

Case No. SCSL-2003-01-T

THE PROSECUTOR OF THE SPECIAL COURT

CHARLES GHANKAY TAYLOR

TUESDAY, 3 NOVEMBER 2009 9. 30 A. M. TRI AL

TRIAL CHAMBER II

Before the Judges: Justice Richard Lussick, Presiding

Justice Teresa Doherty Justice Julia Sebutinde

Justice El Hadji Malick Sow, Alternate

For Chambers: Mr Simon Meisenberg

For the Registry: Ms Rachel Irura

Mr Benedict Williams

Ms Brenda J Hollis For the Prosecution:

Mr Mohamed A Bangura Mr Christopher Santora Ms Maja Dimitrova

For the accused Charles Ghankay Mr Courtenay Griffiths QC Taylor:

Mr Morris Anyah
Mr Terry Munyard

|          | 1  | Tuesday, 3 November 2009                                         |
|----------|----|------------------------------------------------------------------|
|          | 2  | [Open session]                                                   |
|          | 3  | [The accused present]                                            |
|          | 4  | [Upon commencing at 9.32 a.m.]                                   |
| 09:30:21 | 5  | PRESIDING JUDGE: We'll take appearances, please.                 |
|          | 6  | MS HOLLIS: Good morning, Mr President, your Honours,             |
|          | 7  | opposing counsel. This morning for the Prosecution, Brenda J     |
|          | 8  | Hollis, Christopher Santora and our case manager Maja Dimitrova. |
|          | 9  | PRESIDING JUDGE: Thank you. Yes, Mr Griffiths.                   |
| 09:34:37 | 10 | MR GRIFFITHS: Good morning, Mr President, your Honours,          |
|          | 11 | counsel opposite. For the Defence today, myself Courtenay        |
|          | 12 | Griffiths, with me Mr Morris Anyah and Mr Terry Munyard of       |
|          | 13 | counsel.                                                         |
|          | 14 | PRESIDING JUDGE: Thank you, Mr Griffiths. Mr Taylor, I           |
| 09:34:52 | 15 | remind you that you are still on oath. Yes, go ahead, please,    |
|          | 16 | Mr Griffiths.                                                    |
|          | 17 | DANKPANNAH DR CHARLES GHANKAY TAYLOR:                            |
|          | 18 | [On former affirmation]                                          |
|          | 19 | EXAMINATION-IN-CHIEF BY MR GRIFFITHS: [Continued]                |
| 09:34:58 | 20 | Q. Mr Taylor, yesterday we were looking at the testimony of      |
|          | 21 | Hassan Bility and we had reached the stage where he was giving   |
|          | 22 | testimony about his arrest on 24 June 2002 and he being taken to |
|          | 23 | your home address blindfolded. Do you recall that?               |
|          | 24 | A. Yes, I do.                                                    |
| 09:35:29 | 25 | Q. He told us this and this is page 22372, transcript of 12      |
|          | 26 | January 2009. He describes how he was placed in the back of a    |
|          | 27 | jeep, blindfolded. They arrive at White Flower. The blindfold    |
|          | 28 | is removed and he is asked, "How did you know where you were?"   |
|          | 29 | And he says:                                                     |

- 1 "I had lived almost all my life in Monrovia and I know
- 2 that. I know White Flower. I know Congo Town. I know the
- 3 President's official residence. I've been there before. I've
- 4 been there for a Christmas party that the President held for
- 09:36:22 5 reporters, journalists and other people, so I know the place."
  - 6 Had he been to a Christmas party at your address,
  - 7 Mr Taylor?
  - 8 A. Yes, and a birthday party.
  - 9 0. And --
- 09:36:35 10 A. And my birthday party, which is in January.
  - 11 Q. And help us, when was that?
  - 12 A. I would say in 2000 my birthday in 2000 most of the
  - 13 journalists came in. There's always every year a Christmas
  - 14 party, so I guess if he wanted to be truthful he would have said
- 09:36:59 15 he could have attended most of the Christmas parties, because
  - 16 every Christmas there was a party held.
  - 17 Q. If as you say he had attended your birthday in the year
  - 18 2000, by that stage on his account he had already been arrested
  - 19 three times and taken in front of you?
- 09:37:23 20 A. I know, but that's the whole point. That's the whole
  - 21 point. I think we need to probably put this whole Bility this
  - 22 arrest that I said not only was I aware of the arrest, I
  - 23 acquiesced. And I think we need to put the whole thing into
  - 24 context.
- 09:37:44 25 We're fighting a war. By 2002 the war has reached the
  - 26 capital city of Monrovia. Prisoners of war have been arrested.
  - 27 Hassan Bility has been named by several prisoners of war as their
  - 28 principal contact in Monrovia that is helping to organise behind
  - 29 the scenes. The intelligence agencies go to work and in fact

- 1 this POW states that Mr Bility is in contact with Damate Conneh
- 2 and they are in constant email communication.
- 3 Q. Who is Damate Conneh?
- 4 A. Damate Conneh, the then leader of LURD. In fact he is the
- 09:38:32 5 second. The first leader of LURD whose name is on the record
  - 6 here is I think it's on the record but I will mention it. It
  - 7 was a gentleman called Vamba, V-A-M-B-A, last name Conneh, C-O -
  - 8 some people spell it with K. C-O-N-N-E-H, Conneh. And that he
  - 9 is in email contact with Damate Conneh and also with Alhaji
- 09:39:01 10 Kromah who is associating with LURD at the time.
  - 11 The intelligence agencies go to work using whatever methods
  - 12 they have and they intercept and get the actual emails we
  - 13 understand are working with individuals within his establishment.
  - 14 Upon receiving the emails Hassan Bility is arrested by the
- 09:39:29 15 Justice Department and is looked at as a combatant, okay, an
  - 16 unlawful combatant at the time. There are individuals,
  - 17 especially the United States embassy in Monrovia, Amnesty
  - 18 International, because he has been sending these terrible reports
  - 19 out to them. Everybody is yelling and screaming all over place
- 09:39:55 20 as usual. You have all these BBC reports and all of that.
  - 21 We expose the email I mean the emails that he has
  - 22 received, copies of which were given as exhibits before this
  - 23 Court and those emails were exhibited at the time in Liberia as
  - 24 testimony to the fact that he was yes, no one doubts that he
- 09:40:21 25 worked for a newspaper but also that he was a combatant in that
  - 26 he had been dealing with them. Even witnesses revealed at the
  - 27 time that he had visited some of the individuals in Sierra Leone.
  - 28 But I take that to be hearsay. What we had factually were the
  - 29 emails of the contact with Damate Conneh and with Alhaji Kromah.

29

2 So the United States government begins to mount excessive pressure on the Government of Liberia to release Mr Bility. 3 4 In fact my government made the fact at the time you are holding unlawful combatants in Guantanamo Bay, so this is an 09:41:02 5 unlawful combatant and the Bush administration used the argument 6 7 that unlawful combatants were not entitled to due process in a court of law. So we followed American legal procedure, so he is 8 not entitled to being taken before a court and he is going to be held until the war is over, just as you said you are going to 09:41:25 10 hold people until the war is over. So this was the argument at 11 12 the time. 13 Then they moved to phase two. Well, he is dead. He is 14 dead and we want guarantee that Mr Bility is alive. So, fine, we permitted the most senior officials of the United States embassy 09:41:41 15 in Monrovia to visit Mr Bility that Mr Bility testified in this 16 17 Court about which is true. At least two of the most senior individuals visited Mr Bility. And may I note here, neither of 18 19 the two - neither of the two stated that Mr Bility had been 09:42:01 20 tortured when they met him. Neither of the two. If they had 21 seen a tortured Bility they would have made the biggest noise 22 about it. We kept Mr Bility. This continued. After a couple of months they said that they had renewed 23 24 information that Mr Bility had been seriously tortured. 09:42:21 25 needed medical attention and all. So we say fine. At this 26 particular time the country is really, really, really I would say in a state of near anarchy I admit. Ministries and agencies are 27 28 closed, officials are not at work. The fight is in the city.

Those emails are the ones that were exhibited here.

I hold an international press conference involving the

- foreign press, some members of the diplomatic corps, some
  ministers and I have Mr Bility brought to this meeting. At this
  particular time it is at my residence that I use sometimes for
  work, just as most Presidents do. Camp David in the
- United States is used for work and of course they receive peoplethere. I received people at my house too.
- 7 Mr Bility was shown in good health and everything. He was
  8 not permitted to answer questions at that house. It was very
  9 clear, international journalists took pictures and everything and
  109:43:23 10 he was taken away.
- Finally a deal was worked that Mr Bility will leave the 11 12 The United States government guaranteed that if 13 Mr Bility was permitted to leave that would be the end of the 14 story. We accepted that Mr Bility should be - the United States 09:43:37 15 government provided an aircraft for their employee Mr Bility. was released, turned over to the ambassador directly. 16 17 well attired by clothes that they brought and he was put on the United States government plane from Roberts Internation Airport 18 19 and flown out of the country.
- 09:43:55 20 Following his departure from Liberia until now, and I stand 21 corrected, I would like to see any documents or any reports given 22 by the United States government at that time that they had 23 evidence of the torture of Mr Bility. And I'm sure they are very 24 good at that. If there had been any report, and I do not doubt that they may have had a report, but if there was one I haven't 09:44:13 25 26 seen it and I would sure like to see it, that they had seen 27 evidence of torture or anything of Mr Bility.
  - So this is the context of Mr Bility's arrest, Mr Bility
    being brought to my house. It is well, for Europe you say why

- 1 would a detainee be brought to the house of the President? It is
- 2 not unusual in our own setting for these kinds of things to
- 3 happen if there is a serious matter where someone is invited to
- 4 be brought to the President or Prime Minister. This is normal.
- 09:44:47 5 So if we are thinking about Africa that is as normal as day. If
  - 6 we're thinking about I'm sitting in a court here in Europe,
  - 7 maybe somebody would say why did it happen? Well, it happens.
  - 8 So for the sake of the Court, this is the context of Mr Bility's
  - 9 arrest, my seeing him and his departure from Liberia.
- 09:45:04 10 Q. Why do you describe him as an employee of the United
  - 11 States?
  - 12 A. Well, it was the view of the Liberian government and the
  - 13 intelligence agencies in Liberia that Mr Bility worked as an
  - 14 agent for the United States governments because the paper that he
- 09:45:24 15 ran, even the second paper, it was our intelligence that he
  - 16 received monies from the United States embassy, which they do
  - 17 finance several papers in Monrovia, including the Observer. It
  - 18 is not unusual in Liberia. The United States embassy openly
  - 19 provides funds to newspapers they would say which most
- 09:45:43 20 intelligence agencies would do. They would say it is just
  - 21 helping to level the playing field in the country, but normally
  - 22 these people provide reports to them. It's a part of
  - 23 intelligence collection.
  - 24 Q. Well, that's your account of how it was Bility came before
- 09:46:03 25 you, Mr Taylor?
  - 26 A. That is correct.
  - 27 Q. Let me provide you with his account so you can comment on
  - 28 it. Now, before I go into the detail of his account, can I ask
  - 29 you this: How many times do you say Bility was presented to you

- 1 as a pri soner?
- 2 A. Once. Once as a prisoner. That's the final arrest. Once.
- 3 Q. Because you appreciate, he claims that on the occasion of
- 4 each of his first three arrests he was brought before you.
- 09:46:37 5 A. No, that's not true. Hassan Bility was not there's no
  - 6 way any security agency would have arrested somebody, brutalised
  - 7 them and brought them before me. The director and everybody else
  - 8 would have been dismissed. That's not my style. And no Liberian
  - 9 will ever say that's my style. That would not happen.
- 09:46:53 10 And the fact that Mr Bility claims that he was arrested,
  - 11 brutalised several times and kept visiting my house, I mean, this
  - 12 is very strange. Mr Bility visited my house for entertainment
  - 13 purposes more than once. And don't let's forget, Mr Bility
  - 14 mentions in his testimony, my chief of protocol, Musa Cisse, is
- 09:47:18 15 his uncle. Musa Cisse is he mentions in his testimony.
  - 16 Mr Bility was just one of those individuals that was just odd.
  - 17 His uncle was my chief of protocol, the first man to see me every
  - 18 day and the last man before I went to bed. So, Mr Bility, while
  - 19 he may want to project himself as an enemy to me and the
- 09:47:40 20 government, he was really not. That Hassan Bility was not.
  - 21 There was no way. One uncle, Musa Cisse, worked as my chief of
  - 22 protocol. His second uncle worked as the assistant director of
  - 23 police, okay.
  - 24 Q. Who is that?
- 09:47:56 25 A. He is Mainassara Cisse, okay. He worked as an assistant,
  - 26 what do you call, superintendent of police. This Bility boy has
  - 27 several relatives in the government, so it's how would Musa
  - 28 know and his other uncle in the police know of this vast
  - 29 brutality? This is not he may want to promote, I guess, his

- 1 writings, but Bility was not the type of enemy he tried to
- 2 portray himself to be. He was something like a spoiled child
- 3 that wanted to be his own person.
- 4 But I will tell this Court, Hassan Bility was not brought
- 09:48:38 5 to me, no three, four times, after being arrested, brutalised,
  - 6 beating, and just as he said, he comes, the first arrest, he
  - 7 meets Sam Bockarie and all that type of nonsense.
  - 8 Q. We will come to that in a moment.
  - 9 A. That's not true. Not true.
- 09:48:52 10 Q. But before I forget, the assistant director of police, can
  - 11 you provide us with a spelling, please?
  - 12 A. Well, they call him Morris, but his actual name is
  - 13 Mainassara, something like the Mainassara that was spelled for
  - 14 Bare, the President of Niger. We just call it short and call him
- 09:49:14 15 Morris, but it's Mainassara.
  - 16 Q. How do you spell it?
  - 17 A. Please, we just have to look at the records on yesterday
  - 18 for the President of Niger, Bare, that was mentioned by Mr Kargbo
  - 19 as one of the individuals. That's the same spelling.
- 09:49:34 20 Q. Now, his accounts is this: As he gets up out of the jeep
  - 21 and crosses the road, the blindfold is removed and he is ushered
  - 22 into the building. Your son Chucky and one of your bodyguards,
  - 23 Momo Dgiba, and Benjamin Yeaten are in the same room, the sitting
  - 24 room, waiting room, living room, or whatever you call it, with
- 09:49:58 25 other people. Then there is another room which I think that was
  - the President's private office and/or meeting room, small in
  - 27 size, and the door is opened.
  - And he goes on to say, I'm referring to the room where
  - 29 President Taylor with some of his government officials were

- 1 sitting in. I think it's either his private office or his
- 2 private meeting room at White Flower. When I enter I see a lot
- 3 of government officials, security chiefs, including Musa Cisse,
- 4 who was an uncle of mine. I see many of them, Kadiatu Diarra,
- 09:50:41 5 Emmanuel Shaw. And as I enter, the President, he points at me
  - 6 and tells his ministers, security chiefs, "This is the guy who
  - 7 wants to overthrow my government."
  - 8 Now, Mr Taylor, apart from you accept there were
  - 9 government ministers present at this meeting?
- 09:51:01 10 A. Yes, I said there were government ministers, diplomats, and
  - 11 all, foreign press.
  - 12 Q. And there was media present, yes?
  - 13 A. Ye.
  - 14 Q. Now, in that setting, according to Mr Bility, you accused
- 09:51:13 15 him of wanting to overthrow your government. Did you?
  - 16 A. He's a part of LURD. I did say to him that these are the
  - 17 people that are trying to overthrow the government, yes. He is a
  - 18 combatant yes.
  - 19 Q. And he says that he quickly remarked, "Mr President, that's
- 09:51:32 20 inaccurate." Did Bility speak at all in the meeting?
  - 21 A. I'm not sure, but he very well could have because he was
  - 22 not restrained. I don't recall, but he very well could have said
  - in his own defence that, "Mr President, it's not true."
  - 24 Q. Then he goes on to say that he went he was he sat down
- 09:51:56 25 and thereafter the President I'm looking at line 12 on page
  - 26 22374: "The President authorises a video recording team from his
  - 27 television station to come and record what I will say." Is that
  - 28 true?
  - 29 A. Well, yes, that is true, but there's an addition to that.

- 1 The whole process, because of what we anticipate, especially with
- 2 all of the innuendo and all of that, the thing is being recorded
- 3 not just by local press, by international press. Everyone is
- 4 authorised to video and record what is going on so there can be
- 09:52:36 5 no misinterpretation of the meeting. So everyone is recording.
  - 6 So it is true that there's national video, but also international
  - 7 media personnel are also authorised to record.
  - 8 MR GRIFFITHS: Now, before I continue, the spelling,
  - 9 Mr President, M-A-I-N-A-S-S-A-R-A. Cisse, C-I-S-S-E.
- 09:53:05 10 PRESIDING JUDGE: Thank you.
  - 11 MR GRIFFITHS:
  - 12 Q. He then goes on to say that the President spoke and was
  - 13 asking me that neither God nor Amnesty International or even the
  - 14 United States government can set me free. He said, it's only the
- 09:53:21 15 truth and God can set me free here. He said, well, I want to be
  - 16 fair and frank with you here. You have to tell me the truth.
  - 17 And he alleges that I had travelled to Europe, purchased arms in
  - 18 Europe, imported the arms to Liberia and stored the arms at the
  - 19 United States embassy in Monrovia, and that I had travelled to
- 09:53:42 20 Cote d'Ivoire and contacted and brought into Liberia 24
  - 21 mercenaries who were staying at the United States embassy in
  - 22 Monrovia. And that I, along with the current President, Ellen
  - 23 Johnson-Sirleaf; Bishop Michael Francis, then bishop of the
  - 24 Catholic diocese of Monrovia; Ibrahim Mitchell, then an executive
- 09:54:04 25 of a political party called the New Deal Movement; Alhaji Kromah,
  - 26 Leader of the former ULIMO-K party, a warring faction; and Robert
  - 27 Perry, then assistant Secretary of State or former assistant
  - 28 Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs at the United States State
  - 29 Department, that I, along with all of these people, was plotting

- 1 to overthrow his government and kill him and he's got me. He
- 2 said, President Taylor said that now he's got me. He said,
- 3 President Taylor said that now he's got me. He said he had
- 4 warned me previously in the past to stop reporting on RUF because
- 09:54:42 5 it was none of my business, the Foday Sankoh situation, his
  - 6 government's alleged involvement. My involvement is what he was
  - 7 saying in the RUF with the RUF. He said those were none of my
  - 8 business and he thought that he repeated it in pretty much the
  - 9 same thing he had been saying to me whenever we met, his support
- 09:55:05 10 for the RUF and he didn't care who thought what.
  - 11 Now, is that a fair assessment of what you said to him,
  - 12 Mr Tayl or?
  - 13 A. No.
  - 14 Q. What do you disagree with?
- 09:55:18 15 A. Practically everything. Hassan Bility was told that he was
  - 16 a combatant and that he was how would I say that a little boy
  - 17 like Hassan Bility will buy arms and take it to the US embassy?
  - 18 Am I drunk? Nonsense. Would anybody be if the United States
  - 19 wants arms at its embassy, some little nonentity would take it to
- 09:55:41 20 the embassy? They would bring it in themselves. Nonsense.
  - 21 wouldn't say nothing stupid like that.
  - 22 Hassan Bility was told what the evidence we had. He was
  - 23 told about it in that meeting. He was shown the emails and we
  - 24 said that, "We, for the first time, have evidence of your
- 09:55:59 25 involvement. We have with us the prisoners of war that have said
  - that you have been cooperating. We have this information, " and I
  - 27 told him. It is true. I said, "Look, right now all this" it's
  - 28 normal for Amnesty International to go yelling all over the place
  - 29 when they have you on their payroll. I said, "The only thing

28

29

2 the truth." Because in those emails you will see, there was a plot being made within the Congo Town area of my residence that 3 4 LURD will mount an offensive and he was supposed to find the individuals in Monrovia to Launch the offensive. And I said to 09:56:39 5 him, we needed the truth because we needed to pick out those 6 7 people who were in Congo Town to stage this suicide attack on my 8 residence. And that is what he was told. Now, you know, one of the things that Hassan Bility 09:57:00 10 mentions here is the presence of all these people. And, you 11 know, these are very important statements that I really didn't 12 know I will get to this point to be brought before this Court or 13 any other Court. But the Prosecution had sufficient time to get 14 this information because this was done in the world press. It's 09:57:19 15 a very - I don't have it because, I mean, I - a lot of this stuff. I just left Liberia. But I would not have and could not 16 17 have told him the rest of this nonsense he's talking about and 18 naming this person and that other person. Hassan Bility was 19 accused of being an agent of the United States government. I 09:57:37 20 felt that way then, I still feel that way now, okay, that he was an agent, he was being paid by the embassy, he worked for Amnesty 21 22 International, he sent out these reports that, in fact, could not be verified and that he worked as a combatant in a different - at 23 24 a different level, not with an arm going about shooting, but he 09:58:00 25 never let the war go. And I say that again today. 26 Now, Mr Taylor, there's a specific aspect of what he claims 27 you said at that conference, that video recorded conference which

that's going to set you free from here is the truth and we need

I want to ask you about. You see, once - remember, on the first

three occasions when he claims he was brought before you, you

- 1 were expressing your support for the RUF and suggesting that it
- 2 was none of his business, yes?
- 3 A. Uh-huh.
- 4 Q. Now, you see the same theme here. He is saying that you,
- 09:58:34 5 in front of you say the world media in this video recorded
  - 6 session, mentioned the RUF in relation to Hassan Bility. Did
  - 7 you?
  - 8 A. I did not. And, in fact, at this time that he is talking
  - 9 about, it's very clear to any person that really wants to be
- 09:58:59 10 fair. If I had said before the world press, "I am supporting the
  - 11 RUF and there's nothing you can do about it," it would have been
  - 12 front page on every international paper across the world. This
  - 13 is a blatant lie. How foolish I mean --
  - 14 Q. Well, Mr Taylor, let me interrupt you to ask you this:
- 09:59:17 15 This arrest took place on 24 June 2002. What was the situation
  - 16 in Sierra Leone in June 2002?
  - 17 A. 2002, Kabbah is President. I'm not aware of any conflict
  - 18 in Sierra Leone by that time.
  - 19 Q. What was the position of the RUF? We've heard evidence
- 09:59:41 20 that they were transformed into a political party?
  - 21 A. The RUFP had participated in the election as far back as
  - 22 2002 2001 /2002 and lost the election. There was peace and
  - 23 stability in Sierra Leone.
  - 24 Q. So help us, Mr Taylor. Why were you then at this press
- 10:00:04 25 conference talking about your continued support for the RUF?
  - 26 A. But that's the lie that I'm talking about. That's how
  - 27 Hassan Bility put together these things from to show he's a
  - 28 show man. To show that I am consistently saying this even when
  - 29 no RUF exists, when there's normalcy in Sierra Leone, but that's

- 1 how the lie has to continue being read. That's why he's saying
- 2 that and it's a blatant lie.
- 3 Q. Because he is asked specifically by Mr Santora, "What
- 4 exactly did Mr Taylor say with relation to the RUF?" Now
- 10:00:37 5 remember, June 2002:
  - 6 "Mr Taylor said that he had warned me to get off to stop
  - 7 reporting on the RUF. Liberia's involvement or contact, support
  - 8 for the RUF and I didn't listen to those pieces of advice in the
  - 9 past and now he says that he's got me and he's got me so firmly
- 10:01:03 10 not even the US, Amnesty or whatever could set me free. And this
  - investigation personally he personally interrogated me for
  - 12 about two hours and 20 minutes. I know that because there is -
  - there was a clock on the wall and he talks."
  - 14 Did you interrogate him for two hours?
- 10:01:25 **15** A. No.
  - 16 Q. Over two hours, Mr Taylor, in front of the world media?
  - 17 A. No, that is not true. Why would I be in fact even the
  - 18 foreign journalists that day would have taken it to be a fun and
  - 19 I think they would have made a heyday in international
- 10:01:41 20 newspapers. I'm glad that he admits that I didn't do this alone
  - or in the typical way they tried to explain he came to some dark
  - 22 cell, as I was being tortured and there is all look, I guess
  - 23 for these people you can't even blame Hassan Bility. Santora
  - 24 himself knew that there was peace and stability. He posed this
- 10:02:04 25 question because he wanted Hassan Bility to show you look at
  - 26 this whole case and you look at the period of indictment, Hassan
  - 27 Bility had to begin to show from the first arrest to the last
  - arrest some continuity of expression of RUF. It's all a plan
  - 29 that they put together with Bility. He had to show continuity.

- 1 First arrest he talks about RUF, second he talks about it, third
- 2 he talks about it, fourth he talks about it, fifth he talks about
- 3 it. It's all a part of the prosecutorial tricks, I call it. He
- 4 knew that there was stability in Sierra Leone at the time, but
- 10:02:39 5 that's the way they put it so that they can show that there was
  - 6 prior I forgot the rule. Prior behaviour. And so he shows he
  - 7 had been involved with them all the way from the first arrest in
  - 8 1997, all the way to 2002. This is the theme that Mr Taylor is
  - 9 stating that I'm supporting RUF, supporting the RUF. They should
- 10:03:04 10 have known better. So he was led into that and he just followed
  - 11 the lie.
  - 12 Q. Well, he says a bit more?
  - 13 JUDGE SEBUTINDE: Mr Griffiths, who is this person Sam
  - 14 somebody? Sam who?
- 10:03:20 15 THE WITNESS: Santora. Chris Santora sitting over there
  - should have known that in 2002 there was stability in Sierra
  - 17 Leone.
  - 18 MR GRIFFITHS:
  - 19 Q. But he goes on further on the same theme, Mr Taylor, so
- 10:03:34 20 let's look at it. Page 22377:
  - "Yes, he said many things generally about Sierra Leone.
  - 22 Amongst the things he said that I recall about Sierra Leone were
  - 23 he did say that it was basically a recap of most of the things
  - 24 he had said to me in the past regarding Sierra Leone. One, he
- 10:03:56 25 didn't even care who thought about you know who thought if he
  - 26 were involved with the RUF or not. He didn't care about that.
  - 27 As far as he was concerned his forces, he had the best ground
  - 28 force, I'm not sure what he meant by that, but my opinion was
  - 29 military. He had the best ground force and he was willing to

1 even move into Sierra Leone again if necessary. He also said 2 that he wanted to say something. He said, 'Let me he tell you 3 something. As far as the Tejan Kabbah situation is concerned and 4 the RUF is concerned, the RUF is fighting a just war'" - present "'And I'm not going to let anybody arm twist the RUF. I 10:04:33 5 was never going to.' He said he was never going to let that 6 7 happen. 'And I still stand firm, ready to do whatever it takes 8 if necessary to move into Sierra Leone. You know I'm not afraid of anything.' It was a very wide ranging conversation, you know, and it lasted a long time. I was sitting there scared, actually 10:04:59 10 scared, because I had been accused by President Taylor whom I 11 12 know of plotting to overthrow him. I thought I was dead instantly. At once I will say not what he wanted me to say, by 13 14 this time when he asked a question he asked - he did like this. 10:05:23 15 He told the cameraman, 'Roll the' - I'm sorry, but that's what he did, he snapped his finger. 'Roll the camera' and then the 16 17 camera focused on me. My assumption at that point was that whatever I said would be aired on the radio and on television to 18 19 make people convinced that indeed this was true and that I had 10:05:44 20 been involved in clandestine activities or been paid by Tejan 21 Kabbah or, you know, Sierra Leonean officials to report on these 22 things in the past. But the fact was I had never personally met any Sierra Leonean officials as such like discussing what your 23 24 paper wrote, no. I had been in Sierra Leone though through the 10:06:12 25 instrumentality of ECOMOG to witness the removal of the RUF and 26 the reinstatement of the Tejan Kabbah government as a reporter. 27 So President Taylor focusses in part on the Sierra Leonean case 28 and he tries to convince me to think that he had justification 29 and right to support the RUF and it was nobody else's business."

- 1 Now, Mr Taylor, a couple of things there. Firstly, were
- 2 you aware that Hassan Bility, through the instrumentality of
- 3 ECOMOG, had gone into Sierra Leone at the time of the removal of
- 4 the RUF and the reinstatement of the Tejan Kabbah government?
- 10:06:55 5 A. No. I was not aware.
  - 6 Q. Did you suggest to Bility that he had any link with either
  - 7 Tejan Kabbah or the Sierra Leonean government at this meeting?
  - 8 A. No. No. No.
  - 9 Q. Did you suggest that you were prepared to move into Sierra
- 10:07:28 10 Leone again if necessary?
  - 11 A. How did I move into Sierra Leone in the first instance to
  - 12 say I'm prepared to move in again? No. How would I say before
  - 13 the world press at this particular time in Liberia, and I really
  - 14 want us to focus to look at the time. We're talking about May
- 10:07:46 15 2002. At this particular time in Monrovia --
  - 16 Q. June 2002.
  - 17 A. June 2002.
  - 18 Q. Late June.
  - 19 A. There is not one international news agency that is not in
- 10:07:57 20 Liberia, including the conservative news agency Fox News in the
  - 21 United States. There's everybody there. When Fox comes out you
  - 22 know that's conservative of conservative. Fox was there. I
  - 23 remember the Fox correspondent very well. It was a lady. A very
  - 24 you know, a petite lady, a Caucasian lady. I remember speaking
- 10:08:20 **25** to her many times.
  - 26 Before the world press I am supposed to be there talking
  - 27 about moving into Sierra Leone when I've got a war in my capital
  - 28 city being fought and how I'm supporting the RUF that doesn't
  - 29 exist any more in late June 2002. And don't let's forget that

- 1 disarmament, demobilisation, everything over in 2001, Kabbah
- 2 declares the war over in January 2002 and I'm talking about
- 3 supporting the RUF? I mean this is this is the Hassan Bility
- 4 exaggeration. I did not foolishly state no such thing and, quite
- 10:08:59 5 frankly, if I had even come close to mentioning that I was
  - 6 supporting or had supported the RUF it would have never escaped
  - 7 the view of the major countries in the international community
  - 8 noting very, very even though Mr Taylor has said in the past that
  - 9 he didn't, here is it for the first time he admits that he is
- 10:09:29 10 supporting the RUF. I said no such thing. This is the Hassan
  - 11 Bility maybe you call it the Hassan Bility shuffle. That's all
  - 12 it is. It's a lie.
  - 13 Q. Now help us, Mr Taylor. The sequence, according to
  - 14 Mr Bility, is that he is arrested on the 24th and it's on or
- 10:09:57 15 about the day of his arrest that he is brought before you?
  - 16 A. That's a lie. That's a bigger lie than he could ever tell.
  - 17 Q. Why do you say that?
  - 18 A. Because he was not brought to me at that time. Hassan
  - 19 Bility was brought to me sometime thereafter. He had gone
- 10:10:14 20 through interrogation by the NBI. Hassan Bility had been held.
  - 21 Hassan Bility had been visited by the United States embassy the
  - 22 first time and this was no, this had to be it was sometime
  - 23 later. No, no, no, no, no. Sometime later. Completely false.
  - I said the man was brought to me. I mean if he had been
- 10:10:38 25 brought to me immediately I would have said. What difference
  - 26 does it make whether he was brought to me day 1 or day 30? For
  - 27 me I'd say he was definitely brought. I asked him to be brought
  - 28 to me at the time that we had put into the place the
  - 29 international press and certain diplomats from West African

- 1 countries that we wanted present to demonstrate that he was alive
- 2 and untortured. So it was not the same day, no.
- 3 Q. Because the sequence he gives is this, Mr Taylor. That he
- 4 is arrested on the 24th, he is brought to you and then he goes on
- 10:11:14 5 at page 22391 to say this, line 16:
  - 6 "Q. When were you arrested this time?
  - 7 A. 24 June 2002.
  - 8 Q. And when were you released finally?
  - A. 7 December 2002.
- 10:11:37 10 Q. During the course of that time between 24 June 2002 to
  - 7 December 2002 how many different places were you held in?
  - 12 A. Thirteen different places."
  - Then he goes on:
  - "Q. During the course of that time during the course of
- that time did anything were you ever physically did
  - anything ever happen to you physically?
  - 17 A. Yes, sir.
  - 18 Q. What happened?
  - 19 A. It started at well, at a police station in Congo
- 10:12:09 20 Town. Opposite I think it's slightly opposite the
  - 21 Paynesville community high school. I was tortured. I was
  - 22 what was referred to then in Liberia as tie-bayed. I was
  - 23 tie-bayed regularly. That is in terms of description the
  - hands being tied behind the back with the two elbows
- 10:12:28 25 attaching each other and a sort of rope we referred to as
  - the twine was used to tie me which split my flesh here. I
  - 27 had several physical marks on my body."
  - 28 He goes on to describe:
  - 29 "In addition to being tie-bayed I was electrocuted on my

genitalia several times, probably over 20 times. 2 of these have been at Klay Junction midway - about 22 miles between - it's midway between Monrovia and" - well, it's 22 3 4 miles away he says. Now, Mr Taylor, that description of torture during those months from June through to December, what do you 10:13:13 5 know about that? 6 Look, Hassan Bility and his book and his nonsense, I tell 7 8 you if anybody believes that I Charles Taylor and the Liberian government, which have never been published, were involved in torture - this boy is a liar. Hassan Bility will be tortured and 10:13:37 10 electrocuted on his genitalia and all that kind of thing and the 11 United States government who saw him, who took him out of the 12 country would say nothing about it? Is he a blatant liar. This 13 14 is a typical thing around the world where people - electrocuted 10:13:56 15 in Liberia? Total - let's go back to page 92, line 1. I will show you one way how when these boys are portraying their lie. 16 17 He says he is taken to a police station in Congo Town and he says it's slightly opposite the Paynesville community - how can a 18 19 police station in Congo Town be opposite the Paynesville 10:14:23 20 community school, two different cities. This the way when they 21 are talking fast - look, well then the United States government 22 did not do --23 0. What do you mean two different cities? 24 Well, let's - but Paynesville and Congo Town are two 10:14:35 25 different cities. If you look at 22392, line 1, where he 26 describes that he is arrested and taken to a police station in 27 Congo Town and he says he thinks that this station is opposite 28 the Paynesville community something. So how does that --29 Sp where is the Paynesville Community High School? Q.

Α.

Some 10 kilometres away from Congo Town. Two different 2 areas. If you look at the line you'll see he mentions two 3 different cities on the one breath and, you know, fits in the lie immediately, 22392, line 1. So, I mean, listen, the only thing I 4 can say in this Court is this: Hassan Bility was visited by the 10:15:13 5 United States embassy. Hassan Bility was turned over to the 6 7 United States government. He was airlifted out of Liberia in the custody of the US ambassador. And if this Prosecution or anyone 8 has any reports coming from the United States government after 10:15:41 10 Hassan Bility left Liberia that shows that he was examined and shows that these things had happened, I would like to see it. I 11 don't think the US would have missed it, and he remains with 12 13 them. He remains with them. You look at his statements, he is in Boston or wherever he is. I saw his statement where he was. 14 I know the federal building in downtown Boston. I know it very 10:16:01 15 16 well. 17 While he is there - there is no - Hassan Bility wanted to do a book, but I can tell you, I don't care where I am, I'll be 18 19 waiting for the book and he will have a fight on his hands 10:16:14 20 because he told a lie to this Court about being tortured. It is 21 a blatant, blatant lie. Prisoners of war that were arrested by 22 my government were released without even - combatants, generals, 23 and officers in LURD that were arrested, the last thing that I 24 did before I resigned from my office, they were released and 10:16:35 25 turned over to the press. There was no such thing. 26 Any human on this planet that says that there was torture 27 during the Charles Taylor administration is a liar and I 28 challenge them any time to bring any evidence. It's not true. 29 He is lying. It's a blatant lie. He is electrocuted on his

- 1 genitals and all this nonsense, that's the maybe in other
- 2 countries he has been reading stories, not in Liberia. But then
- 3 the US surely missed it.
- 4 Q. Now, he does accept, Mr Taylor, that he was visited whilst
- 10:17:06 5 in custody, because at page 22397 he says this, line 23: "The
  - 6 Amnesty International and the international community had mounted
  - 7 pressure on the government that they thought that I was dead
  - 8 and/or severely tortured. The government, in its attempts to
  - 9 dispel such rumours, allowed United States embassy officials and
- 10:17:34 10 persons of then deputy chief of missions, Thomas White, and a
  - 11 visa counsel, I don't know his name, went to visit me, were
  - 12 allowed, you know, were allowed to see me and to convince me."
  - Now, where was he being detained at the time of this visit,
  - 14 Mr Taylor?
- 10:17:52 15 A. The National Bureau of Investigation.
  - 16 Q. Where?
  - 17 A. In Monrovia.
  - 18 Q. In Monrovia. And he says that he was told by them that:
  - 19 We have talked to the government of President Charles Taylor and
- 10:18:09 20 our sense is, he has agreed to release you but on one condition,
  - 21 that you leave Liberia, you leave West Africa immediately. And
  - 22 he asked, where I am going? Well, we, the United States, have
  - offered to take you to the United States.
  - And in due course that is precisely what happened, wasn't
- 10:18:27 **25** it, Mr Taylor?
  - 26 A. Exactly what happened.
  - 27 Q. Now, Mr Taylor, before I come to deal with one final matter
  - 28 in relation to this man, can I ask you this: Besides this
  - 29 allegation made by this journalist, Hassan Bility, was any other

- 1 journalist or reporter in Liberia tortured during your
- 2 presidency --
- 3 A. No.
- 4 Q. -- or detained?
- 10:18:56 5 A. Not that I know of. Detained, it's possible that somebody
  - 6 could have been detained. But tortured, no, because that would
  - 7 have reached me. No, not that I know of.
  - 8 Q. Was any other journalist or reporter airlifted out of
  - 9 Liberia to the United States, to your knowledge?
- 10:19:20 10 A. Airlifted, no. I don't know. Maybe a journalist left.
  - 11 Not to my knowledge.
  - 12 Q. Do you know if any other journalist for whom the United
  - 13 States provided an aircraft to take them out of the country and
  - 14 offered them residence in the United States during your
- 10:19:41 15 presidency?
  - 16 A. No, I know of no other. Only Hassan Bility.
  - 17 Q. Can you recall the United States government showing similar
  - 18 interest in relation to any other journalist in Liberia during
  - 19 your presidency, Mr Taylor?
- 10:20:02 20 A. No, I cannot I cannot recall, really. I cannot recall.
  - 21 I cannot recall. In the way that they did no, I cannot recall
  - 22 right now, no.
  - 23 Q. And you say, do you, that the intelligence you received
  - 24 suggested that Bility was an employee of the United States?
- 10:20:26 25 A. Oh, definitely. That was our intelligence, that he
  - 26 received monies from the embassy, that is true.
  - 27 Q. Now, I want to deal with one final point in relation to
  - 28 Mr Bility, Mr Taylor, and it's a discrete point. Now, the
  - 29 witness, at page 22629, was asked regarding about a handwritten

- 1 note he had made regarding his arrests in 1997 and amongst the
- 2 note in amongst the note was a reference to his arrest October
- 3 20, 1997:
- 4 Taylor said to me, if I thought his government could not
- 10:21:33 5 remove Kabbah, then I must be from an alien continent. I have
  - 6 the best ground force in West Africa and Kabbah wants to try me.
  - 7 I will make sure his government does not stay in power. Tell him
  - 8 or tell America, he also added, that he would do anything -
  - 9 everything, including supporting the RUF, to unseat Kabbah. I
- 10:21:57 10 had been arrested and taken to the NPP headquarters for
  - 11 publishing a front-page story entitled: In Sierra Leone, who is
  - 12 the Government of Liberia supporting? Taylor said he thought I
  - 13 was writing these stories because, like Kabbah, I was a Mandingo.
  - 14 Also present, he says now, this is 20 October 1997.
- 10:22:22 15 A. Yes.
  - 16 Q. Were Joe Tate, Varmuyan Sherif, ULIMO, Benjamin Yeaten, and
  - 17 RUF representative Mosquito. He is asked, who is that Mosquito?
  - 18 Sam Bockarie. So, according to him, Sam Bockarie is in the NPP
  - 19 party headquarters present when Bility is brought before you on
- 10:22:54 20 20 October 1997, Mr Taylor.
  - 21 A. You know, that whole thing that you've just read is all a
  - 22 fabrication. Let's break it up. I am saying to him that I will
  - 23 make sure that Kabbah is removed from power in October 1997.
  - 24 Q. Where is Kabbah in October 1997?
- 10:23:21 25 A. He is already out of power, sitting down in Freetown. The
  - 26 junta is in power. I don't know how I can remove Kabbah from
  - power in October 1997 when Kabbah is already out of power.
  - 28 That's a blatant lie because that's how he constructs the lie.
  - 29 Kabbah is in Freetown. The junta is in power in October 1997, so

- 1 I cannot be saying to him, "I will make sure that Kabbah is
- 2 removed from power," when Kabbah is not in power. He is lying
- 3 through his teeth.
- 4 But there is another witness --
- 10:23:51 5 Q. Where is Kabbah in October 1997?
  - 6 A. He is in Conakry. He is in Conakry, Guinea. He is not in
  - 7 power. The junta is in power in Freetown.
  - 8 Q. Yes. So, Mr Taylor, why are you telling Hassan Bility on
  - 9 20 October, according to this note which he made?
- 10:24:08 10 A. How would he make such a note. That just shows this Court
  - 11 what type of people we're dealing with here against me. Here is
  - 12 a man who is a journalist, he is educated, he says, okay, and he
  - is saying he is making a note that I have just threatened that
  - 14 I'm going to make sure that Kabbah is removed from power when
- 10:24:26 15 Kabbah is not in power. How do I say that?
  - 16 Then he goes but there is another witness that I referred
  - 17 to the other day that talks about this very Sam Bockarie as not
  - 18 being in Liberia and I say, well, that contrasts seriously with
  - 19 Hassan Bility. Here is Hassan Bility putting Sam Bockarie in
- 10:24:43 20 Monrovia in October 1997, okay, when other witnesses are putting
  - 21 him in a different place. This just shows you what I'm up
  - 22 against here.
  - 23 Q. And he is there, Bockarie, with Varmuyan Sherif, who you
  - 24 will recall, Mr Taylor, according to his testimony, was sent to
- 10:25:05 25 bring Bockarie to Monrovia?
  - 26 A. So then that means that, according to you know, in tying
  - 27 up this lie, so the next thing will be, this is about the time
  - 28 now that Bockarie after Varmuyan goes and gets him, he comes on
  - 29 time at the headquarters. That's how the lie is supposed to

- 1 continue and that's what exactly what well, then that means
- that it's a pick and choose. Other witnesses have put Sam
- 3 Bockarie in a different place by this time. I forgot the witness
- 4 I made a reference to contrasting that with what Bility had said
- 10:25:43 5 and we said we were going to get to it. But it just shows you
  - 6 how well put together this whole regime change of Charles Taylor
  - 7 got all of their players coming in, a bunch of liars that have
  - 8 been brought to this Court, and God help me. I mean, so many of
  - 9 them that people will have to fish between to find out who is
- 10:26:04 10 lying, who is telling the this is almost a Godly affair. You
  - 11 have to almost be a near God to go through this kind of thing.
  - 12 This boy is lying about being brought to me in 199 -
  - 13 totally. Hassan Bility or no other person was brought to me at
  - 14 NPP headquarters. There was no Sam Bockarie and no NPP
- 10:26:29 15 headquarters in 1997 October. That is a lie. But he has to put
  - 16 it together in this way. That is not true. Kabbah is supposed
  - 17 to be I'm fighting to remove Kabbah from power when he's
  - 18 already out of power and in a different country? All of these
  - 19 things here, that's the saga of Charles Taylor, I guess.
- 10:26:52 20 Q. And just a couple more details on that discrete point,
  - 21 Mr Taylor. Firstly this: What's Bility's ethnic origin?
  - 22 A. Bility is Mandingo.
  - 23 Q. What is Varmuyan Sherif's ethnic origin?
  - 24 A. Varmuyan is Mandingo. Now, you mentioned that he had said
- 10:27:18 25 that Kabbah, to the best of my knowledge, from what I understand,
  - 26 Tejani is also people think he is Soso, so I'm not sure if he
  - 27 is all Mandingo, but he can speak for himself. But, you know,
  - 28 that is brought in that way to show well, I have mentioned to
  - 29 this Court and I may as well mention it, he's trying to show that

- 1 this is supposed to be something taken out against Mandingos.
- 2 have mentioned to this Court, I'm married to a Mandingo woman. I
- 3 had Mandingos throughout my security. Momo Dgiba, my senior
- 4 aide-de-camp, is Mandingo. My chief of protocol, Musa Cisse,
- 10:28:01 5 Mandingo. I had Musa N'jie, the deputy aide-de-camp from the
  - 6 Gambia, Mandingo.
  - 7 So this nonsense of trying to project that image, Taylor is
  - 8 anti-Mandingo, is hogwash because there are so many Mandingos in
  - 9 the security. In fact, some of his own relatives, Papa Kouyate,
- 10:28:19 10 another assistant director of police, Mandingo. Mainassara,
  - 11 Morris, Cisse well, Mainassara, but we call it short Morris.
  - 12 Just in case, for future reference, it's the same person.
  - 13 Mainassara Cisse, Morris, is the same person Mandingo. So I
  - 14 don't have have ministers in my government. Bangalle Fofana,
- 10:28:43 **15** Mandi ngo.
  - So, look, that Mandingo thing he is trying to throw at me
  - 17 that he is doing this because it's Mandingo is total, total
  - 18 nonsense. And probably and he knows Fatoumatta very well
  - 19 because I have said to this Court I have two wives and that's an
- 10:28:58 20 African I have two wives, Fatoumatta Yatara. She is from
  - 21 partly Senegal and Guinea, I'm married to her and I have my
  - 22 present wife that I'm still married to. And so that Mandingo
  - 23 stuff he is trying to throw, Taylor is anti-Mandingo, total,
  - 24 total hogwash.
- 10:29:30 25 Q. Mr Taylor, before I leave this witness can I ask you this
  - 26 question: Did you ever discuss Sierra Leone or the RUF with
  - 27 Hassan Bility?
  - 28 A. No. No. No.
  - 29 Q. Let's move on. I want to go on and deal with another

- 1 witness, Mr Taylor. This is TF1-590. I cannot mention his name.
- 2 This individual, in an open session on 13 June 2008, mentions
- 3 that he had been arrested by the ATU and in particular by your
- 4 son Chucky and others and taken to a camp where he was tortured.
- 10:30:52 **5 Okay?** 
  - 6 A. Uh-huh.
  - 7 Q. And he says this:
  - 8 "Everyone was kicking us, stepping on us, all these things.
  - 9 One Campari wanted to kill us, so it was then that I saw another
- 10:31:12 10 man, another soldier, who was coming around saying to me that, 'A
  - 11 message from Papay.' So Chucky received the message and came
  - 12 towards Campari. He was very, very angry and said, 'Papay want
  - 13 to see these men.' When he said Papay he was referring to
  - 14 Charles Taylor of course. So he said he want to see these men.
- 10:31:34 15 So it was then they started beating us. They started melting
  - 16 candle wax on us, on our privates, on our buttocks and so on."
  - 17 Do you recall this testimony, Mr Taylor?
  - 18 A. Yes, I do.
  - 19 Q. And you will recall that the individual in question was a
- 10:31:58 20 Sierra Leonean who had been effectively just picked up off the
  - 21 streets, yes? Do you recall that?
  - 22 A. Yes.
  - 23 Q. Now question number one, Mr Taylor, is this: As President
  - of Liberia was it your business to see every detained individual?
- 10:32:22 25 A. No. And I didn't. No.
  - 26 Q. Now, do you recall sending a message to your son Chucky
  - 27 that you wanted to see these men who had been on the basis of
  - 28 the testimony of the witness just randomly picked up off the
  - 29 streets in Liberia?

- 1 A. No. Never sent any such message, no.
- 2 Q. Now, this individual claims that he was being detained at
- 3 Gbatala or near to Gbatala. How far is Gbatala from Monrovia,
- 4 Mr Taylor, just roughly?
- 10:33:12 5 A. I would say about 200 kilometres or thereabouts.
  - 6 Q. Do you recall sending an order that this detained
  - 7 individual should be taken from that distance to Monrovia to meet
  - 8 you?
  - 9 A. No. Never. I would have never even I would have never
- 10:33:48 10 even known that some arrested individual was arrested. I would
  - 11 not even know except this is if it's an extraordinary case that
  - 12 reaches the level of maybe the national security adviser through
  - 13 the reports. If it's contained in the report then it would be of
  - 14 interest, but arrests in Liberia? I mean, many arrests go -
- 10:34:20 15 arrests are conducted by the military, by the police. They don't
  - 16 reach to me.
  - 17 Q. Now, the witness continued, and I'm looking at page 11812:
  - 18 "They were crazy, beating us, melting this plastic on us,
  - 19 this candle and other things, cigarettes. So it was then that
- 10:34:49 20 they tied us again and blindfolded us and loaded us inside the
  - 21 jeeps to Monrovia."
  - 22 Page 11813, line 16:
  - 23 "After the message came that Papay wanted to see us in
  - 24 Monrovia, it was then they did all the beating, the plastic, the
- 10:35:08 25 candle burning on us, all these things. And they tied us as they
  - 26 usually do. They tie-bayed us again, the same position, and were
  - 27 I oaded on the jeeps and then taken to Monrovia."
  - 28 He goes on, page 11814, line 22:
  - 29 "We went directly to the President's compound, Charles

2 How did you know that you were at his compound? I knew that after we were in BTC and when we were going 3 there." 4 10:35:57 Page 11815: 5 Where is this compound, that's Charles Taylor's 7 compound? In Congo Town. So when we reached Congo Town they 8 opened the gates and Chucky and Campari, they were ahead. They went inside the compound and they were directing the 10:36:15 10 car inside. So when they went inside, both of them, by 11 12 then my hood - the bag like or something that they blindfolded me with has gone off while we were travelling 13 14 on the road. So I could able to see around. And after 10:36:35 15 some time Mr Charles Taylor himself came outside with some other people, some other officials, so they came, because 16 our mouth was Sellotaped, so he walked directly to us and 17 when he came it was then he asked one of the soldiers, one 18 19 of the ATU soldiers who were guarding us inside the car, 10:36:56 20 that they should take the Sellotape from our mouths, so he And after he did Mr Charles Taylor said if we were 21 22 guys that refused to go to our country to fight when we are 23 most needed and we never said anything." 24 Mr Taylor, did this happen? 10:37:20 25 This never happened but I know this witness's own 26 predicament because this was a witness that was used in the -27 this is the assault. This witness was used in testimony against 28 my son in the United States and so this is the liar that now must 29 connect to me. This man was never, ever brought to me. I didn't

Taylor's compound in Monrovia, in Congo Town.

2 whoever cross-examined him at that time even asked him to 3 describe my front yard and he couldn't and that's why I 4 specifically mentioned when my yard was being shown he couldn't remember anything in my front yard. This man was never, ever 10:38:04 5 brought to me. That's the only person that's ever been 6 7 prosecuted in United States history, the typical assault. 8 came after me, my family and everybody. My son, an American citizen, was charged in the United States with torturing somebody in Liberia and so he's one of the witnesses that continued the 10:38:23 10 lie on here maybe to authenticate it. I never saw or knew this 11 12 man in my life. Never. Never brought to me. It's a lie. I sat 13 here and listened to him. 14 Q. Well, let's finish what he had to say: 10:38:46 15 "Mr Taylor was asking us this question who refused to go and fight in our country when we are most needed, so we could say 16 17 nothing. After some moments then he asked if we are the Kamajors that are sent to come and overthrow his government. So during 18 19 this time of the first - second question I was trying to say - I 10:39:12 20 I was trying to say something and we were looking 21 ourselves, we were three. So later I said, 'We are refugees. 22 are registered refugees', we don't know anything about what he is All three of us were Sierra Leonean refugees. 23 24 said, 'Well, if you are refusing to say the truth they are going 10:39:36 25 to take you guys to the beach and we kill you. And they are not 26 going to fire you, they are going to use the knife to cut your 27 So after some time Campari was standing by his side and 28 the other officers were standing by the other behind them, like 29 this by the side. So he tapped Campari on the shoulder.

even know this man. And in fact in your cross-examination or

- 1 was the time Campari and Chucky and the other guys were still
- 2 inside the car. We were trying to go out of the gates. So it
- 3 was then one of the officers that was standing" he goes on
- 4 intervenes and effectively saved his life.
- 10:40:12 5 Now, Mr Taylor, let's picture this image because the
  - 6 conditions told us this happened at night. In fact, he went on
  - 7 to say that you came out in your pyjamas. So we have this image:
  - 8 These beaten and tortured Sierra Leonean refugees in a car at the
  - 9 front of your house and you're threatening them that they are
- 10:40:42 10 going to have their throats cut, yes?
  - 11 A. Uh-huh.
  - 12 Q. Di d you?
  - 13 A. Never. Never. Never. God no. Never. And here we
  - 14 are, they are ordered to be killed and they are not killed.
- 10:41:00 15 Somebody lower than me, a security, intervenes and saved their
  - 16 lives. How is that possible? How is that possible? I don't
  - 17 know how these people manage with these things. Somebody is
  - 18 brought to me, beaten up, tortured, I come down out of my bed in
  - 19 my pyjamas, look at them and you know one thing, I haven't seen
- 10:41:25 20 the year that he is talking about because there's a statement
  - 21 where he says, "You are the people that refused to go to your
  - 22 country and fight." Maybe as we go along we may see the year,
  - then we can determine if there's any fighting going on in Sierra
  - 24 Leone at the time. But that's another story. And I'm supposed
- 10:41:46 25 to say that they should be taken out later on and killed, but
  - they are miraculously saved by another security person. I mean,
  - 27 what command do I have that I will give that is overridden by an
  - 28 ordinary security? That's a lie. Total, total, total lie.
  - 29 Q. The witness also claims, Mr Taylor and again this is a

- 1 matter you will have to deal with that he saw Sam Bockarie in
- 2 Voinjama with two Arab guys whom he later learned were your
- 3 diamond dealers and they were part of a convoy going to Sierra
- 4 Leone. What do you say about that?
- 10:42:42 5 A. That's not true, but at least you know, I don't know why
  - 6 they took him through all of this examination because I can only
  - 7 deal with these things it is only when these people start
  - 8 giving years and dates and time that you will be able to direct
  - 9 it in the way that, you know, to until the lie. Because they are
- 10:43:02 10 just speaking vaguely. He could very well be saying that he saw
  - 11 Sam Bockarie in 2000 going to Sierra Leone or in 2001. I do not
  - 12 know what year he is giving this testimony, he is not asked by
  - 13 the Prosecution what time is he talking about. But there is no
  - 14 way that Sam Bockarie is travelling with diamond people from me
- 10:43:26 15 to Sierra Leone. But only time if the time was stated that
  - would be easy to really just, what we say, pooh-pooh the idea
  - 17 that this is a lie. So it's a blatant lie that Sam Bockarie is
  - 18 supposed to be carrying diamond people from Liberia to Sierra
  - 19 Leone, my diamond people.
- 10:43:51 20 Q. Now just to return briefly to the scenario painted by the
  - 21 witness in your front garden, Mr Taylor. He also says and this
  - 22 is at page 11838 that in your presence he was hit with a gun on
  - 23 his chin and he was beaten in your presence. What do you say
  - 24 about that, Mr Taylor?
- 10:44:24 25 A. A blatant lie. Blatant lie. He is brought
  - 26 and beaten in my presence? Nobody would dare touch any even if
  - 27 violence occurred outside, this I cannot account for anybody,
  - 28 maybe sometimes security people all over the world police in
  - 29 America beat people. But when you get before authority to say

- 1 violence occurred police beat people all over the place.
- 2 London, at the last conference, police beat people. So beating
- 3 is something police knock some people, they hit people, but to
- 4 arrest somebody and bring him before the President and beat him
- 10:45:06 5 is a lie.
  - 6 Q. He also claims Daniel Chea, your Defence Minister, was also
  - 7 present, Mr Taylor.
  - 8 A. No, that's not true. And I'm sure Daniel Chea is
  - 9 available, alive and well. That's not true.
- 10:45:28 10 Q. Were you in the habit, Mr Taylor, of coming out to meet
  - 11 people in your pyjamas?
  - 12 A. No. Why would I leave my bed and come outside in pyjamas?
  - 13 That's very, maybe, Viking. Maybe during the period of the
  - 14 Vikings in Europe, but not for me. At least I'm more cultured
- 10:45:55 15 than that to come outside in the presence of people in a pyjama.
  - 16 If you say the man came out in his robe, yes, but in a pyjama,
  - 17 that's very uncouth.
  - 18 Q. Mr Taylor, that's all I want to ask you in relation to that
  - 19 witness. And so we come to the final witness I want to ask you
- 10:46:26 20 about, and that's Moses Blah. Now, Moses Blah came to give
  - 21 evidence before this Court in May 2008. Now, before we look at
  - 22 specific aspects of his testimony, Mr Taylor, can I ask you one
  - 23 or two general questions. First of all, how well do you know
  - 24 Moses Blah?
- 10:47:20 25 A. That's a to help well, I know Moses. When you say how
  - 26 well, one can never tell these days, but I know Moses. Not very
  - 27 well, but I know him.
  - 28 Q. When did you first meet him?
  - 29 A. I first met Moses in 19 briefly, I would say very

- 1 briefly I would say as far back as 1980, '81. Very briefly.
- 2 Q. And what can you tell us about his level of education?
- 3 A. Moses may have graduated from high school, but I can't be
- 4 certain about that. But no further. Because my first wife was -
- 10:48:46 5 that I was married to was Moses Blah's first cousin, so I know
  - 6 the family. Got married was married to his first cousin, and I
  - 7 have we have two beautiful girls by my first wife, who is Moses
  - 8 Blah's first cousin. So I know him very well. I know him well
  - 9 to that extent. I don't think he may have graduated from high
- 10:49:08 10 school, but I know he went no further. I doubt if he did, but I
  - 11 can't be sure.
  - 12 Q. Was he a military man, Mr Taylor?
  - 13 A. No. Moses was not a military man. But he was one of those
  - 14 he's from Nimba. He was one of those that were forced in exile
- 10:49:35 15 after the Quiwonkpa situation with Doe following the 1985
  - 16 el ections.
  - 17 Q. And what's his ethnic background?
  - 18 A. Moses is Gio. What we call Dan. He is Dan Gio.
  - 19 Q. From what part of Liberia?
- 10:50:01 20 A. He is from Nimba County.
  - 21 Q. And just in general terms, Mr Taylor, and we'll come to
  - 22 look at some of the details later, why was he appointed your
  - 23 Vi ce-Presi dent?
  - 24 A. Well, the context is this: Following the unfortunate
- 10:50:33 25 actions of Samuel Doe in Liberia after the 1985 elections and
  - 26 unsuccessful attempt by General Quiwonkpa to overthrow him,
  - 27 several people went into exile. I was already in exile at the
  - 28 time and had the knowledge and international contacts to try to
  - 29 avenge or to get back to remove Doe to re-establish democratic

2 the individuals that were outside capable of being trained to carry out this revolution were from Nimba County predominantly 3 4 from the Gio, the Dan and the Mano, the Mahn ethnic groups that are the largest ethnic groups in Nimba County. Of course, there 10:51:40 5 were other people that participated. 6 7 Now, after meeting with them - in fact, at the time the senior people that were leading them at this particular time in 8 exile included, amongst others, Tiagen Wantee, Alfred Mehn, that's M-E-H-N, Wantee is spelled W-A-N-T-E-E, and others. So we 10:52:18 10 met and a decision was taken that they would provide the fighting 11 12 force, and if we were successful in removing Doe by launching 13 this revolution, the presidency would be mine but the 14 Vice-Presidency would go to them that constituted the fighting 10:52:42 15 force. That was the agreement, that was the promise, as I then went out, found a place, had them trained to come to launch the 16 17 revolution. And so, upon succeeding, this is why the first 18 19 Vice-President at the time, Enoch Dogolea, late, was a member of 10:53:04 20 the Special Forces. So, in other words, I kept my promise. 21 the Vice-President at the time was not chosen because of his great academic or other ability, but it was chosen on the basis 22 of a promise that we had - an agreement that we had that one of 23 24 them - so after the death of Enoch Dogolea, the second person 10:53:34 25 that I picked was another Special Forces. And that process was 26 to end after my first term as President. Then I had the liberty 27 of choosing who I felt could better serve in the capacity as 28 Vice-President. That's how Enoch got in. That's how Moses 29 subsequently got in.

norms in Liberia. Now, I did not have a fighting force.

- 1 Q. So it was basically a deal which had been sewn up prior to
- the revolution being launched?
- 3 A. Definitely. Definitely. And may I just add, Moses gets
- 4 chosen at this time because he had spent some time in Europe, in
- 10:54:21 5 Germany, not in any school. He had fled Liberia at one time. He
  - 6 can come to Germany. And then following my election, I sent him
  - 7 to Libya as Vice-President, so at least that little exposure gave
  - 8 him a jump on the rest of the Special Forces in the country.
  - 9 Q. Now, help me with this, Mr Taylor: Was Blah implicated in
- 10:54:51 10 any way in the Quiwonkpa coup, as far as you're aware?
  - 11 A. No, as far as I'm aware, no, I cannot say. I do not
  - 12 dispute it. I was out of the country by then, but most people
  - 13 from Nimba were implicated, I would say. So he would not have
  - 14 been an exception.
- 10:55:28 15 Q. In what capacity did you send him to Libya, Mr Taylor?
  - 16 A. He was sent as ambassador extraordinary and
  - 17 pl eni potenti ary.
  - 18 MR GRIFFITHS: Because I note, Mr President, at line 11 and
  - 19 12 of my font that he is described as sent to Liberia as
- 10:55:45 20 Vice-President. It should be Libya as ambassador.
  - 21 PRESIDING JUDGE: I can find that. What reference --
  - 22 MR GRIFFITHS: It's in response it's on page 43 of my
  - 23 font, and in answer to the question, "So it was basically a deal
  - 24 which had been sewn up prior to the revolution being launched,"
- 10:56:15 25 on mine it says, "He had fled Liberia at one time. He came to
  - 26 Germany. And then following my election, I sent him to Liberia
  - 27 as Vi ce-Presi dent."
  - 28 PRESIDING JUDGE: I see. Yes, that should be Libya --
  - 29 MR GRIFFITHS: As ambassador.

- 1 PRESIDING JUDGE: -- as ambassador.
- Yes, Ms Hollis.
- 3 MS HOLLIS: I would simply suggest that we have them listen
- 4 to the tape and see what was said because I seem to recall what's
- 10:56:44 5 on the transcript here. So perhaps the witness misspoke. So
  - 6 perhaps the most accurate thing would be for them to listen to
  - 7 the tape and verify exactly what was said.
  - 8 PRESIDING JUDGE: Yes. So you think that what the
  - 9 transcript reflects now is correct?
- 10:57:00 10 MS HOLLIS: I'm not sure. That's why I think perhaps the
  - 11 witness could have misspoke. They can simply verify it on the
  - 12 tape one way or the other, and whatever they hear is what goes on
  - 13 the record.
  - MR GRIFFITHS:
- 10:57:13 15 Q. Mr Taylor, let's try and clear this up once and for all.
  - 16 Did you send Moses Blah to Libya as Vice-President?
  - 17 A. No. My statement was: Following my election as President
  - 18 of Liberia, Moses Blah was sent as ambassador extraordinary and
  - 19 plenipotentiary this is my statement to Libya.
- 10:57:42 20 Q. Thank you. Now, let's now, again, Mr Taylor, before we
  - 21 embark on a more detailed examination of the testimony of Moses
  - 22 Blah, let me ask you, in general terms, what's your considered
  - view of Blah's testimony, in general terms?
  - 24 A. In all honesty, to a great extent, Moses told the Court the
- 10:58:35 25 truth. There are about three areas that unfortunately and I
  - 26 use the word very, very much not in anger of Moses.
  - 27 Unfortunately and I don't know why that he I'm not sure if I
  - 28 should say he lied or misled the Court. Unfortunately, but I
  - 29 would say, if I'm assigning percentages, I would say about 90, 95

|          | 1  | per cent of what he said was true. And I can specify the areas    |
|----------|----|-------------------------------------------------------------------|
|          | 2  | that I think he misled the Court or, whatever, misspoke or what.  |
|          | 3  | One of them is where Moses Blah - the way he dealt with the       |
|          | 4  | Sam Bockarie situation was an unfortunate lie because Moses Blah  |
| 10:59:29 | 5  | was sent to Nimba to handle the Sam Bockarie situation. Moses     |
|          | 6  | Blah brought Sam Bockarie's body to Monrovia. Moses Blah          |
|          | 7  | deposited the body at the funeral home and the affidavit of that  |
|          | 8  | who mentioned it will be brought before of this Court and anybody |
|          | 9  | else. The report that I received of what happened in Nimba        |
| 10:59:51 | 10 | County was given to me by my Vice-President Moses Blah. He could  |
|          | 11 | have told the Court that. Unfortunately I don't know why he       |
|          | 12 | lied.                                                             |
|          | 13 | The second lie is that Moses Blah told this Court that he         |
|          | 14 | was not aware that he would be President and that I was stepping  |
| 11:00:13 | 15 | down. I don't understand why he would say this. It's not true.    |
|          | 16 | In line with the constitution, almost two weeks - and those       |
|          | 17 | documents will be presented to this Court. The procedure of the   |
|          | 18 | constitution of Liberia - I did not run away from Liberia. I      |
|          | 19 | didn't just pack up and say, "See you later." Every step as       |
| 11:00:37 | 20 | provided under the constitution of Liberia was followed. A        |
|          | 21 | letter was written to the national legislature, the Senate and    |
|          | 22 | the House of Representatives informing them of my decision to     |
|          | 23 | resign and in that letter it stated when I would resign, the      |
|          | 24 | date, time to the very last minute, because according to the      |
| 11:01:03 | 25 | constitution I had to resign by 11.59 on that day and nearly two  |
|          | 26 | weeks before then that letter went to the legislature.            |
|          | 27 | Moses Blah served under- in Liberia, like the United              |
|          | 28 | States, he is President of the Senate. He presided over the       |
|          | 29 | session that received the letter and read it. He was well         |

- 1 prepared. Invitations were sent out to foreign Heads of State.
- 2 Moses Blah's speech was prepared.
- 3 So again I'm saying unfortunately he could have
- 4 misspoken. I don't know why he told this terrible lie to this
- 11:01:41 5 Court. And maybe it's not a lie. Maybe he forgot. I don't
  - 6 know. That's the second area.
  - 7 The third area, I think he could have been more forthcoming
  - 8 about the activities of Sam Larto as he explained it because he
  - 9 knows that Sam Larto was tried by court martial.
- 11:02:19 10 So if you look at that, and I'm assigning percentages,
  - 11 those are the areas. Other than that I think he for whatever
  - 12 reason he came here, I think he was as factual as he can be
  - 13 except in those areas and I cannot exact any reason why he chose
  - 14 to shy away from those additional facts. That's as best as I can
- 11:02:51 **15** put it.
  - 16 Q. Right. Let's now start having a look at what he told us.
  - 17 I want to take up his account, please, Mr Taylor, on 14 May 2008,
  - 18 page 9798. In the context of him having gone into exile he said
  - 19 this:
- 11:03:40 20 "We were planning by ourselves to regroup and come back to
  - 21 Liberia. We will overthrow the government. But we didn't
  - 22 know how to do it.
  - 23 Q. Did you seek any assistance?
  - A. No, we were planning that together. Later then a man
- 11:04:04 25 came in, one of the man men" I think that should be main
  - 26 man "of our tribe came in called Alfred Mehn, popularly
  - 27 known as Godfather."
  - Let's pause there. Alfred Mehn, that's a name you've
  - 29 already mentioned, Mr Taylor, yes?

- 1 A. Yes, it's pronounced Mehn. Alfred Mehn.
- 2 Q. And was he known as the Godfather?
- 3 A. Yes, they called him Godfather. That's true.
- 4 Q. And "a main man of our tribe." Which tribe is that?
- 11:04:44 5 A. He says a main man of our tribe, I guess he is just
  - 6 referring to a member of the tribe.
  - 7 Q. He is then asked, line 18:
  - 8 "Q. What were you planning to do?
  - 9 A. What I said was that we were regrouping. We were
- 11:05:11 10 grouping and planning to come back to Liberia and did not
  - 11 know how to come back to Liberia.
  - 12 Q. What assistance did this Alfred Mehn provide you?
  - 13 A. He came with a word from former President Taylor and,
  - to be specific, his wife Agnes Taylor had sent him to see
- if we can regroup and proceed to a location and there would
  - be assistance that we would be able to return to Liberia."
  - 17 Now, Mr Taylor, this suggestion that your then wife Agnes
  - 18 Taylor was involved, is that true?
  - 19 A. That is true.
- 11:06:02 20 Q. And was it your wife Agnes Taylor who sent Alfred Mehn to
  - 21 la Cote d'Ivoire?
  - 22 A. That could very well be, because at this time I'm
  - 23 incarcerated in Ghana, accused of being a CIA spy, so she carried
  - 24 on. So I would say yes.
- 11:06:32 25 Q. Over the page to page 9799:
  - 26 "Q. Did Mr Mehn tell you anything about Charles Taylor?
  - 27 A. Yes. He told us that there's a man called Charles
  - Taylor and this man is somewhere in Ghana and being
  - 29 detained because he was arrested on a charge that he was

2 his wife is present somewhere in Burkina and she will assist or, you know, then we should go further to Burkina 3 4 Faso where we would meet this lady." One detail, Mr Taylor: Were you arrested in Ghana for 11:07:23 5 grouping to overthrow the Government of Liberia? 6 I was accused of being a spy for the CIA. That's why 7 I was arrested. 8 Jump a few lines. Line 20: Ο. "Q. And then did you go to Burkina Faso? 11:07:45 10 Yes, sir. 11 Α. 12 Q. And how many of you went to Burkina Faso? Α. Initially we were about 22 in the group. 13 14 Q. How did you travel to Burkina Faso? 11:07:58 15 Α. We went by the bus, by the transport bus, and later, from the point in Abidjan, we went by train. 16 17 assi sted. We received assistance because our transport was paid for. We had food while en route to Ouagadougou and 18 19 while we were in Ouagadougou we had a place to stay. 11:08:21 20 Who provided this assistance? It was Mrs Taylor at the time through Alfred Mehn. 21 Α. 22 When you reached Ouagadougou in Burkina Faso where did 23 you stay? 24 We were taken to a military camp and in this camp was a 11:08:41 25 hilly area and we were in a camp. Military food was coming 26 to us through the military vehicles and military men was on 27 the vehicle that brought the food. 28 Q. And what did you do at the camp? While in the camp we were taking some exercises, 29 Α.

grouping to overthrow the Government of Liberia, but then

- 1 running, long jump and anything that could keep you fit at
- the time.
- 3 Q. Any other kind of training?
- 4 A. Another kind of training but it was not military
- 11:09:16 5 training. We were running from place to place and to keep
  - our fit at the time.
  - 7 Q. Do you know who the Leader of Burkina Faso was at the
  - 8 time you arrived?
  - 9 A. We were in Burkina Faso when Thomas Sankara was
- 11:09:32 10 President of Burkina."
  - 11 Now I want to just pause there, Mr Taylor. I don't think
  - 12 we have dealt with this aspect before. Was it the case that
  - initially before going to Libya some Liberians went to Burkina
  - 14 Faso?
- 11:09:55 **15** A. Yes.
  - 16 Q. And where the mention is made of the number 22, is that
  - 17 roughly the number who went to Ouagadougou?
  - 18 A. I would say yes.
  - 19 Q. And is it also true that they were provided assistance with
- 11:10:14 20 their travel through your then wife Agnes Taylor and Alfred Mehn?
  - 21 A. That is true, yes. Yes.
  - 22 Q. And just so that we have the full picture, where did the
  - 23 money come from to provide that assistance?
  - 24 A. Oh, I would remember now I'm being held by Ghanaian
- 11:10:39 25 authorities. That money had to come from probably some
  - 26 assistance from the I would say it had to come from the Libyan
  - 27 government at the time through Burkina Faso. I'm sure they
  - assisted with the cost of transportation. That would have to be
  - the Li byans assisted with that.

- 1 Q. Earlier in your testimony, Mr Taylor, you told us about
- 2 fundraising activities in, amongst other places, the United
- 3 States of America, yes?
- 4 A. Yes.
- 11:11:24 5 Q. Just taking things in stages, who was responsible for
  - 6 fundraising in the US?
  - 7 A. Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf, the present President of Liberia.
  - 8 Q. Now, the money raised at that stage by, amongst others,
  - 9 Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf, was any of those funds channelled to West
- 11:11:45 10 Africa at the time Moses Blah is talking about, to your
  - 11 knowl edge?
  - 12 A. Well, when you say "at the time" we're talking about the
  - 13 first group. There were several groups. After the second group
  - 14 left, some of the monies started coming from the movement of
- 11:12:03 15 individuals. At the initial stage, I am still in jail. Plans
  - 16 have been made. Other people like Ellen and others in America
  - 17 are watching. They know of things, but they want to see it being
  - 18 serious. So if you see the first group, it's about 20, 22. And
  - 19 if we know from evidence before this Court, there are a total
- 11:12:26 20 of about 100 and, what, close to 80 individuals or 60 individuals
  - 21 that travel. So they travel in small groups.
  - So, now, in direct answer to your question, at this point
  - 23 with the first group, no, there is no money coming from America.
  - 24 The second group, there is no money. But beginning the third
- 11:12:45 25 group, we begin to receive funds from Ellen and the group in
  - 26 America.
  - 27 Q. Right. Now, is it also true, Mr Taylor, that Thomas
  - 28 Sankara was President of Burkina at the time when this first
  - 29 group arri ved?

- 1 A. Yes, that is true.
- 2 Q. And a follow-on question from that in light of an earlier
- 3 answer you gave with regard to assistance from Libya through
- 4 Burkina: Was President Thomas Sankara assisting you at this
- 11:13:27 5 stage?
  - 6 A. Yes. Thomas was, yes. In fact, at the time Blaise
  - 7 Compaore was the number two man. But this to give some
  - 8 context, I had travelled to Burkina Faso several times. This
  - 9 issue of the movement of men had been put together. At some
- 11:13:56 10 point before we could actually get engaged in the actual movement
  - of the men, this is when I'm incarcerated. So my wife continues.
  - 12 But Thomas is still President. In fact, he is still President,
  - but while I'm still in jail in Ghana, he is killed, but he is
  - 14 still President at the time of the movement of this group that
- 11:14:23 15 Moses is talking about, that is correct.
  - 16 Q. Now, Mr Taylor, you mentioned the coup which resulted in
  - 17 his death. Did you have a hand in that?
  - 18 A. I was in prison in Ghana. No, Thomas was a friend.
  - 19 Sankara was a good friend, a very good revolutionary brother.
- 11:14:44 20 Thomas was a personal friend of mine. I was in jail and he was
  - 21 helping tremendously, and so it was an unfortunate situation.
  - 22 But no, how would I no.
  - 23 Q. Now, the witness continued in this way. Mr Taylor, one of
  - the reasons I am looking in some detail at the testimony of this
- 11:15:19 25 Moses Blah on this point, you appreciate that it is alleged that
  - 26 you were party to a plan hatched in Libya, yes?
  - 27 A. Yes.
  - 28 Q. And this tribunal has only heard testimony from two
  - 29 individuals regarding what happened in Libya. You appreciate in

- 1 that, don't you?
- 2 A. Yes, I do.
- 3 Q. Moses Blah being one of them, and the other being a Gambian
- 4 witness who came to give evidence. You recall that?
- 11:15:47 5 A. Oh, yes, I do.
  - 6 Q. So that's why we need to look at things with care. He goes
  - 7 on:
  - 8 "We were there very briefly," this is in Ouagadougou, "and
  - 9 his government was overthrown and Blaise Compaore took over
- 11:16:01 10 the country as President.
  - 11 Q. For how long a period of time did you remain in
  - 12 Burki na?
  - 13 A. We were in Burkina for about six months."
  - 14 Is that true.
- 11:16:20 15 A. No. No. No. No. No. No. When Moses and the group as
  - 16 they arrived in Burkina Faso a few weeks and they will board a
  - 17 plane and get out. No, they did not spend any long period there,
  - 18 no.
  - 19 Q. And another detail I should have asked you about from the
- 11:16:42 20 previous page, Mr Taylor. When they arrived in Burkina Faso were
  - they housed in a military camp?
  - 22 A. I would say yes. Not yes, I would say they were yeah.
  - 23 Well, in Burkina Faso that we'd have I would say yes. Like I
  - 24 say, I'm in prison, but they were not just left to wander around
- 11:17:08 25 the in the city. I'm still in prison in Accra. But to the best
  - of my recollection, they were taken not far from Ouagadougou and
  - 27 kept in a place they would not be exposed to the public. So if
  - 28 he calls it a military camp, I don't disagree.
  - 29 Q. Mr Taylor, you mentioned you were in prison at the time in

- 1 Ghana.
- 2 A. Yes.
- 3 Q. So help us: So to what extent were you able to monitor the
- 4 situation on the ground?
- 11:17:37 5 A. Not very much. Mostly in fact, throughout my detention
  - 6 at that particular time, the only contact that I had was I think
  - once or twice throughout the eight months that my wife visited
  - 8 me. So most of the information is after I get out that I get to
  - 9 find out what's going on.
- 11:18:03 10 Q. He is then asked:
  - 11 "Q. Did you meet Agnes Taylor?
  - 12 A. Yes, I met her on several occasions in Burkina.
  - 13 Q. And what did she tell you when you met her?
  - A. Well, the first meeting I had with Agnes was at -
- 11:18:17 15 Mr Taylor was being detained in Ghana by the President of
  - 16 Ghana on the charge that he was training a group of
  - 17 Liberians coming to declare war on Liberia, overthrow the
  - 18 government. And since you are in trouble with Samuel Doe
  - and there are a lot of trouble with the Gio and Mano tribe,
- 11:18:33 20 this is the assistance. There's a location that we will
  - take you people to and you can regroup and come back as a
  - trained military people. That's what she told us.
  - 23 Q. You said you were 22 when you went to Burkina?
  - A. Yes, true.
- 11:18:53 25 Q. Did your numbers change at the time you were in Burkina
  - 26 Faso?
  - 27 A. No, the number did not change until we moved to a
  - 28 Location and recruitment went on, and there were more
  - 29 groups added to our group.

- 1 Q. Did your group have a name at this time?
- A. No, at that moment there was no name given to the
- 3 group."
- 4 Now I want to pause again, Mr Taylor, and seek your
- 11:19:17 5 assistance using this testimony as a guide with one or two
  - 6 details. Now firstly, the witness, as we will see in more detail
  - 7 in a moment, speaks of groups of Liberians going first to Burkina
  - 8 Faso and then being flown to Libya, as opposed to one mass
  - 9 movement.
- 11:19:43 10 A. That is correct.
  - 11 Q. Is that true?
  - 12 A. That is correct.
  - 13 Q. And why did things occur in that way?
  - 14 A. Well, we are dealing with two principal issues here:
- 11:19:56 15 Number 1, we're dealing with the Cold War period. Libya is
  - 16 considered a pariah state. The United States and Libya are oh
  - 17 boy, Libya is being threatened. If I remember very well, that
  - 18 was during the Reagan administration, if I'm not mistaken, and
  - 19 Liberia's own close relationship with the United States, knowing
- 11:20:23 20 that Liberians are going to train in Libya, would have raised
  - 21 many red flags. And so all care is taken that the movement of
  - these men is done covertly and secretly not to: One, aggravate
  - 23 the United States; and, two, alert Doe that plans are afoot to
  - 24 launch a revolution in Liberia.
- 11:20:56 25 Q. Right. Now, on that note, Mr Taylor, these individuals who
  - 26 went to Libya, were they all volunteers, or were any of them
  - 27 coerced into going?
  - 28 A. All were volunteers. Every one was volunteers. Every one,
  - 29 all volunteers.

- 1 Q. Now, is it also true that at this time the group didn't
- 2 have a name?
- 3 A. Yes, it is true. I'm in jail and we haven't given it a
- 4 name. In fact, we finally give it a name when I come out and
- 11:21:31 5 meet with everybody. But it's not given a name at this point.
  - 6 Q. Now, given your position in jail, Mr Taylor, at this early
  - 7 stage of events who is the prime mover behind this movement of
  - 8 people? You know, the person who has made the contacts to get
  - 9 the finance from Libya to arrange transport and so on, who is -
- 11:21:58 10 who is the person doing that?
  - 11 A. Well, at this particular time we're talking about one of
  - 12 our my principal associates, Tom Woweiyu, is helping with the
  - 13 coordination, so he is the prime mover at this particular time.
  - 14 Although Ellen is not involved in physical movement, but Tom is
- 11:22:28 15 coordinating with her in trying to plan to prepare minds for if
  - 16 there will be any spillover of this situation. But the prime
  - 17 person I would say is Woweiyu, who is really moving up and down.
  - 18 Because my wife doesn't go there, but Woweiyu goes to Libya and
  - 19 everything.
- 11:22:53 20 Q. Is it Tom Woweiyu?
  - 21 A. Yeah, that's W --
  - 22 Q. Yes, I know. But is he the one who makes the contact with
  - 23 Gaddafi?
  - 24 A. No, no, no, no. No. All plans have been made. He and
- 11:23:09 25 myself have gone. Ellen did not go, but she is aware. All of
  - the plans are on the ground. Before I can begin to implement, I
  - am taken out of the process by the Ghanian government.
  - 28 Q. Right.
  - 29 A. But the plans continue. So I have already made contacts

- 1 along with my other the other two. With the knowledge of Ellen
- and with Tom who had gone there with me, all contacts had been
- 3 made with them.
- 4 Q. "Q. You said she arranged for you to go to another
- 11:23:50 5 Location. Where was the other Location?
  - 6 A. The location was Libya at Tripoli. We moved into
  - 7 Libya, Tripoli in a group of 22.
  - 8 Q. How did you travel to Tripoli?
  - 9 A. We flew by plane by Aeroflot Airlines and we went to
  - 10 Li bya. "
  - 11 Who provided the aircraft, Mr Taylor?
  - 12 A. Well, the aircraft belonged to Aeroflot. The fare was paid
  - 13 for by the Libyan government.
  - 14 Q. The aircraft belonged to who?
- 11:24:17 15 A. Aeroflot, the Russian airline.
  - 16 Q. Okay.
  - 17 A. But the fare was paid by the Libyan government.
  - 18 Q. "When we arrived at Tripoli were we were taken directly to
  - a military case called Tajura Camp. We were in the camp
- 11:24:32 20 for about a month or two. Then 47 men came to join our
  - 21 group."
  - 22 Agree?
  - 23 A. I would say about that, yes. Yes.
  - 24 Q. "And did your group grow beyond that additional group -
- 11:24:47 25 that additional number of 47 that arrived?
  - A. Exactly so. There was some coming further to 30 in
  - group, 22 in group, another 40 in a group, and we came up
  - to 180 in a group.
  - 29 Q. How long did it take for the group to reach that number

1 of 180?

|          | 2  |        | A. It took about two, three months, sir."                  |
|----------|----|--------|------------------------------------------------------------|
|          | 3  |        | Would you agree with that, Mr Taylor?                      |
|          | 4  | A.     | Yes, I would agree with that.                              |
| 11:25:13 | 5  | Q.     | "Q. What did you do in the camp?                           |
|          | 6  |        | A. In the camp we got engaged in military training - full  |
|          | 7  |        | military training. We learned out to drill. We learned     |
|          | 8  |        | how to listen to instructions, and then we learn how to    |
|          | 9  |        | assemble, disassemble, and assemble Kalashnikov, which is  |
| 11:25:33 | 10 |        | the AK-47, some more arms and artillery pieces like old    |
|          | 11 |        | military weapons and missile. We had some people who could |
|          | 12 |        | work on missiles, air-to-air missiles, ground-to-air       |
|          | 13 | mi ssi | les."                                                      |
|          | 14 |        | Does that kind of sum up the training, Mr Taylor?          |
| 11:25:46 | 15 | A.     | Yes.                                                       |
|          | 16 | Q.     | "Q. Who trained you there?                                 |
|          | 17 |        | A. We were trained by the Libyan. We were trained -        |
|          | 18 |        | initially it was a man called Mohamed who was heading this |
|          | 19 |        | training, and from time to time the trainer changed. They  |
| 11:25:59 | 20 |        | would bring the man today, bring a man tomorrow. The name  |
|          | 21 |        | was not actually necessary for you as a trainer, and they  |
|          | 22 |        | could come and say, 'Well look, I'm this and I've come to  |
|          | 23 |        | take over this unit,' and that went on for months.         |
|          | 24 |        | Q. You said that you had met Agnes Taylor back in Burkina  |
| 11:26:19 | 25 |        | Faso. Did she come with you?                               |
|          | 26 |        | A. No, she didn't."                                        |
|          | 27 |        | Is that true?                                              |
|          | 28 | A.     | That's true.                                               |
|          |    |        |                                                            |

29 Q. "Q. Did you ever see Charles Taylor in Burkina Faso when

- 1 you were there with your group of 22?
- A. Not until when the group swelled up to 110 when the
- 3 45-man group arrived. It was just suddenly after that then
- 4 Taylor appeared.
- 11:26:45 5 Q. Where was it that he appeared?
  - 6 A. In the camp. In Tajura camp."
  - 7 Is that true, Mr Taylor?
  - 8 A. That is true.
  - 9 Q. So very first time you saw this group was in Tajura in
- 11:26:59 10 Li bya?
  - 11 A. That is correct.
  - 12 Q. And by the time you saw them, had the number swelled to
  - 13 over 100?
  - 14 A. I would say yes. That's about if I can be exact, that's
- 11:27:13 15 got to be late 1987. I would put it to about that time.
  - 16 Q. When you first went to the camp?
  - 17 A. That is correct. Very late 1987.
  - 18 Q. Jump a few lines:
  - 19 "Q. And when did Taylor come in the sequence of additions?
- 11:27:36 20 A. He was very often there. He came and we held a
  - 21 meeting, and after the meeting from time to time he goes
  - 22 and comes back."
  - Now, you agree with that, don't you?
  - 24 A. Yes, I did not live in the camp, no. That's true.
- 11:27:48 25 Q. "Q. What did he do the first time he was there?
  - A. When he came we had a formation, called all the people
  - together, all the soldiers, and said, 'I am Charles Taylor.
  - 28 This is my organisation I establish rather this
  - organisation, but I was in jail in Ghana. I was held

there, you know, under suspicion of overthrowing 2 government, and I'm the biggest man in this organisation.' He is the only one you will report to, but nobody else, and 3 4 this organisation is named National Patriotic Front of Li beri a. " 11:28:27 5 Roughly accurate? 6 7 Yes, I would say. Well, that's Moses - well, I wouldn't fuss with that. I'm not that "I am the only man" different 8 thing, because I get out of jail. After consulting with Tom, and Tom talked to Ellen and talked to other individuals, we finally 11:28:45 10 decide that the National Patriotic Front was an organisation 11 12 launched by the late General Thomas Quiwonkpa in his failed attempt to remove Samuel Doe, and this is the very organisation 13 14 that led to this massive killing of Liberians by Doe and the exodus into la Cote d'Ivoire. So what we said was that because 11:29:12 15 General Quiwonkpa was someone that was respected and had died for 16 17 this cause, that we would just rename it the National Patriotic So he doesn't know the background, but I accept most of 18 19 what he is saying here. 11:29:34 20 Jump a few lines: 21 Did he ever appoint anyone under him to supervise when 22 he was not there? Yes, when he was not there he further said one Cooper 23 24 Miller was the commander and Augustine Wright was his 11:29:51 25 deputy at the time. Whenever he's absent, these people 26 are in full control of the camp." 27 True? 28 Α. That is true. "Q. You said he came on several occasions. What did he do 29 Q.

|          | 1  |         | on the occasions when he came after the first time?        |
|----------|----|---------|------------------------------------------------------------|
|          | 2  |         | A. He came while the training was on. He came to inspect   |
|          | 3  |         | to see how the training is going, who is capable of doing  |
|          | 4  |         | this, who is capable of doing that, and he would leave     |
| 11:30:14 | 5  |         | instruction again that we should be strong, he had come to |
|          | 6  |         | liberate the people of Liberia, more especially tribal     |
|          | 7  |         | Nimba, 'You've been oppressed by Samuel Kanyon Doe. I will |
|          | 8  |         | give you - you will be at liberty when you enter home this |
|          | 9  |         | time', and that's the kind of encouraging words that were  |
| 11:30:29 | 10 |         | given from time to time when he visited the camp."         |
|          | 11 |         | True?                                                      |
|          | 12 | Α.      | True.                                                      |
|          | 13 | Q.      | "He said he was based in Burkina Faso at the time." True,  |
|          | 14 | Mr Ta   | yl or?                                                     |
| 11:30:41 | 15 | A.      | That is true.                                              |
|          | 16 | Q.      | So you were based in Burkina but you would travel up to    |
|          | 17 | Li bya  | and visit them in the camp?                                |
|          | 18 | A.      | That is correct. When I was released from jail in Ghana, I |
|          | 19 | was g   | iven 48 hours to leave the country, and I went and I was   |
| 11:30:55 | 20 | resi de | ent in Burkina Faso. I only visited Libya from time to     |
|          | 21 | time.   | That is true.                                              |
|          | 22 | Q.      | "Q. Did he tell us anything else that he was doing?        |
|          | 23 |         | A. He was - he didn't say in detail. He would say - we     |
|          | 24 |         | wouldn't have questioned the authority at the time. He     |
| 11:31:10 | 25 |         | would leave and go say, 'Well, I'm going to Burkina.       |
|          | 26 |         | I will be in touch. You will hear from me through the      |
|          | 27 |         | commander', and that went on from time to time."           |
|          | 28 |         | MR GRIFFITHS: Is that a good point, Mr President?          |
|          | 29 |         | PRESIDING JUDGE: We're just about out of tape now,         |

|          | •  | WII 01 | THE COS WE THE CARE THE MOTHING STEAK AND TESAME AT         |
|----------|----|--------|-------------------------------------------------------------|
|          | 2  | 12 o'  | cl ock.                                                     |
|          | 3  |        | [Break taken at 11.30 a.m.]                                 |
|          | 4  |        | [Upon resuming at 12.00 p.m.]                               |
| 12:02:54 | 5  |        | MR GRIFFITHS:                                               |
|          | 6  | Q.     | Mr Taylor, before we broke we'd reached Libya, okay?        |
|          | 7  | Α.     | Yes.                                                        |
|          | 8  | Q.     | Now, let's pick up, please, on page 9806, line 4:           |
|          | 9  |        | "Q. Did he" - that being you - "exercise his authority in   |
| 12:03:22 | 10 |        | any way?                                                    |
|          | 11 |        | A. Yes, he came in as a chief and everybody said 'Chief'    |
|          | 12 |        | and you saluted him and he was the chief of the             |
|          | 13 |        | organisation and he was known by that."                     |
|          | 14 |        | True?                                                       |
| 12:03:36 | 15 | A.     | True.                                                       |
|          | 16 | Q.     | "Q. You mentioned Mr Cooper and Mr Wright. Did they         |
|          | 17 |        | remain as his local commanders?                             |
|          | 18 |        | A. No, further on down the line they got implicated in      |
|          | 19 |        | something called a coup to overthrow his authority at the   |
| 12:04:01 | 20 |        | time in the camp. They had decided themselves to take       |
|          | 21 |        | over. At one point he went and did not return on time, he   |
|          | 22 |        | was there for a long time, and these two men have decided   |
|          | 23 |        | since he's away for a very long time they would have taken  |
|          | 24 |        | over the organisation, they would come in their own right.  |
| 12:04:18 | 25 |        | Cooper declared himself President and Wright was his        |
|          | 26 |        | deputy, Vice-President, but unfortunately for them it was   |
|          | 27 |        | not long when Taylor returned and this matter was reported  |
|          | 28 |        | to him by security people he had on the ground. So he       |
|          | 29 |        | decided to take these people away, two of these men, Cooper |

1 Mr Griffiths. So we'll take the morning break and resume at

|          |    | will ref and hagastine wright and he said he was taking them      |
|----------|----|-------------------------------------------------------------------|
|          | 2  | to Burkina Faso and he have them detained until after the         |
|          | 3  | revolution. After we have succeeded in Liberia, he will           |
|          | 4  | bring them over into Liberia.                                     |
| 12:04:49 | 5  | At that point Isaac Musa was brought and he brought Isaac         |
|          | 6  | with him in fact as a commander in place of Cooper Miller         |
|          | 7  | and he appointed me as adjutant in charge of training under       |
|          | 8  | Isaac Musa. So we were both in command when Isaac - I mean        |
|          | 9  | when Cooper and Wright were taken away.                           |
| 12:05:14 | 10 | Q. Do you know what happened to Miller and Wright?                |
|          | 11 | A. They were taken away to Burkina Faso, according to what        |
|          | 12 | he said, but we were in training at the time so I didn't          |
|          | 13 | know what happened when he took them away.                        |
|          | 14 | Q. Did you eventually learn what happened to them?                |
| 12:05:28 | 15 | A. Yes, I learned later that they were detained in Burkina        |
|          | 16 | Faso. They were in jail."                                         |
|          | 17 | Is that correct, Mr Taylor, about Miller and Wright -             |
|          | 18 | Cooper and Wright?                                                |
|          | 19 | A. Yes, they were taken, but the whole statement - now, there     |
| 12:05:48 | 20 | are so many things that Moses got wrong there, so I will answer   |
|          | 21 | your question. But there's a whole lot to that that is not -      |
|          | 22 | that I think we need some context.                                |
|          | 23 | Q. All right. Well, provide it then.                              |
|          | 24 | A. Well, the issue that Moses does not explain in detail,         |
| 12:06:04 | 25 | because I guess he's not asked the questions, this is the         |
|          | 26 | beginning of what finally ends up in Liberia as Black Kadaffa and |
|          | 27 | the plan that I was talking about. It starts on the base. It is   |
|          | 28 | not just Wright and Miller. There's a bunch of others that are    |
|          | 29 | involved in this plan that, fine, when we get back to Liberia,    |
|          |    |                                                                   |

Miller and Augustine Wright and he said he was taking them

- 1 after we succeed, we will then destroy him and the rest of the
- 2 organisation. So these the two principal leaders are withdrawn
- 3 from the base to keep them from polluting the situation. But the
- 4 rest of them are there, and that is Mekunagbe and all of these
- 12:06:51 5 other people, including, to a great extent some of them denied
  - 6 it, but we left them. Prince Johnson and others were all
  - 7 suspected, they denied it, but what we did was to I removed the
  - 8 top two, brought them to Burkina Faso, and after the revolution
  - 9 started, we released them. They eventually ended up in Liberia -
- 12:07:15 10 in fact, Cooper Miller with Prince Johnson after he broke away.
  - 11 But I thought to put it into context because he's not asked to go
  - 12 into this.
  - The remnants of that group come into Liberia and eventually
  - 14 they are the ones that carry on some of these clandestine
- 12:07:31 15 activities, one of which is this whole Foday Sankoh thing I'm
  - 16 sitting in here now for, helping to train, they do the Black
  - 17 Kadaffa, the rest of them are eventually arrested after we detect
  - 18 this Black Kadaffa thing and they are tried and executed. But it
  - 19 starts from Libya and ends up in Liberia.
- 12:07:51 20 Q. Now, just pausing there for a moment. When they were
  - 21 removed from Libya, Mr Taylor, what was done with them
  - 22 physi cally?
  - 23 A. They were we just kept them in detention. I asked for
  - them to be held because if they had been released before the
- 12:08:09 25 revolution, they would have exposed it. So they were kept in
  - 26 detention in Burkina Faso.
  - 27 Q. Who by?
  - 28 A. By the government. We asked for them to be held.
  - 29 Q. So the Government of Burkina Faso detained them in Burkina

28

29

1 Faso? 2 Α. That is correct. 3 Page 9807: Q. 4 "Q. Who appointed you as adjutant? A. I was appointed by Mr Taylor at the time as adjutant to 12:08:35 5 work along with Isaac Musa as his deputy." 6 7 True? Not as his deputy. The adjutant is not the deputy, but he 8 Α. was appointed as adjutant. Isaac Musa was commander, but he was not the deputy. 12:08:54 10 You mentioned that there were security people on the 11 Q. 12 ground that reported to Taylor. Who were these people? 13 Well, he had his own security network. He has other 14 people that I wouldn't know and they were doing undercover 12:09:09 15 security watching, who were all there and doing what, who was there, because he was not permanent in the camp he had 16 17 a lot of people there and I wouldn't know. Were these people among your group? 18 19 Yes, they were training with us, sir. Α. 12:09:26 20 Q. Were they among the group of 180? They were there previous. They were there before the 21 22 I wouldn't know, because he has people with us in the 22 group that should report to him undercover." 23 24 Now, is that true, Mr Taylor? 12:09:43 25 Yeah, but what the - Stephen Rapp did not pursue this. 26 What Moses explained, every military organisation, every military

unit has what you call military intelligence, MI. You have

military intelligence and, of course, they are not known. Every

armed forces in the world, United States, Britain, Russia, you

- 1 have military intelligence and they are part of the unit that you
- 2 do not know. And even you have military intelligence in some of
- 3 these units and you even have counterintelligence. So what Moses
- 4 is saying here is that, of course, there are intelligence
- 12:10:21 5 individuals that are within this unit. This is a company plus
  - 6 it's a military unit and, of course, there is military
  - 7 intelligence. But because it is intelligence, it is not for the
  - 8 other members of the unit to know. That's what he's trying to
  - 9 explain, but it's not pursued. But that's true.
- 12:10:38 10 Q. Is it the case, Mr Taylor, that these individuals were your
  - 11 eyes and ears in the camp at Tajura?
  - 12 A. Well, I can say yes, but, I mean, I think my explanation
  - 13 should suffice. We have a military unit with military
  - 14 intelligence people and they keep intelligence on the unit, not
- 12:11:00 15 just for me but anything that is going on. So in a way I can say
  - 16 yes to your answer, but they are also eyes and ears of the entire
  - 17 si tuati on.
  - 18 Q. And was it through them that you discovered the activities
  - 19 of Cooper and Wright?
- 12:11:15 20 A. That is correct. They were properly investigated and
  - 21 admitted and we removed them.
  - 22 Q. Right. Going on:
  - 23 "A. I was appointed as adjutant and I was called adjutant
  - general, but I was adjutant in charge of training."
- 12:11:32 **25** True?
  - 26 A. You are adjutant, you are adjutant in a military unit.
  - 27 You're in training, what, but you're the adjutant. What is the
  - 28 adjutant? The adjutant is the individual that keeps the records
  - 29 of the unit. So if he calls himself in charge of training, even

- 1 thought there was nothing else being done but training, but he
- 2 was the adjutant.
- 3 Q. Well, he goes on to say this:
- 4 "A. I was responsible for people who were training, if you
- 12:11:57 5 are improving in training, how capable you are, what you
  - are good for, if you could operate this weapon, if you
  - 7 could disassemble and assemble well, if you are physically
  - 8 fit, that was recorded by me during training."
  - 9 True?
- 12:12:13 10 A. He had some records. But if we want to go into military,
  - 11 the way how I understand it, how we had it, the training officer
  - 12 is not the adjutant. The training officer is normally what we
  - 13 call your G3. The adjutant is the G1. So, yes, he kept records
  - 14 of what was going on. If he wants to say in charge that he
- 12:12:35 15 kept well, you know, he has some records as adjutant, yeah, but
  - 16 he was not in charge of training. That's the job of the G3.
  - 17 Q. And he goes on:
  - 18 "A. I keep all for the commander-in-chief at the time, who
  - 19 was Mr Taylor.
- 12:12:54 20 Q. And did you report them to Mr Taylor?
  - 21 A. Yes, I reported all of those to him."
  - 22 Is that true?
  - 23 A. Yes, I reviewed the records, yes.
  - 24 Q. "A. It went well. It went well, because that's what he
- 12:13:04 25 wanted. He wanted to know who is doing this, who is doing
  - that, who was frequent in training, who does not like
  - training, who was capable of what. That was all included
  - in the report and sometimes he would very appreciate the
  - 29 report.

28

29

Q.

to two years. Closer.

2 at this time? It was good. He was my boss and he 3 It was good. proved to me and he liked my job and on many occasions he 4 said, well, he congratulates me. He said, 'Look, you are 12:13:30 5 congratulated and you are doing well'. Did you discover whether you had any kind of ties to 7 8 Taylor? Family ties? Yes, I knew. I knew before I went to the base that his wife, his wife Tupee Taylor, is my first cousin, so I think 12:13:49 10 he might know a little. I knew before I went to training, 11 but I did not tell him." 12 13 Is that true, Mr Taylor? 14 I knew he was Tupee's cousin because Tupee - Moses carries a name Blah, but the family line is Toweh, T-O-W-E-H, and my wife 12:14:07 15 is a Toweh, so I knew that they were cousins. So maybe he 16 17 thought it was a secret, but I already knew from earlier years. And then he goes on to say he didn't tell you of that fact, 18 19 and he continues over the page, page 9810: 12:14:33 20 "Tupee was the first wife of Mr Taylor, even when Taylor was a teacher, a school teacher and Tupee was married to 21 22 him, they had big children. Later on when Agnes came in, but Tupee was his wife that I know. 23 24 And how long were you in the camp in Libya? 12:14:50 25 We were there for a year and a half." Α. 26 Is that correct, Mr Taylor? 27 A little over, but that's close to it. I would say close Α.

How would you describe your relationship with Taylor

Very well. And now things get interesting:

|          | 1  | "Q. Were there other nationalities in the camp?              |
|----------|----|--------------------------------------------------------------|
|          | 2  | A. Yes, in the camp we met - the Gambians have just          |
|          | 3  | entered their training and through their struggles they      |
|          | 4  | went home and - they went to overthrow their government and  |
| 12:15:25 | 5  | they didn't make it and they came back and some were         |
|          | 6  | arrested of course and they came back. We met there          |
|          | 7  | Filipinos there training. They had their own thing that      |
|          | 8  | they should know. Then we met the Sierra Leoneans in a       |
|          | 9  | very small group in the camp headed by their leader.         |
| 12:15:48 | 10 | That's the others I know of.                                 |
|          | 11 | Q. Okay. Well, let's just talk about the Gambians for a      |
|          | 12 | moment. Was the leader of the Gambians in the camp?          |
|          | 13 | A. No, he was in town in a place in Tripoli and only his     |
|          | 14 | boys were in the camp with us and we moved together. But     |
| 12:16:09 | 15 | they have finished the training and we needed help from      |
|          | 16 | them, because they would tell you what is men what is for    |
|          | 17 | and we needed them very seriously because they knew          |
|          | 18 | everything we were going through.                            |
|          | 19 | Q. And you said their leader was in town. What was their     |
| 12:16:24 | 20 | leader's name?                                               |
|          | 21 | A. He was called Dr Manneh. The only thing I know is         |
|          | 22 | Dr Manneh, the only name I know.                             |
|          | 23 | Q. And did you ever see Dr Manneh in Libya?                  |
|          | 24 | A. Yeah, I met him in - I met him on one or two occasions    |
| 12:16:40 | 25 | some place in Mataba. A place called Mataba."                |
|          | 26 | Now pause there, Mr Taylor. Do you agree that Dr Manneh      |
|          | 27 | did not live on the base Tajura?                             |
|          | 28 | A. Yes, I do.                                                |
|          | 29 | Q. In the same way that you did not live on the base Tajura? |

- 1 A. That is correct, yeah.
- 2 Q. Because as you've told us earlier in your testimony, only
- 3 the men undergoing training were actually based on the camp. Is
- 4 that right?
- 12:17:10 5 A. That is correct.
  - 6 Q. Leaders like yourself and Dr Manneh would visit your men on
  - 7 the base but would not live on the base yourself?
  - 8 A. That is correct, yes.
  - 9 Q. And you agree, do you not, with Moses Blah's description,
- 12:17:28 10 because it accords with your earlier testimony, that the Gambians
  - 11 had been trained, had attempted a coup in The Gambia which had
  - 12 failed, and they had come back to Libya. That's right?
  - 13 A. Yes, but one slight disagreement, and I think we need to
  - 14 set the record straight. Anyone who knows the history of the
- 12:17:50 15 attempted coup against Sir Dawda Kairaba Jawara occurred before
  - 16 the period in question, so he's gotten it mixed up here. The
  - 17 coup by Kukoi Samba Sanyang, that we know as Dr Manneh, occurred
  - 18 many years before the time in question here, 1987. And so the
  - 19 Gambians are met in Libya, they have staged their coup, they have
- 12:18:23 20 been unsuccessful, they've fled. In fact, Dr Manneh had visited
  - 21 several countries and they finally end up in Libya. His
  - 22 description here that they were trained, went and failed and came
  - 23 back, must be put in the context of sometime before we get there,
  - 24 okay?
- 12:18:44 25 And the second disagreement that I have is that Moses just
  - 26 is wrong. The Gambians are already trained, they've staged their
  - 27 thing. There may be a second group or something, but to the best
  - of my knowledge, most of the Gambians are already trained and at
  - 29 the Mataba. Some of them are even serving as security guards at

- 1 the Mataba. They are not physically in the camp. I think he got
- 2 this mixed up.
- 3 Q. Now, one other little detail contained in that. "Then we
- 4 met the Sierra Leoneans in a very small group." Is that true,
- 12:19:25 5 Mr Taylor, that it was only a small group of Sierra Leoneans?
  - 6 A. Quite frankly, I cannot attach a figure. Small depending
  - 7 on what he means by "small". There are Sierra Leoneans because
  - 8 Ali tells me that, but I do not know the number. So I would be
  - 9 misleading if I say that they were small. I really don't know.
- 12:19:49 10 I know that the because Ali and I did not discuss it, but there
  - 11 are Sierra Leoneans there. We meet them there, yeah.
  - 12 Q. Now page 9811, let's pick up where we left off:
  - 13 "Q. Did you ever see Dr Manneh in Libya?
  - A. Yeah, I met him in I met him on one or two occasions
- 12:20:10 15 some place in Mataba. A place called Mataba. Mataba was
  - 16 an organisation established by Gaddafi to help any
  - oppressed group in a country, oppressed by their
  - 18 government, he was Mataba was there to assist you to
  - overthrow your government or to assist you to remove the
- 12:20:27 20 government forcibly and then you can take over yourself."
  - Now again, Mr Taylor, Mataba is the ideological, is it not,
  - 22 organisation behind the Tajura Camp, if I can put it in that way;
  - 23 would you agree?
  - 24 A. No, I would not agree.
- 12:20:52 25 Q. Very well. You tell us then?
  - 26 A. Because, you see, the ideological organisation behind the
  - 27 training some of us were in Libya. Ideology was not central to
  - 28 it. The Mataba was the I would call it the management
  - 29 organisation that oversaw the activities of the training. But

- 1 ideological is where I disagree because, I mean, ideologically -
- 2 I was not within the same, I would say, thinking of the Libya
- 3 Jamahiriya, no. No, I would say ideologically there were
- 4 differences, so I wouldn't say that.
- 12:21:36 5 Q. Very well.
  - 6 "Q. And where was this Mataba location where you met
  - 7 Dr Manneh?
  - 8 A. It was off the camp. It was in town in Tripoli town
  - 9 itself, somewhere in Tripoli, not very far from Tajura
- 12:21:53 10 Camp."
  - 11 Again you agree with that, don't you, Mr Taylor?
  - 12 A. Well, no. If he says "not far from Tajura", I'm sure the
  - 13 Court by now, after seeing the map, will be able to determine. I
  - 14 would not describe it as not far. I think there's a little
- 12:22:10 15 distance, but I'm sure the Court understands now from the map.
  - 16 Q. "Q. And you said you talked to the Gambians about what
  - 17 they had done in their country. What did they tell you
  - they had done?
  - 19 A. They told me that they were trained where we are, where
- 12:22:28 20 we were, and they were training and they went to overthrow
  - their government through the assistance of Mataba and they
  - 22 didn't succeed, they met with failure and they had to come
  - 23 back.
  - 24 Q. You said you met Sierra Leoneans and their Leader. Who
- 12:22:43 25 was their leader?"
  - Now I want you to listen carefully now, Mr Taylor:
  - 27 "A. It was Foday Sankoh and he was the leader according to
  - 28 them.
  - 29 Q. And do you recall how many Sierra Leoneans were in the

camp?

1

2 A. Yes, we knew he was Sierra Leonean. We knew he speaks the Sierra Leonean. 3 How many Sierra Leoneans roughly were in the camp? 4 They were in a small group and, as a result, their 12:23:08 5 commander was not taken serious. It was about 10, 15 at the time. 7 Did you have contact with Mr Sankoh yourself? 0. 8 Yes, as I said we were all training. At the training we will all meet and talk and joke, talk about your 12:23:28 10 government and he would talk about his government, so we 11 12 would meet from time to time. 0. What was your impression of him? 13 14 We didn't take him serious, no, because he was in the 12:23:46 15 tea shack making tea for me at the time, because I was adjutant, so I didn't take him serious. I didn't take him 16 17 seri ous. " Now pause there. Now, Mr Taylor, you've told us repeatedly 18 19 that you did not meet Foday Sankoh in Libya, yes? 12:24:07 20 That is correct. Now, as Moses Blah has indicated, you did not live on the 21 0. 22 base; Dr Manneh did not live on the base. Now help us. If Foday 23 Sankoh was leader of the Sierra Leoneans, why, as implied here by 24 Moses Blah, was he living on the base with Moses Blah and the 12:24:34 25 other people training? Why? Well, you know, that's the point I tried to make earlier. 27 I don't know, Moses does so well. But at some point sometimes 28 it's regrettable that he, I would really say, strays off into a diabolical lie. Here is someone that Moses Blah is describing as 29

- 1 his tea maker who is the leader of the Sierra Leonean group. I
- 2 don't know why he slips down this lie, this slippery slope
- 3 really. I can't tell, but Moses knows that Foday Sankoh was not
- 4 the leader, and there is no leader of any group that was in Libya
- 12:25:16 5 at the time that stayed in the camp. Zero. None. And even if
  - 6 we look at the two individuals that this Court brought here,
  - 7 Moses and Suwandi Camara, Suwandi talks about Ali Kabbah. Ali
  - 8 Kabbah is the leader. He lives at the Mataba. So this matter
  - 9 that he I don't know why he slips into this lie. Instead of
- 12:25:44 10 being harsh with him, I can say he slips into this error it is
  - 11 an error that somebody, the leader of the Sierra Leonean group,
  - is making tea for him and is a tea boy in a camp must show any
  - 13 reasonable person that Foday Sankoh is not the leader.
  - 14 Q. Well, that leads me then to my next question, Mr Taylor.
- 12:26:04 15 PRESIDING JUDGE: Just before you go on, I think it may be
  - 16 important to correct the record here just in case it's missed
  - 17 when the record is edited at the end of the day. Mr Taylor has
  - 18 just described Sankoh as, "Here is someone that Moses Blah is
  - 19 describing as his tea maker." Well, if you go back a few
- 12:26:32 20 questions I make it page 75, line 18 the question was, "What
  - 21 was your impression of him?" and the answer recorded was, "We
  - 22 didn't take him serious, no, because he was not in the tea shack
  - 23 making tea for me."
  - Now, I don't think the word "not" was mentioned.
  - 25 MR GRIFFITHS: No, it wasn't.
  - 26 PRESIDING JUDGE: And it shouldn't appear in the
  - 27 transcript. It should read, "Because he was in the tea shack
  - 28 making tea for me." Does everybody agree with that? I did not
  - 29 hear the word "not" said.

- 1 MR GRIFFITHS: No, it wasn't said. I'm grateful,
- 2 Mr President:
- 3 Q. Now, Mr Taylor, because of the centrality of this issue,
- 4 let me ask you point blank: Did you make any agreement with this
- 12:27:29 5 tea boy in Libya?
  - 6 A. Never. Never talked to him. Here is my adjutant talking
  - 7 to him and making tea for him. Never. Never saw or met Foday
  - 8 Sankoh in Libya. Never. God be my witness: Never. Never.
  - 9 Q. Let's go back. Before I do: Jamahiriya, Mr President,
- 12:27:58 10 J-A-M-A-H-I-R-I-Y-A. "I didn't take him serious."
  - 11 Bottom of page 9812:
  - 12 Q. You said you talked about each other's countries. What
  - did he tell you about his country?
  - A. Well, he said he has come to train and overthrow his
- 12:28:19 15 government, become the head of the Sierra Leone government,
  - but I saw him with 15 men.
  - 17 Q. Did you individuals talk about doing anything together
  - in the future?
  - 19 A. No, we didn't discuss that. We didn't discuss that."
- 12:28:40 20 Now, Mr Taylor, in light of that answer by Moses Blah, and
  - in possible anticipation of a certain interpretation or gloss
  - 22 which may be put on the evidence in due course, if you yourself
  - 23 did not talk to Foday Sankoh, did you arrange for anyone in your
  - group of 180 or so to speak to him on your behalf?
- 12:29:11 **25** A. No, no.
  - 26 Q. And we see here the blunt question by Stephen Rapp, "Did
  - 27 you individuals talk about doing anything together in the
  - 28 future?" That is, did you conspire together? And the answer is,
  - 29 "No, we didn't discuss that."

|          | 1  | "Q. Was there any ideology taught in the camp?              |
|----------|----|-------------------------------------------------------------|
|          | 2  | A. Yeah, what we learnt in the camp in Mataba that there's  |
|          | 3  | a Mataba how to share the wealth of your government, what   |
|          | 4  | distribution of wealth that your country will develop and   |
| 12:29:55 | 5  | we would say a whole lot in the camp in Libya.              |
|          | 6  | Q. Let me just be clear about this, this Mataba             |
|          | 7  | organisation. You said that it was sort of a separate       |
|          | 8  | place near the camp. Is that where you'd go to talk about   |
|          | 9  | Mataba, or how would this Mataba                            |
| 12:30:15 | 10 | A. We would stay right in the camp. The camp was a very     |
|          | 11 | big place. Very large.                                      |
|          | 12 | Q. Were there others beyond the nationalities that you      |
|          | 13 | just listed training there as well?                         |
|          | 14 | A. Yeah, they were training and we were training as well.   |
| 12:30:30 | 15 | Q. And this Mataba, did you receive any books or any        |
|          | 16 | lesson papers in that particular ideology?                  |
|          | 17 | A. Yeah, the ideology was taught in Mataba. Not in the      |
|          | 18 | camp, not in Tajura, we were taught in Mataba itself.       |
|          | 19 | Mataba had a headquarters where they have a school where    |
| 12:30:53 | 20 | people go once you can read and write, where you go to      |
|          | 21 | learn the ideology of. You learn about the Green Book,      |
|          | 22 | the ideology and the Green Book, how the government are     |
|          | 23 | cheating other government, the politics, when you go you    |
|          | 24 | represent yourself, you don't have representative, because  |
| 12:31:14 | 25 | he would not represent you properly, and all of that.       |
|          | 26 | Those are the ideology we were taught."                     |
|          | 27 | Do you agree with that, Mr Taylor?                          |
|          | 28 | A. Well, my - to a great extent, yeah, there was at the     |
|          | 29 | Mataba - and Moses and these people, like he said, were not |

29

2 read and adopt certain parts. It was called then the Green Book. 3 But like I said, there are different levels of people that went, 4 again, and the Mataba, I have mentioned this in my prior testimony, was considered for most of us - was a pan-African 12:32:04 5 movement that some of us went there for and ideology was not a 6 7 part of our being there. We were there because of the 8 pan-Afri can approach. 9 So while that is true, it was made available to the 12:32:25 10 leadership at the Mataba and some of us did not really pay too much attention to it and that would be even noted in some of the 11 12 lines that - if you look at the records - as early as the time 13 that we launched the revolution in Liberia, all of the statements that we make immediately, ideologically, anyone can see our 14 12:32:54 15 leaning immediately. So he is right about the availability of certain ideological teachings at the Mataba. He's right about 16 17 that. Now, he goes on to deal with this, Mr Taylor: Were you 18 Q. 19 able to complete the physical training, he's asked: 12:33:16 20 No, I did not complete the training. I was near 21 completion and I got sick. I was taken to the hospital and 22 the doctor discovered that I have a cardio problem and my left side of my heart was weak, it had a lot of fat on it 23 24 and the pressure was high. I was also advised I should do 12:33:39 25 light duty as inspector - I mean adjutant general. I 26 shouldn't undertake physical training. My health would not 27 allow me to do so." 28 Then he goes on to deal with being in the hospital, and so

involved in that. Leaders were given a document that they could

on, and providing with medication. Is that true?

- 1 A. That is true.
- 2 Q. Then let's jump to line 20. This is important:
- 3 "Q. Before we leave talking about the others in the camp,
- 4 did Taylor have any meetings with others in the camp, other
- 12:34:10 5 nationalities?
  - 6 A. Not to my knowledge at that point. He used to come
  - directly to me and what happened was that the head of the
  - 8 heads of Sierra Leone used to pay a courtesy call on him,
  - 9 'Oh, chief', and we call him chief. We used to go to visit
- 12:34:33 10 and call him chief too."
  - 11 What do you say about that, Mr Taylor?
  - 12 A. I'm not aware of this. It's possible that while I visited
  - 13 the camp, because of the association with other people, other
  - 14 individuals in the camp from different places would just come and
- 12:34:57 15 speak, yes. So to a great extent, there were people that came
  - 16 and spoke to me. "This is our chief. Hello." Pass. "This is
  - 17 our chief." And so we got to know quite a few people, yes.
  - 18 Q. Now, let me break my question down into two, because in
  - 19 that answer Moses Blah was telling this Court that he wasn't, to
- 12:35:29 20 his knowledge, aware of you meeting with others in the camp,
  - 21 other nationalities, but then he goes on to say: "He used to
  - 22 come directly to me and what happened was that the head of the
  - 23 heads of Sierra Leone used to pay a courtesy call on him." Who
  - 24 was the head of the Sierra Leonean group, Mr Taylor?
- 12:35:49 25 A. I really don't the head of the Sierra Leonean group in
  - 26 Libya was Ali Kabbah. So in the camp, the Liberians had a big
  - 27 group. There were many other groups. And I don't agree that I
  - 28 used to go to him. Isaac Musa was the commander. You go on the
  - 29 base, you don't go to the adjutant and leave the commander out.

2 that, while I'm there, the possibility of others coming and 3 speaking and passing what he calls a courtesy, there were quite a 4 few individuals from different, different groups, while I'm Sometimes I spent about an hour on the base. Courtesy, 12:36:26 5 somebody will come. If you're friendly with somebody, "Oh, I 6 7 want you to say hello to my chief." That happened with many 8 other groups, whether from the Far East and different things. But like he said, there was no meeting, but a courtesy - the soldiers in the camp formed - they had friends. They knew each 12:36:46 10 other. "Oh, my chief is here today. Come and speak to him. 11 12 Hello, sir, " and pass. That is it, yeah. 13 Q. "Q. Did the Liberians call Foday Sankoh chief? 14 No, we didn't call him chief, but he called my boss chief at the time. He called Mr Taylor chief." 12:37:10 15 Implying there, Mr Taylor, that you met Sankoh. 16 17 No, I didn't. The word again "chief", if every body Α. is - if the leader goes to the camp and everybody is saying, 18 19 "Chief, chief, chief," no other group will walk up to you and 12:37:36 20 say, "Hello, Charles Taylor." You will say hello to everybody. 21 You're in a military situation, somebody will say "chief"? But, 22 Foday Sankoh, with his age and different things, would have 23 been able - and, you see, this is the little nuance that Rapp is 24 trying to pull. "Oh, then he met him in the camp." This man has 12:37:56 25 already said that when I went to the camp I went to him. 26 already said that I did not hold any meetings with people but 27 there were courtesy calls. Now he brings in this nuance to show 28 that, well, you met him. So that's, when I said earlier, you 29 lawyers make white black and black white. I did not meet this

But to the extent of really being factual to this Court

|          | 1  | man in this camp.                                                 |
|----------|----|-------------------------------------------------------------------|
|          | 2  | If a couple of Sierra Leoneans came and spoke to me - I           |
|          | 3  | accept that a few Sierra Leoneans, you know, could have come.     |
|          | 4  | Just like Ghanaians were there, different people. There was       |
| 12:38:26 | 5  | nothing specified, "This is the leader. Here's Foday Sankoh." I   |
|          | 6  | mean - and Foday Sankoh would have been distinguishable because   |
|          | 7  | he was an older man. This is not the case. But I can see how      |
|          | 8  | he's trying to bring in this - trying to turn this thing into     |
|          | 9  | maybe orange, you know, towards white, which I didn't, and that's |
| 12:38:45 | 10 | why he's trying to lead Moses. Moses has said there is no         |
|          | 11 | meeting and then he brings up this other one.                     |
|          | 12 | Q. "Q. Did any of the other nationality groups use the term       |
|          | 13 | in regard to Mr Taylor?                                           |
|          | 14 | A. Yes, they called him chief, but they were not very             |
| 12:39:01 | 15 | close. The chief of Sierra Leone would say, 'Yes, we have         |
|          | 16 | a chief here visiting us.' He was the only serious person         |
|          | 17 | in the eyes of the Libyan because he was well respected by        |
|          | 18 | us and we have a very large group, so everyone called him         |
|          | 19 | chief at the time.                                                |
| 12:39:20 | 20 | Q. Where did the Liberians go after the training was              |
|          | 21 | completed?                                                        |
|          | 22 | A. After the training the men were moved from the training        |
|          | 23 | to Ouagadougou in the first place.                                |
|          | 24 | Q. And were they all moved at the same time?                      |
| 12:39:33 | 25 | A. No, the group was very large and we didn't have a              |
|          | 26 | private aircraft. We were moved according to numbers.             |
|          | 27 | Sometimes we move 50 men, we would move 30 men, we would          |
|          | 28 | move 20 men. It all depends on the seats that we have on          |
|          | 29 | the plane to come."                                               |

Is that true, Mr Taylor?

1

- 2 Α. That is true. 3 Q. Going on: 4 "Q. Who organised the transport? A. The transport was organised by the Li byans. The 12:39:58 5 Libyans organised that, but I was instructed by Mr Taylor 7 to make sure that we put the men together when it's time to airlift them and I shouldn't tell the other group that 8 about 20 men was leaving. We shouldn't tell the other group that they were leaving to come to a particular 12:40:15 10 location. It was secret between he and I. Just when I was 11 12 escorting the group, as I was driving and then I come back 13 to camp." 14 Again, Mr Taylor, was the departure of your men cloaked in 12:40:33 15 secrecy in the way suggested by Moses Blah? Yes, accept that it was not just with him. The commander, 16 Α. 17 Isaac Musa, is aware and that's true, because we didn't want the news getting out because these are all covert movements, but it 18 19 was cloaked in secrecy, yes. 12:40:54 20 Very well. 21 Before we leave the time in the camp, did anybody in 22 the Liberian group make decisions other than Taylor? Nobody besides Taylor, nobody. He's the only boss 23
  - 26 True?

24

12:41:14 25

27 A. I would say yes. This is a military organisation. There's

we had and the only man we know to be the head of the

28 one commander. That's it, yes.

group. "

29 Q. "A. Yes, we moved into Burkina Faso.

| 2                                              |                                                               | 30, 40 and 50. There was no particular sequence when                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                |
|------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 3                                              |                                                               | everybody go. When there were more seats on the plane then                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                          |
| 4                                              |                                                               | you go. "                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           |
| 5                                              |                                                               | And then he goes on to deal when he arrived:                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        |
| 6                                              |                                                               | "Q. Did Taylor tell you what you were going to do in                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                |
| 7                                              |                                                               | Burki na Faso?                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      |
| 8                                              |                                                               | A. Yes, that what we knew at the time was that it was time                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                          |
| 9                                              |                                                               | to go and attack in Liberia and we were only waiting for                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            |
| 10                                             |                                                               | time.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               |
| 11                                             |                                                               | Q. Did you take any of the arms with you?                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           |
| 12                                             |                                                               | A. No, we didn't come with arms. We didn't have arms when                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           |
| 13                                             |                                                               | we entered Burkina Faso from training, no."                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |
| 14                                             |                                                               | Is that true, Mr Taylor?                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            |
| 15 <i>F</i>                                    | Δ                                                             | That is true.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       |
|                                                | ٦.                                                            | mat 15 true.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        |
|                                                | 2.                                                            | "Q. Was there any discussion about how would you have arms                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                          |
|                                                |                                                               |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     |
| 16 (                                           |                                                               | "Q. Was there any discussion about how would you have arms                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                          |
| 16 (<br>17                                     |                                                               | "Q. Was there any discussion about how would you have arms if you were going to invade Liberia?                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     |
| 16 (<br>17<br>18                               |                                                               | <ul><li>"Q. Was there any discussion about how would you have arms if you were going to invade Liberia?</li><li>A. Yeah, there was discussion. The discussion was that</li></ul>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    |
| 16 (<br>17<br>18<br>19                         |                                                               | "Q. Was there any discussion about how would you have arms if you were going to invade Liberia?  A. Yeah, there was discussion. The discussion was that when it's time to enter Liberia the arm would be provided                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   |
| 16 (<br>17<br>18<br>19<br>20                   |                                                               | "Q. Was there any discussion about how would you have arms if you were going to invade Liberia?  A. Yeah, there was discussion. The discussion was that when it's time to enter Liberia the arm would be provided and we were just waiting for the time to come.                                                                                                                                                                                                    |
| 16 (17)<br>18<br>19<br>20<br>21                |                                                               | "Q. Was there any discussion about how would you have arms if you were going to invade Liberia?  A. Yeah, there was discussion. The discussion was that when it's time to enter Liberia the arm would be provided and we were just waiting for the time to come.  Q. Did anybody tell you who would be providing the arms?                                                                                                                                          |
| 16 0<br>17 18 19 20 21 22 23                   |                                                               | "Q. Was there any discussion about how would you have arms if you were going to invade Liberia?  A. Yeah, there was discussion. The discussion was that when it's time to enter Liberia the arm would be provided and we were just waiting for the time to come.  Q. Did anybody tell you who would be providing the arms?  A. It was the Libyans that were providing the arms."                                                                                    |
| 16 0<br>17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 4              | Ω.                                                            | "Q. Was there any discussion about how would you have arms if you were going to invade Liberia?  A. Yeah, there was discussion. The discussion was that when it's time to enter Liberia the arm would be provided and we were just waiting for the time to come.  Q. Did anybody tell you who would be providing the arms?  A. It was the Libyans that were providing the arms."  Was that the plan, Mr Taylor?                                                     |
| 16 0<br>17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 4 25 0         | Ω.                                                            | "Q. Was there any discussion about how would you have arms if you were going to invade Liberia?  A. Yeah, there was discussion. The discussion was that when it's time to enter Liberia the arm would be provided and we were just waiting for the time to come.  Q. Did anybody tell you who would be providing the arms?  A. It was the Libyans that were providing the arms."  Was that the plan, Mr Taylor?  That was the plan.                                 |
| 16 0<br>17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 4 25 0<br>26 4 | Ω.<br>A.<br>Q.                                                | "Q. Was there any discussion about how would you have arms if you were going to invade Liberia?  A. Yeah, there was discussion. The discussion was that when it's time to enter Liberia the arm would be provided and we were just waiting for the time to come.  Q. Did anybody tell you who would be providing the arms?  A. It was the Libyans that were providing the arms."  Was that the plan, Mr Taylor?  That was the plan.  Did the plan materialise?      |
| 16 0<br>17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 4 25 0<br>26 4 | Ω.<br>A.<br>Q.                                                | "Q. Was there any discussion about how would you have arms if you were going to invade Liberia?  A. Yeah, there was discussion. The discussion was that when it's time to enter Liberia the arm would be provided and we were just waiting for the time to come.  Q. Did anybody tell you who would be providing the arms?  A. It was the Libyans that were providing the arms."  Was that the plan, Mr Taylor?  That was the plan.  Did the plan materialise?  No. |
|                                                | 3<br>4<br>5<br>6<br>7<br>8<br>9<br>10<br>11<br>12<br>13<br>14 | 3<br>4<br>5<br>6<br>7<br>8<br>9<br>10<br>11<br>12<br>13                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             |

We were in sequence. Like the group we went about 50, 20,

29

Α.

1 He apologises because he'd made a mistake: 2 "When I was in Burkina I lived in the town and the men that we carried, they were a very large group of men, and they 3 were living in the military barracks, in a camp. 4 Was this the same or a different military camp than 12:43:13 5 you'd done physical training in earlier? No, when we went back for the second time we were in a 7 bigger camp. We were in a camp very far from Ouagadougou." 8 Is that true? Α. Yes. 12:43:29 10 How long did the others stay in the camp? 11 Q. 12 We were in Burkina for pretty close to a year and the 13 delay was getting too much. The men was getting out of 14 They were coming to town. They were moving to 12:43:45 15 places and we had to relocate them immediately to Cote d' I voi re. " 16 17 Is that true? 18 Α. That is true. 19 "A. We came back to our previous base - I mean previous 12:44:03 20 places where we were, like in Danane, like Bouyen. to come there because we speak the same dialect and we 21 22 were there by the borderline, by the waterway, and making sure that we stay there and don't cause noise. So we left 23 the men there waiting to penetrate Liberia." 24 12:44:24 25 Is that true? 26 That is true. Α. 27 So when they came back into Cote d'Ivoire they were located Q.

That is true. Let me just - I think it would be good for

close to the Liberian border, Mr Taylor, yes?

- 1 another time. The town that he's called, the records here show
- 2 Bouyen, and I disagree with how the record reflects it, but
- 3 that's the record. The town is called Bin-Houye. So the record
- 4 spells it as Bouyen, but the town that I sent him in and this
- 12:45:02 5 could be just for a future date it's called Bin-Houye. And
  - 6 that's on the map, we've seen it, it's called Bin-Houye. It's
  - 7 misspelled and pronounced, but that's the record, I can't change
  - 8 it. But my testimony is that they were sent to Bin-Houye.
  - 9 Q. Now, Mr Taylor --
- 12:45:17 10 JUDGE SEBUTINDE: Could you spell that for us, please.
  - THE WITNESS: Bin-Houye. Oh, your Honour, I'm sorry, your
  - 12 Honour, we have to look on I think it's B-E-H-N-W-E-Y, but we
  - 13 can just look on the Ivorian map. It's Bin-Houye for the correct
  - 14 spelling. But I think the record here is wrong, but it's
- 12:45:44 15 Bi n-Houye.
  - 16 MR GRIFFITHS:
  - 17 Q. And I note, Mr Taylor, that Moses Blah said:
  - 18 "We had come there because we speak the same dialect and we
  - 19 were there by the borderline."
- 12:46:00 20 A. That is correct. That's the Bin-Houye, Zongway, these
  - 21 are all Gio like we talked about before across the border
  - 22 there are Gios that speak the same language, they are families
  - 23 so. We put them close to the border where they would just  $\min x$
  - 24 with the local population. So it's Bin-Houye. If you look at
- 12:46:35 25 that from the Liberian side it's not too far from Gbutuo, we
  - 26 entered. I've gone through that before on the map. Not too far
  - 27 from Gbutuo near the border.
  - 28 Q. I was hoping not to delay, but I think maybe it might be an
  - 29 idea if we have a look at a map and see if we can find it.

- 1 A. Sure. Okay.
- 2 MR GRIFFITHS: Could I ask, please, if we look at there
- 3 is a coloured map of Liberia which looks like that.
- 4 JUDGE DOHERTY: Is that a Prosecution map or a Defence map?
- 12:47:47 5 MR GRIFFITHS: It's a Prosecution map, L1 in the left-hand
  - 6 corner. That's the one. Could you put it up on the screen,
  - 7 pl ease:
  - 8 Q. Now, Mr Taylor, just momentarily could you just change
  - 9 seats for a minute, please. In the blue coloured zone in the
- 12:48:18 10 middle of that map, yes, do you see Gbutuo?
  - 11 A. Yes, here is Gbutuo. Here is Bin-Houye right here.
  - 12 Q. And it's spelled B-I-N hyphen H-O-U-Y-E.
  - 13 A. Yeah, it's Bin-Houye.
  - 14 Q. That's where you're talking about?
- 12:48:44 15 A. Yeah, that's Bin-Houye. That's where they were posted and
  - 16 that's right across from Gbutuo, where we finally attacked, they
  - 17 are all posted. It's a Gio town in la Cote d'Ivoire.
  - 18 Q. Thank you. Now we've got our bearings. If we could put
  - 19 that away, please.
- 12:49:19 20 And then he is asked this:
  - "Q. Did you go there with the men?
  - 22 A. No, I didn't go. I was at the back with special
  - 23 instructions.
  - Q. What special instruction did you have?
- 12:49:33 25 A. The instruction I received from Mr Taylor at the time
  - 26 was to stay at the back and go back to Libya. You stay in
  - the Mataba Camp, when there is any attack the Libyans will
  - give the weapons and you have to transport them to our
  - 29 Location where we are fighting. That was the instruction."

- 1 Is that true?
- 2 A. No. Not really, no. Moses was not well and we he was
- 3 instructed actually to stay in Ouagadougou and that he would be
- 4 able to provide any information as to what was going on. But not
- 12:50:19 5 to go back to Li bya, no.
  - 6 Q. "Well, I did not go immediately. The whole thing was
  - 7 delayed and Libya was delaying until 1989, December, Christmas
  - 8 Eve. There was news from the Libyan that came to me I didn't
  - 9 know. The Libyan came and said, 'Look, you're sitting here, your
- 12:50:40 10 chief has attacked the country and he has entered the country
  - 11 with shotguns, with cutlasses and with knives and we're not
  - 12 informed and this is a very dangerous issues. But anyway we have
  - 13 to talk to Blaise Compaore. He will give you what he has and
  - 14 later then when we are prepared then we have to pack you off to
- 12:51:00 15 go.' That's what they did and they gave Blaise the instruction
  - 16 to give what he has."
  - 17 Is that true, Mr Taylor?
  - 18 A. Some part of that is true; the other part it is true that
  - 19 we attacked with shotguns with hunting guns. We had nothing.
- 12:51:17 20 We were about to lose everything. We could not get the material.
  - 21 Remember, at one point I had gone to my friend Joseph Momoh in
  - 22 Sierra Leone. I had had this unfortunate situation of being
  - 23 arrested by Bambi Kamara. Momoh had come, released me, so the
  - 24 Sierra Leonean side was out. The boys were you know, were just
- 12:51:45 25 breaking up, and people were just about to begin to find their
  - 26 own way. And we had a very brave commander, Prince Johnson, and
  - others said: Well, listen, chief, we are trained as Special
  - 28 Forces and there are garrisons across the border in Liberia. We
  - 29 will go and get the weapons that they have and we will begin to

- 1 fight, so all we need is some shotguns to begin the process. And
- 2 quite frankly, this is when I explained before we made the plan
- 3 of how to take the weapons from the Armed Forces of Liberia and
- 4 fight and defeat them. So that was the plan. So we get the
- 12:52:31 5 shotguns and they go in. So to the extent that he explains that
  - 6 they hear it, that's true. As to what he claims that the Libyans
  - 7 said or didn't say to him, he never explained that part to me, so
  - 8 I'm not in a position to say whether they did. But I heard that
  - 9 in court. He had never, over the years, explained that part to
- 12:52:54 **10** me.
  - 11 Q. But there's a detail in that I seek your assistance with,
  - 12 Mr Taylor. Was Blah in Libya at the time of the Christmas Eve
  - 13 i nvasi on?
  - 14 A. No, he was in Burkina Faso.
- 12:53:07 15 Q. He claims he was in Libya at the time?
  - 16 A. No, he was in Burkina Faso.
  - 17 Q. Because he is asked specifically:
  - 18 "Q. You were in Libya when the Libyans had this
  - 19 conversation with you?
- 12:53:16 20 A. Yes, yes."
  - 21 A. No, he's in Burkina Faso. To the best of my knowledge,
  - 22 he's in Burkina Faso, because I had at the border myself. I am
  - 23 at the border, and I leave him in Burkina Faso for any
  - 24 eventuality, not in Libya.
- 12:53:33 25 Q. "And at the time that they spoke to you about the fact
  - that there had been this attack by Taylor's forces into
  - 27 Liberia, did you know anything about that attack?
  - 28 A. No, I didn't know.
  - 29 O. And what you said they expressed, I wasn't sure I

understood exactly what they - were the Li byans happy or 2 unhappy about this? The Li byans wasn't happy because they had told me to 3 wait and I was getting instructions from them whenever they 4 would be prepared for me to go. But they stopped there 12:53:59 5 unaware, according to them, that they were not informed 6 7 when Mr Taylor declared an attack on Liberia." 8 Now, Mr Taylor, did you inform the Libyans before you attacked? No. I didn't. 12:54:14 10 Α. Why not? 11 Q. 12 There was no need to. The Li byans - we had gone through 13 We had gone into training, we had trained and just as Moses 14 explained, which is right, we had been in Burkina Faso for almost 12:54:31 **15** a year. Every possible detail that we had planned on how to receive material did not work, so the Libyans were not able to 16 17 give us any weapons and did not give us any weapons. I said that decision to attack came on the ground in Bin-Houye in Ia Cote 18 19 d'Ivoire. I'm present there. Moses is behind because he was not 12:54:54 20 going to fight anyway. And after sitting with the men and 21 discussing they said: Well listen, we've gone through this all 22 the years. You've spent all this time training us, so you have to give us an opportunity. We will go in with Special Forces and 23 24 that's our training. We will find the weapons, we will take it 12:55:13 25 from them, and we will defeat them. So all we need now is the 26 capacity to cause the type of noise and immediate damage. 27 we take the first garrison - because there was a garrison at 28 Gbutuo - and once we get that garrison we'll begin to move actually. 29

Q.

Now

2 he goes on - he is asked this: 3 Did they tell you" - "they" being the Libyans - "any 4 reason why they hadn't given you the go ahead or what they said they would have given you? 12:55:45 5 They said well, they were doing it A. Yes, they told me. 7 tactically because the Americans had sanctions on them and 8 they didn't want to rush with such an operation. to do it their own way. But then they were delaying close to a year after training and that when NPFL took the 12:56:07 10 decision anyway." 11 12 Now, Mr Taylor, did you have any conversation with Gaddafi 13 where he explained, as Mr Blah puts it, those tactical reasons 14 for the delay? 12:56:21 15 Α. No, no, no, no. If Joseph Momoh had not baulked the first time and his absence from Sierra Leone with the fiasco with Bambi 16 17 Kamara, the weapons, to the best I can see, would have probably gone to Sierra Leone. I don't think the Libyans - we never had 18 19 any such conversation where they were concerned. They had 12:56:49 20 trained with the Liberians over there. The Americans knew that 21 there were several training camps at Tajura. The Americans 22 bombed Libya while we were there, so there was nothing - there was nothing that was awkward to Libya or our knowledge of the 23 24 whole - in fact, Blah was in Libya when the Americans bombed 12:57:12 25 Libya, including Gaddafi's house and all of that. So that was 26 not the concern. At least, I did not hold such discussions, no. 27 Q. "Q. Did you have occasion to talk to Taylor about your 28 conversation with the Libyans? Yes, when I returned - when I returned to Ouagadougou 29 Α.

Fine, Mr Taylor. We understand that. Let's move on.

|          |    | g g                                                              |
|----------|----|------------------------------------------------------------------|
|          | 2  | had gone further regarding what Libya promised to give.          |
|          | 3  | Libyans had promised to give, through Blaise Compaore, some      |
|          | 4  | weapons that could help us go in further while they are          |
| 12:57:42 | 5  | finding ways tactically to send what they have. But when I       |
|          | 6  | returned to Ouagadougou he has gone ahead and I have to          |
|          | 7  | follow. I told him exactly we have gone to Cote d'Ivoire         |
|          | 8  | and that I have to follow to brief him exactly what the          |
|          | 9  | authority in Ouagadougou was saying.                             |
| 12:58:06 | 10 | Q. When you were still in Tripoli, did you have any              |
|          | 11 | contact with Taylor after this conversation that the             |
|          | 12 | Li byans had with you?                                           |
|          | 13 | A. No. There was no contact between us at that time.             |
|          | 14 | What he told me was whenever the Libyans are ready and           |
| 12:58:17 | 15 | prepared to send what they promise, I should find a way to       |
|          | 16 | contact him to know what exactly - when the things would be      |
|          | 17 | arriving at this location."                                      |
|          | 18 | Is that true, Mr Taylor?                                         |
|          | 19 | A. Okay, I think he said at his location. That's referring to    |
| 12:58:32 | 20 | Ouagadougou. That's what I'm saying: He was stationed there;     |
|          | 21 | and (a), if there were any progress. I don't know why he extends |
|          | 22 | it to Libya, but he was stationed in Ouagadougou on my orders. I |
|          | 23 | said, "You remain in Ouagadougou. If there is anything, will you |
|          | 24 | inform me." Now, that's what - so "arrive at his location", he   |
| 12:58:49 | 25 | means at Ouagadougou. That's fairly straight, yeah.              |
|          | 26 | Q. And then let's skip a bit.                                    |
|          | 27 | "Q. Did you receive any other assignment from Taylor at          |
|          | 28 | this time?                                                       |
|          | 29 | A. When the war started to fight and we have gone deep           |
|          |    |                                                                  |

to see him. He had left Ouagadougou when I returned. He

ı 2 became the inspector general of the NPFL." Is that true? 3 4 A. Yes. And then he is asked: 12:59:11 5 0. ... when you were in Burkina Faso. Did he give you an 6 7 assignment at that time? No, in Burkina Faso there was no other assignment. 8 was still the adjutant general. Where did you go after you were in Burkina Faso? Q. 12:59:28 10 I was in Burkina Faso, I came further inland to 11 Α. 12 It is in Abidjan that I was instructed to come 13 back to Abidjan for further consignment. 14 Q. Who instructed you for this task? 12:59:43 15 Α. Mr Taylor. 16 Q. A consignment. What was the consignment? 17 The consignment of arms and ammunition in Abidjan. Α. was already in position where the gendarmerie of Cote 18 19 d'Ivoire was overseeing and I went directly to the minister 13:00:01 20 of defence at the time, one Cona Coffi, during 21 Houphouet-Boigny administration. He was called Cona 22 Coffi." 23 Now, what he's describing there, Mr Taylor, is a 24 consignment of arms in Abidjan under the direct control of the 13:00:19 25 Ivorian Ministry of Defence. Is that true? 26 Totally false. But does he ever bring those material? The 27 government of la Cote d'Ivoire under the late President 28 Houphouet-Boigny never ever provided, not even a pistol or a 29 round of ammunition throughout the war. That is not true.

into the war, that's when I was from being adjutant general

2 unfortunate lie, but - well, if he received such material, what happened to it? 3 4 Q. Well, let's go on because he goes on: "Q. This consignment that you were to take care of, did 13:01:04 5 you discuss this with the Ivorian Defence Minister? Upon our return to him with a message I told him 7 I've gone there for so, so, so, and then he said, 'Okay, 8 which is good, but the problem we are having is that we do not have money and we would not like the military trucks to 13:01:23 10 take these things. It would expose the country to danger. 11 12 So we have to find trucks, civilian trucks, from outside and then we can transport it in troops for civilian trucks 13 14 and that's the only way you can take this thing from here. 13:01:43 15 If you have money to pay for the trucks, they would be ready at any time you are ready', and I was there and 16 17 calling back to headquarters to him to make sure that the money comes through so these things can be transported." 18 19 Now, Mr Taylor, he's quite clear there about this 13:02:06 20 conversation with the Ivorian Defence Minister about arms. I never authorised and neither do I know of any 21 22 conversation that Moses Blah had with the Ivorian authorities because President Houphouet-Boigny never - neither did the 23 24 Defence Minister ever give any arms and ammunition. Blah tried to go there to talk to somebody, I'm not aware, and I 13:02:29 25 26 don't think he did because how would the government of la Cote 27 d'Ivoire have arms and ammunition to give to me that they would 28 not get to me right in another section of the country? Who is there to stop them? There's nobody there to stop them. 29 Moses -

Totally untrue. That's another - where he slips into an

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13:04:30 25

2 don't know what's the purpose that the Prosecutor is having him 3 go down this way. 4 There is not one arm transported. This is not going across two countries. La Cote d'Ivoire wants to give Charles Taylor 13:03:02 5 We are right in the Danane region. There are military 6 7 bases all in la Cote d'Ivoire including Danane. Is it a He's totally off the 8 difficult problem? No. That's not true. wall on this one. Well, let's examine that a little further, Mr Taylor. 13:03:23 10 it the case that these arms weren't arms being given to you by 11 the government of Cote d'Ivoire, but it was a consignment which 12 13 had come from Burkina Faso? 14 Α. But he would say that if that was the case. No. No. 13:03:50 15 0. Now, it continues, line 24: I was in Abidjan and I was called upon by him on one 16 occasion. I had to elaborate further. I was in Abidjan 17 when one Prince Barclay was sent to find out why I was 18 19 delaying in bringing the weapons we have. I told Prince 13:04:12 20 that the delay came from funds. We do not have funds to charter trucks - civilian trucks - to transfer these things 21 to the trucks and so that's the difficulty I'm having. 22 23 Then he went back to where we were in Liberia at the

like I say, he goes good, good, then he slips into - I

to Gborplay, and as soon as I entered Gborplay I was

border, to the chief. I was just then taking the weapons

and trying to transfer them to a man called Prince Johnson

at the time, who was in our group and who had broken away,

called me. He didn't talk until he ordered me back to come

and I got to know this when I returned to the camp. He

- 1 arrested and I was put into jail."
- Now, Prince Barclay, Mr Taylor, who is he?
- 3 A. He's late now. I know Prince Barclay. He was Prince
- 4 Barclay was the contact man that we had in Freetown with Momoh,
- 13:05:06 5 President Momoh. He is part Sierra Leonean and part Liberian.
  - 6 Q. Did you send him to Abidjan to meet with Moses Blah?
  - 7 A. No, I did not. In fact, Prince Barclay was on his he
  - 8 spent some time at the base. He is mostly Liberia, but he spent
  - 9 some time he was one of the Special Forces. His name is on
- 13:05:28 10 that list.
  - 11 Q. Was Moses Blah arrested in Gborplay?
  - 12 A. I don't recall. If Prince Johnson had arrested Moses Blah,
  - 13 he was not going to get away. Quite frankly, I don't --
  - 14 Q. No, no, no, no, that's not what is being suggested. It's
- 13:05:51 15 being suggested that there was a suggestion that he was going
  - 16 to deliver this consignment of arms to Prince Johnson, who had
  - 17 broken away, and that was the reason for his arrest. That's
  - 18 what's being suggested.
  - 19 A. Yeah, but he was arrested. He said he was arrested in
- 13:06:04 20 Gborplay. But Gborplay is my base. And to the best of my
  - 21 recollection, Prince I mean, this man was not arrested. He was
  - 22 not Moses was not arrested in Gborplay for any reason that I
  - 23 know of.
  - Q. Well, he does say, Mr Taylor, and this is page 9823:
- 13:06:26 25 "A. We was called directly from Mr Taylor that I should go
  - to Gborplay. He got a message. I didn't know until I
  - 27 arrived in Gborplay that when I knew I was delaying because
  - I was transferring the weapons I should have brought to
  - 29 Gborplay to Prince Johnson, I didn't even know Prince

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2 at Cote d'Ivoire. Q. What happened when you got to Gborplay? 3 4 Α. When I entered Gborplay I was arrested immediately. 13:07:00 5 0. Who arrested you? It was Mr Taylor who arrested you [sic]." 6 Α. 7 Now, Mr Taylor, is that --I don't recall arresting Moses, no. No. Because that's -8 Α. I get in Gborplay round about April 1990. No, I don't recall Moses being arrested by me in Gborplay. No, I don't recall that, 13:07:20 10 and that's something I would be able to recall. If I arrested 11 12 Moses Blah in Gborplay I would say one of my soldiers - why would 13 arresting one of my soldiers be in contention? No, he was a 14 soldier. And I - no - I really do not recall arresting Moses in 13:07:45 **15** Gborplay, no. It could have slipped me, but that would very rarely - no, I don't remember that. 16 17 Moses Blah was very, very close to me. Why would I arrest Moses? In fact, Moses was with me, I can remember, he doesn't 18 19 touch it here, on a trip that I was on my way coming from 13:08:14 20 Ouagadougou somewhere later in - I think it could have been 21 April/May. I had a terrible accident, broke three of my ribs. 22 Moses was always with me, and he was close to me because I look at him like almost like family. No, I never - no, I didn't 23 24 arrest Moses. 13:08:34 25 Well, he goes into even more detail about this arrest, 26 Mr Taylor, because he mentioned that - he's asked this question: 27 "Q. And what units were involved in arresting you? 28 There was a lot of security units that were putting in

Johnson had broken away from us at the time because I was

place at the time. There were other units, MP units were

1 there, then we have a group of people called Small Boy Unit 2 and they were all there. A lot of people was there. A lot of security people was there. 3 And what role did the Small Boy Units play with you? 4 They were just unreasonable people. Unlike the MPs 13:09:16 5 that could reason with me and they could give me water to drink, but with the Small Boy Unit they were small in group 7 but they were very aggressive indeed and they didn't know 8 me and they didn't even know who they were talking to. they didn't even know I was part of the National Patriotic 13:09:32 10 Front. 11 12 And what was their responsibility as to you? He was there and they come to the prison where I was 13 Α. 14 and where they had other people too. They arrested people 13:09:46 15 from the front line and they were in the same prison with They would say, 'Oh, we'll kill this man. This is the 16 man who was sending our arms to Prince Johnson. 17 execute him tonight. We will do that to him', and they 18 19 went on and they went on. I keep saying I even regret ever 13:10:05 20 being a member of NPFL at that moment, I was a little bit afrai d. " 21 22 Now, Mr Taylor, he's being quite explicit there. prison being abused by these Small Boy Units and you caused him 23 24 to be arrested. 13:10:21 25 Α. Moses is lying there. Come on. Just as Moses says he 26 didn't know he would become President. Look, Moses Blah is a 27 He's adjutant of that unit. At Gborplay are Special Forces. 28 Special Forces. The commander of the unit is Special Forces. Everybody there. In fact, at Moses's level at that time, if 29

- 1 Moses had been arrested, he would have been arrested by Special
- 2 Forces.
- 3 I do not know why Stephen Rapp decided to bring in this
- 4 nuance to talk about Small Boys, because what are we talking
- 13:10:55 5 about here? We're talking about I enter Liberia about April
  - 6 1990, or thereabouts, where we just I just get to enter the
  - 7 country. So what Moses is talking about is impossible that I
  - 8 would not remember. And I'm sure it did not this is another
  - 9 nuance of Moses going off, for what reason the Prosecution wants,
- 13:11:16 10 | I don't know.
  - 11 Look, your Honours, it's simple. Moses Blah is a soldier.
  - 12 If I had arrested Moses Blah in Gborplay, he's one of my
  - 13 soldiers, I would say I arrested him. Look, every soldier in the
  - 14 world, and the Prosecution knows, they have former military
- 13:11:34 15 people with them, there are two things that must that soldiers
  - 16 you must have for soldiers. You must have a jail and you must
  - 17 have Military Police. Now, if one of my soldiers had misbehaved
  - 18 or whatever I had arrested Moses I would say I arrested him. I
  - 19 wouldn't lie about it.
- 13:11:50 20 I think Moses goes off on a tangent here where if Moses was
  - 21 arrested as a Special Forces commando at that time, he would have
  - 22 been arrested by Special Forces and he would have been and for
  - 23 a reason. But this nonsense he is talking --
  - 24 Q. Well, the reason is quite straight forward. He was trying
- 13:12:09 25 to send the arms consignment in Cote d'Ivoire to Prince Johnson.
  - 26 A. Impossible. I never nobody ever accused Moses of that.
  - 27 Moses and Prince Johnson could not walk from here a stitch. So
  - 28 Moses and Prince Johnson, never. I mean, I would not be that low
  - 29 to even state that Moses would collaborate in some way with

- 1 Prince Johnson, no. That would be foolish to think that. He
- 2 would not. That's not his style. And even I'm not going to lie
- 3 on the man to say that he was doing that. He was never doing
- 4 that. As far as I know, he was never suspected of doing that.
- 13:12:44 5 So this matter of this arrest, I do not really recall Moses Blah
  - 6 at that time being arrested, no, not at all. No, I don't.
  - 7 Q. Now, Mr Taylor, at this point in his testimony the topic of
  - 8 child soldiers, SBUs, having been introduced, Mr Rapp, who was
  - 9 conducting his examination, made a detour to examine this topic,
- 13:13:16 10 and I'm looking at page 9825 and there are two passages in
  - 11 particular on this page I want to draw your attention to. Is it
  - on the screen, Mr Taylor?
  - 13 A. Yes.
- 14 Q. "Q. Did you find out from anyone why there were Small Boy
- 13:13:30 15 Uni ts?
  - 16 A. No, I didn't. I considered them to be other soldiers.
  - 17 There were other people in different units fighting much
  - smaller than the Small Boy Unit. Everybody had a Small Boy
  - 19 Unit with them. You had little boys who were dragging your
- 13:13:49 20 weapons behind you and they would say, 'Oh, they're my
  - 21 Small Boy Unit'. It was a common name to everybody."
  - 22 What do you understand by that?
  - 23 A. Well, I don't know what Moses is trying to explain here,
  - 24 but my knowledge of this thing and I think I have explained to
- 13:14:15 25 the Court. There were these people men in the NPFL that had
  - their family members during the war that they move along with,
  - your younger brother or your cousin, and when you ask them they
  - 28 will say, "This is my family member with me." But like I said
  - 29 before, there was no organised training and fighting force called

29

2 you know, he's fighting here to tell the truth of the matter. 3 Yes, there are young men with their brothers and their 4 cousins and different things. But that's what he means when he Oh, there are people having - like he said, you had little 13:14:51 5 boys who were dragging your weapons behind you and they say: 6 7 they were my Small Boy Unit. It was common name. This is what he's talking about with them, with your family and different 8 things. This is what I'm aware of. But these were not fighting They were going into battle; they don't want to leave their 13:15:12 10 little brother at home; they will be with their brothers because 11 12 of the war. But to say an organised training and equipping of 13 small boys I'm saying didn't happen. This is what he means by 14 that "them" - that would be with them and other people. 13:15:35 15 Q. On the same topic let's jump to line 24 on the same page: 16 "Q. How were they recruited? 17 Well, some voluntarily would come in and some people would come along with their brothers and they would say, 18 19 'Well, this is my brother. I want him to join a unit.' 13:15:54 20 And some were captured in places that we captured and the younger ones would be running around and don't know where 21 22 to go. We have to - the NPFL forces would take them in and would say, 'Look, you come. I will care of you.' And they 23 24 began to build a from there." 13:16:16 25 What do you say about that, Mr Taylor? 26 No, that's not - Moses struggles here to get what Rapp Α. 27 wants him to say. I think Moses has really gotten to the crux of 28 this earlier, when he says there are young men that are with

Small Boy. I guess, you know, as I'm seeing Moses, he wants to -

people that are related to them that, you know - that stay with

- 1 them. I mean, this is how and in fact, it worked. Now, I
- 2 guess in trying to squeeze him to say you've got to say that
- 3 these people were trained, I guess he fights along this
- 4 particular line. But I will tell you there were young men that
- 13:16:51 5 went that were with their brothers and cousins and different
  - 6 things, just as I have explained. This leader of the NPFL at the
  - 7 time never permitted any organised training of SBU.
  - 8 Q. Well, let me break it into two then, Mr Taylor. The first
  - 9 proposition being made by Mr Blah here is that some people would
- 13:17:12 10 come along with their brothers. Do you agree with that?
  - 11 A. Yes, people came with their brothers, yeah.
  - 12 Q. Do you also agree with the second proposition, that when
  - 13 NPFL forces captured any particular location, where there were
  - 14 children running around who had nowhere to go, would they be
- 13:17:32 15 taken in or taken along with the NPFL combatants?
  - 16 A. No. We had orphanages that we had opened in NPFL area for
  - 17 young people, and some of those people that ran those orphanages
  - 18 I'm sure in time will be able to talk about them.
  - 19 Q. Very well. Now, he goes on to say, Mr Taylor, on the next
- 13:17:56 20 page and I want to go as swiftly as I can over this passage to
  - 21 finish with this allegation of arrest he says at line 5 and 6
  - 22 that he was arrested by Benjamin Yeaten, okay? And he then says,
  - 23 picking it up at line 9:
  - "Q. Did you see the chief on the next day?
- 13:18:27 25 A. I didn't see the chief until his return from Abidjan.
  - He had gone to Abidjan after me to make sure of this
  - information he got from Prince Johnson. But when he got
  - there the Coffi Cona, the Defence Minister, tried to say,
  - 29 'Where is Moses Blah who you assigned here earlier?' He

|          | 1  | went on to explain that this man that have been detained         |
|----------|----|------------------------------------------------------------------|
|          | 2  | because whatsoever he has sent me for, I was trying to have      |
|          | 3  | them transferred to Prince Johnson. And the man said, 'No,       |
|          | 4  | this is not the case. Moses Blah came here. He didn't            |
| 13:18:57 | 5  | have shoes to wear. I have to buy clothes for him                |
|          | 6  | personally.' He fed me with food. Well, this man that I          |
|          | 7  | heard from politicians that have come to say all sorts of        |
|          | 8  | things about you. Mr Taylor is a good man."                      |
|          | 9  | And so he says that you then returned to Gborplay                |
| 13:19:17 | 10 | immediately, brought him bread and sardines. Over the page,      |
|          | 11 | quickly, line 13: He'd been in detention for about eight days,   |
|          | 12 | you released him and, in effect, exonerated him.                 |
|          | 13 | Now, Mr Taylor, this is a fairly detailed account of his         |
|          | 14 | arrest. Are you still maintaining this didn't happen?            |
| 13:19:53 | 15 | A. I've already said it. It never happened. Here is a man        |
|          | 16 | who said he enters Liberia and he's arrested by groups, he says  |
|          | 17 | Small Boys Unit and different things. He doesn't remember if     |
|          | 18 | Benjamin Yeaten arrested him until later on. He now remembers    |
|          | 19 | that Benjamin Yeaten arrested him? First he says he's arrested   |
| 13:20:10 | 20 | by groups of people that don't even know him. That's what he     |
|          | 21 | said earlier in the text, that these people do not even know who |
|          | 22 | they were talking to or dealing with. But Benjamin Yeaten is a   |
|          | 23 | Special Force, they all trained together. So now he comes later  |
|          | 24 | on and says he is arrested by Benjamin Yeaten. So which part of  |
| 13:20:27 | 25 | this arrest are we supposed to believe: That he was arrested by  |
|          | 26 | groups that did not know him, or he's arrested by Benjamin       |
|          | 27 | Yeaten? What are we supposed to believe? You know, wherever      |
|          | 28 | Moses has told the truth here I will tell this Court he has told |
|          | 29 | the truth. This is a Prosecution witness. But he slips into      |
|          |    |                                                                  |

1 pathetic lies unnecessarily, and I don't know the objective of 2 some of these pathetic lies that he slips into, okay? Benjamin Yeaten arrests you. When the Prosecutor asks you, you have said: 3 4 Well, when I returned because of the weapons delay, Benjamin Yeaten arrested me. You say you are arrested by different 13:20:59 5 groups, and some of them are SBU, and you don't know them and 6 7 Now you say Benjamin Yeaten does. Total they don't know you. Moses Blah, my soldier, was never ordered arrested by 8 nonsense. me and he was not arrested at all. Why he goes into this I don't 13:21:17 10 know, but Moses is not arrested. Moses is close to me. He is He is kept in the rear to do a lot of little things 11 worki ng. 12 because he's sick and he cannot fight. I leave him in Burkina 13 Faso to do things. He is present with my accident. In fact, 14 he's in Burkina Faso after I'm taken back to the hospital in 13:21:36 15 Ouagadougou. He's close to me. We are like family. I'm married to his first cousin. There is none of this nonsense that Moses -16 17 the only time Moses Blah falls afoul of me is when the covert plan for regime change against me in 2003 did not work and when 18 19 the generals decided - after he asked them to stage a coup and 13:21:59 20 they failed was when he was arrested. Other than that, at no 21 time was Moses - Moses had the best of everything in the NPFL. 22 No, he lied here. Now, following his release, Mr Taylor - and we find details 23 24 of that on page 9828, and for completeness, line 4: 13:22:23 25 Did you hear what you were being charged with? 26 A. Yes, other people told me that I was transferring their 27 equipment that belongs to NPFL to Prince Johnson. That's 28 when I know Prince Johnson had broken away from the NPFL." Then he goes on, line 13: 29

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2 weapons that I told you about, they were still in Abidjan. asked that I go back to Abidjan and bring whatsoever was there. 3 4 I said no, I would not go because it was so dangerous." But he then goes on to say, over the page, page 929, line 13:23:00 5 7: 6 7 "A. When I got to Abidjan and they called, the Defence Minister said, 'Well, the money has been paid and we've got 8 everything in the truck, and they're on their way already to your location.' 13:23:21 10 And do you know what happened with the weapons? 11 12 The weapons were crossed over to Liberia. The truck 13 entered and I went back to Gborplay and saw the weapons. 14 Q. How many trucks were involved? 13:23:38 15 Α. It was three trucks. Three or four trucks. What kind of weapons were they? 16 Q. 17 Kalashni kovs, AK-47, BZT rounds." Α. And he goes on to describe the other weapons that were in 18 19 these trucks. Last line: 13:24:03 20 "O. Do you know where those weapons came from originally? No, I didn't check on that." 21 22 So again, Mr Taylor, he's quite clear. 23 Α. He's not --24 You receive a consignment of arms, three or four 13:24:20 25 truckloads, from Abidjan in Cote d'Ivoire? Let's - no, he's not clear at all. 26 No. Look, let's 27 go through the facts. Moses Blah claims that he is released and 28 he is ordered to go back to Abidjan for the weapons, and what

"When I got freed, I was asked to go back to Abidjan.

does he do? He refuses. He tells me no. Moses Blah could not

2 or anybody else, that I would order a soldier and a soldier will 3 look at me and tell me no. No amount of liquor would have caused 4 him to do that. He is lying. He knows he is lying wherever he is even now listening. It would never happen to me. He knows 13:25:09 5 He or no other person, number 1. 6 7 But mind, you see how the nuance goes. But the weapons finally comes in and he knows nothing about it until it finally 8 9 comes in. He's supposed to now all of a sudden, after telling me no, he's not going any place, finally he gets some place and the 13:25:26 10 people say, "Well, you're late. The weapons are on their way," 11 12 and he finds them in - a blatant lie. Listen, the Ivorian 13 government - I'm telling you, if Ivory Coast had given me 14 weapons, I would say so. The Ivorian government never during the 13:25:45 15 civil war in Liberia gave me not one round of ammunition - ever. Houphouet-Boigny did not. Nobody in la Cote d'Ivoire did 16 17 anything. The only time we got some material into Liberia, I am telling you, after I entered Liberia and went back to Burkina 18 19 Faso we received some material in the initial stages that came 13:26:10 20 from Burkina Faso all the way across la Cote d'Ivoire. 21 Blah is lying very much and pathetically. And I don't know why, 22 because he's been doing so well. He's lying. La Cote d'Ivoire 23 never, ever, ever gave me any material. Houphouet-Boigny made it 24 very, very, very clear. I never discussed that with 13:26:37 **25** Houphouet-Boigny. The only thing that Houphouet-Boigny did 26 during that particular time was Houphouet-Boigny said that he 27 wanted nothing to do with the war in Liberia, Liberians coming 28 and going. If they did not enter Ia Cote d'Ivoire with arms they 29 could move up and down. Even passing those weapons from Burkina

have had any amount of Whiskey to do that nonsense to me, or he

- 1 Faso through Ia Cote d'Ivoire was done very, very secretly. We
- 2 used we had to bribe a Gio fellow in the gendarme to try to get
- 3 those things through. In fact, I was hunted in the initial
- 4 stages of this war to be arrested by the Ivorian government.
- 13:27:26 5 Moses Blah is lying. He will tell me he's not going any place?
  - 6 Q. Mr Taylor, let's pose the question differently. During the
  - 7 course of the Liberian civil war, did you ever receive arms from
  - 8 Burkina Faso which came into Liberia via la Cote d'Ivoire?
  - 9 A. Yes, I did. Yes.
- 13:27:48 10 Q. At what stage did such arms shipments begin arriving in
  - 11 Liberia via that route?
  - 12 A. I would say some it started around April/May of 1990. We
  - 13 had at least one, two very, very small amounts during the initial
  - 14 stages, and then it stopped because we had sufficient on the
- 13:28:21 15 ground. But the initial stages, yeah, very small amounts.
  - 16 Q. Very small amounts?
  - 17 A. That is correct.
  - 18 Q. And for how long was that route used?
  - 19 A. In terms of arms coming in, not not after 1990. All of
- 13:28:49 20 this I'm talking about occurred between April, I would say, and
  - 21 about October/November of 1990, yes.
  - 22 Q. I can use the remaining minute to deal with one matter.
  - There's an answer which was given by Moses Blah on page 9830
  - 24 which I would like to invite your comment on, line 10:
- 13:29:20 25 "Q. Did you know what Prince Johnson was doing?
  - A. Well, yeah. Prince Johnson broke away and he has his
  - own group Independent NPFL, and at that time other people
  - 28 were caught unaware. He was still carrying
  - 29 Charles Taylor's name and trying to recruit more men and

Q.

1 say, 'I'm still working with Charles Taylor. I'm fighting for Charles Taylor', and you wouldn't know until you get 2 into his truck and he would take you to a base when he 3 4 would brief you later and say, 'Look, I'm no more with Charles Taylor. I don't fight for countrymen, I'm going to 13:29:50 5 fight for myself and you've got to join me, ' and all of 6 7 that. That's how he got his group going." Do you agree with that? 8 Α. Yes, I do. MR GRIFFITHS: Would that be a convenient point? 13:30:14 10 PRESIDING JUDGE: Yes. We will take the lunch break now 11 12 and resume at 2.30. 13 [Lunch break taken at 1.30 p.m.] 14 [Upon resuming at 2.30 p.m.] PRESIDING JUDGE: Yes, Ms Hollis. 14:31:35 15 MS HOLLIS: Thank you, Mr President. I simply wish to note 16 17 for the record that as of 12 o'clock today the Prosecution was joined by Mohamed A Bangura. 18 19 PRESIDING JUDGE: Thank you, Ms Hollis. 14:31:48 20 MR GRIFFITHS: Mr President, can I note the departure of 21 Mr Terry Munyard from the Defence benches. 22 PRESIDING JUDGE: Yes. Thank you, Mr Griffiths. 23 MR GRIFFITHS: 24 Now, Mr Taylor, before the luncheon adjournment we had 14:32:02 25 looked at events up until the start of the revolution in Liberia 26 and Moses Blah's allegation about his arrest in relation to a 27 consignment of arms in Abidjan, yes? 28 Α. Yes.

Now, I want to take us forward now to deal with what

- 1 Mr Blah went on to say about his knowledge of events in Sierra
- 2 Leone and I am going to page 9857. He said this. He was asked
- 3 this question and we need to look at a couple lines in order to
- 4 put matters in context. Line 18:
- 14:32:48 5 "Q. In your role as inspector general, what geographical
  - 6 territory were you responsible for?
  - A. At that time in the NPFL we had taken 90 per cent of
  - 8 Liberia, so I had a very large area in which I was in
  - 9 control of."
- 14:33:07 10 And can I pause, Mr Taylor. What did his role as
  - 11 inspector general involve?
  - 12 A. Blah was responsible to go throughout the length and
  - 13 breadth of our controlled area to look specifically at any
  - 14 possible abuses, the overall comportmentation of the soldiers,
- 14:33:36 15 were they behaving properly, were there any complaints from
  - 16 civilians, were there any of our because we had published what
  - 17 they call an operational order, to see in fact if that order was
  - 18 being, you know, being carried out in full in line with the aims
  - 19 and objectives of the revolution. That the soldiers are not
- 14:34:01 20 harassing civilians, that is civilians carrying out their own
  - 21 activities. Schools were kept open. Making sure that there were
  - 22 no disruption to the normal way of life of Liberians by any NPFL
  - 23 soldier. And if there were any problems, he would report the
  - commander or the soldiers involved. This was his function.
- 14:34:24 25 Q. Now, help me, Mr Taylor. In the command structure of the
  - NPFL which obtained at about this time, we are looking at 1990
  - 27 now, how senior position was the role of inspector general?
  - 28 A. Inspector general was I would say most senior. And let me
  - 29 explain what I mean by most senior. The overall general

- 1 commanding the forces in Liberia, as he mentioned, was General
- 2 Isaac Musa. Musa could not order Moses Blah in line with his
- 3 duties. The post of inspector general was designed to keep an
- 4 eye and control the activities of soldiers themselves. So no
- 14:35:13 5 general could command him. That is one of those areas where the
  - 6 army people say assignment is greater than rank, although rank
  - 7 prevails. But his job was to look at and possibly investigate
  - 8 any wrongdoing on the part of any armed forces personnel from the
  - 9 chief of defence staff down. That's his function.
- 14:35:39 10 Q. Now, Mr Taylor, in that position then, tell me, what access
  - 11 would the inspector general have to the internal details and
  - 12 strategies of the NPFL?
  - 13 A. He would know. He would have oh, he would have knowledge
  - 14 of any in terms of policy, he would know. If there were any
- 14:36:11 15 major decisions being taken by the armed forces, he would know.
  - 16 He would know.
  - 17 Q. Major decisions like what?
  - 18 A. Let's say for example if the army had to stand down on a
  - 19 particular situation, he would know. If the army had to act
- 14:36:28 20 militarily in any specific situation, he would know. Because you
  - 21 have a situation where what if soldiers went and did something
  - 22 and he was not aware that they had orders to do it, he could say,
  - 23 "Well, why did you do this" and they would have to prove that
  - they had orders from either their commander or higher authority.
- 14:36:48 25 So he would definitely know major policies, major military
  - 26 operations in specific areas. So if any abuse occurred and
  - 27 mind you I think the Court needs to know, he was
  - 28 inspector general, but there were people that worked in that
  - 29 department. So he is not a one man show running all over the

1 There were people that work in the office of 2 inspector general that even though he may not be at a point but someone in the inspectorate there would be able to give reports 3 4 So while he may not physically be someplace, he could find out what a policy was, you know, and act on it. 14:37:26 5 Yes. Now he continues: 6 7 "Q. And how were you able to stay up to date with what was 8 happening across that area, that's the 90 per cent of Liberia controlled by the NPFL? I had very few field commanders who were reporting to 14:37:47 10 me directly of any happening - any illegal happenings in 11 12 their areas of control - and I was always on the field. I 13 was always on the field. I had a communication in my car and a communication in my house. 14 14:38:10 15 0 What was the form of this communication in your car? It was a long-range radio communication 16 Α. And what kind of communication did you have in your 17 Q. house? 18 19 The same kind of communication. Α. 14:38:27 20 And this kind of communication, was it the kind of communications where you would hear conversations between 21 22 other persons? 23 Yes. It was open. I can talk to anybody in the field 24 and if you are in the house and you are part of the 14:38:42 25 organisation, you will listen to me. You will hear what I 26 am talking about. It was not a secret. 27 Well, then, how did you prevent information that was 28 passed through that system from coming into the hands of

unfriendly forces?

29

- 1 A. We spoke in codes."
- Then he goes on to describe what some of the code were.
- 3 "We have other code names", he went on, line 27. Then
- 4 this:
- 14:39:12 5 "Q. In 1991, did you ever hear a code that you didn't
  - 6 understand?"
  - 7 And he answers:
  - 8 "A. Yes, in 1990" but that must be a mistake "I heard
  - 9 about a code name Kuwait. I didn't know what Kuwait was
- 14:39:32 10 until I came to Gbarnga and asked my radio operator what
  - 11 was Kuwait and he said Kuwait was Sierra Leone."
  - 12 Pausing there, Mr Taylor. That word "Kuwait", had you
  - 13 heard it?
  - 14 A. No. I had not heard the word "Kuwait", no.
- 14:39:57 15 Q. Were you aware in or about 1991 that Sierra Leone was being
  - 16 referred to as Kuwait?
  - 17 A. No, no.
  - 18 PRESIDING JUDGE: Yes, Ms Hollis.
  - 19 MS HOLLIS: Excuse me. Perhaps I don't have the right
- 14:40:32 20 transcript, but when Defence counsel was referring to this
  - 21 passage about Kuwait, he read and it's at my line 22 of page
  - 22 116 "And he answers, 'Yes, in 1990' but that must be a
  - 23 mistake." In my transcript I don't have the word "that must be a
  - 24 mistake". So I don't know if I have the wrong transcript or --
- 14:41:05 25 MR GRIFFITHS: I'll make it clear. I added those words for
  - 26 this reason: When one goes to the previous page, the question
  - 27 is, "In 1991, did you ever hear a code that you didn't
  - 28 understand?" The witness answers, "Yes, in 1990." What I'm
  - 29 saying is the reference in the answer of the witness to 1990 must

- 1 be a mistake in light of the question.
- 2 MS HOLLIS: Well, we would object to that. The witness has
- 3 said what he said. It's up to your Honours to determine if
- 4 that's a mistake.
- 14:41:39 5 PRESIDING JUDGE: What do you say to that, Mr Griffiths?
  - 6 MR GRIFFITHS: Well, unless my learned friend is suggesting
  - 7 that the invasion of Sierra Leone took place in 1990, when I
  - 8 think it is an agreed fact that it took place in March 1991, I
  - 9 really don't see what the objection is.
- 14:41:58 10 PRESIDING JUDGE: Well, I think you are stuck with the
  - 11 transcript though, aren't you?
  - 12 MR GRIFFITHS: Very well:
  - 13 Q. "Yes, in 1990 I heard about a code name Kuwait." In 1990,
  - 14 Mr Taylor, did you hear a code name Kuwait?
- 14:42:14 15 A. No.
  - 16 Q. In 1991, did you hear a code name Kuwait?
  - 17 A. No.
  - 18 Q. In 1992, did you hear a code name Kuwait?
  - 19 A. No.
- 14:42:24 20 Q. When was the first time that you heard the code name
  - 21 Kuwai t?
  - 22 A. Here in this courtroom.
  - 23 Q. Now, Mr Blah continues:
  - 24 "Q. And when you came to Gbarnga and found out it was
- 14:42:40 25 Sierra Leone, did you ask why Kuwait was being mentioned on
  - 26 the radio?
  - 27 A. Well, I wouldn't ask any question about that.
  - 28 Q. Well, did you learn anything about Kuwait?
  - 29 A. Yes, I learnt a lot about Kuwait.

Q.

1

Through friends, through soldiers, through my security, 2 Α. that they were people in Sierra Leone. That we had men in 3 4 Sierra Leone fighting. And you said men. What kind of men? 14:43:08 5 0. Α. Soldiers in Sierra Leone fighting. And what organisation were the soldiers affiliated 7 0. with? 8 Α. With the NPFL, fighting associated with the RUF. Did you find out how they got into Sierra Leone? Q. 14:43:21 10 No, I did not. 11 Α. 12 Q. Did you learn anything about the relative strength of 13 the Liberians that were there and the Sierra Leoneans that 14 were there? 14:43:44 15 At the initial stage there was a small group of Liberian group soldiers moving. There were little bit more 16 17 than the RUF." Now, Mr Taylor, the inference from what Mr Blah told this 18 19 Court is that he discovered about the invasion of Sierra Leone 14:44:10 20 after the event, because you note that answer at line 18: 21 Did you find out how they got into Sierra Leone? 22 No, I did not." Now, help me, Mr Taylor, you spent a little while moments 23 24 ago outlining the duties and responsibility of the 14:44:30 25 inspector general. How is it that your inspector general, a 26 witness called by the Prosecution, didn't know? 27 Well, you know, these are some of the issues in this 28 particular case. How is it, your Honours, that the 29 inspector general, who is in the field moving up and down and

And what did you learn?

2 aware that something like this is going on in Sierra Leone at the 3 time now, depending on what year we are looking at - because we 4 are stuck with the transcript, whether it's 1990, or whether it's 1991 - but I am speaking specifically about we know that 14:45:17 5 the - that from evidence led in this Court that the invasion 6 7 takes place in March, if I am not wrong, of 1991. 8 speaking from March 1991. Now, if anyone should know of an official operation or something going on in Sierra Leone, it should be this 14:45:43 10 inspector general. He doesn't know because it is not official. 11 12 That's why he doesn't know; because it's not official. Because 13 Moses Blah, who is inspector general, who is a senior NPFL 14 individual, who is a Special Forces, if this is official, would 14:46:06 15 know that it is official and it's going on. If he doesn't know, how would I know? I mean, this even demonstrates the point. I 16 17 don't know that this is going on. He finds out later, but I am the leader. I am supposed to have found out even before he did. 18 19 Even if he was not briefed, at least this inspector general, 14:46:25 20 knowing this thing - he does not even say that he comes and he tries to ask - or say to me - which he has access to me on two 21 22 levels, both in his position and even as a member of the family never raises any issue of this with me. So how come he does not 23 24 know? Because it is not official. As simple as that. 14:46:49 25 offi ci al . 26 This is a move being made clandestinely that is being done 27 by these people putting in their code names and calling - he 28 stumbles into it because he has men in the field. So it is a 29 closely guarded situation that people are operating on. I don't

listens to radio - I don't listen to radio communication - is not

14:47:19

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14:48:33 25

1 He doesn't know. So I don't see how he doesn't know if 2 it's official. It is not official. 3 Did you find out how they'd got into Sierra Leone? 4 Α. No, did not. Did you learn anything about the relative strength of 5 0. the Liberians that were there and the Sierra Leoneans that were there? 7 At the initial stage there was a small group of 8 Liberian soldiers moving. There were a little bit more than the RUF. 14:47:34 10 Why do you say there were more Liberians than RUF? 11 12 That is an information from my soldiers, from my information, my radio communication and their location. 13 My 14 operator would brief me on what was happening. 14:47:50 15 Well, did you find out the reason why the soldiers had 16 gone in? 17 Yes, they said they were fighting alongside. It was later that I knew that they were in there." 18 19 How come he has to find out after the event, Mr Taylor? 14:48:08 20 For the same reason that, I mean, I found out, that it must 21 be clear that I am supposed to know everything: Because it is 22 not official. And one would expect someone as high as Moses

> am aware of what was going on and this was an NPFL operation 29

usefulness in this matter if he - he doesn't know.

Blah, who served as inspector general and later on as

Vice-President of Liberia, that is a big - that is a big deal for

Blah should have been able to say to these judges, "I

It's not

this Prosecution. This Prosecution should have been able to

specifically get out of Blah for Blah to say - what's his

- 1 authorised by Mr Taylor." He should have been able to say this.
- 2 He didn't say it because that was the truth, that I was not aware
- 3 of it. And he was not aware of it, and it beat him. He is the
- 4 inspector general in the field. It beat him.
- 14:49:09 5 Now, interestingly, his people informed him. They did not
  - 6 say to him: Well, you know, we knew it, but we heard that the
  - 7 President's order is, so we were afraid to talk about it. You
  - 8 see what I am trying to say? I mean, they would say he has got
  - 9 informants in the field. They would say: Chief, we heard about
- 14:49:32 10 it, but, you know, we heard that the chief ordered it, so we
  - 11 didn't touch it. I mean, I did not I don't care what this
  - 12 Prosecution tries do, my God, no matter what they do, I did not
  - 13 know about what was going on. I did not, and that's why he
  - 14 didn't also know.
- 14:49:50 15 Q. "A. It was later that I knew that they were in there.
  - 16 Q. Who were they fighting alongside?
  - 17 A. The RUF.
  - 18 Q. And what was the RUF?
  - 19 A. RUF are forces head they were fighting alongside
- 14:50:05 20 forces headed by the just a minute. Sankoh. They were
  - 21 fighting alongside Sankoh. Foday Sankoh forces.
  - 22 Q. You testified earlier about meeting a Foday Sankoh in
  - 23 Li bya. Did you determine whether this was the same
  - i ndi vi dual?
- 14:50:20 25 A. The same Foday Sankoh. I met him in Gbarnga.
  - 26 I met him in Gbarnga.
  - 27 Q. Did you ever find out who was leading the Liberian
  - 28 group that was in Sierra Leone?
  - 29 A. I found out that once you were inside Sierra Leone you

2 in control." Pause there. Mr Taylor, I thought you were in control. 3 4 Foday Sankoh was in control, and, again, Rapp plays a little something here. Yes, Moses Blah met Foday Sankoh in 14:51:02 5 He should have met him in Gbarnga. But he didn't ask 6 for the time he met him here in Gbarnga yet, okay? So --7 We will come to that, Mr Taylor. 8 Just hold your horses. We will come to that in one moment, I promise you. I found out that once you were inside Sierra Leone you 14:51:21 10 were headed by Foday Sankoh, because he was the one who was 11 12 in control. 13 And were there any leaders of the Liberian group within 14 Sankoh's forces? Yes, there were two I could name at that time. 14:51:35 15 There was Dopoe Menkarzon and the Liberian Mosquito." 16 17 Remind us, who is Liberian Mosquito? Liberian Mosquito is Christopher Vambos. 18 Α. 19 And then he goes on to deal with the spelling. And then Q. 14:51:58 20 over the page at page 9861, let's pick up at line 13: 21 Did you have any occasion to talk to Sankoh after his 22 forces had gone into Sierra Leone? The fact is that when the fighting was going on in 23 24 1991, I was in Cape Palmas as inspector general, and when I 14:52:24 25 returned to Gbarnga one morning to report to the 26 headquarters, I drove by a place called New Gbarnga. 27 was the time I saw Foday Sankoh that morning. I stopped my 28 car and I alighted and embraced him, and I said I have not seen him for a very long time, since in Libya. He said, 29

were headed by Foday Sankoh, because he was the one who was

1 'Look, I am here now." I am a rebel commander. I am no 2 more a small boy and you have to salute me.' And I saluted him and I said, 'Okay.' I said, 'Okay, I know you are my 3 4 boss now.' He said, 'Look, I have come here for a serious matter.' And I asked him what the matter was. He said, 14:53:06 5 'The boys from NPFL whom the chief sent to help me, they got involved into a lot of atrocities, raping women, 7 looting people's property and killing people, and these are 8 the people I have gone to liberate and I am losing respect amongst my tribesmen. This is what I have come to consult 14:53:27 10 with the chief on. '" 11 12 Now, pause there. Now, we saw from testimony of this 13 witness this morning, Mr Taylor, that Moses Blah was in Libya 14 with Foday Sankoh, yes? 14:53:52 15 Α. That is correct. And as you have indicated in earlier testimony, friendships 16 17 developed between the men who underwent training at Tajura Camp 18 in Libya? 19 Α. That is correct. 14:54:07 20 Now, you will note here that Moses Blah is saying here, "I have not seen him for a very long time since in Libya", yes? 21 22 Α. Yes. Now, help me, Mr Taylor. According to some of the 23 0. 24 testimony this tribunal have heard, Foday Sankoh was your 14:54:32 25 right-hand man in Liberia after the start of the revolution? 26 Α. Yes. 27 So can you help us by explaining how it is that your 28 inspector general, Moses Blah, despite the fact that Foday Sankoh

is around in Libya, hadn't seen him since Libya? Can you help us

- 1 with that, please?
- 2 A. That's the whole point. Because all this thing that they
- 3 are talking about, that Foday Sankoh it my right-hand man and
- 4 moving around with me in Liberia, Moses would have seen him. So
- 14:55:08 5 Moses is now saying in 1991 he sees Foday Sankoh. And let's be
  - 6 very clear about the records about this, because there are two
  - 7 sets of information here that are important. 1991, because he is
  - 8 saying here that Foday Sankoh says the boys that I sent are
  - 9 misbehaving. Okay. That rings a bell: Men I sent to Libya.
- 14:55:36 10 But we are talking about, what? In dealing with --
  - 11 Q. To Li bya?
  - 12 A. Excuse me, to Sierra Leone. Excuse me, your Honours. In
  - dealing with what? In dealing with ULIMO. You understand me?
  - 14 In dealing with ULIMO. Okay? That's when the people are sent.
- 14:55:53 15 And Sankoh is saying that these people are causing trouble. So
  - 16 when we draw the timeline, we are talking about sometime after
  - 17 March of 1991. That's the attack. Then we look at when? Around
  - 18 what? April, May, June of the ULIMO incursion. And we look at
  - 19 the August calling of Foday Sankoh for assistance. So we are
- 14:56:25 20 talking about a period between May and August 1991. That's
  - 21 what's in my head, okay? And how he explains it here, the people
  - that the old man sent are doing this. So now we get to see.
  - There is all of 1990, and we have to put it to up until
  - 24 about mid 1991. Where is Foday Sankoh in Liberia that Moses Blah
- 14:56:48 25 does not see him or gets no report that he is around in Liberia?
  - Where was he? He is just not there.
  - 27 Q. And this passage, Mr Taylor, "I am no more a small boy and
  - 28 you have to salute me", how do you interpret that?
  - 29 A. Well, Moses and Sankoh were making he was you know,

- 1 well, my tea boy in Libya has grown up to be a big boy. That's
- 2 the only thing I can put it to. I used to make tea for you in
- 3 Libya, and now look at what I am doing. That's the only thing I
- 4 can lay my finger on. I could be wrong, but this is the way I
- 14:57:30 5 interpret it. I am no more small boy. It simply means that on
  - 6 the base when he when they knew each other, Sankoh was nothing
  - 7 but a little not "boy" in terms of age, but, I mean, he was
  - 8 just, figuratively speaking, a small potato. That's what he
  - 9 meant, "I'm no longer a little boy." That means I am no longer
- 14:57:51 10 the fellow that used to make your tea; I am a big guy now.
  - 11 That's how I look at it.
  - 12 Q. Now, it continues. We are at page 9862.
  - "That was what the two of us discussed and I said, 'All
  - right, this is good. If this is the case then it is okay',
- 14:58:10 15 and I passed by him that morning.
  - 16 Q. Did you have a chance to talk to him after the
  - 17 conversation, this morning conversation?
  - 18 A. Talk to who, please?
  - 19 0. Sankoh.
- 14:58:22 20 A. Yes, after that conversation I talked to him, whether
  - 21 he had seen chief. He said, 'Yes I have seen chief. I
  - 22 have talked to the chief.' But he was still not satisfied
  - with the response he had from the chief and he said when he
  - goes back, he will know what to do.
- 14:58:40 25 Q. Did you have any opportunity to talk to Taylor about
  - 26 Sankoh's complaint?
  - 27 A. It was not really a conversation. He was walking
  - around his palace where he lived in Gbarnga ..."
  - 29 Did you have a palace, Mr Taylor?

28

29

|          | 1  | No, I didn't.                                                    |
|----------|----|------------------------------------------------------------------|
|          | 2  | " his palace where he lived in Gbarnga and went close to         |
|          | 3  | speak to him to salute him.                                      |
|          | 4  | Q. Any conversation?                                             |
| 14:59:11 | 5  | A. He said he didn't know earlier that Foday Sankoh had          |
|          | 6  | talked to me about this matter. He said, 'Look, your man         |
|          | 7  | Foday Sankoh is here and he is saying that the people are        |
|          | 8  | destroying his people, looting his property.' He said,           |
|          | 9  | 'How could the war be fought? When you talk about a              |
| 14:59:34 | 10 | guerilla war it is destruction, and this type of thing           |
|          | 11 | must happen if you are fighting a war. You are not eating        |
|          | 12 | bread and butter; you are fighting.' If he continues with        |
|          | 13 | such a report, according to him he will withdraw his men         |
|          | 14 | from there. That is all I knew."                                 |
| 14:59:53 | 15 | Now, Mr Taylor, do you recall such a conversation with           |
|          | 16 | I ah?                                                            |
|          | 17 | . I did speak to Moses about Sankoh, but now as I am             |
|          | 18 | eflecting on this, the answer - I did speak to him, but this has |
|          | 19 | ot to be 1992 that Moses is talking about Foday Sankoh saying,   |
| 15:00:14 | 20 | I know what to do about it." So I have - I disagree with Moses   |
|          | 21 | bout the year he is mentioning now. This is about '92.           |
|          | 22 | . Well, I am not so sure we are at liberty to make that          |
|          | 23 | ssumption that he is talking about the same year, Mr Taylor?     |
|          | 24 | . Well, then I disagree with his assertion here that Foday       |
| 15:00:40 | 25 | ankoh says he knows what do and I threaten to withdraw my men    |
|          | 26 | ecause a withdrawal occurs in 1992 and a discussion with Foday   |
|          | 27 | ankoh about what the men are doing occurs in 1992. So while      |

this conversation that he is alluding to here - I disagree with

the time frame he attaches to this conversation.

- 1 Q. Very well. But what about the content of the conversation
- 2 as recalled by him?
- 3 A. No, no. I talk to him about Foday Sankoh's complaint and
- 4 what I said: Look, we have got a lot of problems in Liberia. We
- 15:01:20 5 have not won the war. And I am not in we are there on security
  - 6 purposes. I am not there to fight Foday Sankoh's war. If he
  - 7 continues these things, I am just going to withdraw the men,
  - 8 okay, from there because I am not we are not there to fight
  - 9 Foday Sankoh's war. We are there for security purposes, to fight
- 15:01:40 10 ULIMO to keep them from coming into Liberia. So if this
  - 11 continues, we have to solve the problem by pulling our men out of
  - 12 Si erra Leone.
  - 13 Before I can take this decision, this clash occurs with
  - 14 this fight between the men and then I finally do that. That's
- 15:01:56 15 why I am saying I disagree with his timeline.
  - 16 Q. Now, let me ask you about one detail in that conversation
  - 17 he recalls. He recalls you saying, "Look, your man". That's you
  - 18 speaking to Blah and describing Foday Sankoh as being Blah's man.
  - 19 Is that possible?
- 15:02:21 20 A. Yes, it's even probable. No, that is how can I put it?
  - 21 That is basically I would term it a figure of speech in
  - 22 Liberia. Sometimes you come and he says, "Oh, your man", you
  - 23 know, or "your friend", you know, something like that. You know,
  - 24 "This is your man, Foday Sankoh", meaning that you say you knew
- 15:02:54 25 him before so he is like somebody you know. You can categorise
  - 26 it almost like a figure of speech, "this is your man". It
  - 27 doesn't really mean that he is owing to anything with Sankoh, but
  - 28 just you come to intervene for somebody and say, "Oh, this is
  - 29 your guy", you knows, something like that. That's what it was.

- 1 Q. Right. So would it be fair to say that it denotes some
- 2 prior association between the two?
- 3 A. Oh, yes, yes. I mean because Moses said when he came to
- 4 see me, "Oh, I saw Sankoh" and he explained to me his association
- 15:03:34 5 with him in Libya and I said, "Look, this is your man. If he
  - 6 continues this thing, I am not I am there not to fight his war.
  - 7 I am there for security for Liberia and if we cannot have any
  - 8 type of cooperation over there, we will just withdraw our men."
  - 9 Q. Now, he continues, page 9863:
- 15:03:56 10 "Q. Did you have an opportunity to meet any of the
  - 11 Liberians who had gone into Sierra Leone?
  - 12 A. Yes. On one occasion I met one Yammayan Kollie who
  - happened to be my bodyguard later. He was assigned to me
  - by President Taylor when I became Vice-President and that
- 15:04:15 15 was when he told me about what happened in Sierra Leone,
  - who were they fighting, what they did there, and he told me
  - 17 a whole lot of things in Sierra Leone.
  - 18 Q. Well, what did he tell you?"
  - 19 And then there is an exchange which needn't trouble us.
- 15:04:33 20 But before we move on, let's pause. Does this name Yammayan
  - 21 Kollie mean anything to you, Mr Taylor?
  - 22 A. Yammayan Kollie. No, not really. I know Nammayan [phon]
  - 23 but I am not certain if his last name is Kollie. The last name
  - 24 that I know is Nammayan, so I cannot say with any certainty that
- 15:05:04 25 this is the same person. But I know a few Nammayans.
  - 26 Q. Mr Taylor, let's us look at the second sentence in this
  - 27 answer carefully. "He", that is Kollie, "was assigned to me by
  - 28 President Taylor when I became Vice-President." When did he
  - 29 become Vice-President?

- 1 A. After the death of Enoch Dogolea. That's around '99 or so.
- 2 Q. 1999 or so?
- 3 A. Round about that, yes.
- 4 Q. Listen carefully:
- 15:05:41 5 "He was assigned to me by President Taylor when I became
  - 6 Vice-President and that was when he told me about what happened
  - 7 in Sierra Leone."
  - Now, help me, Mr Taylor, prior to 1999 when he became
  - 9 Vice-President, did Moses Blah ever come up to you and say,
- 15:06:03 10 "Chief, what's happening in Sierra Leone?" Anything like that?
  - 11 A. Never, no.
  - 12 Q. Any discussions about Sierra Leone with him apart from the
  - 13 conversation you recall in 1992?
  - 14 A. None whatsoever. None whatsoever.
- 15:06:17 15 Q. Any question by Blah to the effect, "Why did you send the
  - 16 men into Sierra Leone in the first place, chief?" Anything like
  - 17 that?
  - 18 A. No, no.
  - 19 Q. Can you help us as to why it took until 1999 for your
- 15:06:36 20 inspector general to find out what was going on in Sierra Leone?
  - 21 Can you help us?
  - 22 A. No, I can't. I can't help. I don't know why it took him
  - 23 this long. I guess it was something that was maybe not important
  - 24 to him, but I have no reason what but he never asked me. And
- 15:06:54 25 even before Moses Blah before he goes off to Libya as
  - 26 ambassador, he spends a lot of time in Monrovia. The
  - ambassadorial positions are not given out immediately in 1997,
  - 28 people started on assignment in 1998, and so I have no idea. It
  - 29 just shows that Moses like I say, sometimes Moses goes on the

- 1 deep end. So I really can't tell why he didn't.
- 2 Q. Let's jump to the bottom of page 9864:
- 3 "Q. And you said he told you" well, I am helpfully if
- 4 one goes to page 9883, Moses Blah said he became Vice-President
- 15:07:43 5 in the year 2000.
  - 6 A. 2000. '99, 2000.
  - 7 Q. Bottom of page 9864:
  - 8 "Q. And you said he told you a lot about what happened in
  - 9 Si erra Leone.
- 15:08:00 10 A. Exactly.
  - 11 Q. Do you remember anything?
  - 12 A. He told me about when they were in Lofa no, not Lofa,
  - in Sierra Leone, there was a lot of looting that went on.
  - They had everything that they wanted. Things were very,
- very easy with them. They could get this, they could get
  - that. He said a lot of that I cannot remember off the top
  - 17 of my head to tell you, but it was all illegal anyway.
  - 18 Q. Did he indicate whether he had been punished or not?
  - 19 A. No, I didn't ask him that far, but what he said that
- 15:08:34 20 was happening at the war front whilst he was fighting, so I
  - 21 didn't go further to ask what he did. What he could teach
  - 22 me was Krio, the Krio that he had learnt whilst he was in
  - 23 Freetown in Sierra Leone. He was speaking Krio like a
  - 24 Sierra Leonean and I used to enjoy him speaking social
- 15:08:50 25 | language to me, so I would tell him, 'Look, speak Krio to
  - me', and he will speak Krio to me and I would laugh.
  - 27 Q. Were there other Liberians that returned from Sierra
  - 28 Leone?
  - 29 A. Yes. Later I went to Gbarnga because I was in Gbarnga,

Α.

But,

1 in and out of there, and I saw this thing - I told you I 2 saw Dopoe, Liberian Mosquito, Christopher Varmoh, they all agreed that they had returned from Sinoe, there was a 3 conflict between them and Foday Sankoh. Foday Sankoh did 4 not appreciate what they did for him and he was reporting. 15:09:22 5 And they didn't know why they were doing that if it would not be appreciated by Foday Sankoh. 7 Do you know if any of these other individuals were 8 punished for what they did in Sierra Leone? Α. They were not investigated nor punished that I know of. 15:09:38 10 And when they came back to Liberia what kind of 11 Q. 12 positions did they have? 13 Menkarzon, he got a job at the Bureau of Maritime 14 Affairs and Security, head of the security there." 15:09:54 15 Is that true, Mr Taylor? Yes, that's true. But I am not sure if the record - I saw 16 17 something in the record here on 9865 that he said people returned from Sinoe. I disagree that Foday Sankoh was in - that somebody 18 19 had gone to meet Foday Sankoh in Sinoe. Line 22, 9865. 15:10:31 20 Where is Sinoe? Since is in Liberia in the southeastern part of Liberia. 21 22 But it's in the record there, so I am not agreeing to that, based 23 on your question. 24 But in any event, did Menkarzon work at the Bureau 15:10:53 25 of Maritime Affairs after you became President? Α. Yes. 27 Was Christopher Varmoh security at the LPRC, Liberian 28 Petroleum Refinery Company?

Yes, later on, but that was not his first assignment.

- 1 yes, he was there.
- 2 Q. Then he is asked this at line 14:
- 3 "Q. Do you know if all the Liberians came back from Sierra
- 4 Leone?
- 15:11:18 5 A. No, I wouldn't know this, but I was the head. Dopoe
  - 6 Menkarzon, Christopher Varmoh, apart from that I don't
  - 7 know. I didn't know the number of groups that went, so I
  - 8 wouldn't know how many of them came back.
  - 9 Q. But while you were inspector general, did you receive
- 15:11:38 10 any other assignment?
  - 11 A. Yes, briefly. I was still inspector general and I was
  - again appointed as liaison between the NPFL and
  - 13 ECOMOG between ECOMOG forces."
  - 14 Now, let me pause there, Mr Taylor. In general terms, what
- 15:12:00 15 do you say about Moses Blah's account with regard to the start of
  - 16 the conflict in Sierra Leone, Kuwait as he puts it?
  - 17 A. For me, I don't have any problems. I cannot dispute his
  - 18 account that he got to find out later and he heard this special
  - 19 call on the radio. I'm in his shoes, I got to find out myself.
- 15:12:32 20 So his general account that he did not know demonstrates the fact
  - 21 that a lot of things went on that did not reach me. He doesn't
  - 22 report that he told me and I did nothing about it. He doesn't
  - 23 know as inspector general. He has people in the field assigned
  - to report these kinds of matters to him.
- 15:12:53 25 And so generally his description of what he knows about
  - 26 Sankoh and when he does meet him I have a little disagreement
  - 27 well, a big disagreement as to the year regarding when the
  - 28 conflict starts and when he meets Sankoh and the withdrawal from
  - 29 Sierra Leone. I think it's sufficiently established that the

- withdrawal occurred in 1992. And so, besides that, generally I think he has given a fairly reasonable account of his knowledge,
- 3 you know, of this and what happened.
- 4 Q. Now he goes on to deal with the relationship between the
- 15:13:38 5 NPFL and ECOMOG. Let's just look at that briefly. Line 22, page
  - 6 9866: "... briefly. I was still inspector general and I was
  - again appointed as liaison between the NPFL and ECOMOG." Was he?
  - 8 A. Yes, one of the liaisons, yes.
- 9 Q. "ECOMOG had just returned. We had conflict with them. But
  15:14:03 10 when they returned to work in our territory where we
  11 controlled they couldn't go alone. So I was there with
  - The controlled they couldn't go alone. So I was there with
  - them and I used to fly in the helicopter to go to town.
  - 13 Before they landed anywhere, I had to make sure that where
  - we were going was safe, because the previous order to them
- 15:14:20 15 was that when they were disarmed we had a heated
  - agreement so the President ordered that they should go
  - 17 back. He didn't want ECOMOG at the time because they were
  - doing a lot of illegal things in our territory.
  - 19 Q. You mentioned to disarm. How did you accomplish that?
- 15:14:42 20 These were armed men, were they not?
  - A. Well, yes, it went well. It went well, because ECOMOG
  - 22 went into our area and there was a lot of conflict. They
  - 23 wanted to overtake the entire area as if they were in their
  - 24 own country. So President Taylor told them that it was not
- 15:15:01 25 fair. If ECOMOG comes here and are not under our command
  - they must be disarmed and returned to their headquarters.
  - 27 So that went very well. They were disarmed and put on a
  - 28 truck from various locations. It was done systematically.
  - They were all disarmed at the same time, on the same date,

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Α.

4 Q. Was anything else done to them? To which headquarters 15:15:34 5 were they brought? So their headquarters, ECOMOG headquarters, because 7 they were sent back. And from where they were in various locations in our occupied territories, they were all 8 disarmed at the same time and they were put on board trucking in various locations and they were taken back to 15:15:51 10 where they came from. 11 12 How long were you in this position as coordinator? 13 Α. Less than a month." 14 And then he goes on: 15:16:06 15 "The ECOMOG went in as a fighting force and they had their They had to go to places that the map dictates they 16 17 should go, and they were not coordinating with us to say that: Yes, you should go there or go there and they disagreed. They 18 19 said the NPFL was a rebel force and that they were not under NPFL 15:16:25 20 command and they were very harsh. 21 So apparently the President went annoyed and he said if 22 that is the case then, he said, they wanted to bypass his operation. That was why the order was given, but he should know 23 24 the reason why the order was given." Then he goes on to deal with the NPFL controlling 90 15:16:42 25 26 per cent in '91, '92. Were in full control of 90 per cent of 27 Liberia. And then he goes on to describe the government that was 28 set up, Mr Taylor. Line 20 on page 9869: 29 "Q. When the NPFL was in charge of 90 per cent of Liberia,

the same hour. We succeeded in doing that."

Was there such an event, Mr Taylor?

Yes, there was such, yeah.

28

29

Q.

A.

Q.

|          | 1  | what kind of government did the NPFL provide?                     |
|----------|----|-------------------------------------------------------------------|
|          | 2  | A. Before that time we had the National Reconstruction            |
|          | 3  | Assembly Government in which President Taylor was President       |
|          | 4  | for our own area. They controlled the territory that we           |
| 15:17:34 | 5  | controlled. We had our own minister of defence, we had our        |
|          | 6  | own minister of finance, we had our own bank in Gbarnga.          |
|          | 7  | We had everything a government should have. The capital           |
|          | 8  | was Gbarnga."                                                     |
|          | 9  | Is all of that correct, Mr Taylor?                                |
| 15:17:52 | 10 | A. Yes.                                                           |
|          | 11 | Q. Mr Taylor, he goes on to say, stayed in Gbarnga.               |
|          | 12 | "When he was in Gbarnga we used to visit him. We used to          |
|          | 13 | go to Gbarnga. We talked to him, we briefed him about             |
|          | 14 | things that were happening around, and then we would go           |
| 15:18:06 | 15 | back to our posts.                                                |
|          | 16 | Q. And when you visited him, were you able to see how he          |
|          | 17 | stayed up to date on events?"                                     |
|          | 18 | And he then goes on to describe - and we need not delay           |
|          | 19 | with the detail - how you had a radio, you had a television, you  |
| 15:18:25 | 20 | had a satellite radio, and you used to listen to CNN and the BBC, |
|          | 21 | and so on and so forth?                                           |
|          | 22 | Is that all of that correct, Mr Taylor?                           |
|          | 23 | A. I don't want to fight about. I didn't have a satellite         |
|          | 24 | radio, but the rest of it is right.                               |
| 15:18:42 | 25 | Q. Did you have a satellite television?                           |
|          | 26 | A. Yes, I had a satellite television.                             |

I listened to BBC, yes, and watched CNN, yeah.

And did you watch CNN or listen to CNN radio and BBC radio?

And we will come to the reason for these questions in a

"He listened to the radio, he watched television, and he 2 3 was well informed, and he like to listen to Focus on Africa. 4 of us listened to that. In fact, I had my own radio. I used to listen to Focus, Network Africa, early in the morning, and we 15:19:21 5 were informed about what was happening outside. We had our own 6 7 newspaper, The Patriot newspaper ..." Is that true? 8 Α. Yes. "... the newspaper we used to read. It was once in the 15:19:36 10 month or twice a month." 11 12 And then he goes on to deal with the fact that he would 13 read the newspaper. And then this - and this the whole purpose 14 behind asking him about your access to the media. Line 28, page 9871. 15:20:02 15 In the course of reading newspapers or listening to 16 17 the radio, did you hear anything about the situation in Si erra Leone? 18 19 A. Yes, I listened to that very much. We were 15:20:16 20 people - Sierra Leone was not a locked-up people. People used to come from Sierra Leone and some people used to 21 22 cross over. They would come to the market and others go on the other side and they used to tell us these things are 23 24 the things that were happening in Sierra Leone, and there 15:20:36 25 were a lot of accusations from Sierra Leone that we heard 26 Liberian people attacking them, killing them. We heard a 27 whole lot of things from Sierra Leone." 28 Now, point 1 that I want to ask you, Mr Taylor, is this: 29 That description of people crossing backwards and forward between

moment, but just to complete the context, page 9871, line 9:

- 1 Sierra Leone and Liberia, is that the truth?
- 2 A. Yes, people crossed backward and forward. I don't know
- 3 what time Moses is talking about here, really, but people
- 4 travelled across. Once you came into Liberia without a weapon,
- 15:21:14 5 you travelled, yes. There was free movement of people, the
  - 6 civilians that came in. Yes, there was free movement.
  - 7 Q. And then he goes on at line 10:
  - 8 "Q. Did you hear any of that in the news media?
  - 9 A. Yes. In the newspapers I heard that there was an
- 15:21:43 10 accusation in the newspaper that President Taylor was helping the
  - 11 forces of the RUF and they were fighting in Sierra Leone. And at
  - one time there was a big delegation from ECOWAS from friendly
  - 13 governments to come and see, and there was also accusation that
  - 14 Mosquito Sierra Leone was in Liberia, and that was the time that
- 15:22:07 15 we showed them the Liberian Mosquito, Christopher Varmoh at that
  - 16 time, and we said, 'This is the only Mosquito that we have here.
  - 17 This is Christopher Varmoh', and that was widely read in every
  - 18 newspaper and photographs were taken in all of those."
  - 19 Can you give us a date for that no. First of all, did
- 15:22:27 20 such an event take place?
  - 21 A. Yes, such an event did take place.
  - 22 Q. Where Liberia's Mosquito, Christopher Varmoh, was paraded
  - 23 before visitors?
  - 24 A. Yeah, that's yes.
- 15:22:44 25 Q. Can you help us with a date?
  - 26 A. That's in 2001. In 2001. After Mosquito Leaves Liberia,
  - 27 they continue to report that Mosquito has not left Liberia; he is
  - 28 in Liberia. So because they keeping hearing that there is a
  - 29 Mosquito in Liberia, so the international press and everybody

|          | '  | would say. Look, Sain bockarre has arready reft Liberra. The     |
|----------|----|------------------------------------------------------------------|
|          | 2  | only Mosquito here is this one, what we call Christopher Vambos, |
|          | 3  | because his name was Mosquito from the time we started the       |
|          | 4  | Liberian civilian war. So this is in - now we have leapfrogged   |
| 15:23:32 | 5  | way into 2001. That's the incident here.                         |
|          | 6  | Q. "Q. Who showed off Christopher Varmoh?                        |
|          | 7  | A. It was President Taylor at the time who showed that           |
|          | 8  | Christopher Varmoh - because there was continuous                |
|          | 9  | accusation that Varmoh - I mean Mosquito - was in Liberia.       |
| 15:23:51 | 10 | So he said - he displayed this other Mosquito and said,          |
|          | 11 | 'This is the Mosquito that I have here.' And he showed           |
|          | 12 | Mosquito, and everybody came to see who that Mosquito was.       |
|          | 13 | So all the press came. It was a press conference. So all         |
|          | 14 | of them came and saw that Mosquito with their own eyes.          |
| 15:24:13 | 15 | Q. Did you hear anything about human rights groups and           |
|          | 16 | what they were saying?                                           |
|          | 17 | A. Yes. They were saying that we were involved in Sierra         |
|          | 18 | Leone - that Taylor was involved in Sierra Leone fighting        |
|          | 19 | and killing a lot of people, and all sorts of things were        |
| 15:24:27 | 20 | said. This was why Mosquito was shown, that we did not           |
|          | 21 | have Mosquito based in Liberia and he was over there in          |
|          | 22 | Sierra Leone and not in Liberia.                                 |
|          | 23 | Q. Was Mosquito - Sam Mosquito Bockarie in Liberia?              |
|          | 24 | A. No. At that time, no. I had not seen him. I did not           |
| 15:24:51 | 25 | know him at that time.                                           |
|          | 26 | Q. When did you see Sam Bockarie after that time?                |
|          | 27 | A. After that I can't remember the date and the month. I         |
|          | 28 | saw him in Benjamin Yeaten's house on one occasion, and he       |
|          | 29 | was introduced to me by Benjamin Yeaten, and he said to me,      |
|          |    |                                                                  |

1 would say: Look, Sam Bockarie has already left Liberia. The

|          | 1  | 'This was Mosquito.' Then I said, 'Oh, is this the man        |
|----------|----|---------------------------------------------------------------|
|          | 2  | they have been looking for?' and we all laughed. We           |
|          | 3  | laughed. 'But he looks like a real Mosquito', I said. So      |
|          | 4  | we laughed over it, and that was the first time I saw him.    |
| 15:25:25 | 5  | Q. And did Mr Bockarie say anything to you?                   |
|          | 6  | A. No, he only greeted me as a chief. I was introduced to     |
|          | 7  | him and then he said, 'Chief, how are you? I am Mosquito      |
|          | 8  | and I am your son.' I said, 'All right, you are my son, I     |
|          | 9  | agree.' We shook hand and then I left.                        |
| 15:25:43 | 10 | Q. This meeting that you had, was this during the time        |
|          | 11 | that Taylor was President of Liberia, or before he was        |
|          | 12 | President of Liberia?                                         |
|          | 13 | A. He was President at the time."                             |
|          | 14 | Mr Taylor, was Moses Blah in Lome for the peace talks in      |
| 15:26:05 | 15 | 1999?                                                         |
|          | 16 | A. No. No, Moses was not there. Not to my - no. No, Moses     |
|          | 17 | was not there. Not to my knowledge.                           |
|          | 18 | Q. Very well. Let's have a look at this same page, 9874, line |
|          | 19 | 19:                                                           |
| 15:26:37 | 20 | "Q. Were elections ever organised?                            |
|          | 21 | A. Yes, the election was organised later. Later there was     |
|          | 22 | an election and at this time everybody took part, and they    |
|          | 23 | saw it and President Taylor won in 1997.                      |
|          | 24 | Q. Did you ever travel anywhere with Taylor during that       |
| 15:26:56 | 25 | time that the seven-member government was in effect?          |
|          | 26 | A. Yes, I travelled that one time to Togo, and when I went    |
|          | 27 | to Togo there was a little bit of confusion again from the    |
|          | 28 | RUF and we had to go to Togo, and Foday Sankoh was there.     |
|          | 29 | The President of Togo was there. The President of Togo was    |

- 1 there and intervened to bring peace to that country, and
- 2 they wanted President Taylor to be there, and he was there
- also to take part in that committee."
- 4 What do you know about that?
- 15:27:31 5 A. No, Moses was nowhere in Togo. Nowhere in Togo. All the
  - 6 pictures we had, is there any Blah in any of those pictures?
  - 7 Moses Blah was never in Togo. The people that accompanied me to
  - 8 Togo, the most senior person that remember now, what is Moses
  - 9 Blah's position in 1999? He is ambassador to Libya.
- 15:27:57 10 Q. But let's go back and see what the question was.
  - 11 A. Okay. So what does he have to do with this peace?
  - 12 Nothing.
  - 13 Q. Let's go back, Mr Taylor. The question, line 23, look
  - 14 carefully: "Before we go up to that date ..." That's 1997, the
- 15:28:18 15 election. So before 1997, "... during the time that this
  - 16 seven-member government was in effect, did you ever travel
  - 17 anywhere with Taylor during that time?"
  - 18 So he is saying when that seven-member government prior
  - 19 to the general election in '97 during that time you travelled
- 15:28:39 20 to Togo and met, amongst others, Foday Sankoh. Did you?
  - 21 A. Moses is crazy. No. Before the election in 1997 where is
  - 22 Foday Sankoh? Locked up in jail. Remember now, Foday Sankoh is
  - 23 arrested in Nigeria in early 1997. So therefore then, 1996,
  - 24 Foday Sankoh goes to Ivory Coast, okay, and not to Togo, for an
- 15:29:16 25 agreement that he signs with Tejan Kabbah --
  - 26 Q. In November?
  - 27 A. In November. So Moses slips a whole lot of these things,
  - 28 unfortunately. But the only time Foday Sankoh ever comes out of
  - 29 Sierra Leone, based on all of the evidence before this Court, is

- 1 in 1996, when he goes to Abidjan for the agreement. From there
- 2 he goes to Nigeria, arrested, he is in jail. So before in
- 3 fact, I put it all the way back to 1996. There is no such thing
- 4 as a meeting in Togo. Moses has just got it mixed up. I guess
- 15:29:59 5 he is confused. That's the best I can say. But I think there is
  - 6 sufficient evidence before this Court to suggest that there is no
  - 7 Sierra Leonean peace discussions in Togo that I am involved in
  - 8 until July 1999 and Moses Blah is not present. He is ambassador
  - 9 to Libya at this time. No, I think he has got it all wrong.
- 15:30:25 10 It's not true.
  - 11 Q. But let's go on, Mr Taylor. The next question he is asked
  - 12 is this. So he says that and at that point Mr Rapp says:
  - "Q. Let's not talk about that. Any times you travelled
  - with Taylor during the period of time of the seven member
- 15:30:49 15 government in Liberia?
  - A. No, no, never.
  - 17 Q. You said Taylor was one of the seven in the
  - 18 government?"
  - 19 And then he goes on to ask about the specific role.
- 15:31:04 20 A. I disagree that there was a seven member government in
  - 21 Liberia, but if that's what Rapp says. There was never a seven
  - 22 member government in Liberia. It was a six man Council of State,
  - 23 so I disagree with Rapp.
  - 24 Q. Okay. But in any event, just so that we are clear, because
- 15:31:21 25 on the face of the transcript there appears to be some confusion
  - 26 here. Whilst you were a member in the pre-1997 election
  - 27 period, Mr Taylor, when you were a member of what you say was the
  - 28 six man Council of State, yes, did you travel to Togo to see
  - 29 Foday Sankoh; yes or no?

- 1 A. No.
- 2 Q. When you did go to Togo in 1999 July, did Moses Blah go
- 3 with you?
- 4 A. No, he was in Libya.
- 15:31:55 5 Q. Thank you. Now, Mr Blah goes on to describe the membership
  - of that committee and when we go on to page 9876, he tells us
  - 7 this, line 4:
  - 8 "It was ECOMOG troops and everybody had ECOMOG assigned to
  - 9 them, every head of government at that time.
- 15:32:21 10 Q. Were there other security?
  - 11 A. They had their own, their own personal securities.
  - They had their own security guards and ECOMOG was also
  - 13 there to reinforce."
  - 14 Is that true?
- 15:32:33 15 A. Oh, yes, that's true.
  - 16 Q. "Q. Were there any problems with Taylor's security?" And
  - 17 then he goes on to describe at line 13 an attack upon you by
  - 18 Roosevelt Johnson's group, an attempt to attack and assassinate
  - 19 you, and how one General Jackson was killed in the process.
- 15:32:56 20 Now we have dealt with that so we won't take any great deal
  - 21 of time with that, Mr Taylor, but we will move on to the
  - 22 election. You will note that at page 9877 that particular phrase
  - 23 "You killed my ma, you killed my Pa, but I will vote for you" is
  - 24 again the topic of examination-in-chief by lead counsel for the
- 15:33:29 25 Prosecution, Mr Rapp:
  - 26 "Q. Do you remember any slogans that were used by the NPP
  - 27 supporters?
  - 28 A. Yes, during campaigns during campaigns we had slogans
  - 29 that we shared for Taylor to become President. Like we

|          | •  |    | Sala Tike the one i redair, Tod Kirred my mam, yea          |
|----------|----|----|-------------------------------------------------------------|
|          | 2  |    | killed my father and I will vote for him.' So that is one   |
|          | 3  |    | that I can remember.                                        |
|          | 4  |    | Q. What did that mean?                                      |
| 15:33:56 | 5  |    | A. That meant that whether you had done anything to me      |
|          | 6  |    | during the past, I wouldn't mind it. I will vote for you    |
|          | 7  |    | still. I will bring you to a presidency. I will cheer you   |
|          | 8  |    | up.                                                         |
|          | 9  |    | Q. Well, how did that persuade people to vote for you?      |
| 15:34:13 | 10 |    | A. Well, it was said by mostly our fighters, our fighters   |
|          | 11 |    | were involved, and other Liberian citizens too, and all of  |
|          | 12 |    | them were singing it. It was now a big slogan in Liberia,   |
|          | 13 |    | 'You killed my mother, you killed my father, I will vote    |
|          | 14 |    | for you.' It was almost a song, so everybody was singing    |
| 15:34:33 | 15 |    | it. Everybody else until he became President."              |
|          | 16 |    | Pressed still further by Mr Rapp:                           |
|          | 17 |    | "Q. I am trying to get the things clearly and it may be a   |
|          | 18 |    | problem with the translation."                              |
|          | 19 | A. | No problem.                                                 |
| 15:34:50 | 20 | Q. | Pardon?                                                     |
|          | 21 | Α. | No, no, I am listening to you.                              |
|          | 22 | Q. | " he all you killed. Would you repeat the slogan again?     |
|          | 23 |    | A. Well, no, it was a general term, if you killed my        |
|          | 24 |    | mother and if you killed my father, I will still vote for   |
| 15:35:02 | 25 |    | you. They were not calling a particular person's name, but  |
|          | 26 |    | it was just a saying from the NPP group. They said, 'If     |
|          | 27 |    | you killed my mother, if you killed my father, I will still |
|          | 28 |    | vote for you.' It was generally said. It was not directed   |
|          | 29 |    | to a particular person."                                    |
|          |    |    |                                                             |

said - like the one I recall, 'You killed my mum, you

- 1 Finally the topic is dropped. Then he goes on to say that 2 he was appointed Liberian ambassador to Libya and Tunisia. Is 3 that right? 4 Α. That is correct. And do you recall now, Mr Taylor, how long he stayed in 15:35:33 5 0. that post? 6 7 Yeah, for about - well, I would say until Enoch's death and I would accept that that's - I would put it to late '99, early 8 But he stayed there throughout that period, from about I would say the beginning of '98. 15:36:01 10 Okay. Now he says this - he was asked this question, line 11 Q. 12 21, page 9878: 13 During the course of your ambassadorship, did you meet 14 with Gaddafi? A. Yes, on several occasions, when it was necessary. 15:36:41 15 there was any instruction for me to meet him I would meet 16 17 hi m. Q. Did Gaddafi provide Libya with any assistance? 18 19 Yes, on some occasions he provided me with a jeep - he 15:37:04 20 provided him with a jeep that he was riding in his presidency, a bulletproof jeep, a Mercedes jeep, and that I 21 22 knew about and some other assistance for some time. It was not actually a big contribution, but he was ensuring that 23 he protected his presidency." 24 15:37:22 25 Did Gaddafi give you a bulletproof jeep, Mr Taylor?
  - 29 A. Yes, he did that. At one time he provided the NPP

Yes, he did.

vehi cles?

"Q.

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Α.

Q.

Did he provide other forms of assistance other than

2 be sold and the proceeds to go to at least the military hardware, police uniforms and some other things that I know 3 4 about, but I wouldn't know all the assistance that we were given, but the ones that I was supposed to know, I know 15:37:58 5 them." 6 7 Is that true? 8 Α. Yes. 0. A consignment of crude oil from Libya? Not a consignment. What happened - you know, if we go 15:38:11 10 Α. through all the details with Moses he doesn't really know. Like 11 12 I could have objected, he said - the transcript here says he gave 13 Libya something, in the lines there. There are a lot of little 14 things that you know we can't just - but I think for the sake of 15:38:32 15 the record, even though you asked me did I receive a jeep, yes, but the transcript said that Gaddafi gave Libya some things. 16 17 so, I mean, the transcript is - I am sure it's an error. But in terms of the crude oil, for the benefit of the 18 19 Court, you don't get crude. I don't have a refinery in Liberia. 15:38:56 20 What happens is that for assistance you have a certain amount, 21 the government will tell you - will say we will give you a 22 certain amount of tonnage at a discount. And then what you do, it is sold, and the discount becomes yours. They don't send you 23 24 But he doesn't know the details and I don't want to 15:39:16 25 hold up the Court, but I will just say, yes, he did make some 26 crude available to us, but you don't get the physical crude. 27 only get the discount that is from the - let's say if it's Libya 28 has what you call light sweet crude and depending on the 29 prevailing price on the market at a particular day you can sell

government with some consignment of crude oil, at least to

- and then you get the difference. That's what they do.
- 2 Q. Okay. Now, you noticed that Mr Blah had mentioned military
- 3 hardware?
- 4 A. No, he never provided any military hardware.
- 15:39:54 5 Q. And, of course, Mr Rapp seizes upon that term and asks:
  - 6 "Q. You say military hardware. What kind of military
  - 7 hardware did he provide?
  - 8 A. Like uniform for police, uniform for soldiers at the
  - 9 time and fighting forces at the time, government fighting
- 15:40:15 10 forces. At that time it was our government and we got what
  - we wanted for our government, ambulances for hospitals, so
  - many things were requested. He gave what he was able to
  - give and sometimes he turned down the request."
  - 14 Is that true, Mr Taylor?
- 15:40:31 15 A. That is true. But that's --
  - 16 Q. So Gaddafi provided you with uniforms, ambulances. What
  - 17 about military hardware?
  - 18 A. No, and that's why Moses corrects it. Because for me
  - 19 military hardware means guns, arms and different things. No,
- 15:40:51 20 Gaddafi never provided that. These are what we would call
  - 21 non-lethal paramilitary equipment. Non-lethal equipment, yes.
  - 22 Uniforms, boots, ambulances for the hospitals, yes, he did.
  - 23 Q. Line 19:
  - "Q. Did he give anything to Charles Taylor himself?
- 15:41:13 25 A. In terms of money, cash money? Sometimes, yes,
  - sometimes he tried to give him some money. When he needed
  - 27 money he will ask that I go to him that he needed money so
  - 28 much, because when he became President there was no money
  - in the treasury. We had just returned from war, so when he

29 A. Yes.

|          | 1  | needed assistance he asked for it and when it was available  |
|----------|----|--------------------------------------------------------------|
|          |    |                                                              |
|          | 2  | at the time Gaddafi will give it.                            |
|          | 3  | Q. Do you remember any occasion being involved in            |
|          | 4  | delivering money to Taylor from Gaddafi?                     |
| 15:41:48 | 5  | A. Yes, at one time he was in South Africa in the            |
|          | 6  | hospital. He had gone there for a check-up and he asked      |
|          | 7  | that Gaddafi send some money and this money was, I think,    |
|          | 8  | about half a million dollars and it was sent across to him   |
|          | 9  | in South Africa.                                             |
| 15:42:06 | 10 | Q. Did his level of support remain consistent during the     |
|          | 11 | time you were ambassador?                                    |
|          | 12 | A. There was - things were not going well. He said he was    |
|          | 13 | under treasure, he couldn't do this, he couldn't do that     |
|          | 14 | and President Taylor himself got fed up because there were   |
| 15:42:30 | 15 | a lot of promises. Every time he promised, he would not do   |
|          | 16 | it and the relationship was not too good at that time."      |
|          | 17 | Pause. Firstly, did Gaddafi give you cash money,             |
|          | 18 | Mr Taylor?                                                   |
|          | 19 | A. Yes, in the South Africa situation, yes, but not where he |
| 15:42:51 | 20 | says here. Yes, he did.                                      |
|          | 21 | Q. When you were in South Africa for that check-up, did you  |
|          | 22 | receive money from Gaddafi?                                  |
|          | 23 | A. Yes, I did.                                               |
|          | 24 | Q. Was it half a million dollars?                            |
| 15:43:00 | 25 | A. No, it was not.                                           |
|          | 26 | Q. How much was it?                                          |
|          | 27 | A. About \$100,000 through the embassy down there.           |
|          | 28 | Q. Through the embassy?                                      |
|          | 00 |                                                              |

15:43:29

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1 Q. Did you express dissatisfaction about Gaddafi's generosity 2 to Moses Blah as suggested in the second answer I read out? His generosity to Blah? 3 4 Q. No, no. The answer beginning at line 6? Well, his generosity to Liberia? 5 Α. "He said he was under pressure, he couldn't do this, 0. 6 7 he couldn't do that and President Taylor himself got fed up because there were a lot of promises" - in effect promises that 8 were not good and so consequently your relationship with Gaddafi 15:43:49 10 deteriorated. Is that true? This is one ambassador. Let me put it this way: 11 Α. 12 were some diplomatic snares between Libya and Liberia, and I 13 would say that there was some deterioration in relationship, yes. 14 Q. And then this, line 19: 15:44:27 15 Did you provide Gaddafi with news about or with a message with regard to Mr Taylor's attitude about him 16 17 during this time period? No, I did not. To be exact, I didn't tell Gaddafi 18 19 Taylor wasn't happy. The message came from Gaddafi to 15:44:48 20 Taylor through me that he said, 'Please tell your President that I am not happy because he is not doing according to 21 22 the revolution.' And there were even particular occasions

Sankoh, but he didn't say the reason why?"

Did blah pass on such a message from Gaddafi to you,

when he said that he shouldn't go close to Foday Sankoh.

And he never wanted him to associate himself with Foday

happy, and I told Taylor that. Gaddafi wasn't happy with

Foday Sankoh and that Taylor shouldn't associate with Foday

He was not happy. If he did that he would not be

- 1 Mr Taylor?
- 2 A. Let me see if I can remember the very content of the
- 3 discussion. Blah did tell me that Gaddafi did not like the
- 4 Sankoh situation. He did mention that to me, because Sankoh was
- 15:45:54 5 not a revolutionary, and my response was that there was nothing
  - 6 that I was that I would do. What he was trying to do, after
  - 7 hearing the news reports that we are helping Sierra Leone,
  - 8 Gaddafi is saying, "Advise him not to do it. This guy is not a
  - 9 revolutionary. He doesn't have any credentials." And my reply
- 15:46:17 10 is, "That's only the news. I would not help him because I cannot
  - 11 help myself." This was the discussion.
  - 12 Q. So there was such an exchange?
  - 13 A. Exactly.
  - 14 Q. Was it after you had become President?
- 15:46:26 15 A. Yes.
  - 16 Q. Now, Mr Blah goes on at page 9882 at line 22 to inform us
  - 17 that he was ambassador for three years.
  - 18 "Q. And after being ambassador, did you move to another
  - 19 position?
- 15:46:57 20 A. Yes, I became Vice-President when Enoch Dogolea died.
  - 21 When the former Vice-President died, then I became
  - 22 Vice-President in his place."
  - Now, let's deal with another topic in relation to Mr Blah,
  - 24 shall we? Now, he describes how, whilst in Libya, he would spend
- 15:47:43 25 June, July, August in Liberia because of the weather I am
  - 26 looking at page 9897 and he says how he would return to Liberia
  - 27 in the winter months when it was cold. Then he goes on to
  - 28 mention this. He is asked this question:
  - 29 "Q. Do you know where the weapons went from the airport?

- 1 A. It was off-loaded. And usually I wouldn't be there
- when it was off-loaded. But I know as a member of NPFL,
- 3 I knew where the weapons went when they were off-loaded.
- Well, I was not at the scene, but usually when weapons were
- 15:49:00 5 received and when I was at the airport, I would be at White
  - 6 Flower, it goes straight to Mr Taylor's house and at the
  - back of his house there was a place underground where the
  - 8 weapons were kept all the time."
  - 9 Where is that place, Mr Taylor?
- 15:49:19 10 A. I have no idea. I have no idea. There was never then, nor
  - 11 is there an underground there. If there were I can see why the
  - 12 Americans went and searched my property looking for Moses Blah
  - 13 Lying underground. There got a search warrant twice. They have
  - 14 been on my property two times.
- 15:49:40 15 Q. How many times have they been on the --
  - 16 A. My property in Monrovia at White Flower has been searched
  - 17 twi ce.
  - 18 Q. Who by?
  - 19 A. The first search was under what do you call it? A search
- 15:49:52 20 warrant from the Special Court of Sierra Leone.
  - 21 Q. What year was that?
  - 22 A. I was in Nigeria. I forgot the year. That's about, I
  - 23 would say, 2002 no, no excuse me, 2002. 2004 or 2005.
  - 24 2004. I would put it to 2004.
- 15:50:12 25 Q. So they searched your property?
  - 26 A. My entire property was searched. In fact, documents from
  - 27 my property are still being held by the Court the Special
  - 28 Court. The second time was last year while I was in incarcerated
  - 29 here. This was accompanied by officials from the United States

- 1 embassy in Monrovia, and my property was searched for the second
- 2 time. There was no underground on that property. If it was so,
- 3 they would have told you. That's a lie. There is not one
- 4 whole even a little truth on my property. That's a lie.
- 15:50:48 5 Q. Well, Mr Taylor, Mr Blah is not the only witness who has
  - 6 spoken of such a thing. You will recall other witnesses claiming
  - 7 there was a cave at the back of White Flower where arms were
  - 8 kept. Are you sure there wasn't?
  - 9 A. Well, like I say, the Court this Special Court has
- 15:51:07 10 searched the property. The Americans got a warrant. In dealing
  - 11 with my son's trial in the United States, they went back last
  - 12 year and searched the property. There is no cave, hole, nothing
  - on that property. They have been through it through and through.
  - 14 Q. And over the page at page 9898 he is asked to explain what
- 15:51:38 15 was White Flower:
  - 16 "White Flower was the code name for the residence of
  - 17 President Taylor."
  - 18 Li ne 11:
  - 19 "Wheresoever he stayed, whether it was in Gbarnga or
- 15:51:55 20 anywhere else, anywhere he stayed it was called White Flower.
  - 21 That was the code name of his residence."
  - Now, that accords with what you've told us.
  - 23 A. That is correct, yes.
  - 24 Q. That wherever you were, that is White Flower, yes? That's
- 15:52:09 25 the code name?
  - 26 A. That is correct.
  - 27 Q. And then he goes on to describe at line 18, for
  - 28 completeness, he is in his old house where the Chinese embassy's
  - 29 ambassador is right now. Is that true? Line 18, page 9898.

- 1 A. Yes. Well, he calls it the second, but I lived at that
- 2 was I lived at that residence, yes, up until 1999, yes, but --
- 3 Q. And then he goes on: "When he built his new house and he
- 4 moved to Upper Congo Town"?
- 15:52:55 5 A. That is correct.
  - 6 Q. "There also was called White Flower"?
  - 7 A. Yes.
  - 8 Q. Jump to line 26:
- 9 "Q. When you talk about the White Flower where there was a 15:53:04 10 hole in back for the weapons, which location are you
- 11 talking about?
  - 12 A. It was at the back of this building. And there was an
  - underground, a very large place, but it was underground in
  - the building. And so when the weapons were received, there
- 15:53:22 15 was a storage there, or any war like material. Not at that
  - particular position and at that time, but at any time
  - 17 weapons were received they were stored there. That was
  - 18 where we went to receive them."
  - 19 So, Mr Taylor, tell me: When you were using your swimming
- 15:53:42 20 pool, were you swimming on top of a load of war material?
  - 21 A. No, no, there's nothing. No hole, nothing.
  - 22 Q. Because there is a tennis court at the back, as we saw in
  - the video and the photographs, and then a swimming pool,
  - 24 underneath all of that was there bombs and ammunition and the
- 15:54:00 25 like stored?
  - 26 A. No. No. I don't know how they could have missed it,
  - 27 because the search that was conducted by the Special Court
  - 28 through asking for that search warrant, the United Nations
  - 29 military forces participated in that entire search of the

- 1 property. There were people they know that property better
- than I know it now, because they were the last to be there.
- 3 There is no such thing on that property. And I do not
- 4 understand, for the life of me, how people make up these kinds of
- 15:54:36 5 stories. I do not understand it. I mean, it I do not
  - 6 understand it. My life is just swinging in the balance on these
  - 7 lies. There is no such thing, counsel. Two groups have been
  - 8 there: The Court have been there, and then the other people went
  - 9 there too. There is no such thing. Never was, never is now.
- 15:55:02 10 Q. Now, before we move on, Mr Taylor, let us just recap.
  - 11 Moses Blah starts off as your inspector general?
  - 12 A. Uh-huh.
  - 13 Q. Following the election he becomes ambassador to Libya?
  - 14 A. Yes.
- 15:55:20 15 Q. And help us. In terms of importance, and given the
  - 16 historical link between yourself and Libya, how important was
  - 17 that role as ambassador to Libya?
  - 18 A. I considered it a very important role.
  - 19 Q. And he leaves from there after three years whilst on in
- 15:55:55 20 January/February in certain spending three months or so a
  - 21 year in Liberia, he comes back to be Vice-President. Yes?
  - 22 A. Yes.
  - 23 Q. How important a role does the Vice-President have,
  - 24 Mr Taylor?
- 15:56:12 25 A. The Vice-President has an important role. Our constitution
  - is modelled and let me just add something. Maybe Moses is
  - counting the half year of 1997 as a year, but there is some
  - 28 disagreement I have with three years. I think it's two and a
  - 29 half. Having said that, our constitution is modelled after that

- 1 of the United States. The roles are the same. The
- 2 Vice-President stands he is President of the Senate. The
- 3 Vice-President takes over in case of the death or incapacity of
- 4 the President and all of the trappings that are related to the
- 15:57:07 5 presidency in case of death or inability to function. Like I
  - 6 say, he serves as President of the Senate, and really he is a
  - 7 close working companion of the President.
  - 8 Q. Now, the reason I ask, Mr Taylor, is this: When we look at
  - 9 the middle of page 9899, Mr Blah is asked this blunt question,
- 15:57:35 10 line 14:
  - 11 Q. Now, did you know of any shipments of arms or were
  - 12 you did you have any knowledge of shipments of arms from
  - 13 Liberia to Sierra Leone?
  - 14 A. No, I wouldn't know."
- 15:57:53 15 Mr Taylor, if your government was shipping arms to Sierra
  - 16 Leone, would Blah have known?
  - 17 A. Yes, the Vice-President would know. Of course he would
  - 18 know.
  - 19 Q. Can you contemplate any scenario where your government
- 15:58:14 20 would be sending arms to Sierra Leone, arms which, given the
  - 21 nature of the allegation you face, originate in Libya and enter
  - 22 Liberia from Burkina Faso that appears to be the suggestion -
  - 23 can you contemplate any situation where your ambassador in Libya
  - 24 who is speaking to Gaddafi, who later becomes Vice-President,
- 15:58:45 25 wouldn't know about arms being shipped to Sierra Leone? Can you
  - 26 help us?
  - 27 A. Yes, I can help you. Well, there are two scenarios here.
  - 28 In any case, he would know at some point along the line, first
  - 29 instance. He is ambassador in Libya. If arms are sent from

- 1 Libya designated for Sierra Leone through Liberia, he would
- 2 definitely know because that the whole arrangement would have
- 3 to be channeled through him and he would have to say to this
- 4 Court: Well, arms were given for Sierra Leone and sent to
- 15:59:26 5 Liberia. He would not be able to say whether they went or not.
  - 6 I give him that benefit of the doubt. On the second hand, he
  - 7 becomes Vice-President. He would know if any weapons went
  - 8 through. He sits on the national security council. He is my
  - 9 closest person.
- 15:59:44 10 I mean, in the final analysis, before the President takes a
  - 11 final decision, of course you want to do it with at least the
  - 12 acquiescence of the Vice-President. Even if you do not get the
  - 13 acquiescence of the Vice-President, even if this is just what you
  - 14 must do, you will still inform the Vice-President and say, "Well,
- 16:00:07 15 look, I have listened to your advice, I have listened to
  - 16 everything, here is my decision." And the Vice-President would
  - 17 do, he would support it. In either scenario, he would know. At
  - 18 one point of the whether it's the upper or lower end of the
  - 19 food chain, he would know.
- 16:00:30 20 Q. Now he says this, and this is about the arms that are
  - 21 coming into Liberia through the airport:
  - 22 "Q. Now in terms of the security situation that existed at
  - the time these weapons were brought in, do you have any
  - 24 recollection of what the security situation was in Liberia
- 16:00:50 25 at the time of the shipment that you accompanied?"
  - Remember he told us about a shipment that where he had
  - 27 gone to Burkina Faso and he brought back the sheep or the goat on
  - the plane, remember? You remember that one?
  - 29 A. Yes.

- 1 Q. Now in relation to that he says:
- Things were getting tense and there were rumours of war.
- 3 There was ULIMO coming from Guinea from Guinea and the
- 4 situation was tense anyway. Everywhere there were rumours of war
- 16:01:22 5 and at that time the war had not reached Monrovia."
  - 6 When do you think this time period can be, Mr Taylor?
  - 7 A. I would put it to about 2001. Around about the beginning
  - 8 of 2001.
  - 9 Q. Now you notice that the witness refers to ULIMO-J and
- 16:01:59 10 ULIMO-K in this regard, yes?
  - 11 A. But then well then, I mean, then that statement I have
  - 12 to withdraw that statement because there is no ULIMO-J or K while
  - 13 Moses Blah is Vice-President or ambassador.
  - 14 Q. All right. Let's take things in stages. Can you recall an
- 16:02:25 15 occasion when Moses Blah went to Burkina Faso and came back on
  - 16 board on aeroplane with a consignment of weapons?
  - 17 A. I would put it to --
  - 18 Q. Well, take it in stages. First of all, did such an event
  - 19 take place?
- 16:02:44 20 A. With Blah? I really, really, really cannot recall
  - 21 Moses okay, yeah, I think it was around if I am not mistaken,
  - 22 around 2001 that Moses when things were very hard, but not with
  - 23 ULIMO. 2001, that Moses went to Burkina Faso when LURD was
  - 24 attacking us very seriously and we had nothing and I sent there
- 16:03:29 25 to see if we could get some little assistance at that particular
  - 26 time, in 2001.
  - 27 Q. And did he return with some assistance?
  - 28 A. Yes, he came back with some assistance in terms of
  - 29 ammuni ti on.

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2 Moses Blah enough to send him to Burkina Faso to fetch arms, why 3 didn't you tell him that you were sending arms over the border to 4 Si erra Leone? Moses Blah wasn't informed because I didn't, so there was 16:03:56 5 nothing to tell him. It was because I didn't. Moses Blah was 6 7 very close to me and that's why - he was very, very close to me. 8 In his position at the time he knew Burkina Faso. In fact Moses speaks a little bit of French, so - and by this time he is Vice-President. So he runs over there because we have a real 16:04:16 10 emergency and there is a very, very small plane and he brings a 11 12 little bit of ammunition back. But in direct answer to your 13 question, there was no such thing going on, that's why he was 14 never told. 16:04:41 15 0. And he is asked thereafter at page 9900: Do you know how this shipment that you came in with 16 "Q. 17 was paid for? No, I wouldn't know. 18 Α. 19 0. Do you know how other shipments were paid for? 16:05:27 20 Α. No. Now during the time of - during this particular time 21 0. 22 when you were ambassador, or during the first year or two when you were Vice-President, did you know of any other 23 24 shipments coming into the airport of arms? 16:05:40 25 Yes, I knew about a particular situation when I was 26 Vice-President lately. That was when a huge sum of 27 consignment came and at that time President Taylor had left

Now help us with this then, Mr Taylor: If you trusted

Liberia and the war was closing in on Liberia and Monrovia

and he went - he disappeared. People thought he had run

|          | 1  | away. Then suddenly he appeared that night and in the             |
|----------|----|-------------------------------------------------------------------|
|          | 2  | morning there was a noise everywhere that a plane landed          |
|          | 3  | with large consignment of weapons and it had been seized by       |
|          | 4  | the UNMIL forces at the time at the Roberts International         |
| 16:06:18 | 5  | Ai rport."                                                        |
|          | 6  | Now, Mr Taylor, do you know anything about that?                  |
|          | 7  | A. No, I don't know what he is talking about here. There is       |
|          | 8  | no UNMIL that seized any arms belonging to me or the Government   |
|          | 9  | of Liberia. That is not correct.                                  |
| 16:06:41 | 10 | What I do recall, for the record, is this: In August 2003,        |
|          | 11 | before I step down as President, about a week into my - we had    |
|          | 12 | gotten a consignment of weapons that was a part of the            |
|          | 13 | consignment that I had written the Security Council on. I think   |
|          | 14 | that was one of the second to the last consignments that landed   |
| 16:07:16 | 15 | at Robertsfield and the peacekeepers had just arrived. These      |
|          | 16 | were not - these were Nigerians and because the war was coming to |
|          | 17 | a close, those things were given to the Nigerian contingent that  |
|          | 18 | landed at the airport. That's in August 2003. That's recorded     |
|          | 19 | in the UN report. There was no UNAMSIL seizing weapons anytime,   |
| 16:07:43 | 20 | no.                                                               |
|          | 21 | Q. He also goes on to say this - he is asked this at page         |
|          | 22 | 9901:                                                             |
|          | 23 | "Q. Was there ever an arms shipment that came in that             |
|          | 24 | might have crashed that you investigated?                         |
| 16:08:02 | 25 | A. Well, I did not investigate it. But there was a                |
|          | 26 | shipment that came in and when it came closer to Roberts          |
|          | 27 | International Airport we drove in there and we saw the            |
|          | 28 | crash. We saw a rescue mission. But that morning we did           |
|          | 29 | not identify from where the crash took place and I was            |

- 1 leaving my house from Paynesville off Monrovia. I was out
- of town. And I saw people yelling everywhere that there
- was a crash that took place. I took my personal car and I
- 4 went there. I did not go to investigate to see what was
- 16:08:33 5 going on."
  - 6 Now, Mr Taylor, was there such an event?
  - 7 A. There was a plane crash in 2002.
  - 8 Q. 2002? Which plane was it?
  - 9 A. It was a chartered plane that was bringing in supplies for
- 16:08:51 10 us and it crashed.
  - 11 Q. What supplies?
  - 12 A. Arm and ammunition.
  - 13 Q. And it crashed?
  - 14 A. Yes.
- 16:08:58 15 Q. And that was in 2002?
  - 16 A. 2002, yes.
  - 17 Q. Then he is asked this:
  - 18 "Q. Now these two shipments that came into Roberts airport,
  - 19 the one that crashed and the one that well, I guess three
- 16:09:25 20 shipments. The one that you accompanied, then the one at
  - 21 the very end of your vice-presidency. Was any other
  - 22 airport to your knowledge used to receive shipments?
  - A. No. I wouldn't know."
  - Now let's look at that in a little detail. A shipment at
- 16:09:45 25 the end of his vice-presidency, when did his vice-presidency come
  - to an end, Mr Taylor?
  - 27 A. In about July/August 2003.
  - 28 Q. And when do you say there was a shipment that landed and
  - 29 was handed over to the Nigerians?

- 1 A. That's the very August in 2003. That's the shipment he is
- 2 talking about, I am sure.
- 3 Q. You also accept there was an aircraft which crashed, yes?
- 4 A. Yes.
- 16:10:09 5 Q. And you also accept there was an occasion when Blah
  - 6 accompanied a small consignment from Burkina Faso?
  - 7 A. Yes.
  - 8 Q. Any other arms shipments, Mr Taylor?
  - 9 A. Yes. I have made it very clear, beginning 2001, with the
- 16:10:31 10 war approaching Monrovia, and I know where Stephen Rapp is going
  - 11 because there is a United Nations Security Council arms embargo,
  - 12 I, Charles Ghankay Taylor, President of the Republic of Liberia,
  - 13 wrote the Security Council and said that according to the United
  - 14 Nations charter, the Security Council had no right under the
- 16:10:51 15 charter to deny Liberia legitimacy of defence and that Liberia
  - 16 would be ordering arms. We gave the destination, the country,
  - 17 the quantity of arms, which was Serbia, we wrote the
  - 18 Security Council. They went to Serbia and checked that it was
  - 19 true. And we told them that under the charter, and we quoted I
- 16:11:12 20 think Article 51 I guoted, that they had the Security Council
  - 21 has no right to deny any member state legitimacy of defence.
  - 22 And then we said that we quoted other permanent members
  - of the council that had said they had a right to act on the
  - 24 perception of a threat and that some of those permanent members
- 16:11:35 25 had acted and that to deny Liberia Legitimacy of defence we
  - thought was in violation of the charter and that we would act in
  - 27 line of the charter by informing them and we did. And we brought
  - in weapons in 2001, in 2002 and 2003 for the legitimate
  - 29 self-defence of the Republic of Liberia. I authorised it and

- 1 that is what happened.
- 2 Q. The witness was also asked at page 9902, line 24:
- 3 "Q. When the NPFL controlled, as you said, 90 per cent
- 4 of Liberia, did shipments come in by air to the NPFL
- 16:12:23 5 forces?
  - 6 A. No, not that I know of."
  - 7 Did you ever receive any arms and ammunition by air from
  - 8 anyone during that period, Mr Taylor?
  - 9 A. No. no.
- 16:12:36 10 Q. Now, Mr Taylor, I am going to deal with one or two short
  - 11 matters before we come to the final two areas that I want to
  - 12 cover with you. I think for completeness we ought to give you
  - 13 the opportunity to comment on these. At page 9907, the witness
  - 14 was asked this, line 16:
- 16:13:05 15 "Q. Perhaps if I ask you what Taylor's relationship was
  - 16 with him" this is your finance minister.
  - 17 "A. The finance minister in question was a minister of
  - 18 government and on one occasion he wanted Mr Taylor wanted
  - some money to be disbursed to the Executive Mansion and he
- 16:13:29 20 refused to do that on the grounds that every money
  - 21 disbursed from the Finance Ministry must be signed for and
  - 22 he became very tough on that. I did not see him discussing
  - it with him discussed, but he discussed it with me and he
  - 24 said when the President asked me to give him some money and
- 16:13:49 25 I refused and that he should sign for this money and that
  - 26 whosoever was to receive money was to sign for that money
  - and it was only on that account that the money will be
  - 28 disbursed, after that he lost his job."
  - 29 And the name was that of Nathaniel Barnes. Did you have

- 1 such a difficulty with your finance minister, Mr Taylor?
- 2 A. No. Nathaniel Barnes served as my finance minister but he
- 3 was dismissed for a matter I am sure that Nat Barnes wouldn't
- 4 want for me to bring before this Court. Nat Barnes was not
- 16:14:30 5 dismissed because he, quote unquote, refused to give me money.
  - 6 To set the Court to give some information, Nat Barnes was the
  - 7 third finance minister in my government. The first one was a
  - 8 gentleman called Elie Saleeby who worked many years for the World
  - 9 Bank and IMF. Very, very, very professional individual.
- 16:14:59 10 Q. Spelling?
  - 11 A. Elie Saleeby. It's a Lebanese name but he is Liberian
  - 12 Lebanese, what we call mulatto, Metis. And he was moved to the
  - 13 Central Bank. And I must say that the Central Bank I am an
  - 14 economist by profession, and I don't believe in what this board
- 16:15:23 15 is saying; and the second one was John Bestman; the third was Nat
  - 16 Barnes that was not brought in. To tell you the truth, Nat
  - 17 Barnes was dismissed because of an act of corruption on the part
  - 18 of Mr Barnes, and I don't think I want to get into the details.
  - 19 But he was not dismiss alone: He along with another official.
- 16:15:47 20 The matter of signing for money. If this was the case where
  - 21 somebody needed money and the finance minister says that somebody
  - 22 had to sign for the money, anybody in my office could have signed
  - 23 for money if it was a money issue. So that is incorrect. And I
  - 24 doubt very much if Nat Barnes told him that, because it would
- 16:16:08 25 have been very simple. All documents that are processed through
  - the Finance Ministry are processed through a system that we call
  - 27 a voucher. The voucher is processed. It goes through the
  - 28 general accounting office. It goes through a pre- and a
  - 29 post-auditing system. It is processed through the controller's

- 1 office at the treasury. So no one can just call and ask for
- 2 money.
- 3 Secondly, maybe I didn't know about this. We could have
- 4 even introduced a document. The laws that were introduced during
- 16:16:49 5 my presidency in setting up the Central Bank of Liberia, all
  - 6 monies and it may not be too late to introduce it through
  - 7 somebody else all monies, all finances, cash, which is the
  - 8 accountants' name for money, in the Republic of Liberia, the
  - 9 Finance Ministry does not keep cash. The Central Bank of Liberia
- 16:17:13 10 is the storage area, is the custodian of all cash, bonds and
  - 11 other things. The only thing that in Finance Ministry even all
  - 12 taxes collected by the government of Liberia are not kept by the
  - 13 Finance Ministry. So it would be silly for anybody to say that
  - 14 you can just call the finance minister and say, "Give me some
- 16:17:33 15 cash." Total stupidity on his part.
  - 16 MR GRIFFITHS: Can I pause for a spelling, Mr President?
  - 17 Elie Saleeby, E-L-I-E, S-A-L-E-E-B-Y.
  - 18 Q. Mr Taylor, who is Talal El-Ndine?
  - 19 A. I know a Talal El-dine [phon]. So maybe they may be
- 16:18:07 20 speaking about the same person, but we are in a court of law.
  - 21 Q. Page 9911, please?
  - 22 A. I don't know this person mentioned here. I know a Talal
  - 23 El -di ne.
  - 24 Q. All right. On the basis that this may be an error of
- 16:18:24 25 spelling, the person you know, who is he?
  - 26 A. Talal El-dine is an American a Lebanese American who, if
  - 27 I am not mistaken, was born and raised in Liberia and served as a
  - 28 businessman and a very good friend of mine. Very good friend of
  - 29 mine. He had long before in fact, during the administration of

- 1 late President Samuel Doe, Talal El-dine had a supermarket chain
- 2 in Liberia. He had the only flour mill in Liberia. He was a
- 3 very big businessman before the NPFL initial incursion into
- 4 Liberia. We met him in Buchanan. I met him in Buchanan for the
- 16:19:15 5 first time in about July 1990. For the first time that I met
  - 6 him, he was in Buchanan. He is a friend of mine.
  - 7 Q. Now, Mr Blah was asked this at page 9911.
  - 8 "Q. Were you familiar with a gentleman with the name Talal
  - 9 Lel Ndine?
- 16:19:43 10 A. I know Talal Lel Ndine. He was a friend of the
  - 11 President. I didn't see him bring money, but I knew that
  - 12 he was very close to the President.
  - 13 Q. Do you know anything about what his business was?
  - A. Talal had one business. He was involved in fisheries,
- 16:20:02 15 fishery company. Talal was involved in building materials.
  - 16 Talal was involved in a lot of different businesses in
  - 17 Liberia. He had people working under him. He was just a
  - 18 big boss. And I only knew him to be Talal, the friend of
  - 19 the President. A friend of Taylor, sorry. He was involved
- 16:20:23 20 in building materials, he was involved in a fishing
  - 21 company. He was involved in a loft business that I cannot
  - count now off the top of my head."
  - Now, Mr Taylor, in order to forestall any future reference,
  - 24 was there any corruption relationship between you and that
- 16:20:44 25 American Liberia businessman?
  - 26 A. No. In fact, Stephen Rapp, I am sure, has met Talal
  - 27 El-dine. He is an American. He is travelling up and down.
  - 28 They've interviewed him ten, twenty times in Lebanon, in the
  - 29 United States. Talal El-dine was a businessman long before the

- 1 NPFL came, and a very big one. It is customary in across the
- 2 length and breadth of most Africa countries there is not one
- 3 major businessman in any country almost in Africa that is not at
- 4 least an acquittance of the President. Nothing corrupt about it.
- 16:21:23 5 He is a friend of mine. I would never deny it to my death. He's
  - 6 a very good friend of mine. Nothing corrupt about it. I
  - 7 wouldn't deny it.
  - 8 Q. Was he providing you with money on the side, Mr Taylor?
  - 9 A. No, he supported the he is a Liberian. He has dual
- 16:21:38 10 citizenship. He supported the NPP. He was on the ground. Like
  - 11 I say, from about July 1990 throughout the war Talal was in
  - 12 Liberia in the NPFL area. He, Moses, knows him very well. But
  - 13 nothing like giving me money or something, no.
  - 14 Q. Well, let's look at another possible suggestion. Was he
- 16:22:03 15 getting preferential treatments?
  - 16 A. No.
  - 17 Q. Soft contracts, or anything like that because of this
  - 18 friendship, Mr Taylor?
  - 19 A. No, there was not one contract that was ever awarded to
- 16:22:17 20 Talal during my presidency, and I challenge anyone to bring me
  - 21 anything to the contrary. Not one contract with the Government
  - 22 of Liberia. Like I say, he was a businessman before the NPFL
  - 23 came in, and he remained a businessman. He talks about
  - 24 fisheries. He had this fishery before I became President. He
- 16:22:36 25 was involved in the supermarket business. He had supermarkets in
  - 26 Buchanan, in Nimba. Nothing. But during my presidency I
  - 27 challenge anyone to bring one instance that there was a contract
  - 28 awarded by my government to Talal. Never.
  - 29 MR GRIFFITHS: A spelling, Mr President and this is taken

- 1 from the 2000 UN panel of experts' report T-A-L-A-L, separate
- 2 word, E-L, hyphen, N-D-I-N-E.
- 3 PRESIDING JUDGE: Thank you.
- 4 MR GRIFFITHS:
- 16:23:27 5 Q. Another detail, Mr Taylor. Now, Mr Blah told us at page
  - 6 9912 that in a meeting with President Gaddafi in Libya, line 11:
  - 7 "Gaddafi wanted to know whether the men who had trained
  - 8 with me were in government positions in high places, and he said:
  - 9 'You, I know you. You are an ambassador. What about the other
- 16:24:02 10 men that were here in training?' So I said, as for me I was
  - 11 already an ambassador. Tiagen Wantee was an ambassador in Guinea
  - 12 and things were going fine. There were other people working in
  - 13 vari ous places."
  - 14 Now, I mention that for this reason. Tiagen Wantee: Is
- 16:24:25 15 this the same ambassador who sent the letter in August 1998?
  - 16 A. Tiagen Wantee, yes, the same ambassador.
  - 17 Q. And is the spelling of name there correct?
  - 18 A. Yes, that's it. Tiagen Wantee, W-A-N-T-E-E, yes.
  - 19 Q. The witness thereafter, Mr Taylor, was shown do you
- 16:24:53 20 remember that you and I have looked at that, the list of
  - 21 special force that is trained in Libya, yes?
  - 22 A. Yes.
  - 23 Q. He was shown that list and he was taken through the list to
  - 24 explain why the symbol "X" appeared next to some of the names.
- 16:25:10 25 Do you recall that?
  - 26 A. Yes, I do.
  - 27 Q. Now, let's just go through these names so that you can
  - 28 provide your account as to what happened to these named
  - 29 individuals. And this particular phase of his

|          | 2  | "A. Those Xs, as inspector general I put those Xs on the    |
|----------|----|-------------------------------------------------------------|
|          | 3  | name. I, Moses Blah.                                        |
|          | 4  | Q. The first person that has an X is the second             |
| 16:25:48 | 5  | individual, Cooper Miller, there is an X. What happened to  |
|          | 6  | hi m?                                                       |
|          | 7  | A. Cooper Miller was a first commander, you can see down    |
|          | 8  | there. He was the first commander. When we were in          |
|          | 9  | training he said that when Taylor was not on the base for a |
| 16:26:02 | 10 | very long time he decided to change the name of the         |
|          | 11 | organisation and become the head of this organisation. He   |
|          | 12 | influenced a lot of the fighting men, the trainees, that he |
|          | 13 | was now the head of this organisation and nobody should     |
|          | 14 | take orders from Taylor any more. But then among the group  |
| 16:26:21 | 15 | Taylor had security people implanted in the group, then he  |
|          | 16 | got this information and he rushed to base and set up an    |
|          | 17 | investigation. Cooper was guilty of doing that with some    |
|          | 18 | few others, so Cooper was arrested and taken out of the     |
|          | 19 | base to Burkina Faso. There was Cooper and Augustus         |
| 16:26:40 | 20 | Wright. They were taken to Burkina Faso. They were taken    |
|          | 21 | to Burkina Faso and the intention of taking them Burkina    |
|          | 22 | Faso was that you would be there and you will not be able   |
|          | 23 | to - nothing will be done to you. You will not be able to   |
|          | 24 | go to Liberia. We should have gone to Liberia and fought.   |
| 16:26:59 | 25 | He would release them and bring them to Monrovia. They      |
|          | 26 | were dangerous to the organisation. But later, as the war   |
|          | 27 | went on between Prince Johnson and us, these men surfaced   |
|          | 28 | on Prince Johnson's bill. The first man, Cooper Miller, he  |
|          | 29 | had a clash with our boys and he was killed. He was         |

1 examination-in-chief commenced at page 9914, line 26:

- 1 executed there on Prince Johnson's base. The second man,
- 2 Augustus Wright, was also executed in LAMCO Yekepa, where
- 3 he had gone to see Mr Taylor. He went in the place where
- 4 Mr Taylor was with arms on him. He was searched by
- 16:27:40 5 security men. They discovered a pistol on him, and he
  - 6 should not have carried an arm where Mr Taylor was without
  - 7 authority. He was then executed too."
  - 8 True or false?
  - 9 A. False. Cooper Miller joined Prince Johnson.
  - 10 Q. Yes?
  - 11 A. And on Prince Johnson's base, he and Prince Johnson had
  - 12 their problems. That had nothing to do with the NPFL. Augustus
  - 13 Wright --
  - 14 Q. What happened to him though, Cooper Miller?
- 16:28:13 15 A. He was killed on Prince Johnson's base.
  - 16 Q. By whom?
  - 17 A. By Prince Johnson people. I am not sure if that's what he
  - 18 is trying to explain.
  - 19 In the case of Augustus Wright, Augustus Wright was I
- 16:28:28 20 mean, did have a pistol and tried to kill me. He was arrested
  - 21 and tried and executed, yes.
  - 22 Q. When you say he tried to kill you, how close did he get?
  - 23 A. Very close. He got close enough that if he had gotten a
  - 24 good shoot, he would have hit me.
- 16:28:44 25 Q. So you agree he was executed?
  - 26 A. Oh, yes.
  - 27 Q. Now, the names that I am referring to, Mr Taylor, are taken
  - 28 from Prosecution exhibit P-116 16, yes?
  - 29 A. Uh-huh.

29

|          | 2  | PRESIDING JUDGE: Just before you go on, I am just               |
|----------|----|-----------------------------------------------------------------|
|          | 3  | cautioning you you have less than two minutes. So if you are    |
|          | 4  | starting a long                                                 |
| 16:29:38 | 5  | MR GRIFFITHS: I think it might be easier if we were to          |
|          | 6  | conclude now. Mr President, can I take the opportunity to give  |
|          | 7  | your Honours an update so far as timing is concerned.           |
|          | 8  | PRESIDING JUDGE: Yes.                                           |
|          | 9  | MR GRIFFITHS: This is the final witness whose evidence I        |
| 16:29:52 | 10 | will be going through. Thereafter, we have a bit of tidying up  |
|          | 11 | to do but I anticipate that I should be able to conclude by     |
|          | 12 | Monday - hopefully early Monday - at the latest.                |
|          | 13 | PRESIDING JUDGE: All right. Thank you. We are going to          |
|          | 14 | adjourn now. Mr Taylor, I remind you there is an order in place |
| 16:30:15 | 15 | that you are not to discuss your evidence.                      |
|          | 16 | We will adjourn until 9.30 tomorrow morning.                    |
|          | 17 | [Whereupon the hearing adjourned at 4.30 p.m.                   |
|          | 18 | to be reconvened on Wednesday, 4 November 2009                  |
|          | 19 | at 9.30 a.m.]                                                   |
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1 Q. That's just for a general reference. Now --

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