



Case No. SCSL-2003-01-T

THE PROSECUTOR OF  
THE SPECIAL COURT  
V.  
CHARLES GHANKAY TAYLOR

WEDNESDAY, 4 NOVEMBER 2009  
9.30 A.M.  
TRIAL

TRIAL CHAMBER II

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Before the Judges:

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

For Chambers:

Ms Erica Bussey

For the Registry:

Ms Rachel Irura  
Mr Benedict Williams

For the Prosecution:

Ms Brenda J Hollis  
Mr Mohamed A Bangura  
Ms Maja Dimitrova

For the accused Charles Ghankay  
Taylor:

Mr Courtenay Griffiths QC  
Mr Morris Anyah  
Mr Terry Munyard

1 Wednesday, 4 November 2009

2 [Open session]

3 [The accused present]

4 [Upon commencing at 9.30 a.m.]

09:32:22 5 PRESIDING JUDGE: Good morning. We'll take appearances,  
6 please.

7 MS HOLLIS: Good morning, Mr President, your Honours,  
8 opposing counsel. This morning for the Prosecution, Brenda J  
9 Hollis, Mohamed A Bangura and our case manager Maja Dimitrova.

09:32:37 10 PRESIDING JUDGE: Thank you. Yes, Mr Griffiths.

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

09:32:49 15 PRESIDING JUDGE: Thank you. Mr Taylor, before we begin  
16 I'll remind you, you're still bound by your oath. Go ahead,  
17 Mr Griffiths.

18 DANKPANNAH DR CHARLES GHANKAY TAYLOR:

19 [On former affirmation]

09:32:58 20 EXAMINATION-IN-CHIEF BY MR GRIFFITHS: [Continued]

21 Q. Now, Mr Taylor, when we adjourned yesterday we had  
22 commenced looking at the testimony of your former Vice-President  
23 Moses Blah, yes?

24 A. That is correct.

09:33:12 25 Q. Now, there are about seven or so discrete topics which I'd  
26 now like to deal with in relation to him. The first is this: On  
27 15 May 2008 at page 10002 of the transcript he was asked this:

28 "Q. Before we leave the other gentleman, what kind of code  
29 was that?"

1 That's the code used by radio operators:

2 "A. I wouldn't know. He was trained to speak to his  
3 colleagues in code. They didn't want other people to know  
4 what they were talking about, but he will interpret to me  
09:34:01 5 what was happening in what location in clear terms, that  
6 this had happened and this is what I received and this is  
7 what we were doing all along.

8 Q. And what groups used code?

9 A. The radio operators used a code and you, the chiefs, it  
09:34:22 10 would be interpreted to you in a clear language, clear  
11 English.

12 Q. But what organisation's code was being used?

13 A. The organisation of the National Patriotic Front -  
14 National Patriotic Party government. We used the code from  
09:34:40 15 the war, from the NPFL. It continued on. That was the  
16 kind of code we used when they are talking. When the  
17 operators are talking to each other they will use the codes  
18 and if you are not trained you will not know what the man  
19 was talking about."

09:35:01 20 Now, help us, Mr Taylor, was that the case in terms of  
21 radio operation under the NPFL?

22 A. Yes, that is true. And, in fact, a theme that has been  
23 followed throughout this trial, we've heard in the case of some  
24 of the operators that came here from the RUF talking about codes  
09:35:27 25 that were developed and we also heard some other witnesses  
26 talking about they were in the radio room or they accompanied  
27 someone to the radio room and they heard it or they listened to  
28 the radio. Well, it is very clear here and I'm sure this is the  
29 whole reason for the development of codes. So all of these

1 explanations that were made here that someone is supposed to walk  
2 in a radio room and understand what is being said on the radio is  
3 a blatant lie. That's the reason that they had codes. So what  
4 Moses is saying here, even he could not understand what was being  
09:36:10 5 transmitted via radio. It had to take the interpretation of the  
6 operator thereafter.

7 So when we look at these RUF so-called logbooks, that's why  
8 you have the logbooks, because the operators are supposed to  
9 receive the messages in codes and then decode them before they  
09:36:30 10 can be passed on to individuals. So if someone says to this  
11 Court, "I read a decoded message that came," that's more logical.  
12 But this nonsense about, "Oh, I was in the radio room and I heard  
13 the discussion," are all blatant lies and that's what Moses is  
14 saying here and it applies across the board. That's what codes  
09:36:52 15 in communication is all about. It's not that anyone that listens  
16 to a message will understand it. You really can't unless it is  
17 decoded and interpreted. That's what he's trying to say.

18 Q. So that when you would receive a message, Mr Taylor, as the  
19 witness was saying, "You, the chiefs, it would be interpreted to  
09:37:14 20 you in a clear language" --

21 A. That is correct.

22 Q. -- so by the time you receive the code, it has already been  
23 interpreted or decoded by the radio operator. Is that right?

24 A. That is correct. That's the case across the board, yes.

09:37:35 25 Q. Now, the second topic I want to deal with with you is this:  
26 During the course of Mr Blah's testimony, his attention was  
27 directed to what has now become Prosecution exhibit 116. I'd  
28 like you to take up that exhibit, please. Now, this is the  
29 original roster of the Special Forces commanders of the National

1 Patriotic Front. Now, the witness's attention, as that's being  
2 prepared, Mr Taylor, was directed to a number of names against  
3 which the letter X had been appended. Do you follow?

4 A. Yes.

09:38:29 5 Q. And we were told by the witness that that designated the  
6 fact that that individual had either died or been executed, okay?

7 A. Yes.

8 Q. Now, some 20 plus such names were put to the witness. I  
9 know not for what purpose, but, nonetheless, I want you to have  
09:38:55 10 the opportunity of telling us what happened to each of these  
11 individuals. Do you follow?

12 A. Yes, I do.

13 Q. Let's start, please, at page 9918 of the transcript of 15  
14 May 2008. Now, the first two names mentioned, Mr Taylor, were  
09:39:18 15 Cooper Miller and Augustus Wright, okay?

16 A. Yes.

17 Q. Cooper Miller, Mr Taylor, second name on the list. We were  
18 told this by Mr Blah, line 3:

19 "Q. You spoke of Miller having gone over to Prince  
09:40:03 20 Johnson's side. I think you also told us in your original  
21 answer that both of these men had gone over to Prince  
22 Johnson's side. Is that correct?

23 A. They had gone there earlier. Augustus had decided  
24 to return to Mr Taylor, but I didn't know what message he  
09:40:21 25 was carrying. But in the process, when he was going he was  
26 found with arms on him, he was investigated and executed.  
27 But for their own safety, they were running away from  
28 Mr Charles Taylor. They didn't know where to go to be  
29 safe. That was when they went to Prince Johnson's base."

1 Now, first of all, did both Cooper Miller and Augustus  
2 Wright defect to Prince Johnson's Independent NPFL?

3 A. No, but - no. Let's put this in context. If we listen,  
4 Moses's testimony on yesterday was to the effect that these two  
09:41:14 5 gentlemen had committed an act or alleged to have committed an  
6 act on the base in Libya. They were taken from the base in  
7 Libya. They were brought to Burkina Faso. From Burkina Faso  
8 they were supposed to be kept until after the revolution.

9 Subsequent to the revolution, they were set free and they went to  
09:41:35 10 Prince Johnson. So to say here that they were running away from  
11 me and did not know where to go is total nonsense. So they are  
12 not running away from me. These people were in my custody, they  
13 were released and they joined the INPFL. That's factual.

14 Q. Both of them did?

09:41:49 15 A. Both of them did. In the case of Cooper Miller - now, I  
16 want to answer your question directly because the markings here  
17 could mean they were killed, it could be mean they died, it could  
18 mean that they were executed. If I understand execution, for me  
19 would mean based on an act that is carried out in a legitimate or  
09:42:18 20 non-legitimate way where somebody is lined up and fired. Some of  
21 these Xs here relate to people that died naturally, some of them  
22 relate to people that were executed and some of them relate to  
23 people that were killed in combat. So as we go through it I will  
24 try to make this distinction.

09:42:38 25 In the case of Cooper Miller, based on your question,  
26 Cooper Miller was killed at the Prince Johnson base within a  
27 fracas with the group that he was with with no connection to the  
28 NPFL. Augustus Wright, an individual - and by the way, I must  
29 tell you Augustus Wright was related to me. He was released, he

1 joined the INPFL and decided that he wanted to return to the  
2 NPFL. We said it was okay, he could return. On a visit to me  
3 Augustus Wright had told individuals that the last act that he  
4 had to carry out was he was going to shoot me. Augustus Wright  
09:43:26 5 appears, he asks for a meeting with me, he comes to see me, he  
6 conceals a .45 weapon in my presence and before he can really  
7 take this weapon from his person - you know, these people have a  
8 way. You can take a weapon and put it in your belt, and  
9 sometimes when the police search you they search you on the side.  
09:43:49 10 But these guys were trained, they would take a .45 weapon and  
11 they put it at the back - in your back, not on the side. In the  
12 back in your pants, okay, in a way that if a trained policeman  
13 doesn't know what he's doing, he will search you and not find the  
14 weapon. The boys searched him that day and did not find it.  
09:44:12 15 Augustus got in my presence and made an attempt to get this  
16 weapon and he was captured, he was tried, and he was executed for  
17 attempted assassination as a soldier.

18 Let me just add, before you go to the next question, all of  
19 the individuals that are on this list are military people. All  
09:44:33 20 of them were acted against not under common law; they were acted  
21 against under the uniform code of military justice based on the  
22 special operational order that had been approved by the NPFL.

23 Q. Second name - well, third name, same page, 9918:  
24 "Q. Number 9 has an X by it. You said you've put the Xs  
09:45:06 25 there, why did you put an X by Mr Kerseh, Peter Kerseh's  
26 name?

27 A. Peter Kerseh was one of the strong fighting men. He  
28 crossed over to Prince Johnson and they were fighting  
29 against the NPFL. Later he decided to come back to

1 Taylor's group. He was arrested on a motorbike one  
2 morning. I don't know the exact date. The case was also  
3 reported to the President that Peter Kerseh had been  
4 arrested and it was ordered that he should be investigated  
09:45:42 5 and if he was found guilty he should be executed.

6 Judge Sebutinde: Was Peter Kerseh also executed?

7 The Witness: Yes, for desertion. He left his post and  
8 went over to Prince Johnson."

9 Is that correct, Mr Taylor?

09:46:02 10 A. That is not correct. Peter Kerseh died in combat between  
11 the INPFL and the NPFL. He was killed in combat.

12 Q. Right. The next name is number 10 on the list, Samuel  
13 Varney. Now, so as Varney is concerned Mr Blah said this, page  
14 9919, line 3:

09:46:34 15 "He later became the commander general of the Liberian  
16 army. He's also from my ethnic group. He was one of the trained  
17 soldiers for the Liberian government earlier before the NPFL was  
18 founded."

19 And then he went on to say --

09:46:46 20 PRESIDING JUDGE: Just before you go any further, Samuel  
21 Varney does not have an X against it on my list.

22 MR GRIFFITHS: But it's mentioned in the evidence of - it  
23 was - I'm looking at the transcript for 15 May 2008, your Honour,  
24 and it reads at line 1:

09:47:11 25 "Before we go to the next X at Number 11, the number 10  
26 individual" - who is Samuel G Varney, and he was asked about him.  
27 So there wasn't an X against his name but the questioner was  
28 asking the witness about him.

29 PRESIDING JUDGE: I see. Yes, I'm sorry to interrupt. Go



1 ahead.

2 MR GRIFFITHS: Not at all, Mr President:

3 Q. Now, he went on to say at line 20, 21.

4 "Q. Samuel Varney, is he alive?

09:47:44 5 A. Varney's dead. He got sick and died."

6 Is that true, Mr Taylor?

7 A. That's correct. And the death and Samuel Varney getting  
8 sick occurred while I was - in fact, Varney has been dead not  
9 more than a year. It occurred while I was incarcerated by the  
10 Special Court. He died a natural death.

09:48:02

11 Q. The next one he was asked about was Number 11, who is  
12 Yegbeh Degbon. Mr Blah said this, line 25 on page 9919:

13 "This man was also executed. He was the most educated man  
14 in the NPFL. He was a geologist and he had been very loyal to  
15 President Taylor but he got into trouble. He was also  
16 investigated and it was found that he made a coup and wanted to  
17 overthrow the organisation at the time and become head of that  
18 organisation. He became executed on the orders of Mr Taylor,  
19 that I know of".

09:48:30

20 Is that true?

09:48:47

21 A. That is true. Yegbeh Degbon was the one associated with  
22 the Black Kadaffa movement that we talked about where they used  
23 Sierra Leoneans and some Liberians - but most of them were Sierra  
24 Leoneans - where they put together, he and others, this Black  
25 Kadaffa force to counter the NPFL. And just like he said, he was  
26 investigated and found guilty.

09:49:06

27 Q. And do you recall, Mr Taylor, evidence called before this  
28 Court which indeed we have looked at regarding an RUF retreat  
29 from Pujehun and a meeting in Bomi Hills at which Black Kadaffa

1 was formed? Do you recall that evidence?

2 A. Yes, I do.

3 Q. Bearing that in mind, when we look at page 9920 in relation  
4 to Degbon, Mr Blah says this:

09:49:42 5 "He became executed on the orders of Mr Taylor that I know  
6 of.

7 Q. What organisation was he trying to take over?

8 A. National Patriotic Front of Liberia.

9 Q. Was he accused of acting with other individuals?

09:49:57 10 A. Yes, at the time he was executed."

11 Further down:

12 "There was another person was arrested and executed.

13 Q. And do you know what time period this was?

14 A. This was during the war. This was during the war. At  
09:50:18 15 this time the war was being fought very close to Monrovia,  
16 Bomi Hills, and we were fighting to gain territory at that  
17 time. It was at that stage of the war."

18 Is that true, Mr Taylor?

19 A. Yes, to a great extent. This was about the Bomi Hills  
09:50:38 20 time, but this is - when he said near Monrovia, we have to  
21 clarify maybe the side. Because we are near Monrovia in 1990 but  
22 this occurs later because it's on the other side of Monrovia,  
23 which is the Bomi side. So to a great extent it involves the  
24 Bomi - he doesn't get into the details and you haven't asked me  
09:51:02 25 to get into the details, but near Monrovia, Bomi Hills, you know,  
26 I can accept that.

27 Q. Now the next name he was asked about, which again doesn't  
28 have an X next to it, was Prince Johnson, number 12. Page 9920:

29 "Q. Prince Y Johnson, is that the individual that led a

1 separate force from the NPFL at one time?

2 A. Yes, this is the Prince Johnson. He is now senior  
3 senator of Nimba County. He is alive. He is in Liberia.

09:51:44

4 Q. You now say he's now a senator. How did he avoid that  
5 fate?

6 A. As far as I'm concerned, he has not been investigated  
7 by anyone. He fled to Nigeria through the help of the  
8 United Nations peacekeeping force. He returned to Liberia  
9 and maybe he won the election and became senator for my  
10 area Nimba County.

09:52:01

11 Q. Do you know when he went to Nigeria?

12 A. He went to Nigeria when he fled from his camp.  
13 Immediately when he killed Samuel Kanyon Doe he had planned  
14 to escape, he was also attacked by us and it was during one  
15 of these attacks that Cooper Miller was killed and he too  
16 decided to escape from his base. That was when he was  
17 escorted from out of there by the Nigerian peacekeeping  
18 forces because they wanted peace, so they took him away to  
19 Nigeria. He had been there for years, I cannot remember.

09:52:21

20 It was during our last election that he resurfaced and he  
21 stood for elections and won."

09:52:37

22 Is that true, Mr Taylor?

23 A. Yeah. He doesn't get into all the details, but so far it's  
24 true. And I think now if I'm understanding this, he said that it  
25 was during one of the attacks that Cooper Miller was killed.

09:52:54

26 Well, now we know what happened to Cooper Miller. I thought I  
27 executed Cooper Miller. That's one of - now we know what  
28 happened to Cooper Miller.

29 Q. Now, the next name he was asked about was the person at 14,

1 Michael Paygar.

2 "Q. Michael Paygar, do you know about him?

09:53:35

3 A. Michael Paygar had been the executive guard battalion  
4 commander for a time period, but he has been dismissed or  
5 transferred because he has not been behaving properly.

6 He'd been drunk and later in his life he's in Monrovia and  
7 he left the job. He was sacked by Mr Taylor."

8 Is that true?

09:53:51

9 A. No. In fact, Michael Paygar was never sacked. He's an old  
10 armed forces personnel. In fact, Michael is alive and well right  
11 now. But he was never sacked by me. In fact, he continued with  
12 the armed forces after my presidency.

13 Q. Okay. The witness's attention was then drawn to the second  
14 page of this document and in particular to number 8, Timothy

09:54:16

15 Mulibah:

16 "Q. What do you know about Timothy Mulibah.

17 A. Mulibah was executed on a charge of trying to overthrow  
18 Mr Taylor.

09:54:31

19 Q. Was it alleged that he was associated with other  
20 persons in that effort?

21 A. Yes. There were other people who were against  
22 Mr Taylor like Prince Johnson, there were other people whom  
23 I cannot remember off the top of my head now. He was  
24 arrested, a board was set up, he was investigated and his  
09:54:48 25 execution was ordered by the President."

26 Is that true, Mr Taylor?

27 A. Timothy Mulibah was a part of the Degbon group, yes. He  
28 was associated with that.

29 JUDGE SEBUTINDE: May I seek a clarification. When you say

1 someone was investigated and executed or investigated and found  
2 guilty, does that mean they were tried?

3 THE WITNESS: They were tried.

4 JUDGE SEBUTINDE: Or just investigated?

09:55:15 5 THE WITNESS: No, your Honour, they were tried. There was  
6 a court-martial board set up, a tribunal set up, they were  
7 represented by counsel and everything. That has been stated  
8 throughout the trial, yes. It was not just a security group  
9 investigation. They were investigated, they went before a  
09:55:34 10 court-martial board. They were represented by counsel. In fact  
11 counsels of the bar of Liberia. They were properly, properly -  
12 it was properly adjudicated, but using the uniform code of  
13 military justice and not civil law or what you call common law.

14 MR GRIFFITHS:

09:56:00 15 Q. Now, on that same point the witness was asked this on the  
16 same page, page 9922, line 9:

17 "Q. And I just want to be clear. I mean, just in terms of  
18 the specifics of the order, do you know about this order  
19 specifically or is it a conclusion that you reached about  
09:56:16 20 who made the order?"

21 A. This investigation Taylor was involved. He became very  
22 serious about this. That was how I came to know. Before  
23 he was executed he was hunted because he's been running  
24 around, but he was arrested. I should have known at the  
09:56:33 25 time because of my position."

26 Is that fair, Mr Taylor?

27 A. That's fair, yeah. They had to really be looking - you  
28 know, like he said, he should have known and he knew because of  
29 his position, yes.

1 Q. And that's Moses Blah should have known, yes?

2 A. Yes, yes, that is correct.

3 Q. Now, the next name that the witness was asked about was  
4 number 58, Enoch Dogolea:

09:57:08 5 "Q. You mentioned that name yesterday as the man that was  
6 Vice-President before you became Vice-President.

7 A. Yes, sir.

8 Q. And you said he died?

9 A. Yes, sir.

09:57:18 10 Q. And did you receive any reports on how he died?

11 A. Well, to my knowledge Enoch was sick and Taylor at the  
12 time had sent him to France and to other European countries  
13 for medication. He came back, the sickness got worse and  
14 he was taken to Abidjan. That was when he died. That is  
09:57:34 15 what I know of his death. But rumour came after that that  
16 he had been beaten by Mr Taylor and there was a newspaper  
17 report that he was beaten by Mr Taylor. I was not there  
18 when he was beaten but from my analysis he died from a  
19 sickness.

09:57:51 20 Q. And do you know the source of the rumour?

21 A. Rumours in Liberia are like wildfire. If anything  
22 happens in Liberia everybody will tell you. They will even  
23 say things that they do not know about."

24 Now, Mr Taylor, two things. Firstly, that description as  
09:58:17 25 to how Enoch Dogolea came to his end, is that true?

26 A. That is true. Enoch suffered from hepatitis. I did send  
27 him to Europe. He did go to France. He did go to a little area  
28 called Andorra. I remember him going to Andorra. He went back  
29 to Liberia. He was subsequently treated in La Cote d'Ivoire. In

1 fact, he died in a hospital in La Cote d'Ivoire. And it is true  
2 that there were these rumours that he had been killed, and so  
3 what the government did - I did, with the consent of his family,  
4 with the assistance of the French government, we had pathologists  
09:59:08 5 brought in and conducted, what they call it?

6 Q. Post mortem?

7 A. Yeah, an autopsy of the body in Abidjan and those records  
8 were made clear in public. And I tell you quite frankly, I  
9 regretted that I ever permitted that to happen because I really -  
09:59:27 10 quite frankly, and it's very silly of me, I really didn't know  
11 what happened during the autopsy. And when I saw the report, I  
12 really said I would never permit any other autopsy or any other  
13 human being dead. You know, it was just terrible. So I  
14 regretted that. But what Moses explained, he died naturally and

09:59:55 15 he was someone that was very, very - he was a former school  
16 teacher and a pastor that I loved very much, and so even the  
17 nonsense of some of these things that what Rapp is going to,  
18 that's exactly the type of situation that we find when this - I  
19 don't know what to call him, Zigzag Marzah came here talking  
10:00:18 20 about he beat Enoch Dogolea to death and all that kind of  
21 nonsense. All a lie. He died from natural causes. Foreign  
22 governments were involved in the analysis of his death, you know.  
23 So that's not true.

24 Q. Mr Taylor, what about thought observation made by your  
10:00:34 25 Vice-President, "If anything happens in Liberia everyone will  
26 tell you. They will even say things that they do not know  
27 about," is that true?

28 A. That's true. And that's not just true for Liberia, but  
29 most of our people in that region, they do not have to be present

1 to know something. They hear one part, and before you look, it  
2 takes on tentacles of different magnitudes you would not believe.  
3 And it is true and Liberia is no exception. It is very, very  
4 true.

10:01:13 5 Q. Now, the next person that he was asked about was number 65,  
6 Joe Tuah. He was identified by Mr Blah as deputy director of the  
7 SSS. Is that right, Mr Taylor?

8 A. No, no, no. Joe was an assistant director of the SSS.

9 Q. And what happened to him?

10:01:39 10 A. Joe Tuah is alive and well. In fact, Joe, just a few  
11 months ago, completed a masters degree programme in international  
12 relations at the University of Liberia, a couple of months ago.  
13 Very, very close to me. And may I just - well, anyway, no. I  
14 think that would be --

10:02:12 15 Q. Now, the next person he was asked about was number 72,  
16 Francis Menwon, and he says this, line 22, page 9923:

17 "Francis Menwon was one time investigated. There was a  
18 report on Francis Menwon that he was planning to overthrow the  
19 government. He was arrested and investigated but he got off the  
10:02:34 20 hook. He wasn't arrested. He was wearing plain clothes. He was  
21 no longer close to the President, and as I'm speaking to you now,  
22 he is now in Monrovia doing nothing."

23 Is that true?

24 A. Well, a part of it is true and a part of it is not. Well,  
10:02:51 25 it's good that he mentioned it, Francis Menwon, so it just shows  
26 that they were not cold because I guess what the Prosecutor was  
27 trying to show, this is just a cold blooded murderer that just  
28 went around killing people. People were investigated and  
29 released. Francis Menwon is a boy still very close to me. He



1 was not just doing nothing.

2 During my presidency, he was one of those individuals that  
3 I sent to university. He's just recently graduated again. A  
4 whole bunch of these Special Forces you see on the list, most of  
10:03:20 5 them have now gotten their degrees from the university and doing  
6 things. So Francis Menwon, I have spoken to so many times, even  
7 since my incarceration. So he is right now - he is out of  
8 university and looking for a job, but he was in school during the  
9 time, that's why he was not working.

10:03:40 10 Q. The next one he was asked about was number 71, John Duo.

11 "Q. Do you know what happened to John Duo?"

12 A. John Duo got sick and died."

13 Is that true?

14 A. That is true.

10:03:56 15 Q. Then number 75, Oliver Varney:

16 "Q. Do you know what happened to him?"

17 A. Yes, Oliver Varney was arrested and investigated for  
18 trying to overthrow Taylor at the time. His execution was  
19 also ordered.

10:04:10 20 Q. Do you know who ordered his execution?

21 A. Well, I have been always saying this, I will presume  
22 all the time that it was Mr Taylor because he had the order  
23 to execute anybody. He was arrested on a charge of  
24 attempting to overthrow him, Taylor, as head of NPFL. That  
10:04:26 25 was when he was executed was ordered."

26 Is that true?

27 A. Oliver Varney, Yegbeh Degbon, Timothy Mulibah, yes, that's  
28 the group with Black Kadaffa. That's the other man.

29 Q. Varney --

1 A. Is the commander in Bomi. Varney, Anthony Mekunagbe and  
2 the third person just mentioned, we passed his name already,  
3 Timothy Mulibah, that's the Black Kadaffa group.

4 Q. Next person he was asked about was number 88, Anthony  
10:04:59 5 Mekunagbe:

6 "Q. Do you know what happened to him?

7 A. He was also executed for attempting to overthrow the  
8 leader of the overall group NPFL. He was executed -  
9 investigated and executed by the order of President  
10:05:16 10 Taylor."

11 True?

12 A. True. Based on the explanation, yes.

13 Q. Number 90, Johnson T Leaman:

14 "Leaman got sick and died. He had a job as a minister,  
10:05:27 15 deputy minister for coast guard affairs in the Defence Ministry.  
16 He got sick and died. He was appointed by President Taylor but  
17 he died. Just recently he got sick and died."

18 True?

19 A. True. But excuse me, counsel, because, again, I think the  
10:05:43 20 Honourable Justice Sebutinde asked a very important question

21 earlier. Now, the way how I'm answering these questions and the  
22 way that it is put here, "He was investigated by President Taylor  
23 and executed," true, and I'm saying "true", for the records, for  
24 the future, I'm not saying - I'm saying "true" in the context of  
10:06:08 25 an investigation, a court procedure. I'm answering to the fact

26 of the execution. But I'm sure as the records are being put now,  
27 it would be saying that Taylor - I'm sure someone could say,  
28 "Well, you said yes when the question was asked you that you  
29 investigated" - I just hope that the context, for the sake of the

1 record, is understood that there is a process here and Moses cuts  
2 it short by saying, "Well, he was investigated and executed by  
3 President Taylor." I'm saying true for the process of the  
4 arrest, the investigation, the court-martial and the decision of  
10:06:46 5 court-martial that is carried out. That's what I'm saying yes  
6 to.

7 Q. Very well. I think we all understand. Number 99, Paul  
8 Nimley:

9 "Q. Do you know about him?

10:07:01 10 A. I know about Paul Nimley. He is well. He's okay. He  
11 later became the representative for his county. He was  
12 working with the legislature. He was elected during the  
13 Taylor government and he was one of the representatives for  
14 Sinoe County."

10:07:22 15 Is that true?

16 A. I forget whether it's Sinoe. It could have been Grand Kru,  
17 but he was appointed by me to the post in the House, and I'm  
18 saying appointed because the elections of 1997 were done under  
19 the process of proportional representation. And so after the  
10:07:48 20 process and the percentage that was available, it was to the  
21 party to designate. So he was designated as a member of the  
22 House of Representatives, not elected as he's saying there.

23 Q. Page 9926, line 6:

24 "Q. Let's go on to number 103, Joe Doe.

10:08:11 25 A. Joe Doe had an unfortunate situation. He was in  
26 Monrovia after the war when Benjamin moved to Foya close to  
27 Sierra Leone on an assignment. That was where he asked Joe  
28 Doe to go. But previously Joe Doe had a problem with  
29 Benjamin Yeaten which I investigated between the two of

1           them. Joe Doe's brother's wife was taken by Benjamin as  
2           his wife and there was a confusion. Joe Doe being afraid  
3           of Benjamin, he didn't want to be involved with our  
4           organisation, he fled into La Cote d'Ivoire. Benjamin  
10:08:50 5           persuaded him. He sent people after him. They convinced  
6           him and he came back to Liberia. When Benjamin went to  
7           Foya, as I said, he sent for Joe Doe. He said he wanted to  
8           talk to Joe Doe. The night he entered Foya, it was that  
9           night that he was arrested, investigated that he wanted to  
10:09:05 10          overthrow Taylor at the time. And as I heard, from what my  
11          security told me, there was a bitter argument. He said,  
12          'You called me here. How would I overthrow you in the  
13          bush?' And they said they should execute him. That's how  
14          he got killed. He was executed by Benjamin Yeaten.

10:09:25 15          Q. To your knowledge, was he engaged in any effort to  
16          overthrow the Government of Liberia?

17          A. That I don't know. He was a very quiet individual.  
18          Very, very quiet indeed."

19          Is that true?

10:09:36 20          A. To a great extent, I don't have any quarrel - I don't know  
21          the details. The information that reached to me about Joe Doe  
22          was that during the fighting in Lofa, Joe Doe was killed in an  
23          ambush. Joe Doe was never accused, that I know, of being  
24          involved in any plot to overthrow me, no. Joe Doe was never the  
10:09:58 25          subject of any investigation by the government, that I know of.  
26          So Moses knows more about this than I do.

27                 But what information reached me, because he's one of the  
28          Special Forces, was that this is during the war against LURD and  
29          that he was killed in a LURD ambush. Now, Moses never revealed

1 this to me, that he had intervened in a woman conflict between  
2 Benjamin and Joe Doe, but my government never accused Joe, and  
3 this is - when I heard it here in the Court, I was very shocked  
4 and in a way outraged because I did not know that there was a  
10:10:41 5 woman confusion that caused this young man's death. I was not  
6 aware of that. What was reported to me was that he died in an  
7 ambush.

8 Q. Now, help us, just so that we're clear for future  
9 reference, do you recall there being an investigation in which  
10:10:56 10 Moses Blah was involved --

11 A. No.

12 Q. -- as inspector general?

13 A. No, that's what I'm saying, that this - maybe all  
14 Nimbadians - this is about woman business. This is - he's saying  
10:11:09 15 that he investigated some woman issue. That would not come to  
16 me. The boys fuss about women all the time and maybe he just  
17 intervened. But this was not anything that reached to me that he  
18 was conducting investigations, so I was a little shocked when I  
19 heard about it.

10:11:25 20 What reached to me - because any time we lost a Special  
21 Force in combat, that was of great concern to me, because these  
22 boys were real trained and just to lose them in combat - and it  
23 was reported and the official report was that Joe Doe died in an  
24 ambush.

10:11:42 25 Q. Very well. Next one he was asked - no, before we do that,  
26 he was asked at page 9927, in relation to the death of Joe Doe,  
27 line 1:

28 "Q. Do you know what the assignment was at the time?

29 A. Benjamin was moving everywhere, wherever there was

1 fighting. I didn't know whether it was by order of the  
2 President or by himself. He was like - he became so  
3 powerful that he could do anything. He could go anywhere.  
4 And so he had gone there on one of those occasions to see  
10:12:21 5 how the men were fighting at the border with Sierra Leone.  
6 That was when he sent for Joe Doe and Joe Doe got killed  
7 there. He executed Joe Doe there."

8 Now, Mr Taylor, first of all, is it the case that Benjamin  
9 could go anywhere?

10:12:40 10 A. Yes, Benjamin - yeah, Benjamin could go practically  
11 anywhere. And if I'm looking at this period that Moses could be  
12 referring to, Moses must be talking about the war with LURD.  
13 This is - by then he's Vice-President. He cannot be talking  
14 about this any time before that particular time. And by this  
10:13:02 15 time Benjamin - while he's SSS director Benjamin is a general,  
16 and he's one of the people that - really one of the brave people  
17 that can actually go to the front line and these places. So what  
18 Moses is talking about here, at this time this is the war in Lofa  
19 against LURD. So this has got to be somewhere now in about - I  
10:13:28 20 would put it to about 2001 that Moses is talking about. He being  
21 a soldier himself is moving around, so Benjamin was moving, yes.  
22 Wherever there was a major combat, it didn't take my  
23 authorisation for Benjamin to move. By this time the SSS, the  
24 Secret Service, was being mostly run by his deputy Montgomery.  
10:13:56 25 Benjamin at one point was promoted, in fact approved by the  
26 senate, and he, during the tough part of the war, was made deputy  
27 chairman of the joint chiefs and in charge of combat in the  
28 country. So he went wherever he visited the different front  
29 lines, the divisional headquarters. He did move around, yes.

1 Q. Now, what about this part: "He became so powerful that he  
2 could do anything"?

3 A. No, man. I was not too powerful that I could do anything.  
4 Liberia operated under laws. I don't know what Moses means by he  
10:14:38 5 was so powerful, but as a general and because the country had  
6 deteriorated to a point - I mean, there was some senior officers  
7 of the armed forces at that time like Benjamin and other senior  
8 generals that could move and during that - I don't claim to know  
9 everything that Benjamin did, I do not, and neither do I claim  
10:15:06 10 that I was aware or ordered him to do everything that he did.

11 But as far as being so powerful that he could do anything within  
12 the law that reached to me, yes, there are a lot of things that  
13 he could do and a lot of things that Moses was powerful too that  
14 he could do.

10:15:35 15 PRESIDING JUDGE: There's something in the transcript that  
16 should be corrected now just in case it's missed when the  
17 transcript is edited later. The transcript has you saying,  
18 Mr Taylor, at page 26, line 18 - your answer was, "No, man. I  
19 was not too powerful that I could do anything. Liberia operated  
10:15:50 20 under lies." Now, you said, to my hearing, "Liberia operated  
21 under laws."

22 THE WITNESS: "Laws", that's correct.

23 PRESIDING JUDGE: All right. I'll get that - that's on the  
24 transcript now.

10:17:07 25 JUDGE SEBUTINDE: Sorry, Mr Griffiths, on that same issue.  
26 The text that you just quoted from the transcript, was Moses  
27 speaking about Mr Taylor or was he speaking about Benjamin Yeaten  
28 being powerful and being able to do anything?

29 MR GRIFFITHS: My reading of it is that he was talking

1 about Benjamin.

2 JUDGE SEBUTINDE: And so the answer that Mr Taylor gave is  
3 about himself?

10:17:40

4 MR GRIFFITHS: Yes, by comparison. Saying I, as President,  
5 couldn't do anything, and that's the context in which he was  
6 answering the question, if one looks at the answer given by  
7 Mr Taylor.

10:18:01

8 JUDGE SEBUTINDE: I would have imagined that you asked: Is  
9 it true that Benjamin Yeaten was all powerful and could do  
10 anything?

11 MR GRIFFITHS:

12 Q. Let me clarify it then by asking that question  
13 specifically. Was it true that Benjamin Yeaten became so  
14 powerful that he could anything, Mr Taylor?

10:18:14

15 A. No.

16 Q. Now, 121 on the list is indeed Benjamin Yeaten, and in  
17 relation to him you will see that he was asked this question at  
18 line 13:

10:18:29

19 "Q. He could go all over. Did he go anywhere that Taylor  
20 did not want him to go?

21 A. He must go with permission. Each time you see Benjamin  
22 you will see the chief. He had greater power in a way.

23 The only person that was above Benjamin at the time that I  
24 know was President Taylor. Nobody else."

10:18:50

25 Mr Taylor, was there this other power in the land?

26 A. No. No. I guess Moses may be seeing this from a different  
27 perspective that maybe later I will comment on, but no.

28 Q. Well, comment on it now, please?

29 A. Well, I guess when Moses as Vice-President went to Benjamin



1 Yeaten and said to Benjamin Yeaten that an indictment had been  
2 unveiled in Accra and that he had been asked to take over and  
3 that Benjamin should proceed and give him that cooperation and  
4 Benjamin said no, I suspect that this is why he's saying that  
10:19:39 5 Benjamin was powerful, and as a general he was just doing his  
6 duty. So I can see why he's claiming that Benjamin is so  
7 powerful because Benjamin - there are some instances where a  
8 soldier will have to make decisions. Even if he got an order  
9 from whoever, there are orders in the armed forces that military  
10:20:01 10 people can refuse to carry out. If they deem that order to be  
11 contrary to the laws of the land they can refuse to carry that  
12 order. So I'm just saying that Moses knows very well that  
13 Benjamin was not so powerful in Liberia that he could, as he  
14 describes it, do whatever he wanted to do. So I'm suggesting  
10:20:23 15 that he's saying this in the context of Benjamin's refusal to  
16 take his order to carry out a coup d'etat because he knows that  
17 Benjamin is not that powerful. There's a chief of staff of the  
18 armed forces. There are other senior government officials that  
19 Benjamin took orders from, respected them. So for him to say  
10:20:45 20 this must be in the context of Benjamin refusing to carry out his  
21 orders to carry out a coup d'etat.

22 Q. Now, what happened to Moses Blah when he tried to order  
23 Benjamin Yeaten to carry out a coup d'etat? What happened to  
24 Moses Blah?

10:21:02 25 A. At the time Benjamin refused, he called me at Accra. I  
26 told him - in fact, the army had taken the decision to arrest the  
27 Vice-President before my arrival in Monrovia. I told them no,  
28 that for the armed forces to carry out that arrest it would not  
29 be proper, that I would be coming in and it was better for me to

1 order that. I arrived. Moses came to the airport. They  
2 escorted me to the mansion. We convened a meeting there with  
3 other senior cabinet officials, members of the legislature. I  
4 reported to them, the general reported. The General Yeaten  
10:21:44 5 played the recorded telephone conversation with United States  
6 embassy where they had asked him to cooperate with the  
7 Vice-President and he had refused. It is in that meeting that I  
8 ordered that the Vice-President be arrested.

9 Q. And so you ordered Blah to be arrested?

10:21:59 10 A. I did, yes.

11 Q. And that was after you returned from Accra?

12 A. That is correct.

13 Q. And was that the time in Accra when the indictment was  
14 unveiled?

10:22:10 15 A. That is correct.

16 Q. And how long did Blah remain in custody?

17 A. Blah was in custody for - I would say the whole process  
18 took about - the process took about a month. I'd say about a  
19 month. And since this question came out let me just answer. And  
10:22:37 20 even during that process Blah was treated with respect. He was  
21 not placed in the prison. He was kept under house arrest during  
22 the period of the full investigation by government. In fact, a  
23 legislative committee. Following that investigation it was  
24 determined that yes - in fact, Blah admitted that he had been  
10:23:03 25 encouraged to this. But because of the fact that I was leaving  
26 power and for continuity, we decided to - I decided to  
27 reinstatement him as Vice-President.

28 Q. Right. Let's move on. The next name put to the witness  
29 was number 123, Dopoe Menkarzon. Now, the witness didn't

1 actually say what happened, according to the transcript before  
2 me, to him. So you tell us, Mr Taylor, what's the situation with  
3 Dopoe Menkarzon?

10:23:44

4 A. Dopoe Menkarzon is alive and well. In fact, Dopoe  
5 Menkarzon met with the Prosecution in this case in Monrovia.  
6 Alive and well, held a meeting with them. They tried to persuade  
7 him in certain ways along with a cousin of my mine, Samuel  
8 Johnson. Samuel Johnson, left a meeting, held a press  
9 conference, and the Prosecution went to the Registrar and  
10 restricted my speaking to Samuel Johnson for the past three  
11 years, my nephew. So Dopoe Menkarzon is alive and well in  
12 Monrovia, and the Prosecution knows that.

10:24:09

13 Q. The next person mentioned is Paul Vaye, number 127.  
14 According to Mr Blah, Paul Vaye got sick with AIDS and died. Is  
15 that true?

10:24:37

16 A. I know he got sick and died. AIDS I can't be certain of.

17 Q. Very well. Number 132, Musa Cisse. What's happened to  
18 Musa Cisse, Mr Taylor?

10:24:55

19 A. Again another person that - Musa Cisse died about a year  
20 ago of - he got sick and died.

21 Q. And then number 138 he was asked about, Sam Larto, and  
22 Mr Blah told us this:

10:25:21

23 "Sam Larto was one of the strong fighters of the National  
24 Patriotic Front. He got killed on the highway of Monrovia,  
25 Gbarnga. He saw a man with a television set and he stopped that  
26 man for inspection. He inspected the boy and the fellow said it  
27 was a TV and he said, 'You've stolen this TV', and got into a  
28 quarrel and he got the man, he took out his pistol and he shot  
29 the man. He was arrested by Taylor and put in detention. He was

1 investigated and executed."

2 Is that true?

3 A. Well, a part of that is true. But let me just remind the  
4 Court. Sam Larto was not just - in fact, he was tried, but not  
10:25:58 5 just for that alone. Moses Blah - that Moses Blah told this  
6 Court that in Maryland County Sam Larto had murdered more than, I  
7 think, 60 civilian individuals --

8 Q. Don't malign him on this point, Mr Taylor, because he does  
9 go on to say in the same answer this:

10:26:21 10 "Previously Sam Larto had gone into Zwedru, Grand Gedeh.

11 They had brought some people to safety from the bushes where we  
12 were controlling Grand Gedeh and I was responsible for the  
13 elderlies, the pregnant women, the old ladies. At one time I  
14 went to the highway as I mentioned, Maryland, Cape Palmas

10:26:44 15 highway. Sam Larto went after me. In my absence he went there  
16 in the old administrative building where I kept these people. I  
17 was caring for these people. He went there and executed all of  
18 them, about 70 some persons, and upon my return I ran to Gbarnga  
19 with this report to the President. He was not in Gbarnga and the  
10:27:02 20 President said, 'I will have him brought here to be  
21 investigated.' It was not until I was in Gbarnga that I heard  
22 that he had been arrested for killing another person, and it was  
23 then that President Taylor ordered he be executed."

24 Do you agree with that?

10:27:17 25 A. Okay. Now, there were several atrocities carried out by  
26 Sam Larto, I agree. He was arrested, he was investigated, he was  
27 taken again before the court-martial board - he was a general -  
28 for the wanton murder of some 60, 70 civilians, and it he brought  
29 down guilty. The verdict was execution, and he was executed.

1 Now that he gives the full picture, I agree.

2 Q. Now, the next name mentioned was number 155, Elmer Glee  
3 Johnson. Mr Blah said this:

4 "This other fellow was killed in an ambush. I wasn't  
10:28:00 5 there. But the story surrounding this man was an American  
6 citizen, Liberian American citizen. He had come to Liberia and  
7 was a friend of Mr Taylor and had decided to fight alongside  
8 because of his military experience, but at one time there was an  
9 ambush near Buchanan, he fell into that ambush, but the story  
10:28:25 10 surrounding his killing was that - I was not there, but rumour  
11 has it that he was killed on the orders of Taylor, that he was  
12 getting more aggressive, he was not taking orders, but officially  
13 he was killed in an ambush, but I didn't know who set the ambush  
14 and who killed him, but that was what was said at every quarters  
10:28:44 15 when I asked how he got killed. That's why I said there is no  
16 special person who was saying this, how he got killed, or this  
17 man was not killed by an enemy, he's killed by his own forces on  
18 the order of the President. That was how he got killed. That  
19 was what I heard."

10:28:59 20 What do you say about that, Mr Taylor? I appreciate it's  
21 hearsay --

22 A. Yeah, I know, but, I mean, I think he says it right here,  
23 that there were these rumours. He's 100 per cent right here.  
24 Elmer was a very, very, very good friend of mine. We were in  
10:29:20 25 Boston together. Elmer is a graduate of Boston University. I  
26 went to Bentley, but we were very close - very close friends.  
27 Elmer joined the US marine, was very, very trained. In fact, I  
28 know his whole family, mother - we worked very closely. And he  
29 really didn't have any experience in guerilla warfare, and so

1 many times we advised Elmer not to take these, you know, risks.  
2 Unfortunately - in fact, he was ambushed by Armed Forces of  
3 Liberia personnel. And, in fact, Elmer's death was reported on  
4 the BBC when the Armed Forces of Liberia, having his  
10:30:07 5 identification card, revealed to the BBC and the Doe government  
6 reported that they had killed an American fighting for the NPFL  
7 and they had taken his ID card off him. So, unfortunately, very,  
8 very promising man. I mean, highly intelligent boy. I mean -  
9 well, we just say boy, man, because we were almost about the same  
10:30:33 10 age, but - so Blah is correct here. He did die in an ambush, but  
11 there were rumours.

12 In our part of the world, any time there is a catastrophe,  
13 somebody either made witchcraft against the person, they either  
14 killed them or poisoned them. Any time there's a sudden death in  
10:30:54 15 our part of the - in our neck of the woods, it's got to be  
16 because of extraordinary causes, maybe witchcraft or somebody  
17 poisoned them. People over the millions of years just haven't  
18 gotten used to death. I mean, this was a great blow. But he  
19 explains it here properly as it was rumoured, yeah.

10:31:15 20 Q. Tom Woveiyu, number 160. Line 22, page 9930:

21 "A. Tom Woveiyu was a friend of President Taylor. He was  
22 introduced to me. When I say 'us' I'm saying about because  
23 I was an adjutant in Libya. He went to Libya along with  
24 President Taylor. At that time he was introduced to the  
10:31:38 25 battalion, that he was a best friend of Taylor, he was  
26 working with the organisation, but that he was in America  
27 taking care of some other things being done on the other  
28 side in America. Later he became Defence Minister in the  
29 NPRG government, the government I told you that was set up

1 in Gbarnga. At one time he was arrested. He was arrested.  
2 According to him he was arrested on the order of Mr Taylor.  
3 He had been detained by the Small Boy Unit in another place  
4 called Mabarklay. He had been detained, his Nissan car  
10:32:18 5 patrol jeep was taken in a dirty place where these boys  
6 were. They knew him to be a minister of defence for us at  
7 the time. He was detained for a very long time. He didn't  
8 like the treatment he received. He told me that. Since  
9 then he left and went back to the United States.

10:32:35 10 Q. What happened as a result of the investigation against  
11 him?

12 A. On the investigation a lot of things happened. He was  
13 in America. He had left and there was no real  
14 investigation. When this thing happened he reported it to  
10:32:48 15 the President Taylor at the time. He was not happy with  
16 the response, so he left the organisation and went."

17 Do you agree with that one, Mr Taylor?

18 A. Totally false. Tom Woveiyu, not to my knowledge, had any  
19 problems. In fact, when I was elected President of Liberia, Tom  
10:33:11 20 Woveiyu remains my friend. Tom Woveiyu was made a senator. In  
21 my government, he served in the Senate in Grand Bassa County. He  
22 remained Liberia until I departed on 11 August for Nigeria and  
23 Tom Woveiyu remains a friend today. We talk all the time.

24 In fact, Tom Woveiyu, Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf, myself are the  
10:33:37 25 three individuals that put together the NPFL. So Moses - I don't  
26 know - this is where he slips into another slope, but Tom and I  
27 remain friends today.

28 Q. Okay. Now, that's all I ask in relation to that topic,  
29 Mr Taylor. The next thing I want to ask you about is a comment

1 made at page 9932, the transcript for 15 May 2008, and it's with  
2 regard to SBUs. Line 24, page 9932:

3 "Q. Do you know who the Small Boy Units, or these young  
4 men and Small Boy Units took their orders from?

10:34:27 5 A. There were two ways. They took orders from Benjamin  
6 Yeaten at the time. The other person was the President to  
7 them. Sometimes the President gave orders. As  
8 commander-in-chief he had all right to order the units.  
9 They were not units that were positioned in one place.

10:34:49 10 Every area, every commanders had Small Boy Unit. I told  
11 you yesterday that everybody had a Small Boy Unit because  
12 they were unreasonable and everybody would like to have a  
13 group of small boys in their command.

14 Q. You said Taylor had some role with Small Boy Units.

10:35:13 15 Did he have his own Small Boy Unit?

16 A. Yes, a lot of them in the Small Boy Unit. At one time  
17 there was a unit called - majority of them were Small Boy  
18 Unit. He had a unit before ATU. I will call their name  
19 later.

10:35:35 20 Q. So you don't recall at this point the name of this  
21 Small Boy Unit?

22 A. No, I don't remember.

23 Q. What did this unit do specifically?

24 A. They took military operations and assignments assigned  
10:35:49 25 to them. They will bring the man, arrest the man, block  
26 the road, they will block the roads. I said they were  
27 very, very unreasonable. They could be assigned anywhere  
28 to do any dirty operations, because they had no reasoning,  
29 they had no sense of direction to do anything. Like I must



1 say that I had one with me, I had a Small Boy Unit too.

2 Q. The particular unit that you can't remember the name  
3 of, how was that different, if at all, from other units?

10:36:31

4 A. They were all Small Boy Unit. One small boy under age  
5 they called Small Boy Unit."

6 Now, pause there, Mr Taylor. What do you understand by all  
7 of that?

10:36:52

8 A. Well, you know, Moses, I guess he's trying to tell the  
9 truth, but he's being pressed maybe to say something else. When  
10 Moses says here "one small boy under age they call a Small Boy  
11 Unit", my understanding of a unit is more than one person. But  
12 what Moses is actually trying to explain here is exactly what I  
13 have told this Court many times. Individuals brought their  
14 brothers, their close relatives sometimes to keep them with them  
15 for safety purposes and other things. One man cannot constitute  
16 a unit. And so he is trying to say that, okay, "I had one with  
17 me," meaning he had one person. If you check it, this had to be  
18 somebody close to him.

10:37:17

19 So we are not talking about units here of 50, 60 people and  
10:37:38 20 all of that kind of stuff. What these people were doing at that  
21 particular time was, your family member or somebody close to you,  
22 you have them with you. They will go with you to places that you  
23 went, but they were not an organised, quote unquote. So using  
24 the word here "unit" and then saying "one" simply must show that  
10:38:02 25 there is - this is not an organisation that people are referring  
26 to. And he keeps trying to push it and people - you know, he  
27 can't hide it for too long, so he keeps saying, "I had one," and  
28 there was one - and we are not talking about groups of people.  
29 We are talking about individuals that somebody says, "That one

1 person, this is my unit," okay, "This is my family," or something  
2 like that.

3 The NPFL under my administration, not under my orders, had  
4 any large unit of young men called small boys that we sent into  
10:38:40 5 training, armed, equipped and all that kind of stuff. This is  
6 not the case. This is not the case. So when he says here "one",  
7 he means one.

8 Q. Mr Taylor, I'm asked to clarify an aspect of your last  
9 answer. Were there any large groups of children who were  
10:39:20 10 referred to collectively as Small Boys Units in the NPFL?

11 A. No, that's what I'm saying. No.

12 Q. So that what you're saying is that if an individual had an  
13 individual young person with them, they would refer to that  
14 single individual as "my Small Boy Unit"?

10:39:42 15 A. This is what I'm saying. But this is what Moses is saying.  
16 Like I must say that I had one with me, I had a Small Boy Unit  
17 too. I mean, he had one boy, and he goes further down and he  
18 says, "One small boy under age they called Small Boy Unit." I  
19 mean, you walk, you say, "Oh, this is my unit." I mean, this is  
10:40:03 20 what was going on at this particular time. And if you press him  
21 even more, I'm sure he will come - this is why he says, "One  
22 small boy under age they called Small Boy Unit." This is what  
23 was going on over there. Okay, an individual, you have your  
24 brother or your cousin with you, you take him wherever you went.

10:40:23 25 The NPFL did not go collecting young people.

26 In fact, I had an orphanage in Gbarnga with several hundred  
27 children, some of - in fact, I adopted a boy that is still with  
28 me now, okay. So this is not something where we went about  
29 recruiting small people, and I don't know how much clearer he can

1 make it here. Maybe the Prosecutor wants him to say it  
2 differently, but I guess he clarifies it here.

3 Q. Can I, Mr Taylor, take this opportunity to just remind you  
4 of a couple of passages, in light of that answer, from yesterday  
10:40:59 5 that we dealt with. At page 9825, on this same topic of Small  
6 Boy Unit, Mr Blah said at line 5:

7 "I considered them to be other soldiers. There were other  
8 people in different units fighting much smaller than the Small  
9 Boy Unit. Everybody had a Small Boy Unit with them. You had  
10:41:23 10 little boys who were dragging your weapons behind you and they  
11 would say, 'Oh, they're my Small Boy Unit.' It was a common name  
12 to everybody."

13 A. That's what Moses is talking about, yeah. You've got your  
14 little brother with you, if he's carrying our rifle - I mean, or  
10:41:43 15 he's carrying your bag, or whatever, that's what he's explaining.  
16 This is an individual that is close to you that you control, that  
17 you take with you when you go, when you don't go - but he's your  
18 relative that is with you for security and your own guidance.

19 Q. Were such children collectively trained for military  
10:42:07 20 purposes, Mr Taylor?

21 A. I said no. No.

22 Q. Were they organised along military lines in the NPFL?

23 A. No, they were not.

24 Q. Did they engage in combat in the NPFL?

10:42:19 25 A. Well, that's another question now. Did they engage in  
26 combat? For the NPFL, no, the NPFL did not have them engaged in  
27 combat. Now, I cannot say here factually that those young men,  
28 wherever they were, didn't fire a gun. I would be lying to this  
29 Court, okay. But as a unit fighting for the NPFL, no.

1 Q. Now, Mr Taylor, bearing that answer in mind, let us look  
2 again at the last part of Mr Blah's answer:

3 "They took military operations and assignments assigned to  
4 them. They will bring the man, arrest the man, block the roads.

10:43:13 5 They will block the roads."

6 Now, those are the examples Mr Blah gave. Were children  
7 involved in effecting arrests?

8 A. No.

9 Q. That's what Mr Blah is saying?

10:43:27 10 A. No. Well, then he didn't do his job. Because in the armed  
11 forces that I commanded, arrests are based on ranks. If there is  
12 a captain that has done something wrong, he cannot and would not  
13 be arrested by anyone below the rank of captain; that is, we did  
14 not send a sergeant to arrest a captain. You had to be arrested

10:44:04 15 by at least your rank or one that was higher. So then he as  
16 inspector general didn't do his job if he saw anybody arresting -  
17 this is not to my knowledge.

18 Q. Very well. Were young people, children, used to man road  
19 blocks?

10:44:23 20 A. Not to my knowledge, no. Not to my knowledge.

21 Q. Were they used for guard duties?

22 A. Not to my knowledge, no. Now, an individual - to be very  
23 fair about that answer, I would not doubt that somebody - because  
24 I tell you what I used to hear these boys used to do. I mean -

10:44:53 25 well, okay, when we say guard duty that would be a little  
26 different. But to be very, very earnest to this Court, those  
27 individuals - in fact, when I used to ask questions about it,  
28 they used to also keep their relatives around them to serve as  
29 their eyes and ears too. So if their big brother was inside

1 sleeping, you understand me, they didn't sleep at the same time.  
2 So I'm not sure if we can interpret that as guard duty, but at  
3 least you helped to protect your brother whenever he was maybe  
4 sleeping in a place that he should not want to be. So in that  
10:45:43 5 way I don't want them tomorrow to say well, "You say you didn't  
6 know about this," but they helped to protect their bigger  
7 brothers.

8 Q. Next topic, discrete topic, page 10036, testimony of 16 May  
9 2008 at line 10:

10:46:07 10 "Q. Originally just a small group in Libya and then  
11 eventually into thousands in Liberia - in Liberia how did  
12 the NPFL recruit its soldiers?

13 A. We had two groups recruitment. We had the voluntary  
14 recruitment and we had people who were captured and forced  
10:46:30 15 into the NPFL."

16 True or false?

17 A. False. The first part true. You know, then Moses then did  
18 not do good to me. Quite frankly, then they were all a bunch of  
19 liars that betrayed me. I, as the leader of the NPFL, they had  
10:46:53 20 me sitting in an area very well protected and quite frankly, I  
21 did not go around a whole lot because of the nature of guerilla  
22 warfare. And so whenever I moved, it had to be something that  
23 they were very well prepared for. And so a lot of these  
24 activities in the field they should have known, and to the best  
10:47:19 25 of my knowledge it was never brought to my attention that people  
26 were captured and forced into training. It would have never -  
27 and that was in violation of the operational order, and he was  
28 inspector general. In fact, the voluntary training was better  
29 for us because when people volunteered to fight, they fight

1 better. If you force them to fight, they will run away and  
2 desert, and the desertion rate in the NPFL was very, very, very  
3 low. So to the best of my knowledge, then all of them messed up  
4 and they all were deceptive then; you understand me? Because  
10:47:58 5 there was an operational order published. Look, it took me  
6 almost two years to put this organisation together in training on  
7 every aspect of warfare and administration. Before we entered  
8 Liberia there was an operational order. Why was an attempt made  
9 to arrest Prince Johnson? Because he murdered some people and we  
10:48:28 10 said this was against our operational order. Why did I go to the  
11 extent to execute Special Forces? Because they violated the  
12 operational orders, they murdered people, and that was  
13 unacceptable in the NPFL. So for - if Moses knew that people  
14 were being taken by force, I did not know. He was inspector  
10:48:50 15 general. To the best of my knowledge, what reached me - and most  
16 senior people of the NPFL - was most of our thing were voluntary  
17 to the point that people brought food to the training bases, they  
18 brought families. People volunteered and people brought food.  
19 Most of these trainings when I got in Liberia we didn't have to  
10:49:13 20 buy food; people brought food. And it was to the point that if  
21 any soldier went anywhere and took anything from any civilian,  
22 you were dealt with. So this part about that Moses - look, your  
23 Honours, you know, I have to say these things. We're going  
24 through this trial because, you know, who knows? This may be the  
10:49:38 25 last chance I have to say what I have to say, so I have to speak  
26 my - look, Moses Blah, I don't know what brought him here. Moses  
27 Blah I do not consider an enemy, yesterday or today. Something  
28 brought Moses Blah here. I don't know what it is. I really  
29 don't know. But it took a lot to get Moses Blah to come to sit

1 in this Court. Whatever that is, whatever pushed him into some  
2 of these things - and I'm sure he could not have come here for  
3 nothing. Moses is not an enemy of mine. I still consider him  
4 someone that if God is - if the Lord Hashim is on my side, I will  
10:50:21 5 speak to him and great him tomorrow like a brother. But whatever  
6 brought him here, they had to get something out of him. There  
7 was no such thing as forced recruitment by the NPFL. No such  
8 thing. You came in voluntarily, and let me say that.

9 Q. Right. There are four more issues I want to deal with in  
10:50:48 10 relation to this witness, Mr Taylor. The next issue is this:  
11 Following his inauguration as President Mr Blah told the Court  
12 about various overseas visits he made, and he goes into some  
13 detail about these visits. Now, I commence the reference at page  
14 10050 at line 3:

10:51:17 15 "I became President within a week and I contacted ECOWAS  
16 to get permission that I would be travelling through my  
17 neighbouring countries to see how best we could live  
18 together as good neighbours, and I started with Sierra  
19 Leone. I spoke with Tejan Kabbah and then I moved on to  
10:51:37 20 Guinea and I talked to Lansana Conte, and I tried to  
21 organise them to bring peace to my people in Liberia and  
22 then on to Cote d'Ivoire, yes, and I talked to --

23 Q. Who did you talk to in Cote d'Ivoire?

24 A. I talked to Laurent Gbagbo, as President of Cote  
10:52:02 25 d'Ivoire, and lastly I went to Ghana, and the President of  
26 Ghana was then the chairman of ECOWAS, and then on to  
27 Nigeria, because Nigeria played a major role in the war in  
28 Liberia. They had given us great help, soldiers to ensure  
29 that peace returned to Liberia, and I went to congratulate

1 him for his effort in bringing peace to his country. I met  
2 Obasanjo, President Obasanjo.

3 Q. You said Sierra Leone first. Do you remember what you  
4 specifically said to President Kabbah?

10:52:33 5 A. I went to Sierra Leone. I met with Tejan Kabbah. He  
6 welcomed me. I was received. We went to the State House  
7 and I started message to him by saying that I am very, very  
8 sorry - sorry, your Honours."

9 And there was some problem with the recording and he goes  
10:52:52 10 on:

11 "I told President Kabbah that it was not time for war  
12 during my presidency and that I will try my best to bring peace  
13 to both of us, and I also promised that there would be no  
14 cross-border attacks coming from my side into his country, and he  
10:53:12 15 promised too that he appreciated that I visited him and he said,  
16 'We are neighbours. We are supposed to live together.' And he  
17 promised to come to Monrovia the following week to see me so that  
18 we could discuss further on the peace in Liberia."

19 Now, pausing there. Mr Taylor, is there anything  
10:53:33 20 surprising about that kind of exchange between the President of  
21 Liberia and the President of Sierra Leone?

22 A. No.

23 Q. Is that indicative of the relationship you had with  
24 President Kabbah?

10:53:51 25 A. Yes, Tejani and I had the same relationship and even  
26 better.

27 Q. Let's go on:

28 "I was saying it was not good that we fight, and I met the  
29 war on, and the war was coming out of Sierra Leone and from



1 Liberia, and I said that was not good and that we should  
2 stop fighting. I was speaking from my own side as  
3 President of Liberia, that it was not good to attack each  
4 other, I was not investigating him, I told him that would  
10:54:22 5 not happen and that if it happened in the past I was sorry  
6 about it and that things were going on and on on both sides  
7 of the country, but that during my presidency I would  
8 discourage that and I would not let that happen.

9 Q. What was it that you said you were sorry for?

10:54:43 10 A. I told him that I was sorry, because I saw what  
11 happened during the presidency of President Taylor that  
12 there were a lot of accusations that Sam Bockarie was in  
13 Liberia or he was not in Liberia and that Liberians had  
14 entered into Sierra Leone to fight and a lot of things. A  
10:55:02 15 lot of things were happening. And that I told him if these  
16 things happened, I am sorry. Those were the things I started  
17 by saying. And that those accusations, I was sorry about  
18 them and that during my presidency they would not happen  
19 any longer and that I was sorry about that. And it did not  
10:55:23 20 happen. I stopped it.

21 Q. You said you visited Guinea and saw President Conte.  
22 What did you say to him?

23 A. I told President Conte that there was war in Liberia  
24 and that people were coming out of Guinea fighting in  
10:55:41 25 Liberia and I apologised and I said, 'Please stop this, old  
26 man, if you have the capacity to stop this was. From my  
27 side you can rest assured that nobody will come out of  
28 Liberia to attack your country as long as I'm President of  
29 Liberia.' If there was anyone - I did not actually name

1 anybody, but if there is anybody coming out of Guinea to  
2 fight against Liberia I said, 'Please sir, you should try  
3 to discourage that so that we can live together once again  
4 as good neighbours.' Conte promised and he admitted that  
10:56:22 5 in fact there were groups coming out of Guinea to fight in  
6 Liberia and then he said, 'Mr President, I welcome your  
7 visit, but you should do one thing for me.' He said,  
8 'Please allow your brothers, call them to you, talk to  
9 them. Once you all start talking I will intervene.' That  
10:56:39 10 was what he promised me. And he admitted that there was a  
11 group coming out of Guinea to fight against Taylor's  
12 government and he further said that I will tell them - I am  
13 sorry, excuse me, that I will talk to them about attacking  
14 Liberia and they will stop and he said, 'You have to do the  
10:56:57 15 same thing for your side.'"

16 Now, Mr Taylor, did Lansana Conte ever make such an  
17 admission to you?

18 A. No. Lansana Conte met with Obasanjo and myself. He,  
19 Obasanjo and I sat and Conte lied. He said there was such thing.  
10:57:25 20 Lansana Conte, Tejani Kabbah, and I went to Morocco. We sat down  
21 with Mohammed VI. Right there, Conte lied and said that Guinea  
22 had nothing to do with it. So now I'm struck for me to be  
23 hearing here that he admits to Moses Blah something that everyone  
24 had known all along, that in fact the people were coming out of  
10:57:49 25 Guinea, fighting. And so Moses explains it - I'm not there, so I  
26 have to take his word for it - that Conte said that, but this is  
27 something that everybody knew.

28 And, you know, just for the record, the Court needs to  
29 know, Moses was President for two months and the peace that

1 brought Moses Blah - my government negotiated the transitional  
2 peace that brought Blah in for two months to be followed by Gyude  
3 Bryant. All of these are on the records here. So Moses, running  
4 around into La Cote d'Ivoire, Guinea and Sierra Leone, talking, I  
10:58:42 5 guess they just told him the truth. And Conte is very bold and  
6 said, "Yes, I know about it, the people are attacking." In other  
7 words, "These are my people. I can stop them whenever I want.  
8 You just talk to your people on that side." So I accept his  
9 word, what he's saying here.

10:59:00 10 Q. Now, he's then asked about his visit to Cote d'Ivoire and  
11 he says, page 10053, line 17:

12 "When I went to Cote d'Ivoire I was received like a  
13 President of my country and I was very happy. And he was also  
14 happy. He organised a press conference and he spoke first and he  
10:59:25 15 said, 'You have come here, I welcome you, but please let me  
16 speak.' Then I said, 'You can go ahead to speak.' What he said  
17 was that something happened in the past which he did not like and  
18 I said, 'What was it?' He said, 'I will give you a parable,' and  
19 I said, 'What it is, Mr President?' He said, 'If your  
10:59:46 20 neighbour's house is on fire, would you put gasoline on the fire  
21 or would you bring water to quench the fire?' And I asked him  
22 what that meant. Then he said, 'This message and this parable  
23 goes to the former President of Liberia, Charles Taylor.' He  
24 said, 'Charles Taylor saw my house on fire and instead of putting  
11:00:13 25 the fire off, he added gasoline to the fire and the fire started  
26 blazing everywhere in my country.' He said, 'As I am sitting  
27 down here I am sitting in a divided country,' and he did not like  
28 it. He had his properties looted, Caterpillars in companies. He  
29 named so many other things that went on in his country. He said

1 so many people died and he said a lot of things. In conclusion I  
2 said, 'Look, I am now President of Liberia. Taylor is gone, he  
3 is no longer President, but I want to promise you one thing. As  
4 of today no soldier will live under my command as  
11:00:56 5 commander-in-chief of Liberia will cross into that Cote d'Ivoire  
6 with a penknife, I am not talking about guns, to attack your  
7 country by any means. I will discourage that. I promise you. I  
8 have people in position right now to stop such incursions against  
9 you.' That was the promise I made and it went on as I promised  
11:01:16 10 as I retired as President."

11 Now, Mr Taylor, did you pour gasoline on the conflict in La  
12 Cote d'Ivoire?

13 A. No, not at all.

14 Q. Now, what conflict was there in La Cote d'Ivoire during  
11:01:39 15 your presidency?

16 A. The rebels were fighting Gbagbo's government.

17 Q. And the rebels were led by whom?

18 A. Soro Guillaume, the Prime Minister now.

19 Q. Was that the rebel movement which was aided and abetted by  
11:02:05 20 one Sam Bockarie?

21 A. Yes.

22 Q. So when President Gbagbo was talking about someone adding  
23 petrol to the fire, could he by any chance have been talking  
24 about Sam Bockarie and his men?

11:02:24 25 A. Yes, and I think - yes, that, but also - I'm not sure what  
26 the rules of the Court - I forgot the rule, but there are some  
27 complicated discussions here that involve - because Gbagbo and I  
28 go a long way and Gbagbo is talking about that, but he is also  
29 talking about Liberians that were involved from across the border

1 from the Gio, Mano ethnic groups in Liberia. The Ivorian war, if  
2 we can recall, starts in earnest when the chief of staff and  
3 former President Guei Robert is killed following the elections  
4 that Gbagbo supposedly won and that ignited the war in La Cote  
11:03:27 5 d'Ivoire. If we remember, the first attacks that occurred in La  
6 Cote d'Ivoire I think occurred in a town called, I think it was  
7 around Bouake. That's almost in the centre of La Cote d'Ivoire  
8 coming from the side of Burkina Faso.

9 Now, Guei Robert being a Gio man and having connections in  
11:03:52 10 Liberia, there were individuals from Liberia from the Gio, Mano,  
11 other ethnic groups, from the border areas that also got involved  
12 in that war. And Gbagbo and I had had several discussions that I  
13 would not get into the details and there were several things that  
14 he wanted me to do that I couldn't do. In fact even some of the  
11:04:16 15 Ivorian soldiers that escaped into Liberia, they were picked up,  
16 their weapons were retrieved, I called Gbagbo and he sent  
17 aircraft to Monrovia to pick up his soldiers and weapons. But it  
18 is deeper than little Moses knows and the fact that there were  
19 Liberians involved that we had no control over really, I think  
11:04:40 20 Gbagbo understand - he understood that as also helping to put  
21 flame to the fire, but we remained good friends until I departed.

22 Q. Right. Next topic I want to deal with, Mr Taylor, is the  
23 death of Sam Bockarie. Now I begin at page 9974 so that we get  
24 the context. Now you recall yesterday mention was made of this  
11:05:17 25 suggestion that there was an underground warehouse at White  
26 Flower, Mr Taylor?

27 A. Yes.

28 Q. Remember that?

29 A. Yes.

1 Q. Mr Blah went on in this vein - I'm given a spelling of  
2 Bouake, B-O-U-A-K-E. He says he would go in there to see the  
3 weapons fixed and then return to the front to whosoever it  
4 concerned:

11:05:47 5 "It was that kind of place and it was highly restricted and  
6 nobody could go there easily. Highly restricted area. But it  
7 was under the residence of Mr Taylor. It was like an  
8 underground."

9 Now I won't delay on that, Mr Taylor, because you have  
11:06:09 10 already denied that there was any such structure. But then he's  
11 asked this:

12 "Q. Well, if it was highly restricted how did you know  
13 about it?

14 A. Oh, I should know. I should know. As inspector  
11:06:27 15 general, as ambassador, as Vice-President I must know. I  
16 must know. If I was not supposed to know, then I must  
17 ask."

18 Would you agree with those sentiments, Mr Taylor?

19 A. Yes.

11:06:49 20 Q. As to the role of an inspector general, an ambassador,  
21 later Vice-President? Yes?

22 A. I agree, yes. He must know. He must know.

23 Q. And then continues:

24 "Q. Specifically how did you learn about this place?

11:07:07 25 A. This was a place that when driving on car to the  
26 mansion, that is the President's residence, you see trucks  
27 backing up and they will say, 'Back off, back off, back  
28 off' and you see somebody towing loads to put on a truck,  
29 at least you will be concerned and you will want to see

1 what was taken out of there and you must know, as long as  
2 you concerned about the organisation."

3 Now we come to the topic in hand:

11:07:42

4 "Q. Did the subject of Sam Bockarie ever come up in a  
5 meeting with President Taylor?

11:08:02

6 A. Yes, on one occasion when Bockarie entered Liberia and  
7 before I went to my farm, there was a one on one meeting  
8 and it went like this: If you were visiting the President  
9 or in fact he will call some people in and they will say,  
10 'Sam Bockarie is here in Liberia. What do you think should  
11 be done to him?' And everybody had different suggestions.

11:08:26

12 Like me, what I said was, 'Chief, if we should have this  
13 man arrested and taken to Sierra Leone so at least we will  
14 have good face from the Sierra Leonean government because  
15 they have been accusing us for a very long time.' Then he  
16 will say, 'Okay, okay, I heard your view. Thank you, thank  
17 you.' And that was the response to me when he consulted  
18 with me."

11:08:47

19 Now, Mr Taylor, did Moses Blah suggest to you that Sam  
20 Bockarie should be arrested and taken to Sierra Leone?

21 A. No. He never suggested that to me. Moses Blah and I did  
22 talk about several issues surrounding Sam Bockarie when he  
23 entered the country. What was suggested is that Bockarie should  
24 be arrested and I made it very clear to this Court --

11:09:14

25 Q. Who made the suggestion?

26 A. He had said that Sam Bockarie should be arrested.  
27 Everybody on the national security council had agreed that Sam  
28 Bockarie should be arrested for entering Liberia with such a  
29 force. That was a national security council decision and he was

1 part of the council.

2 Q. Line 6, page 9975:

3 "Q. Why would he be arrested?"

11:09:51

4 A. I said this is a man that the Liberian government has  
5 been accused of that he was based in Liberia and that he  
6 was fighting from out of Liberia and if he is here this  
7 time and he has entered the country he should be arrested  
8 and turned over to the Sierra Leone government so that the  
9 Liberian government will have a good face to the Sierra

11:10:08

10 Leone government. All he said was that, 'Okay, okay, I  
11 have got your view.' Then he was asking views from  
12 different government officials, asking them how they felt  
13 about Sam Bockarie's presence in Liberia. It was not like  
14 a meeting that was held. It was just consultations with  
15 government officials."

11:10:27

16 Pause there. Was it just individual consultations,  
17 Mr Taylor, or was there a collective decision?

18 A. It's a national security council meeting and Moses does - I  
19 don't know. I don't know why these people don't want to just -

11:10:50

20 this is a national security council meeting and there are  
21 questions asked around the room, as is done in any government,  
22 and each person gave their decision, okay. That council included  
23 him, it included the Defence Minister, the Foreign Minister, the  
24 Justice Minister, the chief of the staff of the army. It's a  
25 national security council meeting as you find anywhere. And the  
26 President will listen to all of the opinions around the room and  
27 at the end of the day it is the prerogative of the President to  
28 make a final decision. That's the same process I followed in my  
29 government.

11:11:11



1 Q. Mr Taylor, following that collective decision which you've  
2 just described, was a decision taken as to who should effect the  
3 arrest?

4 A. Yes, it was decided - I decided that because we had reached  
11:11:45 5 a tense position in dealing with Sam Bockarie that he, Moses  
6 Blah --

7 Q. That who?

8 A. Moses Zeh Blah, being he is calm and cool and has the  
9 military experience, should go. Moses lied to this Court when he  
11:12:11 10 said he was merely going to his farm. He lied. Moses was  
11 designated by me to go to Nimba and make sure that Sam Bockarie -  
12 the arrest of Sam Bockarie is effected and that I did not want  
13 any blood shed in Nimba with fighting; that he should use  
14 whatever wit he had to make sure that this arrest was carried out  
11:12:36 15 peacefully. That's what carried Moses to Nimba. Exactly that.  
16 And only that.

17 Q. Now, Mr Taylor, Moses Blah was asked that same question,  
18 line 19:

19 "Q. Who was going to arrest him?" That being Bockarie.

11:13:01 20 "A. The Government of Liberia should arrest Sam Bockarie.  
21 If he was in the country then he should be turned over to  
22 the Sierra Leone government, and then the Government of  
23 Sierra Leone will be able to have good rapport with the  
24 Government of Liberia because the Government of Liberia,  
11:13:20 25 headed by Taylor, had been accused by the Sierra Leone  
26 government repeatedly that Sam Bockarie was in Liberia and  
27 now that he had entered the country, he should be arrested  
28 and taken over to the Sierra Leone government."

29 Now, that last part, Mr Taylor, that he been handed over to

1 the Sierra Leone government, was such a collective decision made?

2 A. No, that was not the decision. The decision was to arrest  
3 him, and I have told this Court I had absolutely no intention of  
4 turning Sam Bockarie over to Tejan Kabbah. That was not a  
11:13:56 5 decision by the National Security Council. The decision was to  
6 arrest Sam Bockarie for entering the country in such a violent  
7 way, and that final decision as to what would be done is not even  
8 a legal matter. Transfer of personnel from country to country  
9 under extradition, they are not basically legal matters. These  
11:14:13 10 are political matters and I have said, and I repeat it: I had no  
11 intention of giving him to Tejani.

12 Q. Okay, thank you. You've told us that before.

13 "Q. Did you know what the Sierra Leone government wanted  
14 of Bockarie?

11:14:27 15 A. They were in search of him and according to them, he  
16 had committed atrocities in the country and he had  
17 committed so many crimes in Sierra Leone and that if he had  
18 been - he had been connected to Liberia and that fighting  
19 was going on in Sierra Leone and they were supporting them  
11:14:47 20 with arms, this was not a secret. It was on international  
21 radios, on televisions. Human right groups from all over  
22 the world were accusing Liberia at that time."

23 Was that the situation, Mr Taylor?

24 A. Yes. Excuse me, I was drinking. Yes.

11:15:09 25 Q. No problem. Now, Mr Taylor, on that note let me ask you  
26 this: At this time were you aware that there was an outstanding  
27 indictment against Sam Bockarie in the Special Court for Sierra  
28 Leone?

29 A. No, I was not aware. I'm not sure if they had named all of

1 those. No, I was not aware. Maybe it was out, but I was not  
2 aware that any indictment had been unsealed for Sam Bockarie.

3 Q. Had you heard any rumour that it was being suggested that  
4 he face criminal charges?

11:15:46 5 A. Frankly, what had been rumoured was that yes, a court was  
6 being set up in Sierra Leone and that several of their leaders  
7 could be indicted, yes. It was rife out there, yeah.

8 Q. Now, bearing that in mind, Mr Taylor, in light of your  
9 previous answer, if you had knowledge that there was an  
11:16:20 10 indictment outstanding against Bockarie, would you have handed  
11 him over to the Special Court for Sierra Leone?

12 A. Not necessarily. I would say this, I'm on trial and I know  
13 it's my life but not - it would have taken a process. It would  
14 have taken a process, and I cannot predict what would have been  
11:16:45 15 the outcome of that process. And let me go through this, not  
16 because I'm on trial I'm going to sit here and act as though:

17 Oh, what is life? We're all going to live, we're all going to  
18 die, so we die with honour. The process - my legal people in  
19 Liberia, and even international lawyers that we had contacted on  
11:17:06 20 this Court in Sierra Leone, this was a domestic court backed by  
21 the United Nations under Sierra Leonean law and the process of  
22 getting someone to help under Chapter VI of the United Nations to  
23 get someone in Liberia transferred to Sierra Leone would have  
24 taken - we would have exhausted all of the legal process in  
11:17:31 25 Liberia before such would have happened, and I would have let  
26 that be done through the courts and let lawyers handle it. It  
27 would not have just been: Grab somebody, go to Sierra Leone.  
28 No, I would have never done that, okay? It would have been  
29 followed based on the constitution of Liberia looking at all

1 aspects. Because in ECOWAS there is an ECOWAS court. There is  
2 an ECOWAS court. I was a part of setting up that ECOWAS court.  
3 There is an ECOWAS court set up. The judge is appointed under an  
4 ECOWAS court. Some of us were of the opinion that an ECOWAS  
11:18:11 5 court should look into any matters of atrocities and problems in  
6 the sub-region, okay? That was some of - and I shared that  
7 opinion. Likewise, in ECOWAS we have another case that is right  
8 now going on in Senegal where the former President of Chad,  
9 Hissene Habre, through some Belgian nonsense, were trying to get  
11:18:38 10 him on trial and Abdoulaye Wade said, "No, if he's going to be  
11 tried, he's going to be tried here in Senegal. We're not going  
12 to send him any place." So there are various opinions regarding  
13 this whole legal framework in West Africa. And what happened,  
14 okay? A court set up in Sierra Leone under Sierra Leonean laws  
11:18:59 15 was an issue that Liberia would have dealt with based on the  
16 constitution of Liberia. There is nothing that is compulsory  
17 that my lawyers and the legal framework in Liberia had shown that  
18 Liberia was under any obligation to surrender anyone, and we  
19 would not have done it blindly. We would have followed the law  
11:19:15 20 to the limit. So this is what I mean by we were going to follow  
21 it to the letter. So whether there was an indictment from a  
22 court in Sierra Leone did not mean that I would have arrested a  
23 Sierra Leonean and turned him over blindly. We would have had to  
24 exhaust the entire process, and the process would finally come  
11:19:35 25 down to one thing - one thing, and only one: Extradition and  
26 whether there existed a valid extradition treaty between Sierra  
27 Leone and Liberia. That's where the lawyer said it would have  
28 ended up, not that there was an indictment from a court in Sierra  
29 Leone. This was my legal advice at the time.

1 Q. Now, just so that we get a time frame, the indictment  
2 against Bockarie was signed on 7 March 2003; he was indicted on 7  
3 March 2003; but the fact of his indictment was not disclosed  
4 until its withdrawal on 8 December 2003. That is on the records  
11:20:24 5 of the Special Court for Sierra Leone.

6 A. I left Liberia on 11 August 2003.

7 Q. Witness was then asked, following a helpful intervention  
8 from the learned judge, Judge Sebutinde, "when did it take  
9 place?" That's the conversation about Bockarie. He says, "It  
11:20:49 10 happened in 2003, your Honour."

11 Now, we're agreed on that, aren't we, Mr Taylor?

12 A. Yes.

13 Q. "Q. What did you do then following the advice he gave to  
14 you?"

11:21:03 15 According to him.

16 "A. What else could I have done at that time? I left it.  
17 I left it at that and walked out of his sight.

18 Q. You said that he consulted with people. Were others in  
19 your presence at the time of this meeting?

11:21:27 20 A. No, I was alone when he consulted me."

21 Is that true?

22 A. Well, it depends on what Moses is talking about.

23 Q. The advice that he gave you that Bockarie should be  
24 arrested.

11:21:41 25 A. Well, you know, when you look at the question, of course -  
26 after these top level national security meetings, of course the  
27 President in his final whatchamacallit would call in the  
28 Vice-President and say, "well, listen. I mean, what do you  
29 think?" But Moses repeated what we had decided, that Bockarie

1 should be arrested, and I had given him my views when we met on  
2 what the process would be. So the fact that he's saying here  
3 that he suggested that he be turned over to Sierra - I think it's  
4 just smoke he's blowing, that's all. But he never told me,  
11:22:17 5 because Moses didn't have the level of comprehension to even  
6 understand the issues that were going on here. He gave his  
7 opinion in the meeting, and that was it.

8 Q. But then --

9 PRESIDING JUDGE: I'm not sure; was that an answer to the  
11:22:35 10 question? You asked Mr Taylor - the quote from the evidence was,  
11 "You said that he consulted with people. Were others in your  
12 presence at the time of this meeting?" and the answer was, "No, I  
13 was alone when he consulted me." Then you asked Mr Taylor, "Is  
14 that true?" I'm not quite sure he said whether he was alone or  
11:23:00 15 not.

16 THE WITNESS: I was not - he was not alone, no.

17 MR GRIFFITHS: Very well:

18 Q. "But then when I got out I heard from other government  
19 officials that Sam Bockarie was in the country and that he  
11:23:18 20 had been through - and that they had have been through such  
21 consultations, but I did not want to find out what their  
22 responses were to it. I only new about what my response  
23 was to the President at that time.

24 Q. Gid you see Sam Bockarie after the meeting?

11:23:33 25 A. Yes, I saw Sam Bockarie. I saw him on two occasions.  
26 The first one was at Cocopa on the way to my village,  
27 and I stopped by my plantation and when going in by  
28 Harrison Karnwea, usually where they go towards the  
29 company, and sometimes where the field company - usually

1 when I was going to Ganta I will bend down, I will get fuel  
2 from the company and then in those areas we had to stop and  
3 get fuel, and that time we stopped there to enter the camp  
4 and the Harrison camp was on the road, and they said I have  
11:24:09 5 been I have stranger here in the house, I will not have a  
6 place for you because you don't have a space. And he said,  
7 'Sam Bockarie is here', and then I allowed him in my jeep.  
8 We drove and we went to his house, and that was where I saw  
9 Sam Bockarie with cars with Ivory Coast licence plates,  
11:24:34 10 cars all over the place, vehicles of different types.  
11 Citroen, Peugeot, all French made cars, they were all  
12 around. So I was joking with him and I said, 'My man, you  
13 are rich with vehicles.' And then he laughed and then he  
14 called Sam Bockarie out. He came and shook my hands again,  
11:24:56 15 and that was my first time seeing Sam Bockarie close to him  
16 in Nimba County. And then he said, 'Chief, how are you  
17 doing?' He saw me in Benjamin's house before, and then I  
18 left them there and I patrolled. Harrison came on the way  
19 and he gave my fuel, and then I took off from that end and  
11:25:22 20 then went to my village."

21 What do you understand by the phrase "I patrolled",  
22 Mr Taylor?

23 A. Well, I have to - this is a war zone and "patrol" for me is  
24 a military patrol. I would say he didn't say - but he went on a  
11:25:42 25 patrol. For me, that has a military connotation. I mean, why  
26 would Moses Blah - there is war near Monrovia. There is fighting  
27 in Nimba County. Why would Moses just go to his farm? "Patrol"  
28 for me means he went on a military patrol.

29 Q. And what military patrol could that be?

1 A. To look for or search for that's on the Sam Bockarie  
2 operation. And I don't see how Moses could have met Sam Bockarie  
3 and just said, "Oh, hello, hello," when he has said before he's  
4 in a discussion. He knows the Sam Bockarie story. He knows a  
11:26:35 5 decision has been made to arrest Sam Bockarie. And he would just  
6 meet Sam Bockarie and say, "Oh, my man, you are here," and then  
7 he goes on a patrol? No. This whole operation and patrol is a  
8 military patrol, and the intention is to go and have Sam Bockarie  
9 arrested. That's his mission.

11:27:00 10 Q. "Q. Just to be clear, this particular visit, this was  
11 before or after this meeting that you had with Taylor?

12 A. Yes.

13 Q. Was it before or was it after?

14 A. No, it was after."

15 A. After.

16 Q. "It was after - after the meeting, and Sam Bockarie had  
17 just entered Liberia at that time. I think it was about  
18 two days or three days.

19 Q. You said you saw him two times after the meeting."

11:27:28 20 Now, Mr Taylor, that timing. Two or three days after  
21 Bockarie entered the country, how quickly was it that the meeting  
22 was held when the decision was made for him to be arrested?

23 A. Within the same time he's talking about. But they come at  
24 the border, there is this standoff. We know that Sam is  
11:27:53 25 advancing towards the border. We get the information and it is  
26 very clear. Instructions are given he's not to enter Liberia at  
27 all. And if there is going to be any entry by the people,  
28 everyone entering the country should be disarmed. We've given  
29 that instruction. There is this tension at the border. The



- 1 national security council is meeting frequently during this  
2 particular time. A decision is made that: Look, Sam Bockarie -  
3 we are getting constant reports that Sam Bockarie has forced his  
4 way in, and I say, "Oh my God. We have a war on our hands in the  
11:28:30 5 city. We're not going to have another war on the border."  
6 Immediately what would Moses be doing with two days of the border  
7 to go up there? Moses, your assignment: Go up there and make  
8 sure that you bring this matter under control. We don't need  
9 another war over there. So within that period of time these  
11:28:47 10 meetings are happening within the two days' span.
- 11 Q. Mr Taylor, where is Cocopa?  
12 A. Cocopa is in Nimba County.  
13 Q. It's in Nimba County?  
14 A. Yes.
- 11:28:58 15 Q. How far is it from the border with La Cote d'Ivoire?  
16 A. Not very far. Cocopa is, I would say 10, 15 kilometres or  
17 more from the border. Probably a little more.
- 18 Q. I ask for this reason: Remember the instruction was that  
19 they were not to enter the country?
- 11:29:14 20 A. Exactly.
- 21 Q. According to Blah, they're in the country when he sees  
22 Bockarie --  
23 A. Yeah, they force their way in.  
24 Q. -- with many, many vehicles?
- 11:29:23 25 A. They forced their way in and they are - most of them are  
26 disarmed at the borders, okay? They force their way in and when  
27 what I said: "I don't want any exchange of fire. Go over there  
28 and make sure that he is brought to Monrovia."  
29 Q. And then it goes on:

1 "Q. Where did you see him the next time?

2 A. The last time I saw Sam Bockarie was in the evening. I  
3 had gone to the farm again. I think that took about three  
4 to four days, as somebody died in my town and I went for  
11:30:05 5 the funeral. And in that evening I drove from Monrovia to  
6 my farm and it is in the far distance. I had a hut - not  
7 in my big house, I had a hut in my compound and one of my  
8 senior bodyguards came around, I think it was about 10.30  
9 to 11, and he said, 'But chief, we have lots of vehicles  
11:30:29 10 passing, lots of people passing. What is happening?' "

11 How much time do I have, can I ask?

12 PRESIDING JUDGE: We're getting close to the limit. Less  
13 than a minute.

14 MR GRIFFITHS: Very well. There's a question I need to ask  
11:30:43 15 on that topic, so I'm going to pause there.

16 PRESIDING JUDGE: Thank you. We will take the short  
17 adjournment and come back at 12 o'clock.

18 [Break taken at 11.30 a.m.]

19 [Upon resuming at 12.03 p.m.]

12:01:10 20 MR GRIFFITHS:

21 Q. Now, you will recall, Mr Taylor, that before the short  
22 adjournment we were looking at Moses Blah's testimony regarding  
23 the death of Sam Bockarie. You recall that?

24 A. That is correct, yes, I do.

12:03:31 25 Q. And in particular, where he had said at page 9978:

26 "The last time I saw Sam Bockarie was in the evening. I  
27 had gone to the farm again. I think that took about three to  
28 four days, as somebody died in my town and I went for the  
29 funeral. And in that evening, I drove from Monrovia to my farm.

1 It is in the far distance."

2 So bearing that in mind, it would appear Mr Blah is saying  
3 he goes to Nimba within two or three days, goes back to Monrovia,  
4 and then he has gone back to Nimba for a funeral. That's his  
12:04:18 5 reason for being in Nimba on this occasion, Mr Taylor.

6 "I had a hut. Not in my big house. I had a hut in my  
7 compound. And one of my senior bodyguards came around, I think  
8 it was about 10.30 to 11 o'clock, and he said, 'But chief, we  
9 have lots of vehicles passing, lots of people passing. What is  
12:04:39 10 happening?' Then I told him to return to double check where the  
11 cars were going to and then when he went outside - and my house  
12 was very close to the road, and when he went out he did not stay.  
13 In no time he came back and he said, 'Chief, put on your clothes.

14 I saw Benjamin coming into you. Dress properly.' Then I went in  
12:05:03 15 and put on my jacket and my trousers and I came outside. As I  
16 approached the main road, Benjamin was almost at my door and he  
17 said, 'How do you do, chief?' I said, 'Oh, Ben, where are you  
18 going?' He said, 'We are talking patrol tonight. At the back of  
19 the jeep, the jeep where he was in, he dropped down from the car  
12:05:28 20 and the car was coming slowly towards me. That was when I saw  
21 Bockarie. He jumped out of the car. His wife, Benjamin's wife,  
22 and a lady that I cannot name, those ladies alighted from the car  
23 and hurried. Ladies started calling for seats. He said, 'Chief,  
24 bring the seats. There are visitors here.'"

12:05:53 25 And jumping a few lines.

26 "I was a big man in government and when I saw the director,  
27 I said they should take seats."

28 And he goes on to describe how they sat outside.

29 "Then they sat down. I saw Bockarie's wife, who was later

1 introduced to me, and I saw Benjamin's wife whom I knew very  
2 well. And there was a strange girl too. I saw Benjamin and  
3 another group of people. The people I saw in the majority were  
4 Sierra Leoneans."

12:06:26 5 And then he goes on to describe how he provided them with  
6 whiskey, over the page at page 9980; how Bockarie was wearing  
7 with a military jacket; how they stayed for a couple hours; and  
8 then he went to sleep about 1.30. And he expands on what he had  
9 said earlier at page 9981 when he says:

12:06:54 10 "Benjamin Yeaten told me that he was taking patrol - a  
11 routine military patrol."

12 And then he goes going to explain where they were going.  
13 Now, you recall all of that, do you, Mr Taylor?

14 A. Yes, I do.

12:07:09 15 Q. And then he is asked this at page 9984:

16 "Q. And do you know why the women were along if they were  
17 on patrol?"

18 A. That I wouldn't know. Even when I was an NPFL, I would  
19 set an example. When I am travelling, sometimes I take my  
12:07:30 20 wife with me."

21 And he goes on to say that this happened on 5 May 2002.  
22 That's line 20, page 9984.

23 "Now, you said that he slept until about 2, 2.30, when he  
24 was woken and told that there had been heavy fighting at the  
12:07:53 25 border."

26 And then you will recall he goes on to say that on the next  
27 day - he says that on the next day he bumps into - on the next  
28 day he bumps into Benjamin Yeaten on his way back to Monrovia.  
29 Do you recall that, Mr Taylor? He said he drove back to

1 Monrovia. He said on the way back to Monrovia, they got to  
2 Flumpa.

3 Do you know a Flumpa?

4 A. Yes, I do.

12:08:30 5 Q. "We went off the road, put out the lights, and we were  
6 waiting. We were waiting. It was not up to 30 minutes."

7 Page 9985:

8 That vehicle started passing with a heavy speed. So we  
9 waited there until daylight. We were now going on to Monrovia.

12:08:52 10 And as we were approaching Ganta they stopped the car, and a boy  
11 came up to him and said, "Chief, Benjamin is in the company camp  
12 answered wants to talk to you." So they went to a place called  
13 Saw Mill Camp. And he then - jumping a few lines. I am trying  
14 to summarise as such as possible. He goes on to say this at page  
12:09:16 15 9986, line 27: "He want to see me in his car." That's Benjamin  
16 Yeaten.

17 "So when I went into the camp and he said, 'Chief, come  
18 here.' He was sitting on a chair outside. He said, 'Come,  
19 chief.' I went to him and he was still sitting down. And he got  
12:09:32 20 up and he said, 'Oh, chief, I called you. We went on an  
21 operation last night.' I asked him what operation it was."

22 And then Bockarie - Yeaten takes him to a vehicle and he  
23 saw the body of Sam Bockarie still dressed as it was the previous  
24 night, and he said he was taking the body to Monrovia.

12:09:55 25 Now, Mr Taylor, as far as you are aware, who took  
26 Bockarie's body to Monrovia?

27 A. Sam Bockarie's body, on everything under this sun that I  
28 know, was taken to Monrovia by Moses Blah. He took it to  
29 Monrovia, and he came to the mansion and informed me. And I was

1 very - nobody under this planet took Sam Bockarie body's to  
2 Monrovia beside Moses Blah. The funeral home received it. It  
3 was escorted there. His chief of staff was with him. Moses, I  
4 don't know why he lied, but he took it to Monrovia and it was  
12:10:41 5 simple to say he did. He took it. He was on that assignment.  
6 He took it, Moses Blah.

7 Q. Now, he goes on to say this at page 9989. He was asked  
8 this question:

9 "Q. You said you hadn't discussed with Benjamin Yeaten at  
12:11:03 10 that particular time what had happened."

11 And he says at line 23:

12 "It was when he came to Monrovia about a week or two. When  
13 he returned to Monrovia when I asked him, he jokingly said,  
14 'Look, we did that thing to destroy evidence.' It was at that  
12:11:22 15 time - it was at that time that I knew that it was Sam Bockarie's  
16 body. He said, 'Oh, President Blah, this is an operation. You  
17 are small in it. We want to destroy the evidence. We don't want  
18 anything exposed. The way you were thinking was the wrong way.'  
19 Then I said, 'All right.' That was what I said at the wrong  
12:11:44 20 time."

21 And then he goes on.

22 "The consultation that I had with the President Taylor at  
23 the time was that he was to arrest this man and send him over to  
24 Sierra Leone at least to have a better face with the Government  
12:12:01 25 of Sierra Leone. That was the way I was thinking, to have him  
26 arrested and send him over to the Government of Sierra Leone.  
27 That was what I thought. But the thought of killing him to  
28 destroy evidence was not my thought. I never thought of that. I  
29 think that was what he was referring to."

1 Now, he is asked this question:

2 "Q. You used the word, I think - I have to get it exactly  
3 from the record, but I think you said 'because we'd be exposed.'  
4 I think words to that effect?"

12:12:36 5 And then he says this:

6 "The NPFL government or Charles Taylor's government will be  
7 exposed.

8 Q. What would be exposed?

9 A. Whatever secrets they may have had with the links with  
10 RUF and the government of Charles Taylor, that he was  
11 supporting the government, that he was supporting those  
12 fighting in Sierra Leone. These were the things that were  
13 not supposed to be exposed from my own analysis."

14 Is that the case, Mr Taylor?

12:13:11 15 A. That was never the case. I don't even think he used the  
16 word "exposed". If we took our time and went through that,  
17 Rapp's own leading, telling him "exposed". But I really - oh,  
18 boy, I swear. There was no such thing. There was no - expose  
19 what? Expose what? What is supposed to be exposed at this time?  
12:13:40 20 What is it about Sam Bockarie that is supposed to be exposed?

21 What? Sam Bockarie, to the best of my knowledge, is not wanted.  
22 Sam Bockarie, as far as I know, there is no - in fact, there is -  
23 the indictment that we're talking about is not unsealed. What is  
24 to be exposed? I did not lure Sam Bockarie into Liberia to say  
12:14:05 25 that some nonsense what - either Rapp or whoever put in this  
26 man's put in his head to say that - to destroy evidence. You  
27 understand me? Look, Moses Blah lied to this Court in saying  
28 that somebody told him they were trying to - he said two weeks  
29 later before he knew that was Sam Bockarie's body? According to

1 this, I thought he saw the body and recognised it in his yard  
2 before the body left when he - when they removed the cover from  
3 the body. I thought he knew.

4 Q. Now, Mr Taylor, according to Mr Blah, he discussed  
12:14:44 5 Bockarie's death directly with you after the event. Page 9991,  
6 line 8:

7 "I got to White Flower and went in and asked the security  
8 man at the gate whether the chief was there, whether the  
9 President was there. He told me to wait out for a while. He  
12:15:03 10 went to see him and he said, 'Okay, you can come in.' When I  
11 went inside then I said - I saluted him and I said, 'Chief,  
12 Benjamin passed by my village last night and when I came back on  
13 the main road I saw the corpse of Sam Bockarie and another corpse  
14 in the car.' That was when he told me, 'No, that is not your  
12:15:27 15 business, it is a military operation. I only would like to hear  
16 it from a military people and not from you.' That was how that  
17 conversation ended?"

18 And then he goes on to say that he went to pick up his  
19 daughter from school. And he continues:

12:15:45 20 "President Taylor, he told me it was a military operation.  
21 That it was none of my business as Vice-President of my country."

22 Is that true, Mr Taylor?

23 A. Well, he is a military man, how would I tell him it is a  
24 military operation? He is a military man. That's a lie. Moses  
12:16:01 25 is - I tell you something, we will bring to this Court everybody  
26 that was involved. Look, Moses Blah was sent on that assignment.  
27 I swear on my life he was sent. This thing, from what he told  
28 me, was an unfortunate situation. Moses Blah, I swear, brought  
29 Bockarie's body down, deposited at the funeral home. His chief



1 of staff was present, who signed that document. The funeral home  
2 people, I don't care if we bring every one of them here. Moses  
3 Blah lied to this world in this Court. He brought Sam Bockarie's  
4 body. He can't tell anybody that he didn't. He is lying to - he  
12:16:40 5 is lying, you understand me. And there is no need to lie.

6 The fact of the matter is that Sam Bockarie was killed by  
7 Liberian forces. So what is there to lie about? Or is this is a  
8 part of the thing to show - what is there to hide? Sam Bockarie  
9 is killed by Liberian forces. Some of our forces get killed too.  
12:17:02 10 But why would Sam Bockarie's body be brought from Nimba some 200  
11 kilometres to Monrovia? Couldn't Sam Bockarie have been killed  
12 and buried in combat? What was there to bring his body to  
13 Monrovia? If there was anything that anybody wanted to do  
14 anything, why was Sam Bockarie's body brought to Monrovia? Why  
12:17:23 15 was it brought?

16 Because he was sent on this operation and he brought it to  
17 Monrovia. Nobody ordered him to bring it to - Sam Bockarie was  
18 killed. The Liberian soldiers that were killed was buried. Sam  
19 Bockarie could have been buried over there. The body was brought  
12:17:37 20 to Monrovia and it was placed where? In a funeral parlour to  
21 preserve. Because I wanted to make sure - I am not going to hide  
22 fact - people can say Sam Bockarie was my son. I liked Sam  
23 Bockarie, yes, like a son. And Moses knows the anger that was in  
24 me when he reported to me that Sam Bockarie had been killed.  
12:17:57 25 What did I do immediately? In fact the Defence Minister was not  
26 even there. I ordered the Defence Minister to come down and go  
27 to the funeral home and make sure that Sam Bockarie's body should  
28 be preserved, that nothing should happen, it should be preserved.  
29 There is not somebody that is trying to hide something and all

1 this type of nonsense.

12:18:32 2 I swear I don't know why Moses lied about this particular  
3 issue. There is no reason to lie. He was not killed by some  
4 road accident. He was killed by a Liberian armed forces. It's  
5 simple. So why would he lie to show that somebody he is saying -  
6 is trying to say is trying to hide evidence and all this. Is Sam  
7 Bockarie the only one that was involved in the Sierra Leonean war  
8 that would be able to disclose X, Y or Z? No, that's not true.  
9 He lied when he said that somebody told him - somebody trying to  
10 destroy evidence.

11 Moses Blah was negligent in his actions. I trusted him to  
12 go up and get this boy arrested and his failure caused him to  
13 really get killed. And the fact that other Liberian soldiers got  
14 killed in the process too, I mean for me it was an unfortunate  
15 situation. Simple as that. Nobody is denying that he was  
16 killed. He was killed in Liberia.

17 Q. Mr Taylor, is it also right that Bockarie's wife also died?

18 A. No. Not to my knowledge, no.

19 Q. Or this other unidentified woman?

12:19:21 20 A. No. The bodies that were brought to Monrovia - if I am not  
21 mistaken, there were two or three bodies brought to Monrovia.  
22 Sam Bockarie I think and two other bodies, if I remember the  
23 report correctly, that were brought to Monrovia. Some of the  
24 other soldiers over there that were killed, their bodies were  
25 turned over to their families and different things.

12:19:43 26 Q. Now he said that later that same afternoon there was  
27 announcement by the Defence Ministry, to be precise the Defence  
28 Minister came up with an announcement that Sam Bockarie and his  
29 group were entering Liberia from Cote d'Ivoire by way of Gbutuo

1 border last night. The border guards tried to arrest him. They  
2 put up some resistance and there was a bitter exchange of gunfire  
3 and he died in the process and his corpse has been brought to  
4 Monrovia.

12:20:14 5 Did the Defence Minister make such an announcement?

6 A. I don't know the exact words, but he made an announcement  
7 just describing that there was an exchange of fire with Sam  
8 Bockarie's entry into Liberia, he got killed. I don't exactly  
9 remember the words of the Defence Ministry. But to that effect,  
10 I would say yes.

12:20:32

11 Q. Now, Mr Taylor, can I ask you, in order clarify something  
12 that's been brought to my attention, do you know anything about  
13 the death of Bockarie's wife?

14 A. No.

12:20:45

15 Q. Do you know anything about the death of the wife's sister  
16 or any other female?

17 A. No, no. That was never reported to me, no.

18 Q. Do you know whether or not they were with Bockarie when  
19 Bockarie was killed?

12:21:08

20 A. No, that was not reported to me. No, I don't know.

21 Q. What about his children? Do you know anything about the  
22 whereabouts of his children?

23 A. No, I do not know. The last time that I - before Sam  
24 Bockarie left from Liberia, it had been reported to me that his  
25 children were - in fact one of his sons was with Sankoh in

12:21:29

26 Freetown and he had refused to let him go or something. But I am  
27 not aware. It was never reported to me that he arrived in  
28 Liberia with his children. I don't think he would have brought  
29 them in such a hostile environment.

1 Q. What do you say about the suggestion made in this Court,  
2 Mr Taylor, that Bockarie's entire family was killed in this  
3 incident, apart from his sister-in-law?

4 A. Well, I would say no because, if that had happened, Blah  
12:22:02 5 would have reported it to me. And nobody reported that. I have  
6 seen no report before I left Liberia that Bockarie's family was  
7 killed, no.

8 Q. Did you yourself see Bockarie's body after it was brought  
9 to Monrovia?

10 A. I saw the picture. I did not - no, I did not go to the  
11 funeral home. I saw the picture.

12 Q. What do you say about Mr Blah's assertion that Bockarie was  
13 killed by hand? He was choked to death before they could go and  
14 take his wife and kill her. That Bockarie was strangled. What's  
12:22:37 15 your knowledge of that?

16 A. I have no knowledge of that. The only knowledge that I  
17 have of Bockarie's death is based on the examination that was  
18 done by Liberian and I think - I am not sure - I think it was an  
19 NGO but there was some - a non-Liberian examination of the body.  
12:23:00 20 Only that report that I can rely on. I know of no information  
21 that Bockarie was strangled. I relied only on the report that  
22 was made, that was exhibited to this Court. It's the same report  
23 that I saw of gunshot wounds and the like. But I did not - I  
24 don't recall seeing strangulation on that report. I don't recall  
12:23:27 25 seeing strangulation on that report.

26 Q. Now, Mr Taylor, final matter on the Bockarie thing is this:  
27 Do you have any knowledge of any property recovered from Bockarie  
28 following his death?

29 A. No, no. I really - no, there were no - they only brought

1 his body. That's a point. I don't know what happened to - I am  
2 sure people that were with him, if he had cars, I am sure some of  
3 the friends and maybe soldiers that were with him probably took  
4 his possessions. But the government did not seize any  
12:24:08 5 possessions that I know of.

6 Q. Specifically, according to Mr Blah, he received information  
7 that a large mayonnaise sized jar of diamonds was recovered from  
8 Bockarie's property along with a bag full of money. Do you have  
9 any knowledge of that?

12:24:26 10 A. No, but if anybody would know it would be Moses Blah.  
11 Where would Sam Bockarie be getting diamonds from, coming back  
12 from Ivory Coast after three or four years outside when there is  
13 a witness saying that Sam Bockarie was stranded and had no money  
14 to do anything, that when he returns from this trip from Ethiopia  
12:24:47 15 into Ghana he is supposed to send to his wife to get money and  
16 here is a man outside there begging into Liberia for money that's  
17 got a mayonnaise jar of diamonds outside? What level of lie is  
18 that?

19 Three years- Sam Bockarie leaves Liberia in 2000. This is  
12:25:05 20 happening in 2003. A man who is scouring out there and  
21 scrounging around is supposed to be returning with a mayonnaise  
22 jar, the same mayonnaise jar lie that this Prosecution have  
23 encouraged throughout. This is a man that is returning with  
24 another mayonnaise jar of diamonds when while he was in exile he  
12:25:25 25 had to send this boy who claims he was sent back to his wife to  
26 beg - to ask for money, who could not afford a ticket outside has  
27 a mayonnaise jar of diamonds for God's sake. That's a lie. And  
28 if it's - then Blah has it. He was the man on the assignment.

29 Q. Two more topics, Mr Taylor, and then we are done. The

1 first one is Johnny Paul Koroma. Mr Blah told this Court on 15  
2 May at page 9953 that on one occasion, line 20:

3 "There was a little conflict between Sam Bockarie and Foday  
4 Sankoh and Johnny Paul Koroma. They came to Liberia. They had a  
12:26:15 5 meeting in which I was not involved. But according to Foday  
6 Sankoh who said they had come to the chief to settle this matter  
7 between us and so that we can go back. I didn't know how it  
8 ended.

9 The last time I saw Johnny Paul Koroma was when he was at  
12:26:35 10 Spriggs Payne Airport, a smaller airstrip that we have in  
11 Liberia. He boarded a helicopter. We had our own helicopter  
12 that took him back to Sierra Leone. That was the last time. But  
13 he seemed not to be satisfied because he spoke to me before he  
14 boarded the plane that he had also come to the chief but the  
12:26:56 15 treatment he received from the RUF was not satisfactory so he was  
16 going back. He said he was not satisfied with the judgement  
17 anyway.

18 He was speaking to the President. He said, 'Well,  
19 President Taylor has called us to settle this matter, but it  
12:27:14 20 looked like I am not satisfied with the judgement, but I have to  
21 take it as it is.' And he went back to Sierra Leone on the  
22 helicopter."

23 And then it goes on:

24 "Q. What did he mean by judgement?

12:27:27 25 A. They had conflict. They had dispute among themselves  
26 and so they had to come down to President Taylor to see how  
27 he will unite them to work as a unit. He said he was not  
28 satisfied with the decision taken by President Taylor.

29 Q. Why did Taylor have the ability to make a decision for

1           them?

2           A.   I would n' t know.

3           Q.   How would you descri be thei r relationship wi th Taylor?

12:28:00

4           A.   It was cordial , because if you come to somebody to try  
5           to determine the matter between you - between both of  
6           you - it could be that the relationship is good."

7           Now, Mr Taylor, is that a fair description?

8           A.   No.   This whole statement here is - my God.   Sam Bockarie,  
9           Foday Sankoh, Johnny Paul Koroma come to me to settle a dispute?

12:28:34

10          If we take a little time and decipher this, Sam Bockarie - now,  
11          Sam Bockarie has to be within the Sierra Leonean picture up until  
12          December 1999.   Johnny Paul Koroma, Sam Bockarie, Foday Sankoh  
13          must all be in this picture up until 1999 because Bockarie leaves  
14          Sierra Leone in 1999.   Then Johnny Paul Koroma and Sankoh finally  
15          get together in 1999 September.

12:29:13

16                 What confusion is there between Foday Sankoh, Johnny Paul  
17          Koroma and Sam Bockarie?   None.   The conflict between the RUF and  
18          Johnny Paul Koroma is settled in September 1999 between Foday  
19          Sankoh and Johnny Paul Koroma.   October 2, they board a plane and  
20          go to Freetown.   I don't see Johnny Paul Koroma again.   Foday  
21          Sankoh is back and forth up until December when we cannot settle  
22          the problem between Foday Sankoh and Sam Bockarie and Sam  
23          Bockarie leaves Liberia.

12:29:47

24                 So this nonsense that Moses is talking about about, Johnny  
25          Paul Koroma getting on a helicopter and going to Freetown because  
26          there is a matter of confusion - problem between the three of  
27          them is a lie from - I don't want to call the name from where.  
28          Total , total , total outrageous lie, okay?   He is trying to look  
29          at - and mind you, all this time in 1999 that this is happening,

12:30:12

1 Moses Blah is not even in Liberia. So the Prosecution is asking  
2 him about something that he doesn't know. 1999, this man is in  
3 Libya. During all of this matter he is in Libya during all the  
4 peace, this whole - he has no idea and he has been pushed into a  
12:30:53 5 lie here aimlessly.

6 Q. But he goes on at page 9955:

7 "Q. And to the best of your knowledge, when he came to  
8 Sierra Leone on this occasion, was he then a head of the  
9 junta?

12:31:08 10 A. No he was not. Something happened that I did not know.  
11 Either he was caught in the RUF territory or something,  
12 because somebody happened, some misunderstanding. They  
13 wanted someone to unite them. That was why they came to  
14 President Taylor.

12:31:28 15 Q. Could you tell whether this was before or after the  
16 period of the junta?

17 A. It was after the period of the junta, because the  
18 reason is that the discussion we had, he was talking like  
19 he was not in control of anything at that time."

12:31:45 20 Was Moses Blah party to this meeting - the presence of  
21 Johnny Paul Koroma in Monrovia, Mr Taylor?

22 A. Never, never. Never. Look at the itinerary that we've  
23 presented to this Court. Moses Blah is not there. Enoch Dogolea  
24 is not there. Never. Moses Blah is not even around for those  
12:32:09 25 talks in August, September and October when the people leave.

26 Never. He is not even around. He does not know what's talking  
27 about. Never.

28 Q. Final matter on the Johnny Paul Koroma topic. He was asked  
29 this at page 9998:



1 "Q. Do you know anything about what happened to Johnny  
2 Paul Koroma?

3 A. Johnny Paul Koroma, when he fled from there, this was a  
4 pure rumour. This is what I heard from people. They said  
12:32:41 5 Johnny Paul Koroma was in Lofa forest and he was killed. I  
6 wouldn't say in detail how he was killed, who killed him.  
7 I have tried to find out who actually killed this Johnny  
8 Paul Koroma, but it was said that Johnny Paul Koroma was  
9 killed in Lofa, close to the Sierra Leone border."

12:33:00 10 He is asked where he got this information from, and he  
11 says:

12 "My radio operator. He said that they were hearing some  
13 signals that Johnny Paul Koroma was killed in the Lofa forest and  
14 people were calling in code to pass it on to other people. I  
12:33:18 15 said since we don't know who killed because he couldn't tell me  
16 who did it. He said it was a radio. We had a radio."

17 Now, do you know anything about the killing of Johnny Paul  
18 Koroma?

19 A. No. And I don't even think Johnny Paul Koroma got killed,  
12:33:37 20 because there have been other reports that Johnny Paul Koroma is  
21 alive somewhere. So I don't know where they got this sort of lie  
22 from. But we heard this from - you know this whole line, we  
23 heard it from the other - one of the other protected witnesses.  
24 And I am sure that those involved he talked about, I am sure  
12:34:02 25 people will give explanations on this. But that's not true.  
26 Because there are also reports that Johnny Paul Koroma is alive  
27 and well someplace in - so I never heard this rumour that Johnny  
28 Paul was killed. Why would Johnny Paul be killed? There is no  
29 reason, no.

1 Q. Now, Mr Taylor, the final topic that I want to ask you  
2 about is this in relation to Moses Blah: How much notice did  
3 Moses Blah have that you were stepping down as President?

4 A. Moses Blah had close to two weeks of notice. What happened  
12:34:48 5 at that time was the - I followed with the legal people at the  
6 presidency and everybody - we followed the dictates of the  
7 constitution based on the exact words. That was - the  
8 transaction was preceded by a letter to the national legislature  
9 advising them and that letter - we have copies of that letter -  
12:35:23 10 advising them of my desire to step down, giving them the date and  
11 the time and to whom I would be turning over. That went to both  
12 houses of the legislature; the Senate, of course, presided over  
13 by Moses Blah.

14 Q. Now, Mr Taylor, one other question: Was Moses Blah aware  
12:35:49 15 that you were leaving Liberia and going into exile abroad?

16 A. Very much aware. Fully, fully aware. Fully aware. And he  
17 was not the only one. The most senior officials of government  
18 were very much aware that I was going out because some - about a  
19 month or two before my departure President Obasanjo, in major  
12:36:26 20 public statements across the international media, had mentioned  
21 that Nigeria - and it was put in diplomatic language. If and  
22 when President Taylor steps down as he has stated, Nigeria would  
23 welcome him. And my close people like Moses, members of the  
24 National Security Council, other senior officials of government,  
12:36:54 25 security people, were all aware that I would be leaving for  
26 Nigeria.

27 Q. Well, you appreciate that Moses Blah told this Court  
28 something different, Mr Taylor.

29 A. Well, that's Moses. That's why I wonder why - I have heard

1 some things here today that really - you know, that surprise me.  
2 Well, the letter to the legislature is available. The video of  
3 the entire ceremony is available. So I don't know why Moses told  
4 some of these lies. He told the truth on some other occasions.

12:37:25 5 I really don't know, but the videos are there. Those videos  
6 don't lie. Moses - the Presidents that came to that  
7 particular - this was not a haphazard process. It was a  
8 well-planned process.

9 Q. Was there a programme of events?

12:37:43 10 A. A major programme of events. A major programme of events  
11 very well documented. We had - Thabo Mbeki flew from South  
12 Africa; Joaquim Chissano flew from Mozambique as head of the  
13 African Union; John Kufuor of Ghana was there. I mean, this is  
14 not a hiding thing. It's well documented. We have the video.

12:38:08 15 Q. Well, Mr Blah told us this at page 10031:

16 "The Presidents of the various countries like the President  
17 of Ghana, the President of Nigeria, the President of South  
18 Africa, the President of Mozambique - I think there were four  
19 Heads of State that came to Liberia, and on that day they came,  
12:38:27 20 that was the day that I took the President - that was sworn into  
21 office as President of Liberia. And that was the same day  
22 President Taylor was taken out of the Liberia. There was no  
23 previous discussion. It is just like you remove this glass from  
24 here, and you put the next glass there."

12:38:51 25 Page 10033:

26 "It all happened in a hurry, because that same day he was  
27 taken away."

28 Then when I came to cross-examine him, page 10340, line 9:

29 "I did not even know when he was leaving, if he was leaving

1 Liberia. I did not know until at the Executive Mansion  
2 when the announcement was made.

3 Q. Former President, your President is stepping down and  
4 goes abroad. You are about to take up the reins of  
12:39:29 5 government. Are you honestly telling us that you didn't  
6 have a clue what the terms upon which he was stepping down  
7 were.

8 A. Let me come again. If I tell you the kind of movement  
9 that was going on in Liberia at that time, you wouldn't ask  
12:39:44 10 that question. I did not know that day President Taylor  
11 was leaving that country to go into exile. I knew it at  
12 the Executive Mansion when I was called upon and those  
13 Presidents came, and in his speech he said he was leaving.  
14 He shall be back. And the minister, the Chief Justice of  
12:40:05 15 the supreme court came in, called me out of the group and  
16 said, 'Look, you have to be sworn in to become President of  
17 this country.' We had gone there - Nyundueh Monkomana and  
18 Moses Blah. President Taylor has favoured Monkomana to be  
19 his successor. I was just - I didn't know that my position  
12:40:29 20 would have been either stay the Vice-President according to  
21 our constitution to take over from President Taylor. That  
22 was the kind of situation I was in."

23 So he is pleading, Mr Taylor, that he sat in the room at  
24 the Executive Mansion when he discovers he is going to be  
12:40:46 25 President. Is that true?

26 A. That's a blatant lie.

27 Q. Well, we do have a videotape, don't we, of that ceremony?

28 A. Exactly. And the letter. Because - I'll tell you what  
29 happened, the process. How would the Chief Justice call and say,

1 "You have to be sworn"? There is a process that is unique in  
2 Liberia of how this is done. The legislature is present during  
3 that process. In fact, what the legislature does, it convenes in  
4 what we call an extraordinary session, and it is during that  
12:41:19 5 extraordinary session that the President - nobody called him and  
6 said, "Come, you must be" - it was all - that extraordinary  
7 session for the purpose of the induction is done. The induction  
8 takes place during the extraordinary session of the legislature  
9 being administered the oath. Every step of that programme was  
12:41:40 10 followed based on the constitution. There was no mistakes.  
11 Everybody knew. Moses knew. Moses visited me several days  
12 before my departure as I was packing. We tried to keep it out of  
13 the knowledge of a lot of the citizens, because I can tell you,  
14 if a lot of the citizens had known I wanted to leave the country,  
12:42:03 15 they would never have let me go because a lot of people did not  
16 want me to go. Moses came to my house. Even there is some items  
17 that I gave to him and his wife. I mean, come on. Moses -  
18 Moses - Moses - Moses lied. He lied. That's what he did. And I  
19 am sure a lot of it would be credible. Even the picture would  
12:42:21 20 complete the performance.

21 Q. Well, let's have a look at some documents, shall we? First  
22 of all you said there was a programme, Mr Taylor; yes?

23 A. First there was a letter that I wrote to the legislature.

24 Q. Well, let's have a look at the programme first, shall we?

12:42:36 25 A. Okay.

26 MR GRIFFITHS: Can we take up the small volume which I  
27 indicated yesterday. It should have "DCT-42B" and "DCT-42C" on  
28 the front.

29 JUDGE SEBUTINDE: Volume number what, please?

1 MR GRIFFITHS: Disclosure for week 39, yes. Do your  
2 Honours have it?

3 PRESIDING JUDGE: Yes.

4 MR GRIFFITHS:

12:43:33 5 Q. Now, what's the first document we see in this bundle,  
6 Mr Taylor? Mr Taylor, could we go to the start of the bundle,  
7 please?

8 A. Yes. What's on the screen?

9 Q. No.

12:43:44 10 A. Which one?

11 MR GRIFFITHS: Does your Honours' bundle begin in this way?

12 THE WITNESS: Okay, that's 42B. Okay, I have it.

13 MR GRIFFITHS:

14 Q. Okay. I would like us to start, please, with the programme  
12:43:59 15 which starts like that, which is DCT-42B. Yes, Mr Taylor?

16 A. Yes, this is it.

17 Q. Now, Mr Taylor, we are looking at this in light of the fact  
18 that Mr Blah claimed that he only discovered he was going to be  
19 Vice-President when effectively he was plucked out of the crowd;  
12:44:23 20 yes?

21 A. You mean President.

22 Q. President, yes.

23 A. Yes.

24 Q. Now, how long in advance was this programme printed?

12:44:33 25 A. This programme would have to be done, I would say - I would  
26 put it anywhere to not less than three days before, because this  
27 has been done, you can see, by the - the protocol of the Foreign  
28 Ministry. So it's a whole process. So it's done a few days  
29 before the actual event.

- 1 Q. And as we can see, it's headed, "Programme for Induction  
2 into Office of Moses Z Blah, President Designate of the Republic  
3 of Liberia," at the Centennial Memorial Pavilion. And then we go  
4 over the next page. Who is that a picture of, Mr Taylor, on the  
12:45:18 5 following page?
- 6 A. That's Moses Blah.
- 7 Q. Yes, it looks like him. And the page after that, who's  
8 that?
- 9 A. That's his wife Nettie.
- 12:45:27 10 Q. Then we see the order of the day, do we?
- 11 A. Yes.
- 12 Q. Beginning at 6 o'clock in the morning?
- 13 A. That is correct.
- 14 Q. Cannon to be fired?
- 12:45:36 15 A. That is correct.
- 16 Q. And we see at 9.45 the President designate will be received  
17 by a guard of honour?
- 18 A. That is correct.
- 19 Q. And then we see special protocol, yes?
- 12:45:54 20 A. Yes.
- 21 Q. And again we see a programme for that, yes?
- 22 A. Yes.
- 23 Q. Even a dress code?
- 24 A. Yes.
- 12:46:04 25 Q. And then we go on and we see which hymns were to be sung?
- 26 A. Yes, yes.
- 27 Q. So was this all done in a rush, Mr Taylor, with Moses Blah,  
28 as he told this Court, totally oblivious as to his fate?
- 29 A. No, it was not done in a rush. As a matter of fact, for

1 this level of protocol, Moses participated. What is done, the  
2 protocol at the Foreign Ministry - the President, I am aware.  
3 But because this is for the induction of Moses, questions are  
4 asked him by the protocol of the Foreign Ministry if he has any  
12:46:54 5 additions, subtractions or suggestions to put together this  
6 programmes. Because protocols are not just imposed upon you.  
7 You participate in the process. Say for example if Moses says at  
8 this induction, this is his induction, "I want this done and that  
9 done, that would be accommodated. So he is aware. So he is a  
12:47:16 10 part of this planning process.

11 Q. Right.

12 A. That's how protocol works.

13 Q. Now I am not going to delay over long on that programme,  
14 Mr Taylor. I just want to look quickly at your resignation  
12:47:28 15 letter. But before we leave the programme, what date appears on  
16 the first page?

17 A. The first page of the programme should show the date of the  
18 programme. That should be 11 August.

19 Q. 11 August, yes?

12:47:44 20 A. Yes.

21 Q. 2003?

22 A. That is correct.

23 Q. Now, let's have a look at your resignation letter which is  
24 in the same bundle. Can I inquire whether your Honours have it?

12:47:56 25 PRESIDING JUDGE: Yes.

26 MR GRIFFITHS:

27 Q. What's the date on the letter, Mr Taylor?

28 A. Let me get to the bundle. It's a little further. Okay.  
29 That is on 6 August.



1 Q. So there is four days between your letter of resignation  
2 and the actual inauguration ceremony, yes?

3 A. That is correct, but let me just add one thing. Even  
4 though the letter is dated on the 6th, the knowledge of this  
12:48:28 5 coming into play is known far before this particular time. You  
6 understand what I am trying to say? Okay, you have a letter  
7 dated - the process leading to this, the discussions leading to  
8 this are all known far in advance.

9 Q. Now, the letter reads as follows:

12:48:56 10 "Honourable, ladies and gentlemen." It's addressed to the  
11 Liberian Legislature. "A little over two months ago, I made a  
12 profound declaration in Accra, Ghana at a summit of Heads of  
13 State of ECOWAS and the African Union that is helping to shape  
14 the destiny of our common patrimony.

12:49:23 15 We are painfully aware of the prevailing circumstances in  
16 our nation today regarding the civil conflict, in which our  
17 government has been betrayed by unscrupulous politicians, our own  
18 brothers and sisters in self-imposed exile. Compounding this  
19 betrayal are the persistent double standards applied against  
12:49:42 20 Liberia by the international community, which have led to a  
21 breakdown of law and order on the one hand and the destruction of  
22 the Liberian economy on the other. Therefore, I, as President of  
23 this noble republic, can no longer preside over the suffering and  
24 humiliation of the Liberian people.

12:50:00 25 It was on account of this enduring compassion for my people  
26 that I declared on 4 June 2003 in Accra, Ghana that if I were  
27 seen to be the problem to Liberia, I was prepared to step aside  
28 as President and allow the Liberian people to live.

29 Since my declaration, no one has determined that I am the

1 problem. However, the conditions in Liberia have deteriorated to  
2 an alarming extent as a result of three unprovoked attacks on the  
3 city of Monrovia by LURD rebels supported by our neighbours,  
4 Sierra Leone and Guinea, causing the death of more than 2,000  
12:50:49 5 innocent civilians, the massive loss of property and the  
6 humanitarian catastrophe. This state of affairs is unacceptable.

7 Liberia today stands at a threshold of survival that  
8 requires sober thinking, mature decision and expedient action.  
9 The actions and decisions that we evolve today can only be judged  
12:51:16 10 by history and posterity, for we are convinced that we are not  
11 the problem in Liberia, neither is this government solely to be  
12 blamed for the current state of affairs.

13 Nevertheless, we are constrained by the responsibilities  
14 placed upon our shoulders by the constitution of the Republic of  
12:51:36 15 Liberia to honour the sacred heritage of our forebears and do  
16 what is right for the survival of our nation. In consequence of  
17 these grave responsibilities, I have, after much soul searching  
18 and prayerful consideration, decided that I would begin a process  
19 to allow for a cessation of hostilities, healing of the wounds  
12:52:04 20 and encouragement of reconciliation amongst all Liberians.

21 I have decided to sacrifice my presidency and turn over the  
22 mantle of authority to my Vice-President, on Monday, 11 August  
23 2003, at 11.59 a.m. precisely.

24 It is my hope that this decision will then allow for the  
12:52:34 25 restoration of peace, security and prosperity to Liberia, and  
26 that all the assistance withheld by international donors during  
27 my tenure of office will finally devolve to the Liberian people  
28 for the good of the country.

29 I take this opportunity to express heartfelt thanks and

1 appreciation to the honourable Legislature, the judiciary, and  
2 the entire citizenry of Liberia for the support and cooperation  
3 accorded me. Even as I take this decision, you have my assurance  
4 that as a patriotic Liberian I will remain available to offer my  
12:53:17 5 experience, talents, counsel, and resources to assist in whatever  
6 way I am called upon.

7 May God Almighty prosper the works of our hands and save  
8 the State.

9 Cordially, Dankpannah Dr Charles Ghankay Taylor."

12:53:35 10 Now, I see on the second line on that page that it states,  
11 "turn over the mantle of authority to my Vice-President." I  
12 mean, did Mr Blah get a copy of this letter on 6 August,  
13 Mr Taylor, four days before his inauguration?

14 A. Mr Blah not only received a copy, but he presided over the  
12:53:57 15 Senate as President of the Senate when this letter was read to  
16 the Senate. It was presented to the Legislature, both Houses.  
17 He presided over the Senate side, the Speaker over the House.  
18 This is in line with the constitution. It was expected. This is  
19 what the constitution - this is why even the time is precise  
12:54:17 20 about what was going on.

21 Moses Blah had - what I had mentioned before. Before this  
22 letter, Moses Blah knew the entire process. This is not  
23 something that sprang up on him. Before this letter, all  
24 discussions about checking with the lawyers to make sure that  
12:54:34 25 everything was being done in line with the constitution, how it  
26 should be done, why it is mandatory by the constitution, all of  
27 these discussions were held before this letter was written. And  
28 he, Blah, as President of the Senate, presided over the Senate to  
29 present this document to the Liberian Senate. And he says that

1 he didn't - I mean, he didn't know.

2 Q. Well, at this point in time, Mr Taylor, I would like us to  
3 have a look, please, at a video of the ceremony.

4 A. Yes.

12:55:06 5 MR GRIFFITHS: Can I indicate, Mr President, your Honours,  
6 that we have a transcript of the video which is the other  
7 document in this bundle.

8 PRESIDING JUDGE: You want that played now, Mr Griffiths.

9 MR GRIFFITHS: Yes, please, Mr President.

12:56:05 10 [Video played to the Court]

11 PRESIDING JUDGE: Madam Court Manager, could you please  
12 halt the video there and we will resume at that point. And we  
13 will resume at the paragraph beginning, "Now the Liberian people  
14 need a good" after lunch.

13:31:17 15 We will take the lunch break now and resume at 2.30.

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

17 [Upon resuming at 2.30 p.m.]

18 PRESIDING JUDGE: Madam Court Manager, can you start that  
19 video again from where we left off.

14:32:24 20 [Video played to the Court]

21 MR GRIFFITHS:

22 Q. I just want to get a reference, Mr Taylor, if you will give  
23 me a moment. Mr Taylor, did the NPP have a newspaper?

24 A. Yes, the NPP had a newspaper.

15:10:29 25 Q. What was it called?

26 A. It was called The Patriot.

27 Q. Have you ever heard of a newspaper called Pepper Bird?

28 A. Yes, I have.

29 Q. What was that?

1 A. That was also a newspaper published by a wing in the party.  
2 The Pepper Bird is the - it's used on the logo of the National  
3 Patriotic Party, so there's a branch of the party that published  
4 the Pepper Bird.

15:11:15 5 Q. Yes. And was there any discussion in that document of your  
6 proposed departure?

7 A. In the Pepper Bird?

8 Q. Yes.

9 A. Oh, I don't recall. I really don't recall if there were  
15:11:46 10 any discussions in that paper. But because it was it was  
11 connected to the party, somebody could have leaked something to  
12 it, but I don't recall.

13 Q. Very well.

14 MR GRIFFITHS: I'm told that the remainder of the film can  
15:12:03 15 now be shown, Mr President?

16 PRESIDING JUDGE: There's some more film?

17 MR GRIFFITHS: There's more footage. This is the remainder  
18 of the footage.

19 PRESIDING JUDGE: There's no more transcript though, I  
15:12:20 20 understand.

21 MR GRIFFITHS: I wonder if I could just have a moment just  
22 to check the situation. We'll leave it at that point,

23 Mr President:

24 Q. Now, Mr Taylor --

15:12:53 25 A. Yes.

26 Q. -- so when Moses Blah told this Court that it came as a  
27 bolt from the blue when he was appointed Vice-President, was he  
28 telling these judges the truth?

29 A. President. When he was appointed President. No, he was

1 not.

2 Q. Now, Mr Taylor, we've now dealt with all of the witnesses  
3 that I propose to deal with with you. Do you follow?

4 A. Yes, I do.

15:13:29 5 Q. And I now want us to return, please, to your testimony  
6 generally, okay?

7 A. Yes.

8 Q. Now, first of all, I would like to engage in a bit of  
9 tidying up because there was a document that I wanted you to deal  
10 with which we omitted to deal with earlier in your testimony,  
11 okay?

12 A. Yes.

13 Q. At the launch of the revolution in Liberia, Mr Taylor, did  
14 you make any public statement?

15:14:03 15 A. Yes, I did.

16 Q. In what form did - what form did that statement take?

17 A. That's going all the way back into 1990. I issued - in  
18 fact, as early as, I would say, about January 1, 1990, I issued a  
19 statement as leader of the National Patriotic Front setting out  
15:14:43 20 the aims and objective of the front and the revolution that we  
21 had launched in Liberia. It is following that that - if you  
22 remember a document shown to this Court before a second document  
23 came out through Mr Woveiyu to the then State Department at the  
24 time, but I issued the first statement on 1 January 1990  
15:15:08 25 detailing word-for-word what the goals were, what the aims were,  
26 dealing with - this is why when the issue of ideology came up I  
27 said when it comes to ideology there were differences in dealing  
28 with Libya and the issue of ideology. We spelt out almost  
29 immediately, day one, where we were going and what our objectives

1 were. I set that out in the very first day of January 1990.

2 MR GRIFFITHS: Now, could I invite your Honours' attention  
3 to DCT-210, which is at tab 2, disclosure for week 29. It should  
4 be a very slim disclosure. Mr President, it should be

15:16:15 5 immediately behind a map of Libya.

6 PRESIDING JUDGE: We don't seem to have it, but I wonder if  
7 it could be put on the overhead.

8 MR GRIFFITHS: Okay.

9 PRESIDING JUDGE: That will give us access to it.

15:17:10 10 MS HOLLIS: Yes, Mr President, there may be additional  
11 questions about this document, but according to our records, it  
12 was read out verbatim to the Court on 16 July. It was not marked  
13 for identification, but it was read out. That's what our records  
14 show. Perhaps there are follow-up questions to it or perhaps our  
15:17:31 15 records are in error, but I do recall it being read.

16 MR GRIFFITHS: Well, I was basing this on my record of  
17 which documents had been marked for identification, and it may be  
18 that I omitted to mark it for identification, hence my error.

19 PRESIDING JUDGE: That's what it's sounding like.

15:17:49 20 MR GRIFFITHS: Well, that being the case, Mr President, I  
21 am not going to ask you to look at this document, but I would ask  
22 at this stage that it is marked for identification. And I'm  
23 grateful to my learned friend for that assistance.

24 PRESIDING JUDGE: What was the description of the document  
15:18:09 25 again?

26 MR GRIFFITHS: It's a statements by Charles Ghankay Taylor,  
27 leader of the National Patriotic Front of Liberia, dated 1  
28 January 1990.

29 Mr President, I wonder if the defendant can take advantage

1 of this hiatus to leave the Court momentarily for the usual  
2 reason.

3 PRESIDING JUDGE: Yes, certainly, Mr Taylor. Mr Taylor can  
4 be escorted out.

15:18:49 5 Mr Griffiths, this document - you go ahead. This document,  
6 you're saying you led some oral evidence on [microphone not  
7 activated].

8 MR GRIFFITHS: Yes. We read the document, but I omitted to  
9 mark it for identification. That was the omission. So I was  
15:19:07 10 hoping to rectify that omission now. And what we could do,  
11 Mr President, is this: Without any prejudice to the defendant,  
12 in his absence, could I ask, first of all, that the programme for  
13 induction into office of Moses Zeh Blah be marked for  
14 identification MFI-271.

15:19:46 15 PRESIDING JUDGE: That document is marked for  
16 identification MFI-271.

17 MR GRIFFITHS: And that the defendant's letter of  
18 resignation be marked for identification MFI-272.

19 PRESIDING JUDGE: Yes, that document is marked MFI-272.

15:20:06 20 MR GRIFFITHS: That the DVD showing the induction into  
21 office of Moses Blah be marked for identification MFI-273A and  
22 the transcript be 273B.

23 PRESIDING JUDGE: Yes, the DVD and transcript are marked  
24 accordingly for identification.

15:20:31 25 MR GRIFFITHS: And finally in this regard, Mr President,  
26 that the statement by Charles Ghankay Taylor, leader of the  
27 National Patriotic Front of Liberia, dated 1 January 1990, be  
28 marked for identification MFI-274, please.

29 PRESIDING JUDGE: I missed the description of that



1 document.

2 MR GRIFFITHS: It's a statement by Charles Ghankay Taylor,  
3 leader of the National Patriotic Front of Liberia, dated 1  
4 January 1990.

15:21:06 5 PRESIDING JUDGE: That's the one that you simply forgot to  
6 ask to be --

7 MR GRIFFITHS: That's the one that I simply forgot to ask  
8 to be marked for identification.

9 PRESIDING JUDGE: All right. That document is marked  
15:21:16 10 MFI-274.

11 MR GRIFFITHS: Right.

12 Q. Now, Mr Taylor --

13 JUDGE SEBUTINDE: Mr Griffiths, I'm a little concerned  
14 about the transcript. It must have been obvious to you that  
15:21:31 15 there are errors in the transcripts. I don't know what we can do  
16 about that. Perhaps not at this stage, but - I don't see us  
17 admitting it into evidence with all the errors and the  
18 inaccuracies. It's not accurate record of what we heard on the  
19 DVD.

15:22:15 20 MR GRIFFITHS: Would it suffice then, your Honour, if for  
21 the moment we don't refer to it as a transcript but as a note of  
22 conversations on the video as opposed to transcript?

23 PRESIDING JUDGE: Yes, I did pick up a few errors myself,  
24 but they didn't change the meaning of anything except for a few  
15:22:44 25 inconsequential things, but I think a note would cover it. If  
26 you're saying that's not a verbatim transcript, but a note of the  
27 --

28 MR GRIFFITHS: A note --

29 PRESIDING JUDGE: -- video contents.

1 MR GRIFFITHS: Mmm.

2 PRESIDING JUDGE: All right. The document that's now been  
3 marked for identification 273B, we'll delete the description  
4 "transcript" and insert "a note of the video contents".

15:23:39 5 MR GRIFFITHS: Right:

6 Q. Now, Mr Taylor --

7 A. Yes.

8 Q. -- we've spent several months now going through your  
9 account. Are there any remaining topics that you would like us  
10 to deal with before we conclude this stage of your testimony?

15:23:52

11 A. Oh, yes. Yes.

12 Q. And what are they so we can just note them down?

13 A. I would say there could be approximately four, at most  
14 five, general areas. One of note: Mr Stephen Ellis testified in  
15 this Court, and it might be of interest to show a document that  
16 we would have of a telephone conversation that Mr Ellis had as  
17 early back as the very early 1990 with an association in the  
18 United States called the Association for Constitutional Democracy  
19 in Liberia which Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf, Ezekiel Pajibo, Harry  
20 Greaves Jr, are all members, maybe to show some early connection  
21 with Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf and some of the actions she's taken  
22 against me and what this Ellis's own long-term connection with  
23 Liberia in terms vis-a-vis his own testimony here.

15:24:24

15:25:05

24 Another very important document that I think would help the  
25 Court, after my election in 1997, there was a special journal  
26 published by the Economic Community of West African States. That  
27 journal is important because it details in a sequential way all  
28 of the peace processes in Liberia, from Cotonou, dealing with  
29 Yamoussoukro with Abuja and all of these. I think for some

15:25:33

1 future purposes, I think it would be important in dealing with  
2 the authenticity of some of the statements that I made before  
3 this Court and the veracity of those statements.

4 But equally important is another area that, while we've  
15:26:33 5 been talking about arms that have been going to Sierra Leone that  
6 should have been sent by me that didn't exist, it might be of  
7 interest to this Court, a very important document, again, from my  
8 - this is - these are documents I'm talking about that I had in  
9 my archives. The House of Commons of Great Britain published a  
15:26:55 10 massive report in dealing with Sandline and its activities in  
11 Liberia and in Sierra Leone. That was a published report by the  
12 British House of Commons in dealing with the illicit trade of  
13 arms going to Sierra Leone between the periods - I would say  
14 between 1996-1997. That report was published in 1998.

15:27:27 15 It details the sale of arms to the Sierra Leonean  
16 government, but what is of interest to me, it also deals with  
17 this famous February intervention in Sierra Leone and the fact  
18 that this operation for the removal of the junta was planned,  
19 carried out and operated from Liberian territory involving  
15:27:54 20 Sandline. That is in - contained in this report. I have talked  
21 about - remember as I told this Court about the Kamajors being  
22 organised in Liberia from Ricks Institute and moving out and the  
23 constant problems that I had - well, the British government - the  
24 British House of Commons did investigation - is contained in that  
15:28:19 25 report.

26 Equally of importance in that report are the facts that  
27 present in Sierra Leonean waters at the time, HMS Cornwall was  
28 stationed there. When we talked about these radio intercepts  
29 that I said they had the capacity. If I had been on the radio

1 talking about - and then talking about some of the things that  
2 they said, of course there were assets out there. In 1998 the  
3 Americans had assets out there, but the British had HMS Cornwall  
4 out there. This is very, very important in dealing with all of  
15:29:00 5 the Secret Services of the British government, the British army,  
6 the MI6, every bit of information is contained in that report.  
7 And I can't see why those intelligence agencies that the British  
8 House of Commons say that reported and from that report there  
9 about 100 plus reports that came in, I don't see how these  
15:29:25 10 accusations are continuously levelled against me when this  
11 Prosecution has access to important information that could  
12 probably exonerate me. So I think we ought to look at this House  
13 of Commons report that comes out in 1998.

14 And of course we have not still dealt with diamonds.  
15:29:56 15 Because in my initial statement before this Court I talked about  
16 a conspiracy, I talked about deceit on the part of the  
17 Prosecution and major countries. Now, we have reports - we have  
18 the famous report given to us by the Prosecution of the  
19 investigation that was done by the Belgian government and  
15:30:18 20 published in 2000. That report, while it says Mr Taylor's  
21 government or Mr Taylor is in some way connected, the entire  
22 report says nothing. There is nothing factual about my  
23 involvement and it rambles on.

24 Also we have all of these - we have this famous document  
15:30:44 25 that is presented to us by the Prosecution of this famous Michel  
26 letter that goes from Michel to Foday Sankoh and subsequently -  
27 in fact, before we go to the subsequent part of this, that letter  
28 contains a very important passage where it states that Charles is  
29 making a lot of trouble because he wants 90 per cent of the

1 profits. Now, Charles - it is also explained in that document  
2 who Charles is and it's not Charles Taylor. But subsequent to  
3 that the Washington Post and the BBC come out with statements  
4 that Charles Taylor - that they have uncovered factual material  
15:31:30 5 that shows that Charles Taylor is involved with diamonds. And  
6 there's sufficient documents in our custody to show that this  
7 whole diamond issue is all made up and all these witnesses that  
8 came here with these lies are just a part of the plot. And so I  
9 would think that it would be interesting if we were to present  
15:31:54 10 those documents.

11 And last, not least, I think dealing with the issues  
12 surrounding my arrest. I think those issues are very important,  
13 how I got arrested, why I got arrested, the issues involved, the  
14 different solutions. I think generally for me these are the  
15:32:12 15 areas as I have gone through this case that I think would be of  
16 interest. And all these documents, I have read them. They were  
17 part of my archives, other than the documents that the  
18 Prosecution have given us, that would be the Belgian report. Of  
19 course we have unclassified State Department material that was  
15:32:38 20 also given to us and I would just suggest that these would help  
21 in helping the Court determine my fate.

22 Q. Right. Let us deal with those matters which you've raised  
23 sequentially. First of all in relation to Stephen Ellis, can I  
24 invite attention, please, to disclosure for week 32 behind tab  
15:33:07 25 11. It's DCT-10.

26 If your Honours are having difficulty finding this  
27 document, the point to be made is a very simple one and we can  
28 accomplish matters by merely putting the first page.

29 PRESIDING JUDGE: Yes, Ms Hollis.

1 MS HOLLIS: Yes, the Prosecution followed the accused's  
2 explanation of this document and we have an objection in relation  
3 to putting this document in through this accused. According to  
4 him these are entirely third party comments. He had no hand in  
15:34:26 5 making them. He was not one of the parties. As far as we know,  
6 none of the parties were his agent at the time and your Honours  
7 have been very relaxed in terms of the connection that is  
8 required for documents to come in through this accused, but there  
9 must be some limits to that. We would suggest that there is no  
15:34:48 10 foundation for this accused to speak to this document and that  
11 there are other means that the Defence can use to attempt to put  
12 it in under other Rules, but that it is not connected with this  
13 witness, even though you have relaxed the standards, sufficiently  
14 for this witness to be able to be the conduit through which this  
15:35:08 15 document is introduced to the Court. I don't recall Mr Ellis  
16 being cross-examined on this document, so we have an objection to  
17 this through this accused.

18 PRESIDING JUDGE: Do you want to reply to that?

19 MR GRIFFITHS: Yes, I do briefly, Mr President. The  
15:35:30 20 Prosecution called Stephen Ellis as an independent expert witness  
21 giving objective testimony about events in Liberia. Now we can  
22 show that that portrayal of Mr Ellis as totally independent is in  
23 fact erroneous because there is this long-standing connection  
24 between him and individuals who now state publicly opposition to  
15:36:00 25 this defendant. And it seems to me perfectly legitimate for the  
26 defendant to show, through the exhibition of this document, that  
27 connection. The contents of the document itself are immaterial.  
28 What this document proves is a long-standing connection between  
29 Stephen Ellis and, inter alia, Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf dating back

1 over a decade. In our submission, that is an important point to  
2 be made.

3 PRESIDING JUDGE: Yes. Was this one of the documents from  
4 Mr Taylor's archives?

15:36:44 5 MR GRIFFITHS: Yes, it was.

6 THE WITNESS: Yes, it is.

7 PRESIDING JUDGE: Ms Hollis, some of the reasons for your  
8 objections just go to hearsay, you're saying according to him  
9 these are entirely third party comments. Well, that's covered by  
10 - that's hearsay. The accused had no hand in making them. Well,  
11 he doesn't have to if he's tendering hearsay evidence. That he  
12 was not one of the parties, he doesn't have to be. That still  
13 makes hearsay evidence admissible. And Mr Taylor has read the  
14 document and he gave evidence that makes it relevant. So in my  
15 ruling the document can be produced through this witness.

15:37:40 16 MR GRIFFITHS: Court Management are having difficulty  
17 finding this document.

18 PRESIDING JUDGE: I think it's with many other documents  
19 stored downstairs.

15:37:59 20 MR GRIFFITHS: Very well. It's my fault, Mr President,  
21 entirely. Although I notified certain individuals what volumes  
22 would be required, I'm not sure if that was comprehensive. It's  
23 a very simple point which can be made by just exhibiting my  
24 unmarked copy on the screen.

15:38:21 25 MS IRURA: Your Honour, the tab Defence counsel is  
26 indicating does not correspond to our tab 11 in week 32.

27 MR GRIFFITHS: It's my fault. It's my fault entirely. I'm  
28 looking at the wrong reference. It's week 30, tab 3. Sorry, my  
29 fault:

1 Q. Mr Taylor, just change seats for a moment, please. What is  
2 the point that you seek to make in relation to this document?

3 A. If you look on this document it's the Association For  
4 Constitutional Democracy in Liberia and there is an executive  
15:39:19 5 board. If you look under the logo on that page, you'll see a  
6 list of names. All of those individuals are individuals are  
7 individuals that are - most of them are alive and well in Liberia  
8 today. They are all anti-Taylor elements; Harry Greaves, Ezekiel  
9 Pajibo, Momo Rogers, Amos Sawyer, Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf. That's  
15:39:52 10 the point. And this is the association that Ellis has had with  
11 this group over a long period of time.

12 Q. Because this is notes of what?

13 A. This is a telephone conversation - an interview - an  
14 interview that Stephen Ellis conducts. He is about to publish  
15:40:12 15 something about a wide range of banking and other issues in  
16 Liberia, but they are in contact and he knows them very well.

17 Q. And was it to your knowledge that there was this  
18 long-standing connection between Ellis and these individuals,  
19 Mr Taylor, dating back to 1990?

15:40:29 20 A. No, I had no real knowledge of that.

21 Q. In 1990 what was the situation in Liberia?

22 A. Oh, by 1990 we had a war going on.

23 Q. And at that time were you aware that there was this inquiry  
24 being conducted by Stephen Ellis?

15:40:52 25 A. No, not at all. I was not aware.

26 JUDGE SEBUTINDE: Can I seek a small clarification,  
27 Mr Griffiths, and sorry to interrupt. What does the witness mean  
28 by "anti-Taylor elements" given the date of this document? If  
29 you could throw some light, please.



1 THE WITNESS: Yes, your Honour. When you look right now,  
2 let's go back to - Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf is the present President  
3 of Liberia. Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf is the one that was involved  
4 in the initiation and writings of letters to Nigeria that led to  
15:41:37 5 my arrest and incarceration. Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf has been  
6 making all types of provocative anti-Taylor statements throughout  
7 my incarceration. She has taken legal and other actions against  
8 me in Liberia. Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf has cut off all emoluments  
9 that are granted me under the constitution of Liberia. But the  
15:42:03 10 man that she is dealing with at this time who does not tell this  
11 Court when he testifies here that he has had this long-term  
12 association with these people did not disclose that himself to  
13 this Court. That's why I think it is of importance that I wanted  
14 to have it revealed that there is a long-term relationship within  
15:42:26 15 - all of these people that are connected here are present or in  
16 part officials of the Government of Liberia now that still  
17 remains very much anti to Charles Taylor.

18 MR GRIFFITHS:

19 Q. Is there any other comment you want to make in relation to  
15:42:47 20 this document, Mr Taylor?

21 A. No, I just wanted to draw the nexus between Ellis and his  
22 long-term association with Ellen, Sawyer and all of these  
23 individuals that continue to be what they are against me.

24 Q. Thank you. Can I have that --

15:43:06 25 JUDGE SEBUTINDE: Also, given that we - speaking for  
26 myself, I've only seen the one paragraph and the heading says  
27 "Notes on telephone interview with Stephen Ellis, February 15,  
28 1990." Are these notes made by someone? Is this a record of a  
29 telephone interview with Ellis? Or what is this document?

1 MR GRIFFITHS:

2 Q. Can you help us, Mr Taylor?

3 A. Yes, I can help. If you look at the bottom of the page,

4 this - it says "note" and it is signed by Mr Harry Greaves Jr who

15:43:39 5 is also a member of the executive board and he takes notes of the

6 telephone conversation with Mr Ellis. The very first name up at

7 the executive board is Harry A Greaves Jr. He does this note.

8 He is the one that is detailing, okay, that this conversation has

9 occurred.

15:44:07 10 JUDGE SEBUTINDE: [Microphone not activated].

11 THE WITNESS: Yes.

12 JUDGE SEBUTINDE: And this telephone conversation is

13 alleged to have occurred in February 1990.

14 THE WITNESS: That is correct.

15:44:36 15 MR GRIFFITHS:

16 Q. Anything else you want to tell us regarding that document,

17 Mr Taylor?

18 A. No, no. I think we've laid out - I've laid out what I

19 wanted to - it just - that's all I wanted to --

15:44:48 20 Q. Thank you. Can you go back to your seat now, please. And

21 can I have that page back, please.

22 MR GRIFFITHS: Mr President, can I ask, please, that that

23 page be marked for identification MFI-275, please.

24 PRESIDING JUDGE: What's a brief description of that, just

15:45:18 25 in case we have to go back through the --

26 MR GRIFFITHS: I was going to suggest: Notes of a

27 telephone interview with Stephen Ellis showing link with Ellen

28 Johnson-Sirleaf dating from 1990.

29 PRESIDING JUDGE: Yes, Ms Hollis.

1 MS HOLLIS: I have to object to that depiction. This shows  
2 notes of a conversation where a person agrees to do a story.  
3 There is nothing in here to show an ongoing link from 1990.

4 PRESIDING JUDGE: Yes, I tend to agree with that. We're  
15:45:51 5 just trying to identify the thing at this stage. You are not  
6 tendering it. We can argue all that later, if necessary.

7 MR GRIFFITHS: Well, why don't we call it: Notes on a  
8 telephone interview with Stephen Ellis, February 15, 1990?

9 PRESIDING JUDGE: Yes, well, that document as described is  
15:46:09 10 marked for identification MFI-275.

11 MR GRIFFITHS:

12 Q. Now, Mr Taylor, the other document that you wanted us to  
13 look at was you said the official journal of ECOWAS?

14 A. Published in 1997, yes. It's a special edition journal  
15:46:33 15 published in 1997 that details all of the different peace  
16 processes.

17 MR GRIFFITHS: Now, this document - your Honours' copy  
18 should be in Court because I know that Mr Meisenberg brought them  
19 into court yesterday for your Honours. It should be week 31, tab  
15:46:56 20 7. Now, this is the only volume your Honours will need for the  
21 next while - little while, at any rate:

22 Q. Now, Mr Taylor, is this the document you were telling us  
23 about?

24 A. This is the document, yes. The special edition.

15:47:58 25 Q. Now, it's a very large document, Mr Taylor. I wonder if  
26 you could just - for the moment, just take it through the  
27 contents and give us an idea how this document might assist us.

28 A. Well, I have gone through with this Court the different  
29 movements between 1990 all the way into my movement to Monrovia

- 1 in 1995. And these different stages, from Dakar, Cotonou, you  
2 see Abuja, Tunisia, Abuja I and Abuja II, and all of the stages  
3 of the peace process and what happened into Liberia, from  
4 Gordon-Somers to Nyaki and coming on down, will help the Court at  
15:49:05 5 least in verifying some of these - some of the information I  
6 presented before this Court in terms of the different peace  
7 processes in Liberia leading up to my election as President.
- 8 Q. Well, Mr Taylor, as I say, for the minute, I just want you  
9 to help us in this way: First of all, during the Liberian civil  
15:49:37 10 war, when was the first attempt by ECOWAS to organise some kind  
11 of peace process?
- 12 A. All the way back 1990.
- 13 Q. Yes?
- 14 A. Yes.
- 15:49:48 15 Q. Now, what's the significance of Dakar, 27 to 29 July 1992?
- 16 A. Dakar now is where I go and meet the famous American  
17 delegation headed by the Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for  
18 African Affairs, Leonard Robinson. We have exhibited photos here  
19 of Jon Dobrin, senior State Department official, that set into  
15:50:26 20 motion and we have exhibited those photos here before this Court.  
21 But these are the documents that deal with the process.
- 22 Q. Now, Cotonou, the next stage, in October, were you there?
- 23 A. Cotonou? We were represented. No, I did not go to  
24 Cotonou. We were represented in Cotonou.
- 15:50:54 25 Q. But were you present in Dakar?
- 26 A. Yes. I personally went to Dakar, yes.
- 27 Q. Now, what about Abuja in November?
- 28 A. 1992 November, we are represented. I don't go to - this  
29 sets the stage for my eventual move a couple of years later, but

1 this sets the stage for my going to Abuja and puts into place the  
2 framework for lasting peace.

3 Q. And what about number 4, Cotonou?

15:51:45

4 A. Okay, Cotonou. You have Abuja, Cotonou. There's a failure  
5 and the group returns to Cotonou to put into effect what was not  
6 put into effect at Abuja, so then we go to Cotonou, once there is  
7 a failure.

8 Q. What about Tunisia?

15:52:00

9 A. Tunisia? This is - in fact, I personally go to Tunisia. I  
10 can remember the OAU is meeting in Tunisia. I think Zine El  
11 Abidine Ben Ali was just - he had just taken over from the old  
12 man and they have a meeting up there. So I go to Tunisia to  
13 present my case to them.

14 Q. That case being?

15:52:26

15 A. That we - you know, we want peace. Explain the obstacles.  
16 And after Tunisia, before we go on to Akosombo and then we have  
17 this attack in Gbarnga, but to make this case. For the first  
18 time I have an opportunity to make a case before the - a  
19 committee of the African Union - I mean, excuse me, not African  
20 Union. The OAU.

15:52:53

21 Q. Right. Now, Mr Taylor, if you look between item number 5  
22 there - beneath item number 5, you'll see that ULIMO is  
23 mentioned, yes?

24 A. Uh-huh.

15:53:08

25 Q. Now, help us. At this stage - at this stage, are you  
26 talking directly to ULIMO --

27 A. By this stage --

28 Q. -- in Tunisia in 1994?

29 A. No, we are not talking directly. ULIMO is dealing with the

1 interim government with Sawyer.

2 Q. But were they present in Tunisia?

3 A. Yes. They he did go to Tunisia. I think Alhaji Kromah was  
4 there for I think a side bar discussion, but they did have

15:53:48 5 representatives there.

6 Q. And what about Sierra Leone? Did Sierra Leone have a  
7 representative at this meeting in Tunisia?

8 A. As a government, Sierra Leone was there as a government but  
9 not involved in a discussion with me at the time.

15:54:04 10 Q. Did you talk to the Sierra Leonean representative?

11 A. No, I did not.

12 Q. Now, I ask for this reason, Mr Taylor: Whether, for  
13 example, any accusation was made to your face in Tunisia that you  
14 were providing assistance to the RUF in 1994. Do you follow me?

15:54:21 15 A. I follow you. No. I - there was no face-to-face  
16 discussion with the Sierra Leonean delegation, neither was I  
17 confronted with any accusations from the Sierra Leonean  
18 government at that meeting, no.

19 Q. Now, let's go to the second page of the contents.

15:54:43 20 MR GRIFFITHS: Whilst that's being done, Mr President, a  
21 spelling. Zine El Abidine Ben Ali, Z-I-N-E, E-I, A-B-I-D-I-N-E;  
22 Ben, B-E-N, A-L-I, President of Tunisia.

23 PRESIDING JUDGE: Thank you.

24 MR GRIFFITHS:

15:55:08 25 Q. Now, Mr Taylor, hopefully we can go through this next stage  
26 slightly more quickly. Just cast your eye down that page and ask  
27 me - tell me whether you were present at any of the meetings  
28 listed from 6 to 12 there?

29 A. Oh, yes. I was present at Ghana, Akosombo.

1 Q. Ghana, which one? Which date?

2 A. November.

3 Q. So you were present in Ghana 22 to 24 November, yes?

4 A. That is correct. 1995, Abuja.

15:55:49 5 Q. Which date in - 15 to 21 May?

6 A. No, no, no. That's around - I will put it to 16 to 19

7 August.

8 Q. You were in Abuja?

9 A. I went to - that's my first meeting with Abacha at the

15:56:10 10 time. So I attend Ghana, Akosombo, and Abuja, the final

11 agreement.

12 Q. So that's your first meeting with Abacha?

13 A. Yes, my very first.

14 Q. Now, Mr Taylor, again, I'm going to ask you the same

15:56:27 15 question: Was Liberia - I mean, sorry. Was Sierra Leone present

16 in Ghana in November 1994?

17 A. No. The - well, I would say yes, but the Akosombo - the

18 discussions in Ghana were between and amongst the parties to the

19 Liberian conflict. So, of course, diplomats from Ghana and other

15:56:53 20 people were there, but they were not involved in these

21 discussions. They were about the Liberian conflict.

22 Q. Right. It's entitled The Fourth Meeting of Ministers of

23 Foreign Affairs of the ECOWAS Committee of Nine on the Liberian

24 Crisis. So it was only those foreign ministers on that committee

15:57:19 25 who attended the meeting. Is that right?

26 A. That is correct.

27 Q. Now, just pause for a minute, Mr Taylor. Who were the nine

28 countries on the committee?

29 A. They kept adding. You had Ghana, Nigeria, Togo, Benin,

1 Guinea, Ivory Coast - I can't recall. They kept --

2 Q. Let me ask you a simple question. Was Sierra Leone on it?

3 A. No, Sierra Leone was not on any of the committees for the  
4 Liberian peace process, no.

15:57:58 5 Q. Okay. So in Abuja in August, yes?

6 A. Uh-huh.

7 Q. You attend this further meeting, yes?

8 A. Yes.

9 Q. Now, Mr Taylor, did anyone, either in Ghana in November or  
15:58:13 10 in August in 1995, make the accusation to you to your face as  
11 leader of the NPFL that you were implicated in the situation in  
12 Sierra Leone?

13 A. No. And if they had done so they would be crazy because by  
14 1995 they know that their units - ULIMO, their units are and have  
15:58:40 15 been on the borders. So no one can even come over there. And  
16 I'm saying "their units" because let's not forget ULIMO is put  
17 together, is armed by Sierra Leone. That's how ULIMO comes into  
18 Liberia. So once ULIMO takes full control of Lofa, Bomi, Cape  
19 Mount County, the entire region as drawn on a map that have been  
15:59:08 20 exhibited to this Court, Sierra Leone no longer looked across the  
21 border at any threats. So that matter was never raised  
22 subsequently by Sierra Leone.

23 Q. Very well?

24 A. Following, I would say, 1992.

15:59:25 25 Q. Let's have a look at the third page of the index, please,  
26 Mr Taylor. Of the meetings listed there which ones did you  
27 attend?

28 A. Well, I did not go - well, I'm already in Monrovia. For  
29 example, number 14, I'm already in Monrovia --



1 Q. So by November 1996 --

2 A. Yes.

3 Q. -- you're in Monrovia?

4 A. Oh, definitely. I'm a member of the Council of State.

16:00:04 5 Q. All right.

6 A. Yes.

7 Q. So were you present at that meeting in Monrovia in  
8 November?

9 A. No, I did not attend the foreign - but the Foreign Minister  
16:00:16 10 of Liberia attended the meeting, but it's important in terms of  
11 the sequence of what happened during that time.

12 Q. So were you present at any of these meetings?

13 A. No, these are all Foreign Ministers meetings concluding the  
14 process now to lead to election. They are all dealing with  
16:00:36 15 disarmament, demobilisation, raising of funds to pay for the  
16 electoral process. This is all what's going on. It gets to us  
17 because I'm a member of the Council of State, so the Foreign  
18 Ministers going to the meeting, all meetings thereafter the  
19 reports come to us as members of the collective presidency.

16:00:59 20 Q. When we look at item 17 there, Mr Taylor, we see that's  
21 headed "Monrovia, July 1997, special elections", yes?

22 A. Yes.

23 Q. Now, all of the things that we see listed under there, was  
24 it ECOWAS who took charge of all of these matters?

16:01:21 25 A. Positive. ECOWAS took care of all of these matters. It  
26 was not the Government of Liberia that did all of this. It was  
27 ECOWAS.

28 Q. So that, for example, where at item (i) it says "Special  
29 elections law for the 1997 elections", who created that?

1 A. Those laws were put together by ECOWAS. It was not - we  
2 did not have a legislature or anything. ECOWAS put together the  
3 electoral laws at that particular time. ECOWAS did, 100  
4 per cent.

16:01:53 5 Q. So, Mr Taylor, can we take it then that the total framework  
6 for the elections wasn't a Liberian thing; it was an ECOWAS  
7 thing, looking at this list?

8 A. Yes, but I want to add not just - it was an ECOWAS  
9 international community affair. The Liberian government did not  
16:02:12 10 organise, plan and conduct the elections of 1997. They were  
11 organised, planned and conducted by ECOWAS and the international  
12 community using Liberian personnel. But the laws - the security,  
13 everything, the funds provided for it, were all provided by and  
14 through the international community and ECOWAS.

16:02:45 15 Q. By way of example, Mr Taylor, can we just briefly look,  
16 please, just at a few pages, starting at page 145, just to get a  
17 flavour of the extent of ECOWAS involvement, yes. Now, page 145,  
18 and I'm just looking at headings, I'm not asking everyone to go  
19 through this in detail. We see that a budget was set for the  
16:03:22 20 elections, yes?

21 A. Yes. I'm rushing there.

22 Q. Paragraph 47, page 145?

23 A. Yes. Paragraph what?

24 Q. Paragraph 47 on page 145. Have you got it?

16:03:41 25 A. Yes, yes.

26 Q. Now, the sums of money set out there, Mr Taylor, who was  
27 providing that?

28 A. That's the international community.

29 Q. That's the international community?

1 A. Yeah. There were different forms made. It had  
2 contributions from the European Union, the United States  
3 government. We also had - at that particular time the chairman  
4 of ECOWAS asked member states of ECOWAS to contribute to the  
16:04:13 5 electoral process. The Government of the Republic of China I can  
6 remember contributed because I visited China. The Republic of  
7 China donated \$1 million. But this was all done through ECOWAS  
8 member states, the European Union and other groups.

9 Q. Quickly paragraph 50: "The ministers therefore recommended  
16:04:44 10 that elections in Liberia should be held not later than the end  
11 of July 1997." If we just quickly go over the page, Mr Taylor,  
12 we see that's a decision made on 20 May 1997. Do you follow me?

13 A. Yes.

14 Q. So help me, was the electioneering period crammed into that  
16:05:08 15 period between 20 May and the end of July when the election took  
16 place?

17 A. Oh, yes. But --

18 Q. Prior to this announcement of the date --

19 A. Yeah.

16:05:19 20 Q. -- was there any electioneering?

21 A. Yes, there was electioneering and we were - they were  
22 trying to figure out, because money was a big problem, and they  
23 were hedging their bets on would they have sufficient, would they  
24 not have sufficient. But finally as money came in they took a  
16:05:39 25 decision on a firm date.

26 Q. And another quick glance to page 149, please. "Special  
27 election laws for the 1997 elections submitted to ECOWAS on 5 May  
28 1997 and approved by ECOWAS on 21 May 1997." I just want to ask  
29 you this, Mr Taylor. When it says "submitted to ECOWAS", who

1 actually drafted this law?

2 A. The ECOWAS ministers drafted this law. That's what they  
3 were meeting so many times for. We did not - Liberia had its own  
4 election laws. They were not accepted because the elections of  
16:06:36 5 Liberia of 1997 were conducted under the system of proportional  
6 representation that was alien to Liberia. We had never had it  
7 before and we have not had it since. Proportional representation  
8 was specially done. And so all of the mechanics, other  
9 assistance from international organisation, lawyers and different  
16:06:58 10 things from NGOs and all, they helped ECOWAS to put together  
11 these laws and submitted them to the Heads of State. So there is  
12 something funny about this language here now. When it says here  
13 "Special election laws submitted to ECOWAS and approved by  
14 ECOWAS", now you have to look at who does the submission. The  
16:07:19 15 Foreign Ministers do the submission. The approval is done by the  
16 Heads of State.

17 Q. And if we just go over to page 150 and quickly glance down  
18 the contents page we get an idea as to how comprehensive a piece  
19 of legislation this was?

16:07:39 20 A. Uh-huh.

21 Q. And I just want us, in light of the way in which the  
22 elections in Liberia have been described by the Prosecution, and  
23 particularly the reference to "You killed my ma, you killed my  
24 pa, I will still vote for you", suggesting that undue influence  
16:07:59 25 was placed on voters, I would like us to go to page 179, please.  
26 Do you have it?

27 A. Almost there. Yes.

28 Q. 179, letter (e):

29 "Secret ballots. All political parties shall consistently

1 emphasise and reinforce to their supporters and to all voters  
2 that balloting will be in secret so there is no fear of  
3 victimisation. In addition, parties shall constantly remind  
4 their supports of the need to observe the election law, this code  
16:08:53 5 of conduct and all other rules promulgated by the commission in  
6 connection with the conduct of these elections. Parties must  
7 obligatorily educate their supporters that tampering with ballots  
8 cast either by rigging or falsification of any kind is a criminal  
9 offence carrying serious and enforceable legal sanctions, whether  
16:09:17 10 in the capacity of a perpetrator, an accessory after the fact,  
11 accomplice or facilitator."

12 Did your party abide by that, Mr Taylor?

13 A. Yes, we did. We surely abided by it. But maybe, counsel,  
14 one of the issues that for the benefit of the Court in dealing  
16:09:37 15 with this document, I think if we look at the very front page of  
16 this document where it states the document is submitted to ECOWAS  
17 and approved by ECOWAS I think makes the point. This is not a  
18 document approved by the legislature of Liberia or any group. It  
19 is approved by ECOWAS and normally this would mean that ECOWAS  
16:10:03 20 has full control of this process. This is not an internal little  
21 manoeuvring on the part of the Liberian parties. Nowhere in the  
22 world you will hear that election laws are promulgated by  
23 outsiders except under these special conditions. I think this is  
24 the point that I wanted to make.

16:10:24 25 Q. Bearing in mind that phrase, "You killed my ma, you killed  
26 my pa", let's have a look at letter (f):

27 "Exerting undue influence. Political parties shall not,  
28 whatever the temptation, procure voters by forcible occupation of  
29 polling stations or through other illegal activities at the

1 polling stations. Parties shall not attempt to influence the  
2 outcome of the balloting through monetary inducements in the form  
3 of bribery or allurement of election officials. Everyone,  
4 including the giver and the receiver, should be aware that this  
16:11:09 5 is a serious electoral offence with enforceable sanctions."

6 A. Yes.

7 Q. Now again, Mr Taylor, was that abided by as far as you're  
8 aware by the parties who participated in this election?

9 A. Yes. 100 per cent. If we did not there would have been  
16:11:27 10 sanctions. 100 per cent we did.

11 Q. Just to be clear, did all the parties abide by this?

12 A. Yes. And why do I say yes is because I know of no instance  
13 where any of the parties that registered to participate in these  
14 elections were sanctioned. I know of no sanctions applied or  
16:11:55 15 enforced, may I say, at that time against any party.

16 Q. Against any party?

17 A. That is correct.

18 Q. Now that we get a flavour of this document and the  
19 information it provides us with, Mr Taylor, is there any other  
16:12:12 20 particular passage which you would like us to look at?

21 A. No, I think - I think this is - this is up to the electoral  
22 process and I was very much interested in this document mostly  
23 because of the laws and what had been alleged by the Prosecutor  
24 in still dealing with this issue that you raised, so I'm okay  
16:12:33 25 with this.

26 MR GRIFFITHS: Very well. Mr President, can I ask, please,  
27 that that document, the official journal of ECOWAS, volume 22,  
28 special edition, 1997, be marked for identification MFI-276,  
29 please.

1           PRESIDING JUDGE: Yes, that's marked for identification  
2 MFI-276.

3           MR GRIFFITHS:

4           Q.     The other matter I want us to move on to now, Mr Taylor, is  
16:13:04 5     the reference you made to the House of Commons report, yes?

6           A.     Yes.

7           Q.     Can we have a look, please, behind divider 18 in the same  
8     volume. Do you have it, Mr Taylor?

9           A.     Yes, I do.

16:13:44 10          Q.     Just to get a background to this document, let's start at  
11     the introduction on page 1, shall we. Yes?

12          A.     Yes.

13          Q.     "Early 1996, democratic elections were held in the Republic  
14     of Sierra Leone, after some years of military rule. Mr Tejan  
16:14:09 15     Kabbah took office as President. However, in May 1997, his  
16     government was ousted by a coup. Power was taken over by a junta  
17     of military officers and other rebel forces, and President Kabbah  
18     went into exile. The international community joined in the  
19     condemnation of the junta. The following October, the United  
16:14:36 20     Nations Security Council passed a resolution imposing an arms  
21     embargo on Sierra Leone. In November, the resolution was  
22     implemented for the United Kingdom by an Order in Council making  
23     it a criminal offence for any British citizen to supply arms,  
24     without a government licence, to anyone in or connected with  
16:14:56 25     Sierra Leone."

26          Now, that "anyone", Mr Taylor, did that include President  
27     Kabbah?

28          A.     Oh, yes. Anyone, yes.

29          Q.     "In December 1997, Mr Tim Spicer of Sandline International,

1 a private military company, made a contract with President Kabbah  
2 to provide him with help, including military equipment, to  
3 support his return to power. In pursuance of this contract,  
4 Sandline sent a shipment of arms and ammunition into Sierra Leone  
16:15:37 5 in late February 1998."

6 Pause there. February 1998, Mr Taylor, remind us, what is  
7 the significance of that date?

8 A. The intervention.

9 Q. Were you aware that at the time of the intervention this

16:15:57 10 British company was providing arms or importing arms into Sierra  
11 Leone --

12 A. No.

13 Q. -- at the time?

14 A. No, at the time I was not aware.

16:16:07 15 Q. "Mr Spicer is a British citizen and had not applied for a  
16 licence under the Order in Council. The arms arrived soon after  
17 ECOMOG, a Nigerian-led West African force, had begun hostilities  
18 which led to the junta's downfall and President Kabbah's  
19 restoration. The arms were received by ECOMOG and most of them  
16:16:34 20 remained in store at Lungi airport. They played little or no  
21 part in the removal of the junta.

22 "Around this time, Hm Customs and Excise, acting at the  
23 request of officials of the Foreign and Commonwealth Office,  
24 began an investigation of Sandline's activities. On 24 April,  
16:16:59 25 Mr Spicer's solicitors, SJ Berwin & Co, wrote to you protesting  
26 against the Customs investigation on the grounds that Sandline's  
27 plans had been known and approved by government officials. Their  
28 letter is set out in full at annex A."

29 We'll come to that in a moment. Let's just complete the



1 introduction. Over the page:

2 "On 18 May 1998, Customs announced that the  
3 Attorney-General had confirmed their decision that no criminal  
4 proceedings should follow their investigation. This was because,  
16:17:43 5 although offences might have been committed, any prosecution  
6 might well fail and in any event would not be in the public  
7 interest."

8 Now, if we go to page 119, we see the letter written by SJ  
9 Berwin & Co referred to in the introduction. And if we can look,  
16:18:12 10 please, first of all, Mr Taylor - page 119, do you have it?

11 A. Yes, I do.

12 Q. Let's skip to paragraph 3, and we note it's dated 24 April  
13 1998:

14 "Our clients with both UK nationals. Mr Spicer is an  
16:18:40 15 executive of a company called Sandline International, which is in  
16 the business of providing military assistance to lawful  
17 governments, and Mr Grunberg is a consultant to that company.

18 "At the suggestion of your High Commissioner in Freetown,  
19 Mr Peter Penfold, President Kabbah asked our client to provide  
16:19:04 20 such assistance. At a meeting held shortly thereafter Mr Penfold  
21 confirmed that he had initiated that approach and encouraged  
22 Sandline International's involvement.

23 "Thereafter negotiations proceeded with President Kabbah  
24 and his representatives and, as those developed, full briefings  
16:19:29 25 were given both personally and by telephone to representatives of  
26 Her Majesty's government. At the Foreign and Commonwealth Office  
27 those briefed included John Everard, Craig Murray, Linda St Cook,  
28 Tim Andrews and our clients were led to believe that clearance  
29 was given at head of department level. The Ministry of Defence

1 personnel who were briefed included Lieutenant Colonel Peter  
2 Hicks in Conakry and Colonel Andrew Gale, the British army  
3 military adviser to the UN special envoy to Sierra Leone."

4 Who was the UN special envoy to Sierra Leone at this time,  
16:20:17 5 Mr Taylor?

6 A. Okelo. Mr Okelo.

7 Q. Over the page:

8 "Further, Mr Penfold himself called at our client's office  
9 premises on 28 January 1998, just three weeks before the  
16:20:40 10 equipment now in issue was delivered, and was given full details  
11 of the arrangements including the number of personnel involved  
12 and the nature of the military equipment that was to be provided.  
13 He was also given a copy of Sandline International's strategic  
14 and tactical plan, its concept of operations, for its involvement  
16:21:04 15 in the Sierra Leone arena.

16 "Our clients were assured throughout that the operation had  
17 the full support of Her Majesty's government. At the same time  
18 our clients kept informed the US State Department at the highest  
19 level including John Hirsch, the US Ambassador to Sierra Leone,  
16:21:31 20 Charles Snyder, Director, Office of Regional Affairs and Dennis  
21 Linskey, Chief, West and Southern Africa Division. Furthermore,  
22 following support having been given for the proposed operation by  
23 both the US Department of State and the US Department of Defence  
24 (represented by Allan Holmes, Assistant Secretary of Defence for  
16:22:01 25 Special Operations), we understand that Michael Thomas, the  
26 Country Desk Officer for Sierra Leone at the US Department of  
27 State, met with Philip Parham, the Africa Watcher at the British  
28 embassy in Washington indicating the US government's full support  
29 for Sandline International's involvement, which was no doubt

1 reported back to your office in London in accordance with the  
2 proper procedure.

3 "Accordingly, it is quite apparent that the involvement of  
4 Sandline International in support of President Kabbah had at all  
16:22:33 5 times had the approval of Her Majesty's government and, should it  
6 become necessary, we would contend that a licence had been given  
7 within the meaning of the Sierra Leone (United Nations Sanctions)  
8 Order 1997.

9 "As there is apparently now some disagreement between the  
16:22:56 10 officials in your department and the those in the Department of  
11 Trade and Industry as to whether that licence falls to be given  
12 by you as Secretary-General for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs  
13 or by the Secretary of State for Trade and Industry, a copy of  
14 this letter is also being provided to her.

16:23:16 15 "As you will, of course, be well aware President Kabbah and  
16 the lawful Government of Sierra Leone were duly restored to  
17 power. Sandline International's personnel were on hand and  
18 equipment, as arranged and approved, was duly delivered to the  
19 military observer group of ECOWAS. President Kabbah personally  
16:23:36 20 signed both the agreement with Sandline International for the  
21 provision of military assistance and the End User Certificate for  
22 the military equipment. Sandline International's involvement was  
23 quite open and indeed their personnel were invited aboard HMS  
24 Cornwall where they provided tactical and operational advice.  
16:24:01 25 Further, engineers from HMS Cornwall assisted in the repair of a  
26 helicopter which Sandline International was operating in support  
27 of President Kabbah."

28 Over the page, please, last paragraph on page 121:

29 "Sandline International was involved quite openly and with

1 the full prior knowledge and approval of Her Majesty's  
2 government, with an operation which involved assisting, with both  
3 personnel and military equipment, the restoration of the lawful  
4 Government of Sierra Leone, which was the express purpose for  
16:24:44 5 which sanctions were applied in the first place. Far from any  
6 offence having been committed in these circumstances, it would  
7 merit serious criticism that one department of government should  
8 be investigating to the considerable inconvenience and distress  
9 of our clients, a matter which was conducted with the knowledge  
16:25:07 10 and approval of another department."

11 So that was the letter sent. Now, can we go back to page 3  
12 and just have a look in the time available to the summary. And  
13 we're not looking at all of this. We're just looking at one or  
14 two paragraphs. Paragraph 1.1 on that page:

16:25:34 15 "No minister gave encouragement or approval to Sandline's  
16 plan to send a shipment of arms into Sierra Leone and none had  
17 effective knowledge of it. Some officials became aware or had  
18 notice of the plan. The High Commissioner gave it a degree of  
19 approval ..."

16:25:55 20 Who is the High Commissioner, Mr Taylor?

21 A. In Sierra Leone at the time it's Peter Penfold.

22 Q. Right:

23 "... which he had no authority to do, but he did not know  
24 that such a shipment would be illegal. No other official gave  
16:26:07 25 any encouragement or approval. All concerned were working to  
26 fulfil government policy and there was no attempt to hide  
27 information from ministers. However, officials in London should  
28 have acted sooner and more decisively than they did on the  
29 mounting evidence of an impending breach of the arms embargo, and

1 they should have told ministers earlier and more effectively. As  
2 a result, ministers were given no, or only inadequate, notice of  
3 the matter until the Berwin letter" - which we have just looked  
4 at - "arrived."

16:26:47 5 Paragraph 1.2:

6 "The High Commissioner, Mr Penfold, was told of Sandline's  
7 plans, in mid-December 1997 by President Kabbah, and later that  
8 month by Mr Spicer, and gave them a degree of approval.

9 "However, the full effect of the arms embargo had not been  
16:27:11 10 properly explained, and Mr Penfold and others were not aware that  
11 the unlicensed supply of arms to the elected Government of  
12 Sierra Leone was illegal."

13 Over the page, page 4:

14 "At the beginning of February 1998, the head and several  
16:27:30 15 officials in the Africa Command of the Foreign and Commonwealth  
16 Office received definite written notice from Mr Penfold that  
17 Sandline's plans included the supply of arms. They did not  
18 immediately appreciate the full significance of the information,  
19 and they did not act on it.

16:27:49 20 Paragraph 1.7:

21 "The British military liaison officer in Conakry was told,  
22 also in February, that a shipment of arms was expected, and  
23 subsequently that it had arrived, and later what was being done  
24 with it. He reported back on all three occasions to the Ministry  
16:28:07 25 of Defence, but none of the reports effectively got through to  
26 the right officials in the Foreign and Commonwealth Office."

27 Over the page, paragraph 1.16:

28 "Much of the trouble was caused by ignorance of the fact  
29 that the arms embargo as implemented by the Order in Council

1 prohibited the supply of arms to all parties in or connected with  
2 Sierra Leone, including President Kabbah's government, and not  
3 just to the illegal junta. This ignorance arose from repeated,  
4 and partly systemic, failures of communication."

16:28:54 5 Mr Taylor, what do you think about that?

6 A. Total nonsense. Total, utter nonsense that they would say  
7 this, because the Security Council resolution placing the embargo  
8 was written by Britain. Britain proposed this resolution by  
9 ministers in London that sent it based on their report in this  
16:29:16 10 report that I've read that said that they proposed the  
11 resolution. How would the British ministers not know of an arms  
12 embargo that they proposed to the Security Council that became a  
13 Security Council resolution? Nonsense. They were supplying  
14 these arms and in fact earlier than this, as far as this document  
16:29:36 15 shows, back in 1997, late 1997, when they were operating out of  
16 Liberia and moving arms, how could they provide arms in late  
17 February when the intervention occurs in early February? What  
18 did they use to conduct their intervention? So they had to  
19 supply arms before that. And how would all of these senior  
16:29:57 20 officials not know, the State Department this way, the British  
21 ministers, the foreign - nobody knows.

22 MR GRIFFITHS: Mr President, would that be a convenient  
23 point?

24 PRESIDING JUDGE: Yes, that's a convenient point. We're  
16:30:11 25 going to adjourn now, Mr Taylor. I remind you of the order not  
26 to discuss your evidence. We'll adjourn until 9.30 tomorrow.

27 [Whereupon the hearing adjourned at 4.30 p.m.  
28 to be reconvened on Thursday, 5 November 2009  
29 at 9.30 a.m.]

I N D E X

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