Why?

12:44:52 15 A. Because I am just beginning - you can see I am just
16 beginning the farm. The yellow machines are - they are going to
17 knock down trees and then we are going to go through the whole
18 process before you have different machines coming, but this is
19 the very beginning of the clearing process.

12:45:16 20 MR GRIFFITHS: Could I ask, please, that DP150 be marked
21 for identification MFI-217, please.

22 PRESIDING JUDGE: That's marked MFI-217.

23 MR GRIFFITHS:

24 Q. Over the page, DP151. Who is this?

12:45:39 25 A. This is Lieutenant General Daniel Opande, the commander of
26 UNAMSIL forces you can see in '94.

27 Q. A bit of a giveaway what's written on his shoulder, but
28 where's he from?

29 A. Kenya.

1 Q. And this is which year, do you say?

2 A. '94. 1994. It's right on the - 1994.

3 Q. 22 June 1994. And he is, remind me, I wasn't listening?

4 A. He is an UNAMSIL officer in Liberia.

12:46:30 5 Q. In Liberia?

6 A. That is correct.

7 Q. And can you help us with this occasion?

8 A. No, I can't. I really can't.

9 PRESIDING JUDGE: I'm just querying a UNAMSIL officer in
12:46:50 10 Liberia. Is that correct?

11 THE WITNESS: Okay. You've got me there. Okay. Let me
12 just - it's an UN military - you know these names, UNAMSIL -
13 okay, for Liberia it would be UNOL, UNOMIL. Thank you, your
14 Honour. UNOMIL. I'm sorry.

12:47:11 15 MR GRIFFITHS:

16 Q. So that is UNOMIL --

17 A. In Liberia.

18 Q. -- In Liberia in 1994?

19 A. That is correct.

12:47:12 20 Q. Can you help us with the occasion?

21 A. I really can't. But when you see the general sitting here
22 relaxed, these chairs look like - I recognise these are Executive
23 Mansion chairs. So this has got to be - I would put this to a
24 programme in the parlour at the Executive Mansion because I can
12:47:31 25 tell from the back of this chair these are Executive Mansion
26 furniture. So he could be at the parlours at the Executive
27 Mansion I would say in '94.

28 Q. Which Executive Mansion in '94?

29 A. The Executive Mansion.

1 Q. In?

2 A. The Executive Mansion wherever I am. In Gbarnga, we had
3 the mansion in Gbarnga too, okay. That's the place where you
4 hear about.

12:47:55 5 Q. That's why I'm asking. Which one is this?

6 A. Yeah. These are the chairs. This is in Gbarnga. These
7 are the chairs that I had in the parlours up there.

8 Q. Right. So this is Lieutenant General Daniel Opande, 1994,
9 Executive Mansion, Gbarnga?

12:48:13 10 A. In fact let me correct that. I think at this time he is
11 major general. Later on he comes back as lieutenant. I think at
12 '94, to correct myself, I think he is major general at the time.

13 Q. Very well. Okay. Flick over to DP152. Before we ask
14 about this, obviously a different individual. When did Opande
12:48:47 15 come back?

16 A. General Opande came back to the region commanding in
17 Sierra Leone, this is why I mentioned UNAMSIL. He comes back
18 later and commands in Sierra Leone. But I see Daniel Opande in
19 2000. By this time he is Minister of Defence. That's the last
12:49:23 20 time I saw him. When he visits Liberia there are some Kenyans
21 that are taken hostage in Sierra Leone. General Opande comes
22 along with a couple of Parliamentarians from Kenya to deal with
23 that problem in 2000.

24 Q. Okay.

12:49:42 25 A. That's when I last see him.

26 Q. Right. Who are we looking at in DP152?

27 A. Now this is one of my predecessors. This is former
28 President William R Tolbert.

29 Q. This is Tolbert?

1 A. This is President Tolbert that was chairman of the OAU at
2 the time he was killed in the coup of 1980.

3 MR GRIFFITHS: Mr President, did I ask for the Daniel
4 Opande - can I ask for it to be marked for identification
12:50:26 5 MFI-218, please.

6 PRESIDING JUDGE: Yes, photograph DP151 is marked for
7 identification 218:

8 Q. Right. So this is William Tolbert. Wearing what uniform,
9 Mr Taylor?

12:50:44 10 A. He is wearing military uniform.

11 Q. Right. And finally, DP --

12 A. I just want to mention here, counsel, the importance of
13 this - I just want it for the note. There have been photos of me
14 in military uniform and I think it's important to note here the

12:51:10 15 wearing of that uniform doesn't mean you have been a soldier. I
16 have never been a soldier. But on 26 July all Presidents of
17 Liberia, on inspection of the honour guard, wear military
18 uniform. That's why I was in uniform.

19 Q. So what can you tell us about the occasion on which
12:51:30 20 President William Tolbert was wearing this?

21 A. 26 July. He would not wear it any other time.

22 Q. Finally DP153. Who is this?

23 A. This is another one of my predecessors. This is the late
24 President of Liberia, Dr William VS Tubman. The guy that led
12:52:11 25 Liberia for almost 27 years before - it was at his death that
26 Tolbert took over as President of Liberia. This is President
27 Tubman.

28 Q. So this is Tubman?

29 A. That is correct.

1 MR GRIFFITHS: Could I ask, please, that DP152, the
2 photograph of former President William Tolbert, be marked for
3 identification MFI-219, please.

4 PRESIDING JUDGE: Yes, that's marked MFI-219.

12:53:03 5 MR GRIFFITHS: And photograph DP153 of former President
6 William VS Tubman be marked for identification MFI-220, please.

7 PRESIDING JUDGE: Yes, photograph DP153 is marked for
8 identification MFI-220.

9 MR GRIFFITHS: I am grateful:

12:53:27 10 Q. All right, Mr Taylor. Could you go back to your seat,
11 please. Now we've concluded 2001. At the start of 2002,
12 Mr Taylor, President Kabbah declares the war in Sierra Leone to
13 be over, yes?

14 A. Yes.

12:54:42 15 Q. Are you given an indication before the public announcement
16 that such an announcement is to be made?

17 A. You mean from President Kabbah?

18 Q. Yes, please.

19 A. Well, I guess that all of us know that the disarmament,
12:55:11 20 demobilisation process is going on fine and that a date is being
21 arranged for general elections. Yes, we are all aware.

22 Q. And how did you greet the announcement of the end of the
23 war?

24 A. That was a great relief for me.

12:55:37 25 Q. But was Liberia itself devoid of war at the time?

26 A. No, no, no. We were still struggling with the insurgency
27 out of Guinea.

28 Q. Now, by this time, Mr Taylor, January 2002, these
29 insurgents coming out of Guinea, were they operating under a

1 particular banner?

2 A. Yes. They were operating under the name of a group calling
3 themselves LURD.

4 Q. Which stands for what?

12:56:17 5 A. They say Liberia United For Democracy.

6 Q. Now, help us, when was it that they adopted that title?

7 A. I would put it to - they started off with Mosquito Spray
8 and all kinds of stuff. I would put it to somewhere in 2001 we
9 started hearing of LURD and LURD and LURD. I would put that to

12:56:48 10 about 2001.

11 Q. Now, just to bring us up to date. Are these the same
12 insurgents who had first emerged a couple of years earlier?

13 A. Oh, yes. Oh, yes. It's the same group.

14 Q. So help us, just so that we have a time frame, when had

12:57:15 15 this particular incursion begun? Just so that we know the period
16 of time we're talking about?

17 A. We have to put it all the way back to late '98. There were
18 a few attacks in '99, 2000, yes.

19 Q. And by this stage, the beginning of 2002, what's the extent
12:57:43 20 of the problems that this incursion is causing your government?

21 A. It's causing a lot of problems. We send - we've had
22 meetings about this at the ECOWAS level. But we begin now to
23 send out formal official inquiries to the Guinean government
24 through diplomatic channels, but they are causing a lot of havoc
12:58:15 25 for the government.

26 Q. Now, the other matter I want to ask you about as we embark
27 upon this new year is this: What's the state of affairs with the
28 United States at this time?

29 A. You say the state of affairs as?

1 Q. What's the nature of the relationship with them? Remember,
2 we looked at the executive order issued by President Bush last
3 week. So what's the situation?

4 A. With the United States, what you have, it was always a
12:58:58 5 bittersweet situation. But at this time at least we are not at -
6 I would put it medium to good.

7 Q. Medium to good?

8 A. Yes.

9 Q. Who is the US ambassador at this time, Mr Taylor?

12:59:23 10 A. In 2000 that would be Milam. It would be Ambassador Milam.

11 Q. So what are you saying? Who had been the previous
12 ambassador?

13 A. I don't recall. I mean, when you going through these
14 problems with these people, sometimes you try not to remember
13:00:01 15 names. I don't recall who was there before, but I recall Milam
16 was at this time.

17 Q. Mr Taylor, have you ever seen a publication called "All
18 About Liberia"?

19 A. Oh, yes.

13:00:16 20 Q. What's the nature of that publication?

21 A. "All About Liberia" was a publication done under the
22 auspices of Ministry of State For Presidential - I mean, the
23 Ministry of Information, excuse me. It was done as the setting
24 up of a web page to try to keep the world in touch with the
13:00:47 25 situation in Liberia and had some of our top correspondents that
26 wrote extensively on it.

27 Q. Yes. And why had that been set up?

28 A. To at least try, in our weak way, to combat the propaganda
29 against the government. There was massive propaganda against the

1 government, and so we felt that we needed to get our side of the
2 story out as much as possible and to deal with some of the
3 disinformation that was being put out there from the media, from
4 especially the Embassy in Monrovia. The United States embassy in
13:01:35 5 Monrovia, they were very hard. They were - in fact, one of the
6 issues that I took interest in that I kept was a piece done by
7 one of our - one very good writer called Doe. He wrote one in
8 which he disagreed with the ambassador on some of the statements
9 that he had been making.

13:01:57 10 Q. Yes. And do you remember Doe's first name?

11 A. I'm not sure if it's Peter, But I remember Doe. These
12 were - you know, I don't know the details of some of these
13 people, but I remember the last name is Doe.

14 Q. And can you recall when you saw such an article?

13:02:21 15 A. Oh, yes, when it first came out. That was one of the first
16 pieces of counter - we decided to begin to counter this --

17 Q. Counter what?

18 A. The propaganda coming out of the United States. In January
19 of 2002 allaboutliberia.com really got moving, and then some of
13:02:44 20 the top writers were recruited to come in to keep the web page -
21 I don't know how you call it in the internet thing - to keep it
22 updated, excuse me - updated on what agreements were,
23 disagreements, analysis, and all of this.

24 Q. And did you save any of these articles in your archives,
13:03:05 25 Mr Taylor?

26 A. Yes, I kept this one, allaboutliberia.com, I did keep it.

27 Q. I would like us, please, to go to volume 3 of 4, behind
28 divider 122. Do you recognise this, Mr Taylor?

29 A. Yes, this is the Kieh Doe thing, yes, earlier, yes.

1 Q. And if we look on top right-hand corner, we see a date
2 March 12; bottom right-hand corner also, March 2002; do you see
3 that?

4 A. Yes.

13:04:06 5 Q. And I title is "American Ambassador, I beg to differ" by
6 Peter Kieh Doe, yes?

7 A. Yes.

8 Q. So effectively, Mr Taylor, if what I understand you are
9 telling us is correct, this is a government publication?

13:04:25 10 A. Yes, this is a government backed - I would call it a
11 government-backed publication.

12 Q. "During the 1940s, the British statesman and
13 Prime Minister, Sir Winston Leonard Spencer Churchill, described
14 the foreign policy of the former Soviet Union as a 'riddle

13:04:46 15 wrapped in an enigma'. Prime Minister Churchill was simply
16 saying Soviet's foreign policy was complex and beneath such
17 policy, there was a hidden agenda or meaning. So in order to
18 avoid a misjudgment or faux pas in foreign relations with the
19 Soviet Union one had to be careful, otherwise that particular
13:05:10 20 nation, in such intercourse with Russia, risks some unfavourable
21 consequences.

22 Prime Minister Churchill was right. However, the Soviet
23 Union, which served as an effective counterbalance to the
24 United States and its western allies, collapsed in the hands of
13:05:30 25 Mikhail Gorbachev's western-inspired reform, thus making the
26 United States the only roaring lion. I suspect that while the
27 Soviet Union was on its dying bed, it bequeathed its style of
28 foreign relations to its former arch rival, the United States of
29 America. Last week's statement, which emanated from the United

1 States embassy concerning Liberia, reinforced my suspicion about
2 a hidden agenda, because Liberia has substantially cooperated
3 with the rest of the international community as it relates to
4 United Nations preconditions for the lifting of the sanctions and
13:06:14 5 arms embargo on Liberia."

6 Pause, had you?

7 A. Oh, yes. We did and we informed the Secretary-General,
8 yes.

9 Q. And just remind us, Mr Taylor: By this stage, March 2002,
13:06:26 10 for how long had those sanctions been in place?

11 A. For more than a year now they had been in place.

12 Q. And in addition to the UN sanctions, there were additional
13 sanctions imposed by the United States. Is that right?

14 A. That is correct.

13:06:49 15 Q. "Almost all the demands contained in US Ambassador Bismarck
16 Myrick's latest policy statement have been implemented.
17 Ambassador Myrick said that the Liberian government should
18 cooperate with the peace process in Sierra Leone and should stop
19 providing sanctuary for the members of Sierra Leone's rebel
13:07:10 20 Revolutionary United Front.

21 Pause. Mr Taylor, I thought you told us last week that you
22 had expelled them from Liberia?

23 A. Yes.

24 Q. So what's this accusation? How is this accusation being
13:07:24 25 made that you are still providing a sanctuary for members of the
26 Revolutionary United Front?

27 A. Well, that's what people - beg to differ, because we don't
28 know what Myrick is talking about.

29 Q. Well, Mr Taylor, let's just pause and consider it. Your

1 brother President Ahmad Tejan Kabbah had, two months earlier,
2 declared the war to be over.

3 A. Yes.

13:08:01

4 Q. Can you help us as to why it would be necessary in that
5 peaceful atmosphere to be offering sanctuary to RUF rebels?

6 A. None whatsoever. None whatsoever.

7 Q. Because disarmament had already taken place in
8 Sierra Leone, hadn't it?

9 A. Yes.

13:08:15

10 Q. Had it also not been one of the fundamental principals of
11 the Lome treaty that former combatants would be subject to an
12 amnesty?

13 A. Oh, yes, that was a part of it, yes.

13:08:38

14 Q. So, help us, please. I'm anxious for you to tell us, what
15 purpose would you have, as President of Liberia, to be offering
16 sanctuary to rebels at this time?

17 A. None whatsoever. In fact, the question, counsel, would be:
18 What rebels is he talking about? Because you have already had
19 disarmament, demobilisation. You already have the RUF registered
20 as a party, the RUF, so I really don't - I can't help, because I
21 don't know what he is talking about, quite frankly, because there
22 are no rebels we are giving sanctuary to.

13:09:01

23 Q. Well, Mr Taylor, if what you are telling us is true, can
24 you help us as to why the ambassador of the United States of
25 America might be motivated to make such a claim?

13:09:21

26 A. The only thing I can point to in helping - and I hope this
27 helps - the only thing I can point to is those Sierra Leoneans
28 that came into the country with Sam Bockarie that had been given
29 Liberian citizenship and had been fully trained as members of the

1 ATU that the Americans are aware of, my guess is that this is
2 what Myrick is still referring to, deciding on his own to ignore
3 the fact that these people have become citizens of Liberia. This
4 is the best I can put it to. I could be wrong, but this is just
13:10:25 5 a guess on my part. And when I say a guess, it's an educated
6 guess, not just speculation. I think this is what Myrick see.
7 They do not accept that maybe people from other countries can
8 really come to Liberia and become citizens and be good citizens
9 as they grant citizenship too. So this is the best way I can
13:10:51 10 help.

11 Q. "Ambassador Myrick called on the Liberian government to
12 grant clemency and/or amnesty to political opponents (opposition)
13 so as to create the necessary conditions for the conduct of free,
14 fair and democratic elections in 2003. While the vociferousness
13:11:08 15 Ambassador Myrick's demands were deafening, Mr Myrick, however,
16 in an understatement, acknowledged the recent conference of the
17 Mano River Union countries, (Liberia, Guinea and Sierra Leone)
18 held in Morocco.

19 Ambassador Myrick's latest assertions are consistent with
13:11:30 20 his previous statements about the peace and reconciliation
21 process in Liberia and the entire Mano River region. It can be
22 recalled that the year 2001 Mr Myrick told the local city mayor
23 that the problems confronting Liberia can only be resolved by
24 Liberian themselves. Ambassador Myrick's statement was a
13:11:54 25 response to the city mayor's request for the United States to
26 help stop the unprovoked terrorist attacks launched against
27 Liberia by LURD terrorists. I would like to differ with
28 Ambassador Myrick on these on these issues.

29 The United Nations Security Council imposed sanctions and

1 arms embargo on Liberia for the Liberian government's alleged
2 support to the RUF and set pre-conditions for the lifting of the
3 sanctions and arms embargo. Liberia has complied with all the
4 demands made by the United Nations. Liberia's cooperation and
13:12:27 5 support to the peace process in Sierra Leone helped the
6 disarmament and the peace now obtaining in Sierra Leone.
7 Liberians had bent backward and on both sides to satisfy the
8 United States, Britain, and the rest of the United Nations member
9 states and for the peace and survival of the Mano River Union.
13:12:49 10 Ambassador Myrick said Liberia must cooperate with Sierra Leone's
11 war crimes tribunal. The word 'cooperate' as it is used in this
12 case constitutes another 'unknown' in the equation. I mean, the
13 word 'cooperate' is vague. Is he saying that the Liberian
14 government must go in search of all those who committed crimes in
13:13:14 15 Sierra Leone and turn them over to Sierra Leone's war crimes
16 tribunal? Mr Myrick needs to explain what he means by 'The
17 Liberian government must cooperate with Sierra Leone's war crime
18 tribunal.' Ambassador Myrick spoke about the need for the
19 Liberian government to grant amnesty or clemency to the Liberian
13:13:37 20 opposition.

21 This statement made by Ambassador Myrick makes one to
22 believe that Mr Myrick is not in touch with developments in
23 Liberia or has lost track of the Liberian government's peace
24 pronouncements and actions."

13:13:50 25 Pause. By this date, Mr Taylor, March 2002, what was your
26 knowledge of this tribunal being set up in Sierra Leone?

27 A. Quite frankly, I was not on top of the details regarding
28 this, especially when we knew that the tribunal in Sierra Leone
29 was a Sierra Leonean tribunal and it was assisted under Chapter

1 VI. It didn't really claim our interest at that particular time.

2 Q. I mean, were you following it closely, Mr Taylor?

3 A. No, that's what I'm saying. I was not following it closely
4 because it was a local Sierra Leonean tribunal.

13:14:47 5 Q. And this may be relevant at a later stage, so I ask it:
6 Did you contemplate at this time that in due course you may
7 become a defendant before that tribunal?

8 A. Never. Never.

9 Q. So were you planning your actions with such a prospect in
13:15:08 10 mind?

11 A. Never. Never. No. And the reason is simple, as I have
12 stated, as far as we were concerned, and our lawyers that knew,
13 the tribunal in Sierra Leone was a Sierra Leonean tribunal. It
14 was not a Chapter VII tribunal. It was a Chapter VI, assistance,
13:15:32 15 and it did not claim the attention of my government. And so
16 contemplating coming before it was the last thing on my mind.

17 Q. I ask, you see, Mr Taylor, in case it is later suggested
18 that you were, pardon the pun, tailoring your activities in light
19 of the prospect of being indicted. Do you understand me?

13:16:04 20 A. Oh, I understand you. Whoever would suggest that would be
21 totally misleading themselves because as far as my understanding
22 of United Nations operation in dealing with enforcement chapters
23 under Chapter VII or VI, the government and legal view at the
24 time was that the tribunal of Sierra Leone could exercise no
13:16:31 25 jurisdiction outside of its borders.

26 So anyone suggesting that someone would be tailoring this
27 or that would be fool hearted to believe that because there was
28 nothing under the Sierra Leonean laws and constitution and the
29 tribunal that would have caused a citizen of another country to

1 be brought before that tribunal except where, in my case, this
2 was something that was engineered by Britain and the
3 United States. There is nothing legal that would have brought
4 any citizen before this tribunal outside of Sierra Leonean
13:17:09 5 citizens.

6 Q. And that was your understanding at the time, was it?

7 A. That is correct.

8 Q. "Last year the Liberian government granted amnesty and
9 clemency to the rebel LURD supporters and opposition members

13:17:23 10 including Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf, Alhaji GV Kromah, et cetera."

11 Why were you granting amnesty and clemency to Ellen
12 Johnson-Sirleaf? What had she done?

13 A. Because Ellen Johnson - all reports that we had - was a
14 part of LURD. Alhaji Kromah was a part of LURD. Alhaji

13:17:45 15 especially had made public pronouncement on international radio
16 networks, BBC, the Voice of America, radio stations. They were a
17 part of LURD. So in an attempt to begin to reconcile we had said
18 that they could now come to the country. Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf
19 as she sits now as President has been a part of every guerilla
13:18:11 20 movement. The NPFL which we put together. She was a part of
21 LURD. In fact, she went to the conference in Accra wanting to
22 head the transitional government. So this clemency was to those
23 backers of these organisations, Kromah and Sirleaf.

24 Q. Now, so just so that I am sure what it is that's occurring
13:18:38 25 here, Mr Taylor, we have the American ambassador to Liberia, yes,
26 requesting that amnesty and clemency be granted to the backers of
27 an organisation carrying out terrorist attacks on Liberian soil?

28 A. Oh, definitely.

29 Q. And remind us, this is after 9/11, right?

1 A. Oh, definitely.

2 Q. When the war on terror began?

3 A. Definitely.

4 Q. "The government also released some treason convicts from
13:19:16 5 detention. Except for Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf who visited Liberia
6 in the wake of the amnesty and clemency, Alhaji Kromah and others
7 refused to return to Liberia. In fact, Alhaji Kromah and company
8 continue to stay in America. Alhaji Kromah uses American
9 facilities such as the Voice of America, the Washington Post,
13:19:42 10 et cetera, to castigate the Liberian government while at the same
11 time showering support and praises on the LURD terrorists that
12 are attacking the Liberian people."

13 Is that true?

14 A. Definitely. Definitely. And just to remind the Court,
13:19:57 15 when Hassan Bility appeared here, in your cross-examination of
16 Hassan Bility the emails obtained from the computer of
17 Hassan Bility on certain attacks that Bility was to coordinate in
18 Monrovia, that he sat here and denied and he knows that those
19 emails are factual, a couple of them were sent by A Kromah, that
13:20:32 20 Alhaji Kromah being in contact with Bility back to those emails.

21 Q. "So what else does Mr Myrick want the Liberian government
22 to do? Ambassador Myrick says he wants free and fair elections
23 in 2003. No problem. Ambassador Myrick, you need to be at ease
24 because the Liberian government is interested in free and fair
13:20:58 25 democratic elections and will ensure that it comes in 2003."

26 Now, pause. When in 2003 were those elections to take
27 place, Mr Taylor?

28 A. The elections were scheduled for November.

29 Q. November 2003?

1 A. That is correct.

2 Q. And you left in August 2003. Is that right?

3 A. Everything was done, yes, to make sure.

4 Q. Now, when had it been decided, Mr Taylor, that elections
13:21:29 5 would be held in November 2003?

6 A. The constitution of the Republic of Liberia provides the
7 term of the President to be six years and at the end of 2003
8 ended the six years. We hold elections in November, the
9 inauguration in January. Because of the special nature of the
13:21:52 10 elections in 1997, it was held in July and then I was inaugurated
11 in August. But the constitution came into being upon taking the
12 oath of office, moving the electoral period to November as of
13 November 1997, moving forward 2003. So it's mandated by the
14 constitution.

13:22:17 15 Q. Now, Mr Taylor, I ask you quite bluntly: Was it your
16 intention in 2002, March, to hold onto power as President at
17 whatever cost?

18 A. 2002 March? What? No, no, no. We intended to hold free
19 and fair elections. All of the political parties were on board.
13:22:44 20 We - if you watch all the publications, there had been no
21 indication of any political leader arrested or any - the
22 political parties were functioning. As far as the body politic
23 was concerned there was no internal problem in Liberia regarding
24 that process. So the process was to be held on a free, fair and
13:23:04 25 transparent manner.

26 Q. And was it your intention, all along, Mr Taylor, to respect
27 the democratic process in Liberia?

28 A. Definitely. You can see that, I extended amnesty to Alhaji
29 Kromah and Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf and Ellen Johnson came. She was

1 not bothered. She even met with me. I have always kept my word
2 and respected the democratic process, yes.

3 Q. "Ambassador Myrick, we will hope that the 2003 pending
4 elections will not be adjudged unfair and undemocratic if some
13:23:42 5 people's candidate does not win. One has to give such advice to
6 the honourable ambassador because it is said that experience is
7 the best teacher. We are aware that despite free and fair
8 democratic elections of 1997 in Liberia that were conducted,
9 supervised and monitored by the United Nations representatives
13:24:06 10 and former United States President Jimmy Carter, some shameless
11 individuals are still saying that the 1997 elections were unfair
12 and undemocratic.

13 On the issue concerning the recent peace parley held in
14 Morocco, we are appealing to the United States to give its
13:24:28 15 fullest support to the Morocco peace initiative."

16 What's that?

17 A. Well, Mohammed VI, the King of Morocco, invited Lansana
18 Conte, Tejan Kabbah and myself to discuss this Mano River
19 situation to see if he could intervene because - in fact, the
13:24:50 20 funny part of it was that it is believed that the King of Morocco
21 has some distance relationship to the Prophet Muhammad because,
22 peace be upon him - I say this for Moses as being Jewish. We
23 went there hoping that Tejani and Conte could respect their word,
24 and I remember saying to them in that meeting, I said, "Well, you
13:25:27 25 are two Muslims", at the time I was still Christian. I said,
26 "Well, here is, you know, almost a holy man who is related to the
27 Prophet Muhammad, peace be upon him, so I hope you people will
28 tell the truth here to him." But what he tried to do was to
29 broker, you know, this peace and cooperation between and amongst

1 the three of us. And I thought it was going to work, but it
2 still didn't work.

3 Q. When did that meeting take place?

4 A. This meeting, I would put it to late 2001, early 2002, that
13:26:07 5 we went to see Mohammed VI.

6 Q. Maybe we will come back to that in due course:

7 "In the same vein we want to urge the United States to help
8 stop the LURD terrorist attacks against the democratically
9 elected government in Liberia. The United States stopped a

13:26:30 10 rebellion against democracy in the Republic of Haiti. Americans
11 can do the same in Liberia. The United States does not
12 necessarily need to stop LURD militarily. The United States

13 needs to use its political and economic wherewithal to put a
14 complete end to the marauding LURD terrorists. We do not want to

13:26:52 15 accept the flimsy argument and excuse that only Liberians can
16 resolve the problems in Liberia. Even if we swallow such
17 argument, it will not digest because it is hard, untrue and
18 wanting in substance. The fact of the matter is that the
19 establishment of the Republic of Liberia was an American idea.

13:27:15 20 In the days of old, America helped Liberia in resolving problems
21 and vice versa. Have you forgotten about the material and human
22 resources Liberia provided as assistance to the United States
23 during the Second World War? Think about Liberia's offer to the
24 United States, calling on that country to use Liberia's land or
13:27:39 25 other resources in America's fight against the perpetrators of
26 the September 11, terrorist attacks against the United States."

27 We will come to that:

28 "There many benefits Liberia has provided for America which
29 cannot be recounted in this short article.

1 Finally, I am appealing to Ambassador Myrick to
2 wholeheartedly acknowledge the efforts made by the Liberian
3 government aimed at restoring peace, reconciliation and
4 development to the entire Mano River basin. Ambassador Myrick
13:28:13 5 should encourage the US government to help Liberia.

6 Let Ambassador Myrick be informed that throwing a monkey
7 wrench into the recent MRU Morocco peace negotiations and every
8 sincere effort of the Liberian government constitutes a
9 disservice to the Mano River Union and America-Liberia relations.

13:28:33 10 Mr Myrick, please change your approach for the enhancement
11 of the existing cordial relations between America and Liberia and
12 peace in the Mano River basin."

13 So, Mr Taylor, is there still tension between Liberia and
14 the United States at this time?

13:28:51 15 A. Yes, there is, like I say, medium to good. But I think
16 they are putting a lot of pressure. They want to stop the
17 elections. They know we will win, and they want to stop it. And
18 putting all these obstacles in the way and even at this time we
19 see LURD beginning to push very, very, very hard.

13:29:16 20 Q. Can I interrupt you there, Mr Taylor, because I note the
21 time. I wonder if I have time enough to mark this document for
22 identification MFI-221, please, allaboutliberia.com, "American
23 Ambassador, I beg to differ."

24 PRESIDING JUDGE: Yes, thank you, Mr Griffiths. That at
13:29:37 25 document is marked for identification MFI-221. We will take the
26 lunch break now and resume at 2.30.

27 [Lunch break taken at 1.30 p.m.]

28 [Upon resuming at 2.30 p.m.]

29 PRESIDING JUDGE: Yes, please continue, Mr Griffiths.

1 MR GRIFFITHS: May it please your Honours:

2 Q. Mr Taylor, we looked at that article in March from the All
3 Liberia website and it described the tension or touched upon the
4 tension which still existed in Liberia and US relations, yes?

14:31:37 5 A. Yes.

6 Q. Now, by this time, Mr Taylor, how is Liberia faring under
7 the various sanctions imposed by the United Nations and the
8 United States?

9 A. Things are very - things are very serious. Things are
14:32:03 10 very, very, very, very serious.

11 Q. Because we're in the year 2002. So this is five years
12 after you've come to power, yes?

13 A. Yes.

14 Q. During that time have you received any substantial overseas
14:32:20 15 assistance?

16 A. Well, there were substantial - we haven't received any
17 overseas assistance. So substantial would not even be
18 applicable. Any.

19 Q. Is the arms embargo still in place?

14:32:34 20 A. Yes.

21 Q. Are ECOWAS still of the view that the embargo ought to be
22 lifted?

23 A. Yes, they are.

24 Q. But is that desired by your African neighbours, being
14:32:50 25 thwarted by the Security Council?

26 A. Yes, no one is listening. They are not listening to what
27 ECOWAS has to say, no, they are not.

28 Q. And what generally is the state of the country?

29 A. The war is advancing. By the war I mean the LURD rebels

1 are advancing towards Monrovia. By this time we are lucky to get
2 a change. We've been pushing. We feel that Ambassador Bismarck
3 Myrick is not doing too well. We push. We're about to get in a
4 new ambassador. The international community is still holding
14:33:43 5 fast to its old desires to really break us. So things are really
6 in a terrible shape with us.

7 Q. Now, is the Liberian government in a position to withstand
8 this incursion by LURD?

9 A. No, no, we're not.

14:34:06 10 Q. Why not?

11 A. We do not have arms and ammunition to fight them off.
12 We're still under the embargo. They are being fully trained and
13 equipped. We are just scrounging around to try to defend
14 ourselves.

14:34:27 15 Q. And so far as the situation next door in Sierra Leone is
16 concerned, what's the position?

17 A. We are talking about - they are moving very fast in the
18 preparation for the ultimate programme, which is general
19 elections later.

14:34:49 20 Q. Now, you speak of there being an absence of inward
21 investment in Liberia. Was it the same situation in
22 Sierra Leone?

23 A. I can't say 100 per cent, but Sierra Leone, regardless of
24 the war, is not under any specific pressure where foreign
14:35:19 25 investors would be afraid to come in. One it is clear - and
26 there are situations where we have this. Once it is clear that
27 certain major countries are entrenched in your country, even with
28 - in the face of conflict and pressure, some of the companies
29 still stay in, because we find out that predominantly those

1 companies originate from those countries that are entrenched and
2 they just tell them, "Stay in. We are there. You will be
3 protected."

4 So I cannot say that Sierra Leone is having the same kind
14:35:59 5 or kinds of problems that we are encountering in Liberia because
6 they have now - for a reflection, you have the British forces on
7 the ground, you have the United Nations forces on the ground, you
8 have ECOMOG on the ground. The British are very well entrenched.
9 So there is not sufficient reason for at least British-based
14:36:23 10 companies to refrain from investing at that time.

11 Q. Now, Mr Taylor, back in 1992, whilst you were based in
12 Gbarnga, you had given an interview to a man called Baffour
13 Ankomah, hadn't you?

14 A. Yes.

14:36:40 15 Q. And he had gone to Gbarnga and interviewed you about your
16 position and hopes for Liberia. Do you recall that? We looked
17 at it.

18 A. Yes, I do.

19 Q. Did you ever conduct another interview with him?

14:36:54 20 A. Yes. Because of all of these difficulties - in fact, New
21 Africa had been following this Liberian progress. In July/August
22 of this year, 2002, I do another very extensive interview with
23 him. He comes to see just where are we in the face of all of
24 these actions being taken against us by these two major
14:37:23 25 countries, Britain and the United States.

26 Q. Now, Mr Taylor, we're talking about here a year before you
27 step down, yes?

28 A. Just about, yes.

29 Q. We're also talking about, what, six months or so before an

1 indictment is signed against you, yes?

2 A. Yes.

3 Q. At the time of the interview with Baffour Ankomah, did you
4 contemplate that in due course you would be put on trial for war
14:38:00 5 crimes and crimes against humanity?

6 A. No, I did not at all.

7 Q. I ask for this reason: Were you seeking in that interview
8 to effectively set up a defence to a criminal charge?

9 A. No, no

14:38:19 10 Q. Can we have a look, please, at the document behind divider
11 125 in binder 3 of 4 for week 33. Do you have it, Mr Taylor?

12 A. Yes.

13 Q. We see that it's Liberia Special Report in the New African
14 magazine, yes?

14:38:56 15 A. Yes.

16 Q. "Charles Taylor: Powerful countries want me out." It's
17 the July-August edition. But if we turn over the page, yes, and
18 look three lines - four lines from the bottom of the left-hand
19 column, you will see that the interview itself was conducted on
14:39:23 20 20 June?

21 A. Yes.

22 Q. Yes?

23 A. For the July-August edition, yes.

24 Q. Now, let's remain with that page, shall we:

14:39:33 25 "The United Nations sanctions and the blocking of access to
26 international finance and assistance have hit" --

27 PRESIDING JUDGE: Would you pause, please? We're just
28 having trouble finding this.

29 MR GRIFFITHS: Volume 3 of 4, week 33, behind divider 125.

1 PRESIDING JUDGE: Please continue:

2 Q. Second page, please:

3 "The UN sanctions and the blocking of access to
4 international finance and assistance have hit the ordinary people
14:40:20 5 hard, much more than the intended target: The government and its
6 ministers.

7 The problem has been compounded by the rebel war which is
8 now in its fourth year. President Taylor firmly believes that
9 the war is the work of the "powerful countries" he would not
14:40:45 10 name."

11 Pause there. Why not?

12 A. Well, we are seeing - you know, you asked the other day
13 about the bellicose statements. Sometimes - we were trying at
14 this particular point to be diplomatic and not to begin to say,
14:41:08 15 "Blah, Blah, Blah, this country and that." We know who they are.
16 We're talking about Britain and the United States because we've
17 already confronted them. Privately they have talked it. We've
18 gone public, but in this case we're doing this special interview.
19 They have just decided that they have nominated a new ambassador.
14:41:27 20 They are changing Bismarck Myrick. Every little move the United
21 States makes, we try to maybe blindly view it as a change. Okay,
22 maybe something better is coming.

23 We complain about Myrick was not properly reporting. They
24 changed Bismarck Myrick. They recommended somebody we had
14:41:49 25 already agreed to. So some of our advisers are saying, "Okay,
26 you complained about the ambassador, the Americans have changed
27 it, so let's try to be mild in our language," hoping for the
28 better, but that's not to be the case.

29 Q. But, Mr Taylor, we've looked at previous statements made by

1 both you and your government in which you've not been afraid to
2 name the United States and Britain.

3 A. Yes.

4 Q. So help us, why are you being so coy in this interview?

14:42:19 5 A. Well, I'm saying, you know, we've just had what we call a
6 major diplomatic move. When you complain about an envoy and the
7 country decides to take action, you try to view that as a
8 positive step forward. So we want to watch this step forward.
9 We put all the blame on Bismarck Myrick. They decided to change
14:42:45 10 him. They have nominated - the process of changing ambassadors
11 is a nomination. The country must agree. We accept the new
12 ambassador. So we say, okay, maybe, just maybe here is an
13 opportunity for a new beginning. So we try to go mild hoping
14 that things will change.

14:43:02 15 Q. Sorry, Mr Taylor, I have to go further on this. Because
16 anyone viewing the world in June 2002 through anything about
17 rose-tinted glasses, it would be fairly obvious to them who you
18 are talking about.

19 A. Yes.

14:43:20 20 Q. So why so coy?

21 A. We were just being diplomatic, I will call it.

22 Q. Very well:

23 "Interestingly, the rebels first struck in August 1999,
24 three weeks after the United Nations had supervised the
14:43:36 25 demobilisation of Taylor's former NPFL fighters and the public
26 burning of their guns.

27 Now the war is three years old and still going strongly.
28 Sadly, it has led to severe dislocation of people and the economy
29 in the affected areas, mainly along the borders with Sierra Leone

1 and Guinea. The conditions in which they live in the refugee
2 camps at Sinje and elsewhere are just a disgrace to the world.
3 Ironically the United Nations agencies and other NGOs operating
4 in Liberia, perhaps forgetting that the United Nations has placed
14:44:22 5 an arms embargo on Liberia, have been pressurising the government
6 to provide them with security in the war affected areas so that
7 they can continue with their humanitarian work. But in the
8 current Liberian situation nobody can provide security without
9 arms and the United Nations has banned Liberia from buying
14:44:48 10 weapons. A nation does not die, but Liberia is dying a slow
11 death as a result of the United Nations sanctions, the covert
12 activities of the powerful countries, the rebel war, the blocking
13 of the country's access to international finance and assistance,
14 lack of foreign and domestic investment and America's dislike of
14:45:18 15 the man at the head of the country.

16 Everywhere you look there is decay. Monrovia, once a
17 spritely capital city, is decaying at an alarming rate. Unless
18 the 'powerful countries' stoking the flames are named and shamed
19 or made to stop their disturbing activities (and who will bell
14:45:41 20 the cat?) it will be more of the same for Liberia and its
21 long-suffering people. It is absolutely incredible that a nation
22 that will be 155 years old as an independent sovereign state this
23 July has very little to show for it.

24 On 20 June, President Taylor talked extensively with
14:46:07 25 Baffour Ankomah about some of these issues. Here is the full
26 text of the interview.

27 Q. 1997 was the election year in Liberia, and you won with
28 more than a landslide, in fact, 75 per cent of the vote. It is
29 now five years since that victory. How has life been at the top,

1 as the democratically elected President?

2 A. Life at the top has been very tough. It's been very
3 tough because of several reasons. First of all I want to praise
4 God the Liberian people have been very good. They have been very
14:46:56 5 understanding. But when I say it has not been very good at the
6 top coming out of seven years of civil crisis where there were
7 some 20,000 to 30,000 deaths winning in fact more than 75
8 per cent of the vote, we have not got any assistance from the
9 international community in stabilising the country. This has
14:47:20 10 been most unfortunate and has caused a lot of additional pain and
11 suffering for the Liberian people.

12 Q. In 1992, almost ten years to the day when I first
13 interviewed you in Gbarnga, you had brought in experts from
14 Africa, Europe, America and elsewhere to look at Liberia's
14:47:44 15 educational system, the health system, agriculture, mining, the
16 infrastructure, investment climate, et cetera, in preparation for
17 the day when you eventually became President. But five years
18 into office, Monrovia, the capital city, is still without running
19 water and electricity, in fact the city is decaying and a good
14:48:10 20 section of your people (not counting political opponents and
21 critics) say the President hasn't delivered. But this is the
22 same man who run 'Greater Liberia' and delivered as I saw it in
23 1992. What he is going on? What is there to show for the last
24 five years?

14:48:33 25 A. Why haven't I delivered?

26 Q. Yes.

27 A. I will tell you. I have not delivered, yes. And I
28 have told the Liberian people that I have not delivered, and I
29 have explained to them. Look, any nation - in fact all nations

1 coming out of civil crisis, whether we go as far back as World
2 War II where Germany was rebuilt, Japan was rebuilt, you need
3 assistance.

14:49:11 4 Liberia started off on a very terrible, terrible note. In
5 the first instance there was great opposition from some powerful
6 countries to my being elected as President. Following my
7 election, there were predictions that the government would not
8 last for six months, and then it would not last for 12 months,
9 and in fact on the famous (CNN) programme 'Diplomatic Licence',
14:49:31 10 experts predicted that I would have been gone. As a result,
11 everything has been done to stop this government from moving.

12 I will give you an example. Talking about water: When I
13 took office I met no money in the coffers. My initial budget
14 was \$12 million US. That was the sum total of maritime resources
14:49:56 15 coming into the country. We started building, but water projects
16 are capital intensive projects, electricity projects" --

17 PRESIDING JUDGE: My page 4 is missing, Mr Griffiths.

18 MR GRIFFITHS: I think there is - we thought maybe page 6
19 was missing.

14:50:48 20 JUDGE DOHERTY: I think, Mr Griffiths, that the even pages,
21 at least in my set, are missing.

22 MR GRIFFITHS: I sent is an email earlier requesting the
23 original, because I had spotted we had difficulties with page 6,
24 but I think the difficulties may go beyond that. Can I just deal
14:51:18 25 with a couple of matters on page 5 and then we'll leave this
26 document and come back to it at a later stage.

27 Q. Mr Taylor, I just want to deal with the first answer on
28 page 5 and then we're going to put this document away and come
29 back to it, okay?

1 A. Okay.

2 Q. Okay?

3 A. Yes, yes.

4 Q. You see the question at the beginning of page 5:

14:51:42 5 "Q. Still on the rebel war, some people say yes it serves
6 him right. He started it all. He is being paid in his own coin.
7 What do you say?

8 A. Well, I'm not sure that we can fuss about that. I did
9 start a war, but it was a different kind of war. I started an
14:51:59 10 uprising here to liberate the Liberian people from the Doe regime
11 that was involved in many atrocities.

12 You know, there were a lot of people in exile, there were a
13 lot of killings, the United Nations compound was violated, 300
14 children from Nimba were lost and buried alive, there were a lot
14:52:22 15 of atrocities. In fact my father was killed in the Lutheran
16 church massacre. That's the difference. The rebels now coming
17 in from Guinea have no political agenda. They have come in, they
18 have raped women, they have burned down towns and villages, they
19 have pillaged the Lofa County, they have hurdled people into
14:52:45 20 buildings, they have burned them alive. These are terrorists.

21 But if one argues that, 'Well, he is getting some of his own
22 medicine', I say Doe had a level playing field. The Doe
23 government did not have an arms embargo placed upon it. The Doe
24 government did not have powerful nations supporting an armed
14:53:04 25 incursion against it.

26 Here this government, my government, has powerful nations
27 working against it. We have proof of weapons seized from those
28 countries, we have illegal combatants in jail right now who
29 testified on their training, where they are coming from, and then

1 you put an arms embargo on us, there is not a level playing
2 field.

3 If you want me to, quote and unquote, taste some of my own
4 medicine, create a level playing field, let the Government of
14:53:46 5 Liberia be given, under Article 51 of the United Nations charter,
6 the right to self-defence, lift the arms embargo, and this war
7 will be over."

8 Tell you what we'll do, Mr Taylor. Put that away for now
9 and let's take up bundle 4 of 4. We'll come back to that. Can I
14:54:25 10 invite your attention behind divider 140. Mr Taylor, what are we
11 looking at?

12 A. This looks like the Charter of the United Nations.

13 Q. Now, you mentioned in that answer I just quoted Article 51?

14 A. That is correct.

14:55:17 15 Q. Go to page 16 of this document, please. Do you have it?

16 A. Yes, I do.

17 Q. "Article 51: Nothing in the present charter shall impair
18 the inherent right of individual or collective self-defence if an
19 armed attack occurs against a member of the United Nations, until
14:55:51 20 the Security Council has taken measures necessary to maintain
21 international peace and security. Measures taken by members in
22 the exercise of this right of self-defence shall be immediately
23 reported to the Security Council and shall not in any way affect
24 the authority and responsibility of the Security Council under
14:56:14 25 the present charter to take at any time such action as it deems
26 necessary in order to maintain or restore international peace and
27 security."

28 A. Yes.

29 Q. Now, Mr Taylor, I mention that because we're going to go on

1 and discuss something wider. What was your understanding of this
2 article of the United Nations charter?

3 A. Based on legal advice to my government, my understanding of
4 this is that all member states of the United Nations have a
14:56:56 5 legitimate right to self-defence and that the Security Council
6 under this charter should do nothing to empower any member state
7 from exercising that legitimate self-defence.

8 Q. Because we note it provides:

9 "Nothing in the present charter shall impair the inherent
14:57:20 10 right of an individual or collective self-defence if an armed
11 attack occurs until the Security Council has taken measures
12 necessary to maintain international peace and security."

13 What's your understanding then as to the primacy of the
14 right to self-defence? Which comes first: The right to
14:57:53 15 self-defence or Security Council intervention?

16 A. The right to self-defence.

17 Q. Now, Mr Taylor, after LURD attacked your country?

18 A. Yes.

19 Q. An ongoing attack. Is that right?

14:58:15 20 A. That is correct.

21 Q. One which you said in that interview was sponsored and
22 supported by "certain powerful countries", yes?

23 A. Yes.

24 Q. Did you consider that you had the right and the duty to
14:58:36 25 protect your country?

26 A. Yes.

27 Q. Did you take steps to do so?

28 A. Later I did.

29 Q. What steps?

1 A. I wrote, after we had lost thousands of lives and after the
2 Security Council of the United Nations had recognised and
3 accepted the fact that Liberia was under attack but had failed to
4 do anything about it as far as lifting the arms embargo in order
14:59:08 5 to provide for that defence, the Government of Liberia wrote the
6 United Nations Security Council informing them that, in fact, the
7 government would order arms. And we provided them with all of
8 the information as to the source of the arms, the type, amount,
9 and advised them that we would use these arms in legitimacy of
14:59:36 10 defence until which time the United Nations could act and provide
11 the security necessary for the member state, Liberia.

12 Q. When did that occur?

13 A. We wrote that letter in 2001.

14 Q. Can you help us with a date in 2001?

14:59:59 15 A. Oh, I can't. That would be late in 2001. I don't have the
16 exact date. I have even searched for a copy of that letter
17 written. It has been mentioned in the United Nations papers, but
18 my copy, I did not - I don't know what happened to my copy. But
19 it was late in 2001, I will put it. 2001, late, and it could be
15:00:21 20 early 2002.

21 Q. And help us, Mr Taylor, from where did you import these
22 arms?

23 A. We imported the arms from Serbia. They were flown in
24 legitimately into Liberia.

15:00:37 25 Q. Well, pause. Legitimately?

26 A. Oh, yes.

27 Q. There was still an arms embargo in place?

28 A. Well, let's put it this way, counsel: We felt that it was
29 legitimate, and based on our legal opinion, we still felt and

1 still feel that the Security Council has no right. Look, let's
2 take a situation where, if we are talking about international
3 peace and security and we are talking about the legality of some
4 of these actions, on the one hand, if we took a look at the Bush
15:01:13 5 doctrine, what is the Bush doctrine? George W Bush's doctrine.
6 That the United States, a permanent member of the Security
7 Council and the world's only power, has the right if it perceives
8 - on the mere perception - that the security of the United States
9 is under threat can take and will take action to prevent that
15:01:38 10 threat. On the perception. Not even the action. On the
11 perception. We find it, I mean, incredible that Liberia, that
12 the Security Council recognised was under an invasion and that we
13 had been under attack and thousands of lives were lost, to
14 continue to refuse to lift an embargo. So when I use the word
15:02:05 15 "legitimate", I feel that even Security Council has its
16 boundaries and its boundaries are tied within the charter of the
17 United Nations, and it has that right to act - to act under
18 Chapter VII, in the maintenance of international peace and
19 security, but it cannot have, on the one hand, one powerful
15:02:25 20 member act in the absence of its approval.

21 And let's look at Iraq, where the United Nations Security
22 Council was prevented from voting and the United States invaded
23 Iraq and has said that on perception of a threat it would attack.
24 It is unforgivable that somebody will see thousands of people die
15:02:47 25 from a member state when you recognise the fact that that is war
26 and you deny them. So when I say legitimate I mean by virtue of
27 informing the council under Article 351 we were advised by
28 international lawyers that if the United Nations did not want
29 that to happen, the Security Council, it would have gone forward,

1 said, "Fine. Stop the weapons. We'll move in and provide
2 security." But we felt that we had the right under the charter
3 that even binds the Security Council to its own actions, okay, to
4 act in our legitimate self-defence. That's what I mean by legal.

15:03:31 5 Q. Now, Mr Taylor, this is quite a critical point and I want
6 to deal with it slowly.

7 A. Uh-huh.

8 Q. Prior to the writing of that letter to the Security Council
9 in late 2001, had Liberia imported arms contrary to the UN
10 embargo?

15:03:53

11 A. No, Liberia had not imported any arms contrary to the
12 embargo, no.

13 Q. More importantly, had Liberia prior to that letter in late
14 2001 been used as a conduit for arms going to Liberia, to your
15 knowledge - going to Sierra Leone, to your knowledge?

15:04:14

16 A. No, I was not aware of any - of Liberia being used as a
17 conduit because it would be fool hearted for anyone to believe
18 that Liberia is trying to fight a war that it does not have arms
19 but will be used as a conduit. If arms are going to come through
20 Liberia, why am I going to sit there and see arms passing through
21 going to another country, okay, or going to another place when I
22 need arms to fight and my people are dying? What would be the
23 logical thing to do? To take them.

15:04:35

24 Q. Now, after - stage 2, after the writing of that letter to
25 the Security Council, when did the first arms importation occur?

15:04:59

26 A. The first arms importation that came in came in around, I
27 would say, 2002. The beginning of about 2002. It takes some
28 time for all the arrangements to go through.

29 Q. I ask for this reason: By the time those arms started

1 coming in, what was the situation in Sierra Leone?

2 A. Oh, by this time I think Sierra Leone was just about going
3 to election. Let's say early 2002, they are - I think the
4 elections are later in 2002. I'm not too sure of the time. Oh,
15:05:48 5 but the disarmament, demobilisation is all over. They are at
6 peace. The war is over. Kabbah has announced it. They are at
7 peace. Virtually at peace.

8 Q. Mr Taylor, I want you to be as clear about this as possible
9 because it's of enormous import. Are you sure that the first
15:06:14 10 arms imported by Liberia under Article 51 came in some time in
11 early 2002?

12 A. Yes. We placed that order and I - to the best of my
13 recollection, it started coming in early 2002.

14 Q. And, again, because it's of such significance, I need to be
15:06:40 15 clear about this. Prior to that importation, had there been any
16 importations of arms into Liberia to your knowledge during the
17 currency of your presidency?

18 A. No, not to my knowledge, no.

19 Q. Now, whilst we've got this document in front of us,
15:07:19 20 Mr Taylor, you've hitherto mentioned Chapter VII, have you not?

21 A. Yes.

22 Q. And this is the chapter we're looking at currently, is it
23 not?

24 A. Yes.

15:07:33 25 Q. And if we go back to page 14, we see the beginning of the
26 chapter, don't we?

27 A. Yes.

28 Q. "Action with respect to threats to the peace, breaches of
29 the peace and acts of aggression." Now, what's your

1 understanding of this chapter, Mr Taylor?

2 A. Well, my understanding, not being a lawyer and being
3 advised under Chapter VII, Chapter VII actions are actions that
4 are mandatory. Now, even in dealing with the word "mandatory",

15:08:25 5 we have to be careful with it because there are resolutions that

6 have been passed under Chapter VII that are as old as I am that
7 have not been executed. So it is expected that member states
8 will - I mean, are obliged to act in line with resolutions under
9 Chapter VII, but there are so many instances where resolutions

15:08:52 10 that have been passed under Chapter VII, if you have sufficient

11 powerful states that will - that can prevent any subsequent
12 actions, those resolutions are not carried out. And I'm talking
13 specifically about Resolution 242. I'm talking about 338. There

14 are resolutions dealing with the question of Palestine that are
15:09:18 15 still not carried out, and under other conditions, they would
16 have been carried out.

17 And so resolutions under Chapter VII are mandatory,
18 provided the country is not strong enough to protest it. And so
19 we've had these actions internationally. There are about a dozen
20 or so resolutions under Chapter VII that have never been

15:09:44 20 implemented, but what Chapter VII does, it gives the powerful

21 members enforcement power, okay, enforcement powers under Chapter
22 VII. Any member state - any member state as the major military
23 and other powers can enforce resolutions under Chapter VII. And,
24 normally, Chapter VII resolutions, I don't know - in my study of

15:10:06 25 history of the United Nations, I don't know of any Chapter VII

26 resolution that had been passed against any major power. These
27 resolutions, from the history of the United Nations, have always
28 been passed against Third World, Second World states. There's
29

1 never been a Chapter VII resolution against any major military
2 power in the world following World War II. So we know of no such
3 thing that I know of, and I stand corrected on that. But, in
4 short, these - Chapter VII is a mandatory resolution and they are
15:10:50 5 enforceable by member states.

6 Q. Now, I would just like us to pause for a little while,
7 Mr Taylor, and familiarise ourselves with the articles under this
8 chapter, because we will in due course be coming back to it when
9 we discuss another matter.

15:11:11 10 "Article 39: The Security Council shall determine the
11 existence of any threat to the peace, breach of the peace, or act
12 of aggression and shall make recommendations or decide what
13 measures shall be taken in accordance with Articles 41 and 42 to
14 maintain or restore international peace and security.

15:11:34 15 Article 40: In order to prevent an aggravation of the
16 situation, the Security Council may, before making the
17 recommendations or deciding upon the measures provided for in
18 Article 39, call upon the parties concerned to comply with such
19 provisional measures as it deems necessary or desirable. Such
15:11:58 20 provisional measures shall be without prejudice to the rights,
21 claims, or position of the parties concerned. The Security
22 Council shall duly take account of failure to comply with such
23 provisional measures.

24 Article 41: The Security Council may decide what measures
15:12:21 25 not involving the use of armed force are to be employed to give
26 effect to its decisions, and it may call upon the members of the
27 United Nations to apply such measures. These may include
28 complete or partial interruption of economic relations and of
29 rail, sea, air, postal, telegraphic, radio and other means of

1 communication, and the severance of diplomatic relations.

2 Article 42: Should the Security Council consider that
3 measures provided for in Article 41 would be inadequate or have
4 proved to be inadequate, it may take such action by air, sea, or
15:13:05 5 land forces as may be necessary to maintain or restore
6 international peace and security. Such action may include
7 demonstrations, blockade, and other operations by air, sea, or
8 land forces of members of the United Nations.

9 Article 43: All members of the United Nations, in order to
15:13:34 10 contribute to the maintenance of international peace and
11 security, undertake to make available to the Security Council, on
12 its call and in accordance with a special agreement or
13 agreements, armed forces, assistance, and facilities, including
14 rights of passage, necessary for the purpose of maintaining
15:13:55 15 international peace and security; such agreement or agreements
16 shall govern the numbers and types of forces, their degree of
17 readiness and general location, and the nature of the facilities
18 and assistance to be provided; the agreement or agreements shall
19 be negotiated as soon as possible on the initiative of the
15:14:17 20 Security Council. They shall be concluded between the Security
21 Council and members or between the Security Council and groups of
22 members and shall be subject to ratification by the signatory
23 states in accordance with their respective constitutional
24 processes.

15:14:39 25 Article 44: When the Security Council has decided to use
26 force it shall, before calling upon a member not represented on
27 it to provide armed forces in fulfilment of the obligations
28 assumed under Article 43, invite that member, if the member so
29 desires, to participate in the decisions of the Security Council

1 concerning the employment of contingents of that member's armed
2 forces:

3 Article 45: In order to enable the United Nations to take
4 urgent military measures, members shall hold immediately
15:15:20 5 available national air force contingents for combined
6 international enforcement action. The strength and degree of
7 readiness of these contingents and plans for their combined
8 action shall be determined within the limits laid down in the
9 special agreement or agreements referred to in Article 43, by the
15:15:40 10 Security Council with the assistance of the military staff
11 committee.

12 Article 46: Plans for the application of armed force shall
13 be made by the Security Council with the assistance of the
14 military staff committee.

15:16:01 15 Article 47: There shall be established a military staff
16 committee to advise and assist the Security Council on all
17 questions relating to the Security Council's military
18 requirements for the maintenance of international peace and
19 security, the employment and command of forces placed at its
15:16:21 20 disposal, the regulation of armaments, and possible disarmament;
21 the military staff committee shall consist of the chiefs of staff
22 of the permanent members of the Security Council or their
23 representatives; any member of the United Nations not permanently
24 represented on the committee shall be invited by the committee to
15:16:48 25 be associated with it when the efficient discharge of the
26 committee's responsibilities requires the participation of that
27 member in its work; the military staff committee shall be
28 responsible under the Security Council for the strategic
29 direction of any armed forces placed at the disposal of the

1 Security Council. Questions relating to the command of such
2 forces shall be worked out subsequently. The military staff
3 committee with the authorisation of the Security Council and
4 after consultation with appropriate regional agencies, may
15:17:27 5 establish regional subcommittees.

6 Article 48: The action required to carry out the decisions
7 of the Security Council for the maintenance of international
8 peace and security shall be taken by all of the members of the
9 United Nations or by some of them, as the Security Council may
15:17:49 10 determine; such decisions shall be carried out by the members of
11 the United Nations directly and through their action in the
12 appropriate international agencies of which they are members.

13 Article 49: The members of the United Nations shall join
14 in affording mutual assistance in carrying out the measures
15:18:14 15 decided upon by the Security Council.

16 Article 50: If preventive or enforcement measures against
17 any state are taken by the Security Council, any other state,
18 whether a member of the United Nations or not, which finds itself
19 confronted with special economic problems arising from the
15:18:34 20 carrying out of those measures shall have the right to consult
21 the Security Council with regard to a solution of those
22 problems."

23 Now, Mr Taylor, I appreciate you're not a lawyer, but which
24 body of the United Nations is central to the exercise of powers
15:18:55 25 under Chapter VII?

26 A. The Security Council.

27 MR GRIFFITHS: Could I ask before I move on, Mr President,
28 that that document, the United Nations charter, be marked for
29 identification MFI-222. We'll be coming back to it.

1 PRESIDING JUDGE: Yes, that document is marked for
2 i d e n t i f i c a t i o n M F I - 2 2 2 .

3 MR GRIFFITHS:

4 Q. Mr Taylor, just returning briefly to a matter I asked about
15:20:03 5 a moment ago there was one additional question that I should have
6 asked, and it was in relation to the importation of arms into
7 Liberia. My question is this: Could any significant quantity of
8 arms have been imported into Liberia for use elsewhere without
9 your knowledge?

15:20:30 10 A. Yes.

11 Q. How?

12 A. Corrupt officials. I don't run the airport. I mean, yes,
13 arms - arms could come in by road, rail - any way. The only way
14 the President would get to know is if intelligence sources or
15:21:00 15 something were to be picked up, but with the level of hard time
16 and corruption that we had in the country - of course even in
17 countries where you don't have a lot of corruption a lot of
18 things come and leave without senior government officials knowing
19 about it, yes.

15:21:13 20 Q. But surely, Mr Taylor, in such circumstances there must be
21 at least one honest individual who might bring it to your
22 attention?

23 A. Look, counsel, that's what some people want to believe.
24 Listen, oh, the terrible people that bombed the United States in
15:21:40 25 9/11, they came right into the United States. They have the best
26 security. Some of these people had been - the FBI had them on
27 their list. Look, we talk about - I mentioned here the other day
28 about there's a fence being built on the Mexican border and
29 nobody - no. When you're dealing with these little countries

1 where you have corruption endemic to the process I mean a lot of
2 things happen and people get bribed and paid and it never gets to
3 the proper authority.

15:22:17 4 Q. Sorry to interrupt you, Mr Taylor, but I do need to press
5 you on this for this reason: You would have been aware
6 throughout these years that allegations were being made against
7 your government of supplying arms to Sierra Leone and in the
8 forefront of those allegations were those, quote unquote,
9 powerful countries, the United States and Great Britain?

15:22:40 10 A. Yes.

11 Q. Surely given that, that would have enjoined you to be much
12 more vigilant --

13 A. Definitely.

14 Q. -- in terms of what's coming in and out of your country.
15:22:51 15 So help me, how could that have happened without you knowing?

16 A. Simple. What they - if they could not show me what was
17 coming in because they are the ones that were making the
18 accusations, we were checking. We were doing as diligent a job
19 as we could get and we kept saying to them it is not happening.
15:23:13 20 And so it would take that. If they felt that we were misleading
21 them they would have confronted us and said, "Look, here is a
22 truck. Here is a picture." There was no - Look, we were as
23 diligent as we could given the circumstances. But for anyone -
24 then this case is closed. If anyone believes that what's going
15:23:36 25 on in the Republic of Liberia or in any third or second world
26 country that the President must know everything about it then I'm
27 already guilty. That's not possible.

28 Q. Well, Mr Taylor, I'm sorry, I do have to press you further
29 given the importance of this topic. Now, whereas, as you've

1 explained in the past, it might have been difficult to police all
2 of your lengthy borders with your neighbouring countries, Roberts
3 International Airport is a different proposition altogether,
4 isn't it?

15:24:14 5 A. Well, it depends. I'm not sure what you mean.

6 Q. Well, it's the only major international airport in the
7 country, isn't it?

8 A. Yes.

9 Q. So help us. Could a shipment have come in by air into
10 Roberts International Airfield without your knowledge or consent?

11 A. Yes.

12 Q. But how, Mr Taylor, given it's one location which logically
13 should be fairly easy to police?

14 A. Well, I'll give you an example. It's very simple, but it's
15:24:47 15 not happening only in Liberia. We ordered arms from Europe, here
16 in this Europe, under this letter that we wrote to the Security
17 Council. Those arms went in and out of countries. They were
18 bound under Chapter VII with the arms embargo to seize those
19 weapons. How come they did not seize them and they reached
15:25:15 20 Liberia? Because things go in and out of countries and sometimes
21 you do not know. How do you think these weapons got to Liberia?
22 They stopped in countries that are very, very good at enforcing
23 embargoes and they did not know. They did not know.

24 There's no - they did not take one flight from - I'm not
15:25:37 25 going to put those countries into whatchamacallit but I mean,
26 look, if you have a little bit of money and you want to move
27 weapons, I don't care what resolution is passed, you will move
28 weapons, including through the best of the countries that you can
29 imagine. And use some of their own companies to do it. So the

1 fact that something can come into Roberts International Airport,
2 the President in Monrovia doing what he's got to do, if
3 sufficient contacts are made at that airport those things will
4 come into the airport. Especially these are not like passengers
15:26:20 5 coming through immigration. If it's weapons, of course. With
6 sufficient money you can bribe the officials, okay, and the
7 weapons can be brought in at a time especially that you do not
8 have - maybe late at night or something. It can happen anywhere.
9 It happened to us. We brought in weapons into Liberia based on
10 our informing the Security Council. We did not get a response
11 from them. We brought them in to fight LURD. We did not get
12 them all of them in, but they went through countries. How did
13 they get through?

14 Q. Well, let's look at another aspect of that.

15:27:03 15 A. Yes.

16 Q. When did ECOMOG leave Liberia?

17 A. At the end of the destruction of the weapons in '99 they -
18 I would say by late '99 they finally pulled out of Liberia.

19 Q. Up until their withdrawal, were they based at Roberts
15:27:31 20 International Airport?

21 A. Always present, yeah. Yes.

22 Q. When did they first establish that presence at Roberts
23 International Airport?

24 A. ECOMOG, they arrived in Liberia now all the way back in
15:27:55 25 1990. Presence at the airport - permanent presence, I would say
26 about '95 ECOMOG took up permanent presence. That is the
27 establishment of the Council of State that I sat on, they took up
28 permanent presence.

29 Q. And are you saying that they remained there until 1999?

1 A. Oh, definitely. Not in the same size, but they were always
2 present.

3 Q. And who took over security at RIA after their departure?

15:28:50

4 A. After their departure, the RIA securities were in charge.
5 Roberts International Airport is what you call a public
6 corporation. These public corporations are several in Liberia,
7 just in case for information. Like the National Port Authority
8 is a public corporation. The telephone company is a public
9 corporation. What they do, they have their own board of
10 directors. They are what you call public autonomous agencies,
11 sort of, of government. They employ their own people that are
12 not government employees. They employ their own security and
13 they manage the airport for a profit.

15:29:11

14 Q. Now, when last we were looking at the chronology of events,
15 Mr Taylor, we were looking at that interview in June - on June 20
16 which - an examination which we've now postponed.

15:30:09

17 A. Uh-huh.

18 Q. But help us, by the summer of 2002, what was the state of
19 play so far as LURD is concerned?

15:30:39

20 A. LURD is still fighting very seriously. And, in fact, in
21 August, in the website of allaboutliberia.com covers a wide
22 something - trying to keep the world on alert that the LURD
23 rebellion is still going on and still wreaking havoc on the
24 Liberian people.

15:31:12

25 Q. I wonder if we'd take up volume 3 of 4 behind divider 123.
26 Do you have it, Mr Taylor?

27 A. Yes, I do.

28 Q. We see that the piece is headed "Liberia Troops Make
29 Advances Against LURD Terrorists - as Commander in Chief Taylor

1 Directs Commanders from Gbarnga". And we see a photograph of you
2 taken in what appears to be military fatigues, Mr Taylor, yes?

3 A. That is correct.

4 Q. And the article is dated 8 August 2002:

15:32:59 5 "Gallant soldiers of the Armed Forces of Liberia have made
6 significant advances into areas previously occupied by the
7 terrorist group Liberians United For Reconciliation and Democracy
8 (LURD) in the northeast of the country.

9 The government troops' rapid advancement against the
15:33:21 10 heavily armed foreign backed insurgents is partly occasioned by
11 the presence of President Charles Ghankay Taylor, who is also
12 Commander in Chief of the Armed Forces of Liberia in the central
13 Liberian city of Gbarnga, Bong County.

14 The Liberian leader is currently in that part of the
15:33:45 15 country to assess the military, humanitarian, and other
16 situations and design appropriate strategies and methods aimed at
17 addressing them.

18 Government troops have dislodged the LURD terrorists from
19 Salayea and its surroundings in Lofa County and are now advancing
15:34:12 20 on the strategic towns of Zorzor and Voinjama."

21 Just to get an idea, Mr Taylor, of how extensive that
22 occupation was --

23 MR GRIFFITHS: Your Honours, can I distribute another map
24 of Liberia, please, which contains some - the Prosecution have
15:34:50 25 had a copy of this for a couple of weeks now - a more detailed
26 map of locations in Sierra Leone. And I have - can I give you
27 some smaller copies for use on the overhead and for marking, if
28 necessary:

29 Q. Mr Taylor, sorry to trouble you yet again, but I wonder if

1 you could change seats for a moment.

2 A. Yes.

3 Q. Salayea - I hope I pronounce it correctly - can we see it
4 on this map?

15:35:53 5 A. Yes, Salayea. It's not here, but I can just show the
6 general area of Salayea. Salayea would be --

7 Q. Mark that copy, if necessary.

8 A. Salayea would be around here.

9 Q. And just write the name in next to it, please. And whilst
15:37:00 10 we're on the map, just so that we get an idea of the area of
11 conflict at this time, roughly how much of Lofa County was
12 occupied by the LURD terrorists at this time?

13 A. By now --

14 Q. Mark it on the - outline it first and then I'm going to ask
15:37:22 15 you to mark it.

16 A. Yes. The fact that they are here, Salayea - Salayea is not
17 far from the - we talked about this before - the St Paul River
18 bridge. We've had that --

19 Q. Yes, we have.

15:37:42 20 A. -- in evidence. So that means that LURD had occupied
21 Voinjama. LURD had come all the way and occupied Zorzor. LURD
22 were now in Salayea. From there they would have come to the
23 famous St Paul River bridge and that will be in Bong County. So
24 they had this entire part of Lofa.

15:38:13 25 Q. Now, just mark on there with a line, please, what area you
26 say was occupied by them.

27 A. By this time LURD is in - from the town of Kolahun,
28 Voinjama, Zorzor, LURD was now occupying that part.

29 Q. And is that up to the border?

1 A. That is correct.

2 Q. Okay. And for how long had they maintained control of that
3 area?

4 A. I would say - we are now talking about 2002 - they had been
15:39:11 5 in control of this area - I mean full control, I would say, for
6 about nine months. Before then we had had a push/pull situation,
7 but now they are in control of the area.

8 Q. Okay. Well, I'll tell you what we do, Mr Taylor, could you
9 sign and date that document, please, that map?

15:39:45 10 A. Yes.

11 JUDGE SEBUTINDE: Mr Griffiths, is it possible to get a
12 definite time frame when LURD - the nine months that you've
13 spoken of, when exactly were these?

14 MR GRIFFITHS:

15:40:20 15 Q. Did you hear the question, Mr Taylor?

16 A. Yes, I did. I would say, put it to about three months into
17 2002, six months back, I'll put that to about August of 2001 up
18 to about March of 2002. Even though this - even though they are
19 - your Honour, the document covers August, if we add - this
15:41:02 20 document is published in August of 2002, so they are still in
21 control, but I will put it to - so that's six and three, nine.
22 March, April, May, June, July - 13. That's about a year, going
23 back to about August of 2001.

24 Q. Okay.

15:41:34 25 MR GRIFFITHS: Could I ask, please, that that Defence map
26 of Liberia marked by the accused to show the area occupied by
27 LURD as of August 2001 to August 2002 be marked for
28 identification MFI-223, please.

29 THE WITNESS: Excuse me, counsel. Now, let me just be

1 clear about this. We're trying to show the direction of LURD as
2 it came to Salayea. Now, if based on your explanation, the total
3 area occupied up to that date and not just Lofa, then this is
4 incomplete:

15:42:17 5 Q. Okay. Well, in that event, in light of the learned
6 Justice's question, could you please mark on there the area
7 occupied by LURD between August 2001 and August 2002, the time of
8 the date of this article?

9 A. Now, what you do have - that's the area. And the area is
15:43:07 10 no different. The area is no different because these are former
11 ULIMO people. It's the same area that ULIMO occupied before.
12 It's the same procedure they use, cut. So by this particular
13 time they are occupying Bomi, Cape Mount. They take the former
14 areas held by ULIMO, LURD.

15:43:31 15 Q. Okay. We need to take things slowly here. So, Mr Taylor,
16 I want to make sure I understand. Is this right, that between
17 August 2001 and August 2002 LURD occupy everything to the left of
18 that blue line?

19 A. That is correct.

15:43:56 20 Q. As far as the Sierra Leone border?

21 A. That is correct.

22 Q. And they have exclusive control of that area, do they?

23 A. Exclusive control of that area.

24 Q. Now, I want us to be careful about this for this reason:

15:44:14 25 You've already testified to the effect that the former ULIMO had
26 occupied the same area between about 1992 and 1997, hadn't you?

27 A. That is correct.

28 Q. And one consequence of that occupation, as you outlined,
29 was that it would have been physically impossible for you to have

1 supplied arms to the RUF, even if you were in a position to do
2 so. Do you remember giving us testimony to that effect?

3 A. Yes.

15:44:56

4 Q. So help us. In light of that, what was the consequence, in
5 terms of an ability, a physical ability, to supply arms to the
6 RUF, of LURD occupying the area you've now demarcated on that
7 map?

15:45:16

8 A. There was just no possibility. And this is why LURD took
9 this position. In fact, when LURD entered and attacked the city
10 of Monrovia they came from Bomi, Klay into Monrovia. They did
11 not attack Monrovia via Gbarnga this way. LURD came, occupied
12 this whole area and entered Monrovia from Bomi Hills, Klay. Klay
13 has come on before, it came in the testimony where Hassan Bility
14 claimed he was held, all the way to Monrovia. This is the entry
15 point into Monrovia. They occupied this entire place for that
16 period.

15:45:41

17 Q. Now, Mr Taylor, it's important for a number of important
18 reasons that we're clear what it is you're saying. During what
19 period was it possible to have free transit between Monrovia,
20 say, and the Sierra Leonean border? During the period that we've
21 been considering, which is 1989, start of the revolution, to
22 2003, during what period was it possible to travel unhindered
23 from Monrovia to the Sierra Leone border without it being
24 occupied by either ULIMO or LURD? Do you follow me?

15:46:13

25 A. I follow you.

15:46:42

26 Q. Take your time.

27 A. Let's take ULIMO first. When we look at the period of
28 occupation, as of about 1991 throughout up until my election as
29 President in 1997, ULIMO had control of the very portion.

1 LURD. LURD's first attack was in 1998. There were probes.
2 1998 there were other probes. 1999 there were probes. In 2000
3 LURD started gaining ground. If you remember, one of the things
4 that we raised in 2000 was the fact that as early as July 2000
15:47:49 5 there were more attacks, Voinjama and Kolahun. LURD made
6 significant gains in 2001. Significant gains in 2001, so much so
7 this is what led me to forcefully trying to order arms to defend
8 myself.

9 So I can say that from about August of 2002 all the way to
15:48:20 10 about this time of 2000 - excuse me, 2001 to 2002, LURD within
11 that year up to the publication of this document, LURD is now
12 occupying strategically the very position that they occupied and
13 I'm using the word "they" intentionally. That they occupied, by
14 "they" I mean ULIMO that just changed its name to LURD, that they
15:48:45 15 occupied up until 1997, the election. They knew the strategic
16 nature of this part of the country and how easy it would be to
17 enter the city. So from about August of 2001 up until I left
18 Liberia LURD was occupying this entire section, the identical -
19 identical section that they occupied up until 1997.

15:49:12 20 Q. Now, if we put all of that together, the window of
21 opportunity then for supplying arms to Sierra Leone is July 1997
22 to around about August 2001. Do you understand what I'm saying?

23 A. Uh-huh.

24 Q. Based on what you've told us --

15:49:37 25 A. Yes.

26 Q. -- was that true or false?

27 A. Yes, that's true.

28 Q. So that's for about just shy of a four-year period?

29 A. Yes.

1 Q. Am I right?

2 A. Oh, you're correct, yes.

3 Q. Now, so that we don't have to disturb you again, Mr Taylor,
4 the initial line that you marked, yes, what were you seeking to
15:50:04 5 show in drawing that line?

6 A. The initial mark I was trying to show the progression down
7 to Salayea, okay.

8 Q. Yes. And in terms of the area up to the border, what were
9 you seeking to demonstrate there?

15:50:22 10 A. I was seeking to demonstrate that once LURD took Voinjama,
11 Kolahun and Foya, there's nothing left on this side. You've got
12 the border. That's all. These major towns, militarily no
13 government forces will stay behind here in Foya when you have
14 captured Kolahun and Voinjama, okay. So once you capture Foya,
15:50:52 15 Voinjama and Kolahun up here. Once you capture Voinjama and
16 Kolahun this is space. This is already in your hands. So we're
17 trying to show that this is the connection to show the end of the
18 process you have there, and they advanced through the forest on
19 this side in the same way.

15:51:08 20 MR GRIFFITHS: Okay. I don't know if anything arises which
21 needs to be clarified before I ask the witness to return to his
22 seat? Very well.

23 Can I ask, please, that that map, Defence map of Liberia
24 marked by the accused to show area occupied by LURD as of August
15:51:33 25 2001 to August 2002, be marked for identification, please,
26 MFI-223.

27 PRESIDING JUDGE: Yes, that map is marked for
28 identification MFI-223.

29 MR GRIFFITHS: I am grateful.

1 THE WITNESS: Excuse me, counsel. You know, you people are
2 the lawyers. Now, when you - because maybe we might get
3 confronted with this in the future. It should not be construed
4 that LURD failed to occupy that point up until - remember I leave
15:52:17 5 office August 2003. LURD is still there. That answer is as of
6 the time of this publication, but it's good if you want to know -
7 it's good to know that LURD continued to occupy that up until the
8 time I left office which is in 2003. They never relinquished
9 that post. So that answer is strictly dealing up to the
15:52:40 10 publication, which is August 2002, but they are there up until I
11 leave office in August 2003.

12 MR GRIFFITHS:

13 Q. Okay. So would it be more accurate for us to say,
14 Mr Taylor, that that map represents the area occupied by LURD
15:52:59 15 from August 2001 to August 2003?

16 A. That would be accurate.

17 PRESIDING JUDGE: Well, I'm just wondering. They were
18 still in occupation, according to the witness, when he left
19 office in August 2003.

15:53:21 20 THE WITNESS: That is correct, your Honour.

21 PRESIDING JUDGE: But did they thereupon vacate that area,
22 or did they go past August 2003?

23 THE WITNESS: When I left office, your Honour, in August of
24 2003, Moses Blah took over for a month and then a transitional
15:53:45 25 government came into place. So they did not relinquish the area
26 in terms of military action. They relinquished the area after I
27 left office in terms of political inaction - I mean action. So
28 they remained there, but ceded to a political process after I
29 left office.

1 PRESIDING JUDGE: I'm just trying to get some accuracy
2 about describing this map. So it's not quite correct to say that
3 it represents LURD occupation up to August 2003. It depends
4 whether you are talking politically or militarily now.

15:54:22 5 THE WITNESS: Okay. Well, I can help.

6 MR GRIFFITHS:

7 Q. Mr Taylor, I think it might be best for you to provide the
8 description.

9 A. Yes.

15:54:30 10 Q. What does that map that you have drawn show?

11 A. That map that I have drawn shows the military occupation of
12 that region between August 2001 throughout my presidency that
13 ended on 11 August 2003. That's what I can speak about. Now, in
14 reply to the President's question, that military occupation of
15 LURD ceased to exist I would say about two months after I left
16 office, not because they were removed militarily, but I leave
17 office and a transitional government comes in which they join the
18 government, okay. And as a result, they relinquish that not
19 because of military act of force, but by act of political
20 interaction. That's how much I can help, Mr President.

15:55:37 21 MR GRIFFITHS: Now, I'm going to suggest, Mr President, if
22 this meets with the Court's approval, that we amend the
23 description then of that map and now describe it in the terms as
24 described by the witness in that answer.

15:56:23 25 PRESIDING JUDGE: It's still very difficult to describe the
26 map with any precision even going on the witness's evidence.
27 What about the map showing the area occupied by LURD between
28 August 2001 and throughout Charles Taylor's presidency and
29 beyond.

1 MR GRIFFITHS: I'm happy with that.

2 PRESIDING JUDGE: We're simply looking for a title to
3 distinguish that from other maps.

4 MR GRIFFITHS: Precisely.

15:57:18 5 PRESIDING JUDGE: My suggestion, and perhaps there might be
6 other judicial suggestions - but my suggestion for this map is
7 it's a map of Liberia marked by the witness showing the area
8 occupied by LURD between August 2001, throughout Charles Taylor's
9 presidency and beyond. That's my suggestion.

15:57:40 10 MR GRIFFITHS: I'm happy with that, Mr President.

11 THE WITNESS: In fact, the President has spoken. If I
12 could help? Because it ceases, Mr President, at the coming into
13 being of the transitional government, which is exactly two months
14 following I leave office, which is headed by Gyude Bryant. So if
15:58:06 15 - with due respect, if you accept my recommendation to - I would
16 say maybe a description would be the position occupied by LURD up
17 until the coming into being of the National Transitional
18 Government headed by Gyude Bryant. That gives it a cutoff period
19 that we now know that it stops at the inception of that
15:58:34 20 government. But if we say beyond, it could be --

21 PRESIDING JUDGE: Inception of that government in what?
22 August 2003?

23 THE WITNESS: October. The government comes into being in
24 - Blah is there I think for a month to - immediately, the
15:58:55 25 transitional government comes in. In fact, the leader of LURD
26 becomes foreign minister in the government. So that Government
27 of National Unity that is put into place for two years ends the
28 occupation of LURD as a military force.

29 PRESIDING JUDGE: I think that may have it. Would you then

1 have it marked on that basis, Mr Griffiths?

2 MR GRIFFITHS: I am more than happy with that now,
3 Mr President.

4 PRESIDING JUDGE: All right. The map of Liberia marked by
15:59:26 5 the witness showing the area occupied by LURD from August 2001 up
6 until the coming into being of the National Transitional
7 Government headed by Gyude Bryant in August 2003 - I beg your
8 pardon, in October 2003 will be marked for identification
9 MFI-223.

10 MR GRIFFITHS: I'm grateful:

11 Q. Now, Mr Taylor, let's pick up the account being given in
12 this document:

13 "The government's troops' rapid advancement against the
14 heavily armed foreign backed insurgents is partly occasioned by
16:00:14 15 the presence of President Charles Ghankay Taylor, who is also
16 Commander in Chief of the Armed Forces of Liberia in the central
17 Liberian city of Gbarnga, Bong County."

18 Now, it says where it is partly occasioned by your
19 presence. Yes, your presence might have had a galvanising
16:00:36 20 effect, Mr Taylor, but help us, was it also assisted by arms
21 importations by August 2002?

22 A. Yes.

23 Q. Had you been able to re-arm the army of Liberia?

24 A. No, not re-arm. We were able to bring in some material.
16:01:01 25 We didn't have sufficient, but we were able to bring in some
26 material under that letter that I wrote to the council.

27 Q. "The Liberian leader is currently in that part of the
28 country to assess the military, humanitarian, and other
29 situations and design appropriate strategies and methods aimed at

1 addressing them.

2 Government troops have dislodged the LURD terrorists from
3 Salayea and its surroundings in Lofa County and are now advancing
4 on the strategic towns of Zorzor and Voi njama.

16:01:36 5 Addressing local and foreign journalists at the Joseph
6 Frankly Walker Bridge linking Lofa and Bong counties Tuesday, the
7 joint chiefs of staff of the Armed Forces of Liberia, General
8 Benjamin Yeaten, also disclosed that government soldiers have
9 engaged the LURD terrorists at several fronts."

16:02:04 10 Can I pause there? I thought Mr Yeaten was director of the
11 SSS.

12 A. Yes.

13 Q. Where does he get this title from, Chairman of the Joint
14 Chiefs of Staff of the Armed Forces of Liberia?

16:02:21 15 A. That's wrong. He is not chairman. He is a senior general.
16 Benjamin Yeaten is a military personnel. There are so many
17 instances where police commissioners are brought in that are
18 military people. Benjamin Yeaten is a trained Special Forces.
19 And if you look at the country at this period of time, there is
16:02:44 20 hardly any work going on in the city. Government offices are
21 practically closed. All able-bodied men and women that know

22 something about war are fighting. He is still - he holds a
23 military rank of general while he is SSS director. Now, we have
24 a serious war and a man of his capabilities was actively
16:03:09 25 participating while other deputies were carrying on the function,
26 but he is also a general.

27 Q. "He said this is partly intended to create safe corridors
28 for civilians who are entrapped by the fighting to move into
29 government's recaptured areas.

1 Speaking further across the bridge in Salayea District,
2 General Yeaten told journalists that he is visiting all front
3 line commanders to brief them about new strategies and measures
4 geared towards decimating LURD forces in Lofa County.

16:03:50 5 LURD terrorists have been facing serious setbacks since May
6 this year when several of them were killed in Gbarnga by Liberian
7 government troops. President Charles Taylor vowed in May, after
8 LURD terrorists attacked Gbarnga, that his government would do
9 everything to chase the terror group out of the Liberian soil.

16:04:14 10 The AFL commander in chief's promise was effectively
11 carried out days later when the provision town of Tubmanburg,
12 along with its nearby villages and towns in Bong County, was
13 liberated from the dispirited and degraded LURD rebels. Many
14 them never survived from the government troops' suppressive
16:04:42 15 military firepower.

16 Hundred of displaced citizens and foreign residents are
17 also benefiting from relief aid being provided at Miamu,
18 Belafanal and other war affected areas by President Taylor who
19 has also been touring the areas.

16:05:02 20 Giving graphic accounts of treatments accorded them by the
21 LURD forces, scores of the displaced persons revealed that many
22 of their family members, friends and loved ones were arrested,
23 tortured and summarily executed by LURD terrorists on claim of
24 being government supporters."

16:05:26 25 Is that true?

26 A. That is true. That is true.

27 Q. "Our front line reporter who toured the recaptured towns
28 and villages observed that the rebels have set ablaze every town
29 and village previously occupied by them in Salayea District, Lofa

1 County."

2 Is that true Mr Taylor?

3 A. Yes.

16:05:57 4 Q. "Since the proxy war against the Liberian nation started
5 four years ago, over 1.5 million people have been displaced and
6 thousands others murdered in cold blood.

7 Despite the increasing terror and mayhem against Liberians,
8 the United Nations Security Council placed arms embargo against
9 the Liberian government.

16:06:19 10 Leading international human rights groups, including Human
11 Rights Watch, Amnesty International, have confirmed that the
12 government of the Republic of Guinea is providing logistical,
13 financial and other support to the LURD forces."

14 Again, are you in a position to confirm that, Mr Taylor?

16:06:43 15 A. Yes, it was acknowledged. They acknowledged that, yes.

16 Q. But help me, was there any dialogue between yourself and
17 President Lansana Conte about all of this?

18 A. We talked, but this - this was not - you know, when I think
19 about it, this was not a situation that Conte - I don't know how
16:07:18 20 much control General Conte had over this thing. We were talking,
21 but he was doing what he had to do. I don't know. Maybe I would
22 have done the same thing. When these big countries come to you
23 and get you involved in doing some of these terrible things where
24 the very economy of your country depends on what they are doing,
16:07:41 25 sometimes good people do bad things when they come after you to
26 do things.

27 Conte, I guess, may have not wanted war, but he had trained
28 us in his country. In fact, at this particular time, I think
29 Alcoa, the major aluminium group in the United States, had gotten

1 major mining rights - I think Guinea maybe having the word - the
2 world's largest reserve of bauxite. So the massive multimillion
3 dollars investment in Guinea, and I guess this was just a part of
4 the package that "Taylor has to go". So he was just supporting
16:08:26 5 them.

6 And we had a second problem with these people. We were
7 just at a loss. This very man that sat in this chair, General
8 Sherif, never did I know until it got too late - it was a funny
9 war. General Sherif's brother, aka Cobra, was the principal
10 commander for LURD. So we were buying weapons that we got in
11 2000, and within a day, LURD had the same weapons. His brother
12 Cobra was the most senior commander of LURD, so it was a funny
13 war for us. It was just funny. So Conte was doing what he had
14 to do and other people - we had enemies within. It was just

16:09:11 15 tough.

16 Q. I'm sorry, Mr Taylor, I don't follow. When you say that
17 LURD ended up with the same weapons, what are you insinuating?

18 A. Not insinuating. What I'm saying - I would raise it beyond
19 insinuation. I'm saying, Sherif was a major - a general in the
16:09:35 20 government along with government forces fighting, for example, on
21 the Bomi Hills corridor, but I did not know that Sherif's brother
22 - his brother, blood brother, was the commander of LURD. He had
23 a code named called Cobra, also a General Sherif. So we buy
24 weapons, supply it to the front line, and Sherif and his people
16:09:59 25 were giving the same weapons to LURD and not fighting them.

26 Really, they were not fighting them. So when we got to really
27 find out that most of these advances from LURD and their
28 occupation were coming from some of - you know, within our own
29 ranks.

1 Q. Well, let's look at that a little more closely because it
2 might assist us in our "we should observe the evidence and
3 testimony given by Mr Sheriff". So we have this situation, do we,
4 Varmuyan Sheriff was once a major ULIMO general? Is that right?

16:10:33 5 A. Yes.

6 Q. At the end of the civil war, he is incorporated into the
7 SSS?

8 A. That is correct.

9 Q. Into a position of some authority within the SSS?

16:10:47 10 A. That is correct.

11 Q. When the LURD insurgency commences in 1998?

12 A. Yes.

13 Q. His blood brother is a commander of those LURD forces?

16:11:09 14 A. Well, let me qualify that. Not just a commander. Is the
15 most senior LURD commander, Cobra.

16 Q. Is the most senior LURD commander, yes?

17 A. Cobra, yes.

18 Q. And at the time that it is discovered that Cobra is in that
19 position, what position does Varmuyan Sheriff have within the
16:11:36 20 Liberian government, if any?

21 A. General Sheriff at this time is serving as deputy chief of
22 staff of the army division assigned at the corridor with Bomi
23 County. He is a major general, the most senior - the second most
24 senior general in the army division of the government forces.

16:12:04 25 Q. And just so that I'm clear and that I'm not missing
26 anything, so we have blood brothers on either side of a conflict,
27 do we?

28 A. Oh, definitely. That was simple, yes. We had even more
29 than that. Cousins on one side. Cousins on this side. Family -

1 villages on that side fighting, oh, yes. Oh, yes.

2 Q. Yes. So you are describing a situation of some confusion
3 it would appear, Mr Taylor, in terms of family links across the
4 divide, yes?

16:12:54 5 A. Yes.

6 Q. And help us, at the time when Mr Sheriff found himself in
7 this confusing situation, was it before or after, to quote you,
8 he went mad?

9 A. Oh, that's long after.

16:13:16 10 Q. This is after he went mad.

11 Now, there's something else which I need to clarify about
12 that, because earlier you told us Sheriff starts out in the SSS,
13 yes?

14 A. Yes.

16:13:37 15 Q. He is then moved to immigration?

16 A. Yes.

17 Q. So when does he assume this role you've just ascribed to
18 him?

19 A. He is at immigration when he assumes this role. All
16:13:49 20 individuals that have military experience and background,
21 regardless of what posts you are holding in government, that's
22 how Benjamin Yeaten, who was SSS director, can end up on the
23 front line and that's how Moses Blah who sat here, that's how
24 Moses Blah - yes, he was Vice-President. The President is in
16:14:15 25 military uniform in Gbarnga. He's not at a new desk. That's how
26 Moses Blah ended up in Nimba County, because he was Special
27 Forces to go - there was no office business. At this crucial
28 period everyone that could contribute contributed and we will get
29 to that later when we deal with other matters, that he was not

1 sitting down at home or at his office and being sent on
2 assignment. Moses Blah retired as a Special Forces with the rank
3 of Lieutenant general. He was put on assignment in the Nimba
4 region to deal with matters.

16:14:46 5 So what am I saying? I'm saying that at a particular point
6 of this war around this time, whether you are a minister or
7 deputy minister or director that had previous military
8 background, you are working in both capacities. That's how an
9 experienced ULIMO general like Sherif could not sit down at
16:15:07 10 immigration. He was then put under the army division under a
11 general called Siafa Norman, Lieutenant General Siafa Norman. He
12 now, Sherif, worked as his deputy in the army division
13 controlling that axle of Bomi.

14 Q. Now, Mr Taylor, what are you saying? That the country is
16:15:35 15 on a war footing and they're calling upon all military resources?
16 Is that what you're explaining to you?

17 A. Exactly. Yes, it's exactly what the story is. Exactly
18 what it is.

19 Q. Okay. Now that we've examined in a little detail the state
16:15:57 20 of the country at this time, August 2002, Liberia is on a war
21 footing, yes?

22 A. Yes.

23 Q. Even the President has to don army fatigues and go to the
24 battle front, yes?

16:16:10 25 A. Not directly to the front, counsel, but close to it.

26 Q. Close to it?

27 A. Yes.

28 Q. Grateful for the qualification. Now let's shift our focus
29 for a moment. At this time what's the state of relations with

1 the United States of America?

2 A. At this time we get a new ambassador. We write - I write a
3 letter in October to President Bush thanking him for nominating I
4 think it was Ambassador John Blaney as the new ambassador. I
16:16:51 5 also tell him that Liberia will continue to cooperate in the war
6 on terror because after 9/11 what Liberia did, we assisted in so
7 many ways in this war on terror by making available Roberts
8 International Airport for military operations if they had to on
9 short notice, which was our main contribution to the war on
16:17:18 10 terror. We write him, telling him that we remain committed to
11 that process and appreciating the fact that he has sent in a new
12 ambassador, Blaney, and also reminding him of the long historic
13 ties and how we yearn for some cooperation between our two
14 countries in October.

16:17:46 15 Q. Let us look behind divider 124, please. Now we see the
16 letter is dated 3 October 2002. Is that correct, Mr Taylor?

17 A. That is correct.

18 Q. Now help me. What prompted you to write this letter?

19 A. Just, you know, we are desperate but we see this change of
16:18:33 20 ambassador as maybe that little crack in the dark cloud and we
21 think to write just to, you know, see if we can get this
22 breakthrough that we're trying to, just to show that we are still
23 out there.

24 Q. We see that it's addressed to His Excellency George W Bush,
16:19:01 25 President of the United States of America:

26 "Mr President, I am pleased to register the satisfaction of
27 the government and people of the Republic of Liberia for the
28 appointment and accreditation of His Excellency John William
29 Blaney as ambassador extraordinary and pleni potentiary to

1 Liberia.

2 In view of the historical and cultural ties that exist
3 between our two governments and people, we look forward to the
4 consolidation of already cordial relations that we have nurtured
16:19:40 5 over the years. Liberia looks forward to closer cooperation with
6 the United States in the pursuit of international peace and
7 security.

8 Mr President, we wish to reiterate the support of the
9 Liberian government in the global fight against terrorism. We
16:19:56 10 share the concerns of the United States and other peace loving
11 countries that international terrorism is a damnable scourge that
12 should be totally removed from the realm of human existence. In
13 that connection, the Liberian government commits itself in
14 support of the global coalition against terrorism and avails its
16:20:18 15 territory and infrastructure, in particular the Roberts
16 International Airport, for the use of a US-led coalition in the
17 fight against terrorism."

18 Now, that particular offer, Mr Taylor, firstly from your
19 point of view did you consider RIA to be of strategic importance
16:20:51 20 in this global fight against terror as it was termed?

21 A. Oh, yes.

22 Q. Why?

23 A. Well, let's look at why it was important in World War II.
24 Liberia is strategically located just on the west tip of Africa
16:21:07 25 very short - the shortest distance - there's, what, less than
26 three hours' flight between Liberia and say Venezuela,
27 South America. If you look on the map, just right across. The
28 United States had built a refuelling - fast jet refuelling -
29 military refuelling facility in Liberia some years before that

1 were - that could be put back into place immediately. What do I
2 mean by fast? You know these major aircrafts - and I'm sure the
3 opposite side may know what I'm talking about. Military
4 aircrafts don't take jet fuel as civilian aircrafts. They have
16:21:55 5 something like a suction that goes in, bang, and within a minute
6 or two - it's such a fast loading process that you cannot use
7 ordinary civilian aircrafts. That facility was at Roberts
8 International Airport for the refuelling of F15s, F16s. And if
9 I'm not wrong, in the West African sub-region at that time
16:22:22 10 Liberia was the only place. So if you had to do any fast
11 refuelling or technical stopover Liberia was the best place.

12 So by making those facilities available on short range, on
13 short notice, may I say, that would have helped. By short
14 notice, for example, within let's say 12 hours or less you could
16:22:46 15 inform the Liberian government we wish to make X, Y, Z stopover
16 or whatever and we would have the area cleared for that. So it
17 was strategic.

18 Q. Was the offer ever taken up?

19 A. Oh, yes. They did say that if and when they needed it they
16:23:03 20 would inform the government, yes.

21 Q. And did they in fact use it at any stage?

22 A. No. Throughout that period, no.

23 Q. Now, this might sound cynical, Mr Taylor, but I'm still
24 going to ask it: Were you seeking to earn Brownie points with
16:23:24 25 George W Bush in making this offer?

26 A. I wouldn't call it Brownie points. I was trying to cool
27 the guy down because they were just moving fast and we were
28 trying to do something to get Bush off our backs and maybe
29 something that would - that we would be seen not as an enemy,

1 which we never could have been, but as a friend. And that our
2 very frank - and I do not deny that there were some frank
3 exchanges and that's - I'm that way. There were some frank
4 exchanges, but that we were not enemies.

16:24:04 5 Q. "The Government of Liberia continues to remain committed to
6 the search for lasting peace and security in the West African
7 sub-region and within our global village. Our government is
8 therefore engaged with the states of the Mano River Union and the
9 Economic Community of West African States in the search for peace
16:24:27 10 in our region. We count on the assistance of the United States
11 in making our quest for stability and regional security a
12 reality.

13 Mr President, in consideration of the long-standing
14 historical ties between Liberia and the United States, I wish to
16:24:48 15 once more assure you of the full support of the Republic of
16 Liberia for the US leadership in containing the threat of the use
17 of weapons of mass destruction and in making the world a better
18 and safer place for future generations to come."

19 Pause there. So had you been taken in by this - the
16:25:15 20 message about the fear of mass destruction, Mr Taylor?

21 A. Everyone should have been. If there was an actual threat
22 of fear of weapons of mass destruction, and knowing what we had
23 been advised even by some of our top advisers, weapons of mass
24 destruction, whether you're talking about whether the different
16:25:41 25 categories of gases, whether we're talking about mustard, you
26 know, all these things. The use of anthrax in warheads and all
27 these - these kinds of weapons are dangerous for everyone, not
28 because they could be exploded in your country but if they are
29 exploded and they enter the atmosphere and the wind drifting

1 could kill hundreds of millions of people, of course everyone
2 should be concerned about that and we were too.

3 Q. "We look forward to the continued cordiality and
4 cooperation that has characterised the relations between Liberia
16:26:23 5 and the United States of America."

6 Final question on this: Did you get a response?

7 A. No, not directly. But it was acknowledged by the
8 ambassador, when he took over he mentioned it to me.

9 MR GRIFFITHS: Could I ask then, please, that that letter
16:26:48 10 from President Charles Taylor to President George W Bush of
11 United States be marked for identification MFI-224, please.

12 PRESIDING JUDGE: Yes, marked MFI-224.

13 MR GRIFFITHS: Mr President, I appreciate that it's
14 slightly early but is that a convenient point?

16:27:20 15 PRESIDING JUDGE: I've been given a signal we've only got
16 one minute of tape left, so I think it is a convenient place.

17 MR GRIFFITHS: I'm grateful.

18 PRESIDING JUDGE: We'll adjourn now, Mr Taylor, until
19 tomorrow morning at 9.30 and I remind you that you are ordered
16:27:35 20 not to discuss your evidence with any other person. We'll
21 adjourn.

22 [Whereupon the hearing adjourned at 4.27 p.m.
23 to be reconvened on Tuesday, 1 September 2009
24 at 9.30 a.m.]

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I N D E X

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