



Case No. SCSL-2003-01-T

THE PROSECUTOR OF
THE SPECIAL COURT
V.
CHARLES GHANKAY TAYLOR

THURSDAY, 19 NOVEMBER 2009
9.30 A.M.
TRIAL

TRIAL CHAMBER II

Before the Judges:

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

For Chambers:

Ms Erica Bussey

For the Registry:

Ms Rachel Irura
Mr Benedict Williams

For the Prosecution:

Ms Brenda J Hollis
Mr Mohamed A Bangura
Mr Christopher Santora
Ms Ruth Mary Hackler

For the accused Charles Ghankay
Taylor:

Mr Courtenay Griffiths QC
Mr Morris Anyah

1 Thursday, 19 November 2009

2 [Open session]

3 [The accused present]

4 [Upon commencing at 9.30 a.m.]

09:30:39 5 PRESIDING JUDGE: Good morning. We will 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, Christopher Santora and Ruth Mary
09:32:01 10 Hackler.

11 PRESIDING JUDGE: Thank you. Mr Anyah.

12 MR ANYAH: Good morning, Mr President. Good morning,
13 your Honours. Good morning, counsel opposite. Appearing for the
14 Defence this morning is Courtenay Griffiths QC, myself Morris
09:32:17 15 Anyah, Ms Haydee Dijkstal and Mr Michael Herz. Thank you,
16 Mr President.

17 PRESIDING JUDGE: Thank you. Mr Taylor, I remind you you
18 are still on your oath.

19 DANKPANNAH DR CHARLES GHANKAY TAYLOR:

20 [On former affirmation]

21 MS HOLLIS: Mr President, your Honours, you may recall that
22 the Prosecution had indicated that pending the outcome of the
23 formal submissions, we are in a bit of a balancing act looking
24 for ways to move forward minimising the impact on the integrity
09:32:51 25 and effectiveness of our cross-examination. It may well be that
26 at some point we find that we are unable to move forward until
27 there is a decision. I raise this matter simply by way of
28 alerting your Honours that this may occur, at which time we would
29 be seeking relief from the Court. So it's simply a matter of

1 alerting your Honours to that possibility.

2 PRESIDING JUDGE: Thank you, Ms Hollis. We will deal with
3 that if and when it occurs.

4 MS HOLLIS: Thank you, Mr President.

09:33:23 5 CROSS-EXAMINATION BY MS HOLLIS: [Continued]

6 Q. Mr Taylor, yesterday we were dealing with the arrest and
7 detention of journalists in Liberia, including Sorious Samura.
8 You recall us discussing that?

9 A. That is correct, I do.

09:33:37 10 Q. Mr Taylor, that event occurred in August 2000, is that
11 correct?

12 A. That is correct.

13 Q. And we spent some time talking about the treatment of the
14 journalists while they were being held by your subordinates.

09:33:52 15 Your prison official in fact threatened Sorious Samura with a
16 knife. We had talked about that yesterday, had we not,
17 Mr Taylor?

18 A. You mentioned it. We had not talked about it. You
19 mentioned it. I had not responded yet to your mentioning of the
09:34:08 20 threat.

21 Q. Now, were you made aware of that, Mr Taylor?

22 A. Beg your pardon?

23 Q. Were you made aware of the fact that your prison official
24 had threatened Sorious Samura with a knife?

09:34:19 25 A. I was not aware, but I don't believe that such happened. I
26 was kept briefed over time about this, but that was not brought
27 to my attention.

28 Q. Indeed, Sorious Samura was told by your prison officials
29 that they would split his heart open. Isn't that correct?

1 A. That is totally, totally incorrect. Let's be clear now,
2 counsel. This matter that we are dealing with is a matter that
3 is not a hidden matter. And you've have raised this matter. You
4 are aware that in the binders of week 33, these materials are
09:35:04 5 disclosed. DCT-271, 272, 273 and 4. I had the time last night
6 to go through this. It's disclosed by the Defence to you. It is
7 not marked for identification, but since you have raised it I
8 know it will come up. You know these matters were matters before
9 a judge in Liberia. These matters were handled very
09:35:28 10 professionally. All the details are disclosed in the folders
11 with you.

12 So I would really not want us to speculate and make up
13 these half truths about what happened or didn't happen. These
14 matters are in this courtroom. So I would beg you to - and these
09:35:47 15 are not issues that would call for any separate motions because I
16 acknowledge these documents. I know the content of these
17 documents. I would invite you to impeach me on these documents
18 before this Court. Bring the documents forward.

19 No such thing happened. In direct answer to your question,
09:36:03 20 no such thing happened. It was not brought to my attention and
21 there is no point in trying to shave the truth around this.
22 Let's bring the documents, Ms Hollis. So I mean really --

23 Q. Have you finished, Mr Taylor, with your commentary?

24 A. I am through. It was not brought to my - it's not an
09:36:18 25 oratory. It's a matter of challenging you that you have brought
26 them before this Court to impeach me based on the documentary
27 evidence that we have before this Court. So no, in direct answer
28 to your question, it did not happen. It was not brought to my
29 attention.

1 Q. Mr Taylor, in fact the mistreatment was brought to your
2 attention, was it not?

3 A. I have said it was not.

09:36:45

4 Q. And indeed you said you did not believe they had been
5 mistreated, isn't that correct?

6 A. I said to you that it was not brought to my attention.

7 Q. And indeed you said that if you were given evidence of that
8 then you would have the Liberian Attorney General take a tough
9 stand against anyone involved. You said that, did you not?

09:36:58

10 A. Well, you have to remember I was President of Liberia,
11 Ms Hollis. I was not working for the President. I was
12 President.

13 Q. Mr Taylor, I asked a simple question. Did you say that?

14 A. I answered your question. I was President and you --

09:37:08

15 Q. Did you say that?

16 A. You asked me the question and I have said to you that such
17 matters were not brought to my attention and if they had been
18 brought to my attention, of course, as President, at my level, I
19 would have insisted that something happen to those responsible,
20 but such matters would not be brought to my attention. They were
21 not.

09:37:22

22 PRESIDING JUDGE: I don't think you have answered the
23 question, Mr Taylor. You are losing track of the questions. You
24 were asked, "Did you say that?" Repeat the question, please, and
25 just listen to the question, Mr Taylor. That's all you are
26 required to answer.

09:37:41

27 MS HOLLIS:

28 Q. Mr Taylor, in fact you said that if you were given evidence
29 of this mistreatment that you would have the Liberian Attorney

1 General take tough stands against anyone involved. You said
2 that, yes, Mr Taylor?

3 A. I have already said that I said that, yes. I've said that.

4 Q. So you did say that?

09:38:02 5 A. I have answered your question.

6 Q. But no tough stand was taken against anyone involved.

7 Isn't that correct, Mr Taylor?

8 A. Because it was not brought to my attention.

9 Q. Now, Mr Taylor, who was behind this supposed attempt to

09:38:19 10 kill you?

11 A. What do you mean by who was behind it?

12 Q. Well, did you determine that these journalists were acting
13 on their own to attempt to kill you or were they acting on behalf
14 of someone?

09:38:39 15 A. Our intelligence investigation, I don't - we did not
16 conclude - if we had concluded that they were the ones they would
17 not have been released so easily. I do not know who was directly
18 behind, who was trying to kill me. It was my intelligence report
19 that there was an attempt by some group or groups to try to get
09:39:01 20 to me. I do not know which group.

21 Q. But they never told you what group or groups that was?

22 A. Sometimes it's hard to identify, no.

23 Q. Now, this cancer causing laser beam theory, that seems a
24 bit far-fetched, doesn't it, Mr Taylor?

09:39:22 25 A. Definitely not. You know that. They exist. No, no.

26 Q. These journalists weren't charged with attempted murder,
27 were they?

28 A. To the best of my recollection, they were charged with
29 espionage based on the court documents. Espionage.

1 Q. And in Liberia at that time espionage was considered to be
2 what?

3 A. I am not a lawyer. I really don't know. I am not a
4 lawyer.

09:39:49 5 Q. So as President you didn't know what espionage was?

6 A. I am not a lawyer, no. I did not know what the details of
7 the Justice Department investigation and the legal - no, I did
8 not know what they meant.

9 Q. Now, do you recall they were accused of filming in no-go
09:40:07 10 areas in Liberia?

11 A. I am not aware that they were filming in no-go areas
12 because according to the documents that are before this Court, if
13 they can be brought, what happened was this: They were not in a
14 no-go. They did film, they did film, and those films, based on a
09:40:31 15 court search, at their hotel produced the films. There was no
16 restriction on them based on what you have just said. That is
17 incorrect.

18 Q. And they were accused of seeking to damage the country's
19 image, is that correct?

09:40:45 20 A. Amongst other things.

21 Q. And of falsely linking you to diamond smuggling?

22 A. Those were some of the political discussions that came up,
23 yes. That's the script that was written, yes.

24 Q. This being charged with damaging the country's image and
09:41:06 25 falsely linking you to diamond smuggling, that sounds very much
26 like press freedoms that were prohibited by the PRC decree 88A,
27 does it not?

28 A. Definitely not.

29 Q. That is MFI-226.

1 A. Definitely not. I repealed - I had repealed decree 88A.
2 And let's go back to the document that you just referred to about
3 diamonds. You know what that document reads. In fact, the
4 letter from Vanni Treves, the chairman of Channel 4, stated that
09:41:43 5 he acknowledged the existence of the document, but said that it
6 was a hypothetical document and it did involve diamonds,
7 Ms Hollis, didn't it? It involved diamonds, you know that, and
8 it also involves, what, arms and he said that it was
9 hypothetical. Now you know that.

09:42:00 10 Q. Now, Mr Taylor, let me ask you my question again. Charging
11 these people with damaging the countries's image, that sounds
12 very much like conduct that was prohibited under decree 88A,
13 doesn't it?

14 A. That's one the conducts, yes.

09:42:16 15 Q. And charging someone for falsely linking you to diamond
16 smuggling, that also sounds like the kind of conduct that was
17 prohibited under decree 88A, yes?

18 A. I can't recall all of the provisions. I don't recall that
19 in decree 88A. No, I don't recall that.

09:42:39 20 Q. Well, if we look at MFI-226, perhaps that can assist you.
21 You see that, Mr Taylor?

22 A. Yes, I do.

23 Q. "Decree by the People's Redemption Council of the Armed
24 Forces of Liberia to protect the public against the spread of
09:43:16 25 rumours, lies and disinformation.

26 Section 1: That a person has committed a felony of the
27 first degree if he accuses any executive authority, judicial
28 authority, member of the interim national assembly or any other
29 individual either by word of mouth, writing or by public

1 broadcast, of conduct or any act which constitutes the commission
2 of a crime."

3 And then it sets out certain other conditions, yes,
4 Mr Taylor?

09:43:48 5 A. I am coming. It's off my screen.

6 Q. Sorry. Can you bring that down so that he can see that,
7 please?

8 A. Okay. Yes, it does list other provisions.

9 Q. Now, Mr Taylor, at the time that these journalists were
09:44:10 10 arrested they hadn't printed anything in your country, had they?

11 A. Not to my knowledge. I am not aware of that.

12 Q. And this document that you have talked about was a document
13 that was a working document for them, isn't that correct?

14 A. Which document are you referring to, Ms Hollis?

09:44:27 15 Q. The one you keep referring to, the script, as it was
16 called.

17 A. Yes, it was a script. I don't recall all the details of
18 the script, so you are asking me about it, probably if it was
19 before me I would be able to account more readily. I don't
09:44:47 20 recall all the details of the script.

21 Q. And that script was seized from their possession, is that
22 correct?

23 A. Well, according to what was brought to my attention, there
24 was a search warrant obtained and those documents were seized,
09:45:05 25 yes.

26 Q. Mr Taylor, the arrest of these journalists and their
27 detention really showed that your rescission of this decree 88A was
28 symbolic only; isn't that correct?

29 A. Total nonsense. The decree was repealed in 1997; this

1 occurs in August 2000. That's total nonsense.

2 Q. And Mr Taylor, in fact during your leadership in Liberia
3 the same sort of prohibitions were placed on members of the
4 public and members of the media; isn't that correct?

09:45:43 5 A. Total nonsense.

6 Q. And the truth of it is, these journalists were put in jail
7 because they were going to investigate things that were really
8 going on in your country; that's truth of it isn't it, Mr Taylor?

9 A. Totally untrue. Total nonsense.

09:45:58 10 Q. Things like the lack of good governance in your country?

11 A. No.

12 Q. They were going to investigate that, weren't they?

13 A. Total nonsense, no.

14 Q. And they were going to investigate the ongoing criminal
09:46:10 15 conduct of your subordinates against civilians in your country;
16 isn't that correct, Mr Taylor?

17 A. Totally incorrect.

18 Q. And they were going to investigate your criminal
19 involvement with the RUF and Sierra Leone diamonds; correct,
09:46:22 20 Mr Taylor?

21 A. That's the essence of your fallacy with your - with my
22 criminal conduct. There was no such criminal conduct on my part,
23 and I was not aware that they were there to investigate such.

24 Q. And you were not going to permit this, were you, Mr Taylor?
09:46:37 25 Not from journalists, and not from other individuals?

26 A. Total nonsense. There were so many other journalists from
27 Western governments that had come and gone: CNN, BBC, everybody.
28 It was their mischief on their part and the criminal conduct that
29 they conducted in Liberia that was proven, that they confessed to

1 and apologise unreservedly. So your assertions are totally
2 unfounded and nonsensical.

3 Q. And so you found a way to shut down their investigation so
4 they could not further expose your activities. That's the truth
09:47:10 5 of it, isn't it, Mr Taylor?

6 A. That's the false of it.

7 Q. Did they ever return to your country to carry out their
8 investigative journalism?

9 A. I have no idea. I was not an immigration officer. People
09:47:28 10 were free to come into Liberia and go. I have no knowledge of
11 their return. If they had wanted to return, I am sure under the
12 laws of Liberia they would have been able to. I have no
13 knowledge of that.

14 MS HOLLIS: Your Honours, in relation to that area of
09:47:50 15 cross-examination, we would have relied on other documents.

16 Q. Mr Taylor, I would like to turn back to ask you about two
17 other individuals that we have heard mention made of in this
18 courtroom. The first one is the person by the name of Cyril
19 Allen?

09:48:12 20 A. A personal friend and brother of mine.

21 Q. And how long have you known Cyril Allen?

22 A. Oh, since the early '80s. I would say all the way back to
23 1980.

24 Q. And how did you know him?

09:48:32 25 A. Upon coming back to Liberia in 1980, Cyril was working, I
26 think as an executive, in an insurance outfit in Liberia. We are
27 from, I would say, adjacent areas of the country.

28 Q. And where was he from?

29 A. His family - his family - his mother - no, his father is

1 from a place in Liberia called Mount Coffee. It's just across
2 the Saint Paul River from my hometown. But his mother, I think,
3 is originally from Nigeria. Mother or father, I am not too sure.

09:49:27 4 Q. And when you met Cyril Allen initially, did he have other
5 business interests in Liberia?

6 A. I don't know really.

7 Q. And he was a close associate of yours during the NPFL time,
8 yes?

9 A. Yes.

09:49:39 10 Q. And during the NPFL time, was he a member of the NPFL?

11 A. He was a part of the NPRAG. Cyril is a not a soldier. He
12 has never fired a shot, so he was a part of the NPRAG.

13 Q. And what position did he hold in the NPRAG?

09:50:08 14 A. Cyril was mostly in an advisory role. He was never in the
15 Assembly. He was never a minister in the government. I think
16 mostly in an advisory role.

17 Q. And advice on what types of things?

18 A. Depending on the situation. Mostly I would say political.

19 Q. Advice on business matters?

09:50:23 20 A. I said political.

21 Q. So it wouldn't include business matters?

22 A. Definitely not.

23 Q. And Cyril Allen was the first manager of the Liberian
24 Petroleum Refining Company during your government, yes?

09:50:41 25 A. That is correct.

26 Q. And how long did he hold that position?

27 A. I am not sure. Maybe - I would say about a year.

28 Q. When was that, do you recall?

29 A. Or thereabouts. I would say in 1997.

1 Q. And did he hold any positions after that in your
2 government?

3 A. No.

09:51:11

4 Q. He was the chairman of your political party, the NPP;
5 correct?

6 A. That is correct.

7 Q. And how long was he the chairman of the NPP?

8 A. I would say two, three years.

9 Q. During what time period?

09:51:20

10 A. I would say from the establishment in about early '97
11 through about I would say '99, 2000. Or even - now wait a
12 minute, let me be sure about that. I think Cyril as national
13 chairman - no, a little beyond 2000. I would put an a little
14 further than 2000. Maybe 2001, 2002.

09:51:50

15 Q. Now, as the manager of the Liberian Petroleum Refining
16 Company, what were his duties?

17 A. Well, I went through this one yesterday. The managing
18 director of the petroleum company was responsible for bringing in
19 hydrocarbon items into the country and the sale of those items.

09:52:13

20 Q. And as the chairman of the NPP, what were his duties?

21 A. Strictly party. This is why he had to leave that job - and
22 let me be clear - he was not at the LPRC and chairman at the same
23 time. He left the LPRC and he became chairman. Those are two
24 separate - his job as chairman of the party dealt strictly with
25 party activities; had nothing to do with government.

09:52:42

26 Q. And as chairman of the NPP, you coordinated closely with
27 him while you were President?

28 A. When you say "coordinated closely", would you help me?
29 What do you mean by "coordinated closely"?

1 Q. You worked closely with him on matters?

2 A. What matters, counsel?

3 Q. Well, you tell us. Political matters relating to NPP?

09:53:09

4 A. I need some specifics. I worked with him specifically on
5 party matters. Party matters.

6 Q. No political matters within the government?

09:53:32

7 A. Well, political matters are a part of the party business,
8 but not within the government, no. Of course, to be clear to
9 you, counsel, you know that political parties come to office with
10 an agenda, a manifesto, and it is a part of the duties of the
11 chairman of the party to, within the organisational structure,
12 see to it to the best of his ability that the government, which
13 is the ruling party, is following the manifesto. So to that
14 extent, we can say that they are not involved in government, but

09:53:56

15 they are following activities to make sure that the manifesto is
16 followed.

17 Q. And did you work with him in those activities?

18 A. That's why I am saying, that on party activities, yes.

09:54:12

19 Q. Who took over after Cyril Allen left the Liberian Petroleum
20 Refining Company? Who took over as the manager?

21 A. I think it was Lewis Brown. Yes, Lewis Brown.

22 Q. Cyril Allen was a very important person during your NPFL
23 period, isn't that correct?

09:54:47

24 A. Yes, Cyril was - yes, I would say one of many important
25 persons, yes.

26 Q. And during that period he was involved in various business
27 activities, isn't that correct?

28 A. During the NPFL activities, I am not aware of Cyril being
29 involved in business activities during the NPFL era. No, I am

1 not aware of that.

2 Q. And during your presidency he also was a very important
3 person within the country, isn't that correct?

09:55:19

4 A. Well, to the extent that he is chairman of the party, he is
5 an important person. Yes, he is an important person. He is
6 chairman of the party - the ruling party.

7 Q. And he was a very powerful person during your presidency,
8 isn't that correct?

09:55:31

9 A. I wouldn't say that. Cyril did not participate in anything
10 that had to do with government. He did not participate at all
11 except invited in his role. So I wouldn't say that. I wouldn't
12 say that.

13 Q. And what were his business activities during your
14 presidency?

09:55:45

15 A. I have no idea. I did not follow Mr Allen's business. He
16 was required, as chairman of the party, to do his work, and to
17 the best of my knowledge, he did. I don't know his business
18 interests - or didn't know, I would say.

09:56:04

19 Q. During your presidency he accompanied you on at least one
20 of your official trips, yes?

21 A. That is correct.

22 Q. And that was your trip to France. He accompanied you on
23 one of those trips, yes?

24 A. Yes. I think - yeah, he did go to France, yes.

09:56:17

25 Q. And what was his function on that trip?

26 A. Well, as chairman of the party he went. We were dealing in
27 France. The trip was also a political trip, and he went along to
28 also talk about whatever political connection could be made
29 between the NPP and the then Gaullist Party that was headed by

1 the French President. We were trying to, like political parties
2 across the world, cooperate based on ideological background. So
3 his trip was to - he was invited by the President to accompany
4 him, and he would discuss party matters and possible cooperation
09:57:09 5 with the Gaullist Party.

6 Q. So did he have meetings separate from your meetings while
7 you were in France?

8 A. Totally separate, yes.

9 Q. And while you were in France, were you also engaged in any
09:57:20 10 type of business dealings or negotiations?

11 A. Was I involved in business dealings and negotiations?

12 Q. Yes.

13 A. Yes. In a way, yes.

14 Q. And what were those?

09:57:34 15 A. Well, not those. We, during my trip, did discuss the
16 possibility of the French oil company Total wanting to invest in
17 Liberia. So to that extent business, yes.

18 Q. And Cyril Allen, was he engaged in any discussions relating
19 to these business matters?

09:58:03 20 A. No, no, no, no, no. This is a governmental situation where
21 we are discussing with Total the possible investment and our
22 possible offshore oil exploration. So this was strictly the
23 government of the Liberia. It had nothing to do with Mr Allen.

24 Q. Now, other than the trip to France, did he accompany you on
09:58:25 25 any other of your official trips while you were President?

26 A. Yes, I do recall. Yes, Mr Allen did accompany me to Libya.
27 I can't recall the other trips. But as chairman of the party,
28 yes, he accompanied me on more than one trip, of course. I can't
29 remember all of them. I could remember Libya as one of the

1 trips.

2 Q. Do you remember what year that trip to Libya was that he
3 accompanied you?

4 A. No, I don't.

09:58:59 5 Q. And what was his function on that trip to Libya?

6 A. Again political, trying to see - in fact, introduction to -
7 I wanted for him to meet the leader of the Libyan revolution
8 because we were the ruling party. So just as more like an
9 acquaintance trip.

09:59:22 10 Q. Did he engage in any business dealings or negotiations on
11 that trip to your knowledge?

12 A. No.

13 Q. And did he accompany you on any unofficial trips during
14 your presidency?

09:59:39 15 A. Unofficial trips?

16 Q. Yes.

17 A. I can't - now you are going to have to help me.
18 Unofficial. As President of Liberia, all of my trips are
19 official. I don't know of any unofficial trips. To where,
09:59:56 20 counsel?

21 Q. Fair enough. Did he go on trips that you did not go on
22 where you sent him as your representative?

23 A. That could have been possible. I would think yes. I can't
24 be too sure about it. I cannot recollect. It could have
10:00:18 25 happened, but I don't recall now sending him on any official trip
26 because he was not an official of government. I don't really
27 recall at this time. No, I can't recall.

28 Q. Did you send him on any official - unofficial trips on your
29 behalf?

1 A. No, I can't recall that right now.

2 Q. I believe that when you have talked about Cyril Allen
3 before you have talked about Chief Cyril Allen. Is he referred
4 to as chief?

10:00:52 5 A. That is correct, yes.

6 Q. And that comes from what? That derives from what?

7 A. That chieftaincy title was a title conferred on him from
8 Nigeria. Cyril Allen, I said part of his parentage, I think his
9 father is Nigerian. Their town and village in Nigeria is major
10:01:16 10 chieftaincy. And after I think the death of his father, the
11 region in Nigeria conferred a chieftaincy title on him. That's
12 why he is called Chief Cyril Allen. Nigerians- there is a
13 special process in Nigeria that is different from the Liberian
14 process. So that title comes from Nigeria.

10:01:35 15 Q. Now, you recall, Mr Taylor, we have talked about the
16 meetings that you held with the United States special envoy
17 Jesse Jackson in mid-May 2000. You recall us talking about those
18 meetings?

19 A. Yes, I do.

10:01:49 20 Q. Cyril Allen was present during those meetings, correct?

21 A. That is correct.

22 Q. In a capacity as your political adviser?

23 A. No, I wouldn't say that. He is described in those
24 documents as such. He was invited as chairman of the party. Not
10:02:05 25 political adviser. If you look on the payroll of Liberia, there
26 is no such title for Cyril Allen in the Government of Liberia,
27 no. He was invited as national chairman, just as national
28 chairmans are invited to meetings in other countries. No, he was
29 not political adviser. He is described as such probably in the

1 document but that's not a title given to Cyril Allen in my
2 government.

3 Q. And he was also present in a small closed meeting with Sam
4 Bockarie during those sets of meetings, correct?

10:02:38 5 A. Yes, he was.

6 Q. At some point there was a bit of a falling out with Cyril
7 Allen, correct?

8 A. Falling out with Cyril Allen between he and who?

9 Q. Between you and Cyril Allen.

10:02:57 10 A. Cyril Allen and I have never fallen out, ever, ever.

11 Q. When was it he left his position as chairman of the NPP?

12 A. Cyril left that position I would say later, probably in
13 2001, 2000 or thereabouts. But he was never - Cyril remained
14 chairman most of my presidency.

10:03:25 15 Q. And why did he leave the chairmanship?

16 A. Because of the constitution. The constitution provided.

17 In fact, if I recall, I don't - Cyril was chairman - let me
18 correct one thing. The first chairman was Edwin Holder. Cyril
19 was the second chairman. I recall, okay. And Cyril was

10:03:58 20 chairman - the first chairman was Edwin Holder. The second
21 chairman was Cyril Allen and Cyril was chairman until I left the
22 presidency. In fact, yes, he was chairman until I left the
23 presidency.

24 Q. Do you recall an incident in 2001 where he was accused of
10:04:15 25 stealing approximately \$250,000 in cash?

26 A. No. I was seen that account. No, no, no.

27 Q. That money supposedly donated by one Nassour as a political
28 donation?

29 A. Total nonsense, no, never, no.

1 Q. So you don't recall that? You are not aware of that?

2 A. Not at all. Not at all. No, I am not aware.

3 Q. And you don't recall that after that allegation was made
4 against him, he made claims about corruption in government?

10:04:53 5 A. As chairman of the party, I can recall that on different
6 occasions as national chairman he would speak about corruption.
7 Yes, he would do that.

8 Q. And do you recall him saying that public funds were being
9 misappropriated by government officials?

10:05:09 10 A. That would - yes, that would be a part of his criticism,
11 yes. He did say that on many occasions, yes.

12 Q. Noting that these government officials were not doing very
13 much to help the government?

14 A. That is correct, yes, yes.

10:05:22 15 Q. But he continued to be, of course, a strong supporter of
16 the NPP and of you. Correct, Mr Taylor?

17 A. Yes, he continued to be, yes.

18 Q. But your association with Cyril Allen was financially
19 beneficial to both of you, was it not?

10:05:43 20 A. How could it? No. None - no. It could not have been, no.

21 Q. You continue to be close associates to the present. That's
22 correct, isn't it?

23 A. Mr Allen, as I said before, is a friend and brother, yes.

24 Q. And he continues to be a strong supporter of yours?

10:06:04 25 A. Definitely, yes.

26 Q. Have you had contact with Cyril Allen since you left the
27 presidency?

28 A. Many, many, many, many contacts, yes.

29 Q. Personal contacts?

1 A. Personal contacts.

2 Q. Telephone contacts?

3 A. Telephone contacts.

4 Q. Have you discussed business matters during those contacts?

10:06:21 5 A. Never. Never discussed business with Mr Allen, never. And
6 if those discussions were held, they would be available because
7 all telephone conversations that I have made since my
8 incarceration are on record.

9 Q. So you have never talked to him on a privileged access
10:06:45 10 line?

11 A. Never. Never. It's registered on my call list at the
12 detention centre and those conversations are available. Never
13 talked to him about business.

14 Q. Now, Mr Taylor, I would like to turn to Benjamin Yeaten.

10:07:06 15 A. Yes.

16 Q. Of course, much has been said of Benjamin Yeaten.

17 A. Yes.

18 Q. When did you first meet Benjamin Yeaten?

19 A. I would say back in 1987.

10:07:22 20 Q. And how did you happen to meet him at that time?

21 A. Benjamin Yeaten, I met him, he was one of my Special Forces
22 that were taken to the base. When I got out and went to Libya I
23 met him.

24 Q. So you met him first in Libya?

10:07:39 25 A. That is correct.

26 Q. Do you know how he was recruited?

27 A. No, I don't. Of course it was done by one of our people,
28 Alfred Mehn, late Alfred Mehn, but I was in prison at the time so
29 I don't know who - you know, how he was recruited.

1 Q. While your men were in Libya, could he hold any positions?

2 JUDGE SEBUTINDE: That name, was it Alfred May?

3 THE WITNESS: Mehn, M-E-H-N.

4 MS HOLLIS:

10:08:16 5 Q. I think that has been put on the record before, yes?

6 A. That is correct, yes.

7 Q. Just to refresh us, who was Alfred Mehn?

8 A. Alfred Mehn was one of the principal individuals used at
9 that time for the recruitment of the exiles for this training.

10:08:32 10 He is late now.

11 Q. And how did he come to have that position?

12 A. Alfred was one of the respectable individuals in exile from
13 Nimba County that were living in La Cote d'Ivoire and took that -
14 he was one of those that people look up to. He is a little older
10:08:58 15 in age and they respected him.

16 Q. And did you make that contact with Alfred Mehn or did
17 someone else bring him into the NPFL organisation?

18 A. Well, I made that contact on Alfred on one of the many
19 trips I made to Abidjan before my incarceration.

10:09:19 20 Q. While your men were in Libya, did Benjamin Yeaten hold any
21 sort of position of leadership in your group?

22 A. No, no.

23 Q. And when you moved from Libya to Burkina Faso, by that time
24 did Benjamin Yeaten hold any position of leadership in your
10:09:46 25 group?

26 A. Well, leadership, according to your question, I would still
27 say no. Probably if there was another way, another question, I
28 would answer, but I am instructed to answer only your question.
29 Leadership, as I want to understand organisationally, no.

1 Q. Did he hold a command position at any level at the time
2 that your men moved to Burkina Faso?

3 A. Yes.

4 Q. And what was that?

10:10:16 5 A. By that time, Benjamin had qualified to at least a platoon
6 commander level within the Special Forces that he was capable of
7 leading a platoon within the military structure.

8 Q. And within your structure how big was a platoon?

9 A. We are talking about a small amount of men here. We still
10:10:43 10 tried to carry the normal conventional size of about 40, 44 men.

11 Q. So in your structure a platoon would be 40 to 44 men?

12 A. At that time, yes. It expanded but at that time, yes.

13 Q. It had expanded by the time you were in Burkina Faso?

14 A. No, no, no. I said it expanded after that, but I mean it
10:11:13 15 grew to a bigger size. But for that time, it was about 40, 44
16 men.

17 Q. And then later when it expanded, how many men in the
18 platoon?

19 A. During the crisis it expanded to as many as 60.

10:11:27 20 Q. And when you say the crisis, which crisis are you referring
21 to?

22 A. On the ground in Liberia as we go into full swing in 1990,
23 as the units are getting bigger the platoon size increased.

24 Q. And how long did Benjamin Yeaten hold this position as a
10:11:50 25 commander at the platoon level?

26 A. Benjamin was in the field for - he moved up - I don't know
27 how rapidly he moved, but Benjamin was in the field throughout
28 1990, 1991. He was not assigned anywhere close to the
29 presidency. He grew up to I think a major commander within the

1 field over I think a two year period. So I don't know the
2 sequence because that was under defence. I really don't know how
3 it went.

10:12:34

4 Q. So he moved from a platoon commander. What was his next
5 command position?

10:12:53

6 A. Counsel, really, I don't know the sequence. I was not
7 following Benjamin, when did he move or how did he move, no. But
8 I do know that - because he was not assigned with me, so I don't
9 know his progression over the years. But he did grow because by
10 the time about '93 he is commanding - at least he has moved up to
11 battalion plus commander level, by the time around 1993, that he
12 does begin to come around.

13 Q. And at what point in time do you promote him to the rank of
14 lieutenant general?

10:13:25

15 A. Benjamin is promoted during the NPRAG years. I would say
16 about 1990 - that doesn't happen until 90 - I think the beginning
17 of '94 before he is promoted as the restructuring begins. He
18 about becomes a general in my government with an Act of the
19 legislature.

10:13:57

20 Q. Now, he doesn't begin as a lieutenant general, does he?

21 A. When you say begin, what do you mean?

22 Q. You said he is promoted to the rank of general. He first
23 would have held - did he first hold a brigadier general post?

10:14:16

24 A. Of course. Because if you went to lieutenant general of
25 course he went through brigadier, major to get to - you asked me
26 about lieutenant general and I told you it was early 1994. So he
27 did - of course he had to go through the different ranks, yes.

28 Q. And as a brigadier general, what unit or group was he in
29 command of?

1 A. I don't know. I don't know, counsel. I think I have been
2 specific here. By 1994, as the restructuring occurs, people that
3 have shown promise are brought to my attention. But throughout
4 the years Benjamin is not even around. We begin to look at
10:14:54 5 individuals that have shown promise, and so he comes to focus
6 around 1994 - the beginning of 1994.

7 Q. And when he becomes lieutenant general, what is he in
8 command of at that time?

9 A. I don't recall, but I think Benjamin may have been
10:15:16 10 associated with one of the divisions. I don't recall which one.

11 Q. And perhaps you have said this. If so, forgive me, but
12 where was Benjamin Yeaten from?

13 A. He is from Nimba County. He is Gio, what we call Dan.

14 Q. Do you know what particular town or village in Nimba County
10:15:46 15 he is from?

16 A. No, I can't - no, I can't recall the name. No, I can't
17 recall. He is from a small town, but I can't recall the name.

18 Q. Now, Mr Taylor, is it correct that Benjamin Yeaten's date
19 of birth is 29 February 1969? Do you know that?

10:16:22 20 A. No, I don't know that.

21 Q. Do you recall about how old he was when he became a
22 lieutenant general?

23 A. No, I don't. I don't know Benjamin's - I don't know his
24 age really.

10:16:34 25 Q. Now, after Benjamin Yeaten was brought to your attention,
26 or at the time he was brought to your attention, what was it --

27 JUDGE DOHERTY: I am sorry to interrupt, are you sure 29
28 February 1969? I don't think '69 was a leap year.

29 MS HOLLIS: Well, that's what - I was moving on so maybe

1 the 28th.

2 JUDGE DOHERTY: It's on the record. As long as - if that's
3 what you have.

4 MS HOLLIS: Yes. Yes, thank you, Madam Justice.

10:17:13 5 Q. So when he was brought to your attention, what was it about
6 him that was brought to your attention?

7 A. The Defence Ministry at that particular time had a process
8 of recommending officers for promotion and giving reasons why
9 they dealt that felt that they should be promoted. I had
10:17:42 10 observed these names. Benjamin - there were other Special
11 Forces, and by that time junior commandos, and so because he was
12 one of my Special Forces, the Defence Ministry at that time had
13 reported that he had shown command capabilities throughout the
14 combat period and that they felt that he - it was time that he be
10:18:12 15 brought up to rank. Because at that particular time there were
16 not many Lieutenant generals, and so you could become a
17 Lieutenant general either as a divisional commander, or in some
18 other serious command responsibility. So I took notice of his
19 progress at that time.

10:18:39 20 Q. And had you ever met him before the time he became
21 Lieutenant general?

22 A. Yes. Benjamin was one of the Special Forces. Yes, I had
23 met Benjamin many, many times.

24 Q. And he was a young man when you met him in Libya, yes?

10:18:57 25 A. He was not an old man. But young - I don't know what you
26 mean by "young" but --

27 Q. Early 20s?

28 A. I really couldn't tell, but he was a man, I would say. I
29 can't speculate as to his age, counsel.

1 Q. Well, did you ever - during the time you were in the NPFL,
2 did you ever know what command position Benjamin Yeaten held?

3 A. In the NPFL?

4 Q. Yes.

10:19:32 5 A. Not directly. Because I can't associate the different
6 areas, because commanders moved around. No, I don't know
7 specifically, no.

8 Q. Did Benjamin Yeaten speak Gilo?

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

10:20:00 10 Q. And do you recall what other languages or dialects he
11 spoke?

12 A. No, counsel, I don't know. But I am virtually sure he
13 spoke Gilo.

14 Q. Did Benjamin Yeaten speak English?

10:20:12 15 A. Yes.

16 Q. What was his level of education?

17 A. I think Benjamin was one of the few Special Forces that had
18 a high school education.

19 Q. Now, at the time that you became President, what was
10:20:36 20 Benjamin Yeaten's position?

21 A. By the time I became President, Benjamin Yeaten - now you
22 have jumped to the presidency, so Benjamin Yeaten continues - he
23 comes on as - he starts off as deputy director of the SSS, the
24 Special Security Services.

10:21:02 25 Q. And when was that that he was deputy director?

26 A. Benjamin Yeaten - when I say "continued", Benjamin Yeaten
27 is deputy director throughout the time I am serving on the
28 Council of State. From about 1994, '95 while I am on the Council
29 of State, he is carrying on as deputy director of SSS.

1 Q. And during this time, who is the director of SSS?

2 A. I cannot recall. That directorship came from one of the
3 other factions. I do not recall right now who was the director.
4 It could have come from either ULIMO-K or LPC. I don't recall
10:21:55 5 his name, counsel.

6 Q. And when was it that Benjamin Yeaten became the director of
7 the SSS?

8 A. After my election as President.

9 Q. Immediately after or?

10:22:10 10 A. That's between he and Urias Taylor. I don't remember the
11 sequence. I think - I am not sure. I think after - after Urias
12 he becomes. I can't recall when he really starts, but I know he
13 takes over fairly quickly.

14 Q. Do you know what year he became the director?

10:22:36 15 A. Really I cannot recall. I would put this - I would really
16 put it to '97. I would put to about '97.

17 Q. And as the director of the SSS, after you were elected
18 President what were his responsibilities?

19 A. The director of the Special Security Services, under our
10:22:59 20 laws he is responsible for the personal protection of the
21 President, his family, other senior members of government and
22 their family, VIP, all the very important individuals in
23 government. The SSS is responsible for that, to the best of my
24 knowledge.

10:23:28 25 Q. And did he report directly to you?

26 A. No.

27 Q. Who did he report to?

28 A. Under our laws - it's a little different in some countries.
29 Under our laws, the director of Secret Service in Liberia reports

1 to the Minister of State. In your case I think it's the Ministry
2 of Treasury - the Secretary of Treasury of the United States.
3 Ours is the Minister of State.

10:23:56 4 Q. Now, you as President would be able to direct that he
5 report directly to you; that's correct, is it not?

6 A. Well, when you say direct that he report to me, what are
7 you referring to now?

8 Q. That he --

9 A. That I speak to him?

10:24:10 10 Q. That he report directly to you instead of to someone else?

11 A. If I could do that?

12 Q. Yes.

13 A. Of course I could do that. I could, but I think that would
14 be in violation of the laws. I wouldn't do that.

10:24:23 15 Q. Mr Taylor, what made you choose Benjamin Yeaten to become
16 the director of the SSS?

17 A. Well, Benjamin had been trained as a Special Forces. He
18 had fought brilliantly during the war. He had taken not just
19 military, but security and Secret Service training, and that's
20 why when I mentioned to you that you had gone through my

10:24:53 21 presidency. Because Benjamin is trained in Gbarnga for the
22 Secret Service activities by senior members of the Secret Service
23 like Urias Taylor and others. He has shown the desire to work,
24 and coming out of a conflict situation as we were coming out of,
10:25:21 25 with factional leaders and factional individuals working within
26 the proximity of the President, it needed someone that had both
27 military and other training. For example, like Varmuyan Sherif
28 and other ULIMO-K and J and LPC individuals that were
29 incorporated in the Secret Service, we thought that we needed

1 someone that had military and that type of professional
2 background. And so he was recommended very highly by the
3 military, by the Minister of State in a vetting process, and then
4 nominated to the Senate.

10:26:07 5 Q. In his position as director of the SSS, Benjamin Yeaten had
6 daily contact with you during your presidency; isn't that
7 correct?

8 A. I wouldn't say daily. No, that's not correct.

9 Q. He provided reports to you?

10:26:24 10 A. No.

11 Q. He provided briefings to you?

12 A. No. Now, I am saying "no" now, counsel. You are saying he
13 had daily contacts with me providing briefings and other reports.

14 To that: No.

10:26:38 15 Q. No. I am saying first of all, he had daily contacts with
16 you?

17 A. Not daily, no.

18 Q. How often, in your recollection, did he have contact with
19 you on a weekly basis?

10:26:51 20 A. Maybe I am mixed up on your question. Your question is how
21 often did he have contact with me on a daily or weekly, because
22 you have switched the two.

23 Q. On a weekly basis?

24 A. On a weekly basis?

25 Q. Yes.

26 A. It could depend on maybe if I wanted to see him. The
27 director of the Secret Service did not have any direct physical
28 reason to be with the President. So I would say probably once or
29 twice a week if I had to see him on a specific matter or asked,

1 or something like that. But it was not a part of his function.

2 Q. As the director of the SSS, Benjamin Yeaten provided
3 reports to you on various matters, did he not?

10:27:43

4 A. Depending on the - there was some special assignments, for
5 example, I would say on some matters. Benjamin did not begin to
6 report to me and never reported to me except, I would say,
7 beginning 1998 in dealing with specific assignments, he would
8 report to me on those matters. I am referring to the Bockarie
9 and dealing with military situation of that sort. Yes, other
10:28:11 10 than that, he did not have to make reports to me. He reported to
11 the Minister of State.

12 Q. So he made reports to you in relation to specific
13 assignments he had referring to Bockarie; is that what you just
14 said?

10:28:27

15 A. Yes.

16 Q. What kind of special assignments did he have in relation to
17 - and you mean Sam Bockarie?

18 A. That is correct.

10:28:37

19 Q. What types of special assignments did he have in relation
20 to Sam Bockarie?

10:29:03

21 A. Very simple. Upon this military group wanting to come to
22 Liberia, the Secret Service was put in charge of the protection,
23 the entry and exit of those military personnel into Liberia and
24 their status - their protection while in. So that was - that
25 fell under the Secret Service as VIP protection. So in that
26 case, reports would be written. The Ministry of state would have
27 those reports. I would read them and if I had any specific
28 questions, I would ask the minister to have the director see me
29 to ask specific questions, yes.

1 Q. And did Benjamin Yeaten have contact with Sam Bockarie
2 before Sam Bockarie's first trip, as you have told the Court, in
3 September 1998?

4 A. I would not believe that he had any contacts, no. I doubt
10:29:42 5 it very much. I doubt it, no.

6 Q. And you assigned this special activity, this special
7 mission, to Benjamin Yeaten?

8 A. Counsel, the VIP protection of Sam Bockarie in Liberia was
9 assigned to the Secret Service. Benjamin is a director. That's
10:30:04 10 my answer to your question. You are trying to confine it to
11 Benjamin and I keep trying to tell you it's confined, the VIP
12 protection, to the Secret Service and he is director.

13 Q. And what other special activities or special missions was
14 Benjamin Yeaten given on which he would report to you?

10:30:28 15 A. I don't know of any other thing that he would again just
16 report to me. You know, I am not going to get into an argument
17 what do you mean by report to me. Reports to are made to the
18 Minister of State, I read the reports and I would ask to see an
19 individual if there was a need. So that was all I know dealing
10:30:52 20 with the VIP area of Sam Bockarie. That's all I can recollect at
21 this time.

22 Q. Mr Taylor, it's true, isn't it, that the dealings that
23 Benjamin Yeaten had with the RUF including the RUF leadership, he
24 reported directly to you on those dealings?

10:31:13 25 A. No, that is not correct. Those reports were filed with the
26 Ministry of State.

27 Q. And you kept those reports in your archive?

28 A. Benjamin Yeaten personal reports, no. I'm sure they form a
29 part of the Executive Mansion archives. They should be there.

1 Q. In terms of the position as director of the SSS, a very
2 important position, yes?

3 A. The Secret Service, to the extent that it protects the life
4 of the President is important, yeah.

10:31:54 5 Q. And it would require someone to fill that job who was
6 extremely loyal, isn't that correct?

7 A. Not necessarily. Not necessarily. The Secret Service in
8 Liberia, we tried to make it professional, and it was not just
9 based on loyalty because if it was based on loyalty I would not
10:32:13 10 have let warring factional personnel come around and armed around
11 me. There were so many factional leaders in there. It was not
12 just based on loyalty, no. Benjamin was vetted and it was based
13 on his qualification for the time. We are still dealing with a
14 time in Liberia immediately after a major civil war, things are
10:32:40 15 not yet very stable. And so it was not just based on loyalty, I
16 would say no.

17 Q. Benjamin Yeaten in fact was very loyal to you, was he not?

18 A. I would say, first to the republic and he was loyal to his
19 President, yes.

10:32:58 20 Q. And he was loyal to you, based on his not just being the
21 director of the SSS, but also from the NPFL times, yes?

22 A. I would say yes. I would say yes.

23 Q. Perhaps if we could look at page 181 of MFI-28, the
24 presidential papers. Mr Taylor, this is a photograph, you have
10:33:52 25 it before you, yes?

26 A. Yes, I do.

27 Q. "The President's men"?

28 A. Yes.

29 Q. And in the centre of this photograph, that is Benjamin

1 Yeaten, yes?

2 A. That is correct.

3 Q. Perhaps you can help us. Looking at this photograph, could
4 you tell us how tall was Benjamin or is Benjamin Yeaten? How
10:34:16 5 tall is he?

6 A. Counsel, your guess is as good as mine looking at this
7 picture. I would say Benjamin was about - I am going to do it in
8 feet. I would say about 5' 4", 5' 5". I would say 5' 5".

9 Q. So a fairly short man?

10:34:44 10 A. Yes, as you can see here, yes.

11 Q. And perhaps you can assist us, if we are looking at this
12 photograph and we look to the left, Robert M Beer, assistant
13 director for intelligence. How long did he hold that position as
14 assistant director for intelligence? Before you answer that,

10:35:11 15 these are all people that are within the SSS, yes?

16 A. All of these people, yes, they are - let me see. Yes.

17 Q. So these positions are positions within the SSS?

18 A. Yes.

19 Q. Right. Thank you, Mr Taylor. Now, Robert Beer, assistant
10:35:30 20 director for intelligence. How long did he hold that position?

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

22 Q. Do you know if he held it throughout your presidency?

23 A. I really don't know, but what I can tell you in trying to
24 help you is that he was assistant director up to the end of my
10:35:51 25 presidency. Now, when he comes on, I don't really know. I

26 don't.

27 Q. And what was his background?

28 A. Robert Beer in fact had a university degree. In fact, I
29 think he is a recent graduate of the law school. At that time he

1 was a university material.

2 Q. And had he been a member of the NPFL?

3 A. Robert? I don't know. Robert could have come on during
4 the NPRAG or after our movement to Monrovia. Robert is from my
10:36:38 5 area and as I moved to Monrovia, Bomi, he is a Gola man like
6 myself, and he came and some people were recruited. And so I
7 can't really help, counsel, to know as to whether he was a part
8 of the NPFL. He has never been a soldier, he is not a combatant.
9 So I would doubt it very much.

10:37:02 10 Q. And who worked for him in his capacity as director for
11 intelligence? Was it only people within the SSS or did people
12 from other agencies or departments also work for him?

13 A. I don't know how Robert or who he recruited in the
14 intelligence operation of the Secret Service. I really can't
10:37:25 15 help, counsel. I don't know. I really don't know.

16 Q. Within the Secret Service structure, would he have had the
17 authority to have people from outside the SSS report to him on
18 intelligence matters?

19 A. I would think so, counsel. Informants and other things as
10:37:47 20 intelligence collection required, I would hope. But the
21 workings, I don't know how he managed it quite frankly. I really
22 do not know.

23 Q. And then we have number 2, James H Lewis, assistant
24 director for administrators?

10:38:01 25 A. Yes.

26 Q. And what was his background?

27 A. James Lewis was about a 30, 35 year veteran of the Secret
28 Service. He had been in there from the Tubman years. I say at
29 least a minimum of 30 years. Very well trained in many parts of

1 the world. That's why we kept him in there. In fact we met him
2 in the system and we kept him in there. That's why I said it was
3 not just based on loyalty. The Secret Service is a professional
4 organisation, so we met him in the service.

10:38:40 5 Q. And number three is listed as an Emmanuel Z Lackey, deputy
6 director for training?

7 A. Yes, Lackey also a career personnel of the Secret Service.
8 Many years, excess of 20 years.

9 Q. Would the deputy director for training in the SSS have had
10:39:01 10 any involvement in training of the ATU?

11 A. He could have been used. This is a man that had been
12 trained abroad, mostly in the United States and other places in
13 Secret Service and VIP protection. So I would want to believe
14 that - because different professionals were called upon during
10:39:26 15 the ATU training depending on the course to lecture. I would not
16 rule out Lackey being invited to lecture at the police academy or
17 the ATU. I wouldn't rule that out.

18 Q. Had Lackey be involved in the NPFL or the NPRAG?

19 A. No, no, Lackey is a career personnel.

10:39:48 20 Q. And we are of course now talking about Benjamin Yeaten. If
21 we move past him then we get to Joseph Montgomery, deputy
22 director for operations?

23 A. You don't want to talk about Urias Taylor?

24 Q. Have I missed someone here?

10:40:06 25 A. Between Lackey and Benjamin, but we can move on based on
26 your question.

27 Q. We will come back to Urias. Joseph Montgomery?

28 A. Yes, also a veteran.

29 Q. And was he involved with your NPFL or NPRAG?

1 A. Yes, Montgomery is one of those career personnel that fled
2 behind the line with the NPRAG and helped to establish training
3 for NPFL personnel for, you know, in VIP protection. He is a
4 veteran also.

10:40:41 5 Q. So did he hold any command position in the NPFL?

6 A. No, Montgomery was strictly with VIP. I don't know of him
7 having any command responsibility, like you mean commanding
8 military units? I don't think so. If he did it, maybe on a
9 voluntary basis but he was not in charge of any military command
10 that I am aware of.

10:41:05

11 Q. And during what period of time was he involved in this
12 training function in the NPFL?

13 A. Well, the NPFL training started, let me see - you mean the
14 VIP training in the NPFL? That started, I would put it back to
15 '93 or thereabouts. Because people are trained in '93 and '94
16 even before Gbarnga falls, so I would put it to about that time.

10:41:27

17 Q. How long did he hold the position of deputy director of
18 operations?

19 A. Montgomery remained in that position up until my departure
20 as President.

10:41:47

21 Q. And what were his duties as deputy director for operations?

22 A. Quite frankly, the workings of the Secret Service, I don't
23 know. But I really cannot detail, I can just speak from an
24 educated position, operation meaning movement of the President,
25 what happens, who is assigned, from my understanding.

10:42:13

26 Q. Now indeed, thank you for pointing out that I had missed U
27 Andy Taylor, that's Uri as Andy Taylor?

28 A. That is correct.

29 Q. Deputy director for administration?

1 A. That is correct.

2 Q. And is he a relation of yours?

3 A. None whatsoever.

4 Q. And what was his background?

10:42:39 5 A. 35 - Urias Taylor and Lewis, all these people - Urias, in
6 fact he served as a personal bodyguard to former President
7 Tubman. He had at least 30, 35 years under his belt of Secret
8 Service experience. So we met him in the system. He was one of
9 those that also fled during the height of the war and

10:43:06 10 participated in helping to train, along with Lewis, most of these
11 guys, the Secret Service in the NPFL area between '93 and going
12 on.

13 Q. Was that the only function that he carried out for your
14 organisation, NPFL or NPRAG?

10:43:23 15 A. NPRAG to train Secret Service, yes. Urias is an older man.
16 Urias is in his seventies right now. He is an older man.

17 Q. Now, we talked about Joseph Montgomery, so if we can look
18 at the gentleman to his right, number 7, Zachariah B Russ,
19 deputy director for technical services. What was his background?

10:43:45 20 A. Veteran, 30 years at least. Urias, Zach Russ, all of these
21 are veterans, veterans of the Secret Service. Technical
22 services.

23 Q. And was he also part of your NPFL or NPRAG?

24 A. He was behind the line and helped to train Secret Service
10:44:06 25 personnel, yeah.

26 Q. And when it says that he was deputy director for technical
27 services, what types of technical services?

28 A. I can't help you, counsel, what the Secret Service called
29 their technical thing, I really don't know.

1 Q. And then if we look at the person to his right, Thomas B
2 Cooper, assistant director for training and portfolio. What was
3 his background?

4 A. Veteran who had been trained all around the world. Thomas
10:44:42 5 Cooper holds a black belt in karate. He has been trained in
6 almost every major country you can think about. In fact, he was
7 so good when the transitional government of Gyude Bryant came
8 into being, he became Secret Service chief. Very, very, very -
9 he is also a veteran.

10:45:00 10 Q. Now, we had Emmanuel Z Lackey as the deputy director for
11 training?

12 A. Yes.

13 Q. And now with Thomas Cooper, we see assistant director for
14 training and portfolio. What does that mean, "and portfolio"?

10:45:16 15 A. I am not sure what they mean by "training and portfolio".
16 But wherever there is a deputy there is always an assistant,
17 counsel. That's how they worked the system in Liberia. But
18 "portfolio", I don't know. Maybe there could be some maybe coded
19 word for what the Secret Service did, or what he did. Because
10:45:41 20 training and portfolio could be maybe some other expertise he may
21 have. I don't know.

22 Q. And we have already talked about the last gentlemen on the
23 right. That's Joseph K Tuah, assistant director without
24 portfolio?

10:45:55 25 A. That is correct.

26 Q. Mr Taylor, looking at these men, they all reported to
27 Benjamin Yeaten, yes?

28 A. All of these men worked and reported to him, yes.

29 Q. And Benjamin Yeaten was also referred to as U-Fifty,

1 correct?

2 A. That is correct.

3 Q. So if we go, again, with first person on the left, Robert
4 Beer, who would his designation have been; do you recall?

10:46:26 5 A. I don't recall. I don't recall.

6 Q. James H Lewis, do you recall his?

7 A. No, don't.

8 Q. Emmanuel Lackey?

9 A. No, I don't. Because I wouldn't call them, I don't.

10:46:42 10 Q. Urias Andy Taylor?

11 A. He is deputy for administration?

12 Q. Yes.

13 A. That would be 51. He was the immediate to the director.
14 He was the number two man, so he would carry 51.

10:47:00 15 Q. So the deputy director for administration was the number
16 two man in the organisation?

17 A. That is correct.

18 Q. Even though it wasn't an operational post?

19 A. Yes. The administrative post is the number two.

10:47:13 20 Q. And then if we move to Joseph Montgomery, can you recall
21 him?

22 A. Yeah, he is the third in the organisation. He would be 52.

23 Q. And then Zachariah B Russ, deputy director for technical
24 services; do you recall his designation?

10:47:33 25 A. No, I don't.

26 Q. Thomas Cooper?

27 A. No, I don't.

28 Q. And what about Joseph Tuah?

29 A. No, I don't - I don't think he had any. Joe, because of

1 his unique role, would not have had a designation, or maybe it is
2 one very low. And may I just help you, counsel. The title of
3 Unit Fifty is the code in Liberia for - whoever becomes director
4 of the SSS is known as Unit Fifty. That's the designation in the
10:48:08 5 Republic, not just for Benjamin. So even after he moved, the new
6 guy who came in was called Fifty.

7 Q. And from shortly after you were President through your
8 presidency, that U-FIFTY was Benjamin Yeaten?

9 A. That is correct.

10:48:22 10 Q. Now, we can move that photo, please. Benjamin Yeaten and
11 Roland Duoh were both from Nimba County, correct?

12 A. That is correct.

13 Q. As was Joe Tuah?

14 A. That is correct.

10:48:40 15 Q. And the three of them were close associates, were they not?

16 A. Well, I can't - I can't speak factually about that. I
17 can't. I know they knew each other. Close associates? I can't
18 speak factually about that.

19 Q. Now, you said that on 2 November, General Yeaten was not

10:49:13 20 just director of the SSS; he was also deputy chairman of the
21 joint chiefs of staff and in charge of military operations in the
22 entire Republic, and you talked about this in your - I'm sorry, I
23 have confused you here. On 2 November in Court you said that by
24 June 2003 --

25 A. That is correct.

26 Q. -- General Yeaten was not just director of the SSS, but
27 that by this time he was also the deputy chairman of the joint
28 chiefs of staff and he was in charge of military operations in
29 the entire Republic.

1 A. That is correct.

2 Q. And as the chairman - deputy chairman of the joint chiefs
3 of staff, what would have been his responsibilities at that time?

4 A. I think it is mentioned there. He was in charge of
10:50:01 5 military operations. This is at the height of the war. He was
6 in charge of military operations.

7 Q. And prior to this time, had he had any position in your
8 military fight against the LURD?

9 A. Yes, he had been - what is explained here, counsel, is that
10:50:24 10 beginning 2002, as the war intensified, all trained people with
11 some command knowledge came. So Benjamin spent very little time
12 at the Secret Service. He was busy in the field. And by the
13 period you just mentioned, Benjamin was nominated somewhere, I
14 think in 2002, to the Senate to confirm him at the rank of
10:50:55 15 general. Because even as SSS director, and as done in some
16 places, even in your own country, he still carried the rank of
17 lieutenant general while he was SSS director. He did not perform
18 with the army, but he carried the rank. Like in some areas you
19 have police commissioners that are still general this, director
10:51:18 20 of police. So he was nominated I think around 2002, if I am not
21 mistaken, to the legislature to confirm him in the rank of
22 general to then take over this command responsibility as deputy
23 chairman of the joint chiefs for the period of the war.

24 Q. Now, we have talked about these ranks before, and a
10:51:44 25 lieutenant general would be what we call a three-star general, is
26 that correct?

27 A. That is correct.

28 Q. And so a general would be a four-star general?

29 A. That is correct.

1 Q. And at the time that he was made a four-star general, how
2 many such generals did you have in Liberia?

3 A. One. The chairman of the joint chiefs was a four-star
4 general. Kpanga Kona was a four star, and he was - the only two:
10:52:08 5 He and General Kona.

6 Q. Can you help us with that name, please?

7 A. Kpanga Kona is on the records. I'm sorry, but it's been
8 spelled on the records.

9 Q. Last name is Kona?

10 A. Kona. K-O-N-A-H. Some people spell it with an H or
11 K-O-N-A, Kona. Kpanga Kona.

12 Q. When Benjamin Yeaten took over as the deputy chairman of
13 the joint chiefs of staff in charge of military operations in the
14 entire Republic, did that mean that all of the commanders were
10:52:43 15 reporting to him?

16 A. That is correct.

17 Q. And then he reported to the chiefs of staff?

18 A. Counsel, no. I would assume that this is the chain of
19 command. All I know and I recommended to the legislature was his
10:53:01 20 promotion. Now, the internal workings much how the chain of
21 command went, I would think, yes, that the chain of command would
22 mean that all of the generals in the field would report to him on
23 operational matters. I do not know the internal workings of
24 Defence. I don't know how it worked.

10:53:24 25 Q. In this position, if you were out of the country Benjamin
26 Yeaten would have had the authority to implement military orders,
27 would he not?

28 A. I don't know. Would you help me? I don't understand. If
29 I was out of the country he would have?

1 Q. The ability to implement military orders.

2 A. Well, I don't know where the question is going, but
3 military orders? Yes, he would have - he would operate military
4 orders.

10:54:02 5 Q. And military orders for these major operations would be
6 approved by whom?

7 A. The day-to-day operation is a defence matter. It would be
8 discussed, I am sure, with the consent of the chiefs of staff of
9 the different branches and the chairman of the joint chiefs. I am
10:54:26 10 sure the Minister of Defence would know. And so it would operate
11 within a structure - a command structure. That's what I know
12 about it. But the day-to-day operation didn't have to - the
13 President - at least I didn't know of where an attack would
14 occur, or when it would attack and who. I wouldn't know that.

10:54:50 15 The Defence Minister would come along with the chairman of the
16 joint chiefs from time to time to brief me on the progress of the
17 war. But the day-to-day operation, I didn't know how it worked.

18 Q. So you are saying that you did not involve yourself in
19 those particular matters, the day-to-day operations?

10:55:14 20 A. Well, I don't know how to answer this question, counsel.
21 When the Minister of Defence and the chairman of the joint chiefs
22 came to brief me, I asked questions, I inquired. That, in my
23 opinion, is a type of involvement. But did I sit down and plan?
24 No. No, I didn't do that.

10:55:35 25 Q. Did you attend major meetings with the senior staff during
26 the LURD conflict years?

27 A. Did I attend?

28 Q. Yes.

29 A. Well, I don't know if I attended meetings. Did I convene

1 meetings when there was a need? Yes, I did. But when you say
2 "Did you attend", "attend" means that - in my interpretation - I
3 could ask you, "What do you mean by 'Did you attend?'" Because
4 "attend" means the President goes to something that is probably
10:56:11 5 going on. But I know what you are trying to ask. So I am saying
6 there were times that I would call, ask the chairman of the joint
7 chiefs and some of the senior commanders, like the chiefs of the
8 different divisional headquarters, to meet with me and ask them
9 some questions, yes.

10:56:31 10 Q. And during the years of the LURD conflict, you would be
11 briefed on the major operations and the situation in the field,
12 correct?

13 A. Not really. Not really. I don't know the extent you are
14 talking about. I would say I would be - I would not be briefed
10:56:52 15 about all of the operations. It depends on the - the President
16 doesn't get involved in that. That answer could be yes or no,
17 depending on maybe as we go further you'll have a clearer - I
18 will get a clearer understanding of your question.

19 Q. If there were operations that involved going into Guinea,
10:57:12 20 you would have been briefed on those operations, would you not?

21 A. Not necessarily. If there were Standing Orders - if it
22 were - let's say, for example, a hot pursuit mission, of course
23 it did not require my knowledge. I would be briefed, because
24 there were Standing Orders to pursue an enemy force that was
10:57:40 25 driven out of Liberia, to pursue them. So that would not require
26 my direct intervention. It was a Standing Order. If a unit came
27 out of Guinea and was fighting in Liberia and they were
28 overpowered and were being driven back, they would pursue them
29 across the border. That was a Standing Order of hot pursuit.

1 Q. Now, a planned operation that was not part of hot pursuit
2 that went into Guinea, you would have been briefed on that, would
3 you not?

4 A. Yes. It depends again. Not necessarily. I would not be
10:58:14 5 briefed on all of the operations. Now, if - if - if there is a
6 planned, let's say, invasion of a country like Guinea, of course
7 that would not happen, except if it is approved. I would have to
8 be told, yes.

9 Q. So a planned operation that is not hot pursuit that is
10:58:38 10 sending your forces into another countries, you would be briefed
11 on those operations, would you not?

12 A. Not necessarily.

13 Q. Not necessarily?

14 A. Not necessarily. We have had occasions where armies have -
10:58:50 15 armies do things and sometimes account for them later. Some
16 zealous commander. So not necessarily.

17 Q. Now, Benjamin Yeaten, he was a feared commander in Liberia,
18 was he not?

19 A. I don't know if he was feared. No, I don't know. I know
10:59:06 20 he was respected. Feared? I am not aware of that.

21 Q. He was the kind of man that his subordinates followed his
22 directions, did they not?

23 A. I would - well, Benjamin was a good commander. He was
24 respected. To that extent, yes, he was respected.

10:59:25 25 Q. He was also involved in the killing of civilians, both
26 during the NPFL years and during your presidency, was he not?

27 A. He was not. Not that I know of. Definitely not. Benjamin
28 was considered one of the most respected officers in the military
29 in Liberia. No, I am not aware of Benjamin - because whoever

1 killed civilians during the NPFL of time, counsellor, they were
2 dealt with. Zero, zero, no.

3 Q. Benjamin Yeaten was never court-martialled, was he?

11:00:06

4 A. He was never court-martialled, that is correct, because he
5 never killed anyone.

6 Q. In fact he participated in the murder of civilians
7 throughout the country including Nimba County, isn't that
8 correct?

9 A. That is a total lie.

11:00:16

10 Q. And he was also involved in the killings of John Yormie and
11 Isaac Vaye in June of 2003, isn't that correct?

12 A. I have no knowledge of that, no. I have no knowledge that
13 he was involved in that. I know these two gentlemen were killed,
14 I do not know have any knowledge that Benjamin was personally

11:00:37

15 involved.

16 PRESIDING JUDGE: What was that first name?

17 MS HOLLIS: John Yormie, Y-O-R-M-I-E, and Isaac Vaye,
18 V-A-Y-E.

11:00:57

19 THE WITNESS: I know there is an allegation. I am not
20 aware of that.

21 MS HOLLIS:

22 Q. Your testimony to the Court is you are not aware of that?

11:01:08

23 A. I am aware of an allegation. Your question to me was
24 directly stating that he was involved in the murder and I am
25 saying I have no factual knowledge. There is an accusation. I
26 cannot attest to the fact that he was personally involved.
27 That's my response.

28 Q. Now, Mr Taylor, you told the Court about the Moses Blah
29 house arrest incident when you returned from Ghana, yes?

1 A. Yes, I did.

2 Q. And you referred to John Yormie and Isaac Vaye and said
3 that you understood that they were killed accidentally. Do you
4 recall telling them that?

11:01:38 5 A. Yes, I do, yes.

6 Q. It wasn't an accident though, was it; they were executed?

7 A. Not with my knowledge, I don't know.

8 Q. They were executed on your orders. Isn't that correct,
9 Mr Taylor?

11:01:48 10 A. That is totally, totally untrue. Totally untrue.

11 Q. Mr Taylor, do you know what FFI stands for?

12 A. FFI? No.

13 Q. Are you familiar with failure to follow instructions as a
14 military infraction?

11:02:12 15 A. No. I may have heard it. Failure to - I have heard that
16 military expression before, yes. I have heard it before. I have
17 heard it.

18 Q. And during your time in the NPFL, people were executed for
19 failure to follow instructions, were they not?

11:02:34 20 A. What do you mean by people?

21 Q. Subordinates in the NPFL.

22 A. Are you referring to soldiers?

23 Q. Subordinates in the NPFL, yes.

24 A. I am not aware. All of the court martials whose documents
11:02:53 25 were brought to me for final approval based on the recommendation
26 were for murder, rape and things of that sort. I do not recall
27 ever a conviction for execution by the court martial board in the
28 NPFL of somebody failing to follow some instructions. I do not
29 recall that at all, no.

1 Q. Are you familiar with the term "dey de bie"?

2 A. Who?

3 Q. Or "dey be die", are you familiar with that term?

4 A. "Dey be die"? No, I am not, definitely not.

11:03:37 5 Q. Meaning that a person should be killed. You are not
6 familiar with that?

7 A. No, I am not, no.

8 Q. Are you familiar with the term "escort him back to his
9 people", meaning to kill someone?

11:03:51 10 A. No, I'm not, no.

11 Q. But in fact, Mr Taylor, instead of telling Benjamin Yeaten
12 and others to kill people, you used those phrases, did you not,
13 "escort them back to their people", "dey be die"?

14 A. Counsel, that is totally - I don't know where you get all
11:04:14 15 these fantasies from. Definitely, definitely not. All of the
16 individuals I have told this Court that were executed during the
17 NPFL time were soldiers and they were court-martialed and
18 followed. There was no such things as some nonsense about "dey
19 be die", no, never. That's totally, totally unfounded. Totally.

11:04:41 20 JUDGE SEBUTINDE: Ms Hollis, you have to help us with the
21 spelling. That can't be an English term.

22 MS HOLLIS: I will give my understanding of the phonetic
23 spelling which is D-E-Y, B-E, D-I-E.

24 JUDGE SEBUTINDE: And it means what in English?

11:05:08 25 MS HOLLIS: "Dey be die", meaning to execute someone, to
26 kill someone:

27 Q. Now, Mr Taylor, have you had contact with Benjamin Yeaten
28 since you left the presidency?

29 A. No, I haven't had contact with Benjamin since I left

1 presidency.

2 Q. Are you sure about that, Mr Taylor?

3 A. I have answered your question. I am positive about that.

4 Q. Not one contact?

11:06:00 5 A. I have had no contact with Benjamin Yeaten since I left the
6 presidency, because immediately after I left, Benjamin left. He
7 was not in exile with me. I have had no contact with Benjamin
8 Yeaten since I left the presidency.

9 Q. Did he leave before or after you left Liberia?

11:06:23 10 A. I left Benjamin Yeaten in Liberia, so I would say he left
11 after me, not before.

12 Q. And how did you learn that he had left Liberia?

13 A. After Moses Blah took over, I - about a month after Moses
14 took over, in a conversation with Blah, I did speak to Moses when
11:06:47 15 he took over the period brief period, and he mentioned that
16 Benjamin had left the country.

17 Q. When you lived at White Flower, how close was Benjamin
18 Yeaten's residence to White Flower?

19 A. I would say - I would put it to about - depending on normal
11:07:11 20 city blocks, I would put it to about two to three city blocks.
21 Two city blocks, maybe a maximum of three, depending on the size
22 of the blocks, from my house.

23 Q. And did you ever visit Benjamin Yeaten's house?

24 A. No, I never visited Benjamin's house. Never.

11:07:33 25 Q. And you also indicated, I believe, that Joseph Montgomery
26 lived in the vicinity of White Flower.

27 A. I think a lot of us know Joseph's place, including you,
28 yes.

29 Q. And how close to White Flower did Joseph Montgomery live?

1 A. I would say about a block or - maybe three quarters of a
2 block. He was closer to me at the rear than Benjamin who was I
3 would say adjacent to. So he was closer.

4 Q. So we have seen the photos and we have seen that, if we
11:08:27 5 look at White Flower from the front, there is a road that runs
6 along the right --

7 A. That is correct.

8 Q. -- next to your orchard and there is a road that runs along
9 on the left and there appears to be a road that runs at the back
11:08:42 10 of your property.

11 A. Yeah. When you go down that hill to your right, it splits
12 off into a fork, that's what you - if we agree on that.
13 Montgomery is to the left of that. He is right on that road that
14 continues on. You had to go right and go further right - further
11:09:05 15 down to get to Benjamin's place.

16 Q. So at that fork, if we went right, we would be going toward
17 Benjamin Yeaten's house?

18 A. That is correct.

19 Q. And if we went left, we would be going toward Joseph
11:09:18 20 Montgomery's house?

21 A. That is correct. Not very far left though because
22 Montgomery was just about directly behind my fence structure
23 going about, like a say, three quarters of a block. So when you
24 branch off on that fork, he is not very far from the junction, he
11:09:44 25 is not very far from there.

26 Q. And did any other of your officials live in that area?

27 A. Yes, yes.

28 Q. Who else lived in that area?

29 A. Now, are you speaking about security personnel or

1 government officials?

2 Q. Either.

3 A. Okay. Also right behind my house at White Flower --

4 Q. So going left at the fork?

11:10:12 5 A. Left, that is correct. And even closer to my fence was one
6 of my senior aide de camps, Musa N'jie, lived right there.

7 Across the little island, the Foreign Minister lived at the back
8 of the island. When you take that left on that fork, there is a
9 wetland area there. Across that wetland is a swamp. It's shown
11:10:41 10 in the picture. The Foreign Minister lived back there.

11 But it's important to understand, counsel, that within that
12 general area, most of the people that lived there were either
13 military or Secret Service personnel. There were other civilians
14 like the Commissioner, what you call the city mayor, and other
11:11:05 15 civilians. Right next door was the Taiwanese embassy, but most
16 of the buildings there - I don't know all of their names, but
17 most of them were inhabited by officials.

18 Q. So Benjamin Yeaten, Joseph Montgomery, your Foreign
19 Minister Monie Captan, yes, they all had easy access to White
11:11:30 20 Flower?

21 A. No, that was not your question, counsel, no.

22 Q. That is my question now. Did they all have easy access to
23 White Flower?

24 A. Well, as the Foreign Minister, he would have access to the
11:11:43 25 President. These other people would have access. I would say,
26 generally, yes, they would have access.

27 Q. And Musa N'jie as well since he lived close?

28 A. Senior aide de camp, yes, he would.

29 Q. Now, you also mentioned - when you were answering some of

1 these questions you mentioned Lewis Brown.

2 A. That is correct.

3 Q. And who is Lewis Brown, tell us.

4 A. Lewis Brown's name came up in relation as to who replaced
11:12:11 5 Cyril Allan at the LPRC. He was managing director. After that
6 he became national security adviser to me before John Richardson.
7 Following that position, he became Minister of State for Foreign
8 Affairs and then finally he became Foreign Minister.

9 Q. These were all - the NSA, the Minister of State, Foreign
11:12:49 10 Minister - Foreign Minister would have been after you left the
11 presidency?

12 A. I did hear you say, and it's on the record, NSA. I did not
13 say NSA.

14 Q. Sorry. Minister of State during your presidency?

11:13:01 15 A. That is correct.

16 Q. Foreign Minister?

17 A. No, I said, Minister of State For Foreign Affairs.

18 Q. For foreign affairs.

19 A. That's just a title for a principal foreign policy adviser
11:13:17 20 to the President.

21 Q. And when did he have that position?

22 A. That was the last position that he held up to the end of my
23 presidency.

24 Q. Was Lewis Brown a member of the NPFL or your NPRAG?

11:13:31 25 A. He worked with the NPRAG.

26 Q. And what was his position in the NPRAG?

27 A. I can't remember. But Lewis worked mostly I think with the
28 assembly. He may have been a principal aide to the speaker or
29 something in the assembly. He was not in the field as a

1 combatant. He was more an administrative type person.

2 Q. He was a businessman as well, yes?

3 A. No, no, no. Lewis Brown, no. Businessman, no.

4 Q. He had a trucking company, did he not?

11:14:05 5 A. Lewis Brown? Not that I know of. No, I doubt it.

6 Q. During your presidency, did he have a trucking company?

7 A. I don't know because Lewis was busy throughout my
8 presidency in those positions. I said he was national security
9 adviser, he was Minister of State For Foreign Affairs and later

11:14:25 10 he becomes Foreign Minister under Moses Blah. I don't know,

11 counsel, if he had a trucking company. I really don't.

12 Q. Thank you, Mr Taylor.

13 MS HOLLIS: And, Mr President, just noting for the record
14 that in the course of asking questions about these individuals,
11:14:43 15 the Prosecution would have had recourse to materials which are
16 the subject of the formal submissions:

17 Q. Now, Mr Taylor, do you recall during your testimony in
18 direct examination telling the Court about a problem that you had
19 regarding the Mobil Oil Company?

11:15:22 20 A. That is correct.

21 Q. And you indicated that the problem you had regarding Mobil
22 Oil was that they were violating Liberian laws relating to the
23 import of petroleum products. Do you recall telling the Court
24 that?

11:15:42 25 A. Yes, one of the problems, yes.

26 Q. And that, in fact, you had to close them down because they
27 were violating your laws?

28 A. Yes, but Mobil had more than that problem. Their
29 properties had been looted too, but we eventually closed them

1 down, depending on how the question will run. But we closed them
2 down, but Mobil had a problem because their properties had been
3 looted too, but they eventually closed them down, depending on
4 how the question will run. But we closed them down, but Mobil
11:16:04 5 had a problem because their properties had been looted.

6 Q. And you said that you closed them down because they
7 continued to violate your laws?

8 A. Yes.

9 Q. And do you recall telling the judges that the United States
11:16:18 10 basically held your country at hostage or at ransom unless you
11 allowed Mobil Oil Company to come back in?

12 A. Yes. I remember saying that, yes.

13 Q. Presumably, come back in and continue to violate your laws,
14 yes?

11:16:36 15 A. I wouldn't put it that way, counsel, no. I have to say no
16 to that. I have to say no to that.

17 Q. But actually, Mr Taylor, the problem with Mobil Oil was the
18 fact that their equipment and their property had been looted
19 during the April fighting, yes?

11:16:59 20 A. I mentioned that. Their property were looted. The very
21 Varmuyan Sheriff looted the property. He was arrested. But that
22 was not the crux of the problem. I admit, yes, yes, the property
23 was looted. It was looted. I said that, yes.

24 Q. In fact, that was the problem. They wanted compensation
11:17:18 25 for what they had lost to the looting, correct?

26 A. That is incorrect. I remember, counsel. You are wrong.
27 That's incorrect. We held discussions with the State Department
28 and we sent emissaries to the State Department, and the demand
29 was not about reparation; the demand was that they should return.

1 And in a document marked for identification here, General Yerks
2 reports on a discussion with Susan Rice. So that was not the
3 issue. Reparation was not the issue. They wanted Mobil to come
4 back. So I would disagree with you, counsel.

11:18:01 5 Q. In fact, Mr Taylor, I think the document you are talking
6 about from retired General Yerks was MFI-79?

7 A. Yes.

8 Q. And I believe also there was a letter to General Yerks
9 dated 8 September from Susan Rice, which is MFI-105, and perhaps
11:18:25 10 if we could have those two documents.

11 PRESIDING JUDGE: Which one should we look at first?

12 MS HOLLIS: If we could first look at MFI-79, the letter
13 from retired General Yerks.

14 Q. Do we have that?

11:19:14 15 A. Yes, I do, counsel.

16 Q. And on the first page at the bottom General Yerks speaks of
17 monopolies, correct? And he says:

18 "The avoidance of even the perception of monopolies was a
19 signal major point of their concern."

11:19:27 20 Speaking about the State Department, yes?

21 A. Yes.

22 Q. "I reviewed with them your decision to proceed at haste to
23 bring Mobil back in country."

24 And then toward the bottom of that paragraph, page 2 -
11:19:42 25 moving to page 2:

26 "I strongly urge your good adviser Brown and director
27 Dunbar finalise a meeting with Mobil and other friends in
28 Monrovia within two weeks and suggest you clearly and personally
29 impress upon them your desire to make this Mobil effort work."

1 So that was the letter from General Yerks that you were
2 referring to; yes, Mr Taylor?

3 A. This is it, counsel. That is correct.

11:20:13

4 Q. And when he talks about your "good adviser Brown", who is
5 he talking about there?

6 A. He is talking about Lewis Brown, who is then - he is also
7 adviser, yes, in his position at the presidency. Yes, he is
8 talking about Brown.

11:20:29

9 Q. And when he say "good adviser", what is Lewis Brown's exact
10 position at that time?

11 A. At this time we are talking about 2000 --

12 Q. Talking about - it was sent, it appears, 18 February 1999,
13 and it was marked "received" on 24 February 1999?

14 A. He is national security adviser.

11:20:49

15 Q. And when he talked about "director Dunbar", who is he
16 talking about?

17 A. The managing director of the LPRC at that particular time
18 is Bel - like B-E-L - Bel Dunbar. Madam Bel Dunbar.

11:21:12

19 Q. And then if we look at the other document, the letter to
20 General Yerks from Susan Rice, which is MFI-105, and this is
21 dated September 1999, yes?

22 A. That is correct, yes.

11:21:38

23 Q. Now, when Susan Rice speaks of the Mobil Oil Company in her
24 letter - and if we look at the second paragraph - she is talking
25 about the IMF recommends action on three key economic issues; the
26 rice monopoly, the petroleum monopoly, and compensation of Mobil
27 Oil for losses suffered in 1996. So Ms Rice is pointing to
28 compensation for losses suffered in 1996 as the issue with Mobil
29 Oil, yes?

1 A. Well, maybe we are missing - I would have to say no,
2 because we are interpreting whose concerns are here. I think my
3 interpretation - and I have to say no, I disagree with you - is
4 that this is an IMF concern. This is not Rice's response. So I
11:22:25 5 have to say no to your question.

6 Q. So the IMF concern, as expressed by Susan Rice in relation
7 to Mobil Oil, is compensation for losses suffered in 1996, yes?

8 A. I have to say yes now. Yes.

9 Q. Not monopoly by Mobil Oil, but compensation for losses;
11:22:44 10 yes? That's what's reflected in the letter?

11 A. Well, I have to say no based on your question. What's
12 reflected in the letter are three counts. If you want to
13 separate one, then I have to generally say no.

14 Q. In relation to Mobil Oil, it is compensation for losses
11:23:00 15 suffered in 1996, correct?

16 A. That's one of the issues, yes.

17 Q. Now, Mr Taylor, you also on direct examination repeated
18 what you have said again here today, and that is that Varmuyan
19 Sheriff was somehow involved in this looting of Mobil Oil when it
11:23:22 20 occurred. Now, that's not correct, is it, Mr Taylor?

21 A. Counsel, this occurred in 1996. This is the information
22 that was brought to me, that Varmuyan was involved in the 1996
23 looting of the place. And remember, I am not President in 1996.
24 My statement is correct. That's what was reported at that

11:23:48 25 particular time in 1996. And his boss, Alhaji Kromah, was on the
26 council at that time.

27 Q. So you learned this in 1996?

28 A. But the looting occurred in 1996.

29 Q. And you learned this in 1996?

1 A. Of course we knew --

2 Q. That Varmuyan Sheriff was involved in the looting?

3 A. This was the information to all of us, yes.

4 Q. Now, Mr Taylor, you actually told the Court that you had to
11:24:16 5 reassign Varmuyan Sheriff after he came to work for you in the
6 SSS, and you said it would have been about 1998 that you
7 reassigned him, and you reassigned him because of his involvement
8 in the looting. Do you remember telling the Court that?

9 A. Definitely. Definitely.

11:24:35 10 Q. So you waited for two years to reassign him because of the
11 looting; is that correct?

12 A. No, counsel, that is incorrect. The correct story is that
13 it became a point of contention that here was a senior officer of
14 the Secret Service having been involved in this Mobil looting
11:24:54 15 that had reached State Department level, it was not acceptable to
16 keep him in that position. That was the issue. Not that we
17 waited. But it became front and focused and this was - you look
18 at the letter now, it is specifically dated. But these

19 discussions went on over time. Here is a senior Secret Service
11:25:15 20 personnel in an organisation that the State department, the IMF,
21 and other people, are concerned about. Do you keep him in that
22 position, or do you let him go to another place? The decision
23 was to remove him from the presidency. It's not that we just
24 waited. If this issue had not come front and centre, I will be

11:25:32 25 honest to this Court, I don't think Varmuyan would have been hit
26 as hard as he was for that, even though he went crazy. But
27 because he had come front and centre, it did not show good taste
28 to keep him at the presidency. That's why the decision was
29 taken.

1 Q. Mr Taylor, the issue about Mobil Oil was your government
2 compensating Mobil Oil; isn't that correct?

3 A. Yeah, but my government - yes, that's true.

4 Q. And the United States wasn't demanding that you transfer
11:26:03 5 individuals who were involved in the looting, were they?

6 A. No, they were not.

7 Q. In fact, they knew nothing about Varmuyan Sherif, did they?

8 A. I never said they did. Of course not. It was a decision
9 taken by us in good taste. That this matter was being discussed
11:26:18 10 by the State department, the IMF, and everybody had knowledge of
11 who was involved, and so that decision - there was no pressure
12 put on us by the United States government, I admit. They did not
13 ask me to do that. This was an internal decision, counsel.

14 Q. Mr Taylor, in fact, it was not Varmuyan Sherif or others of
11:26:36 15 his association who looted Mobil Oil; in fact, it was your good
16 friend Cyril Allen, wasn't it?

17 A. That was totally, totally wrong. In 1996 - let's not
18 forget what happened, the crisis in 1996. We know what
19 happened --

11:26:54 20 Q. We remember the crisis. We talked about it yesterday,
21 didn't we?

22 A. We fought. There was a fighting going on.

23 Q. And in fact --

24 A. The military people looted.

11:27:01 25 Q. In fact, Mr Taylor, Cyril Allen took advantage of that
26 situation to loot 600,000 gallons of fuel from the Mobil
27 facility; isn't that correct?

28 A. Not to my knowledge, no. I have no knowledge of that.

29 Q. Indeed, he was acting on your behalf when he did it; isn't

1 that correct?

2 A. How would he act on my behalf? I'm not President of
3 Liberia. You're getting it mixed up, counsel. I am not
4 President of Liberia. 1996 we are all members of the council of
11:27:25 5 state headed by Ruth Sando Perry, so how could he be acting on my
6 behalf? I am not President. You got it wrong. No, I disagree
7 totally.

8 Q. And Mr Taylor, yesterday when we were talking about this
9 looting, you said the great bulk of the looting was done by
11:27:40 10 civilians; do you recall saying that?

11 A. What looting?

12 Q. In the April incidents - April 1996 incidents, the ones
13 we're talking about right now?

14 A. No.

11:27:51 15 Q. You didn't say that yesterday?

16 A. Wait a minute, counsel, don't confuse me. Your questions
17 now have been basing on the looting of Mobil.

18 Q. Yes.

19 A. My statement about the looting around Monrovia I say
11:28:04 20 involved civilians. That's separate from me saying that
21 civilians - I did not tell this Court that civilians looted
22 Mobil, which is the premise of your question, no. Around
23 Monrovia --

24 Q. You did tell the Court that the great majority of the
11:28:16 25 looting was done by civilians. That's what you told the Court,
26 isn't it?

27 A. Not of Mobil.

28 Q. I didn't mention Mobil. Mr Taylor, you did tell the judges
29 that the great majority of the looting that was done during the

1 April incident was done by civilians --

2 A. That is correct.

3 Q. -- yes, Mr Taylor?

4 A. Yes.

11:28:33 5 Q. And of course, Cyril Allen was a civilian at the time, was
6 he not, Mr Taylor?

7 A. Cyril Allen has always been a civilian, yes.

8 Q. And the reason that you are trying to implicate Varmuyan
9 Sheriff now is simply an attempt to discredit his testimony; isn't
11:28:50 10 that correct?

11 A. No, counsel. Absolutely, absolutely not. There are so
12 many witnesses that will deal with that. That is totally
13 incorrect. That's not my - I would not destroy Varmuyan with a
14 lie of Mobil. He was a good soldier, and I have nothing bad to
11:29:07 15 say about him. He did tell some lies here, but that is
16 incorrect.

17 Q. A soldier who loots is not a good soldier, is he,
18 Mr Taylor?

19 A. Well, for his people he was. I agree. I agree that a
11:29:21 20 soldier that loots is not a good soldier. Yes, I agree.

21 Q. And you were also trying to ensure that blame would not
22 come to rest on you in relation to the looting; isn't that
23 correct, Mr Taylor?

24 A. That is incorrect. 1996, my government could have claimed
11:29:34 25 that we were not responsible. As President of Liberia, I could
26 have claimed. That was not the issue. The issue at stake in
27 1996 at the Mobil looting, we were trying to resolve it amicably.
28 I could have simply claimed: Hey, this happened during the
29 transition. That's not my activities. But we wanted to work

1 with the United States government, so we were trying to find a
2 solution. That's why we went overboard - I will stop here. I
3 see the President looking at me.

4 PRESIDING JUDGE: I wasn't giving you the wind-up signal,
11:30:07 5 Mr Taylor, but I was just going to caution counsel that we are
6 getting close to the end of the tape.

7 So we will stop --

8 MS HOLLIS: And just one quick:

9 Q. Mr Taylor, in fact, you were resisting paying for the
11:30:21 10 compensation to Mobil Oil, were you not?

11 A. Well, in a way no, we were not resisting the payment. We
12 were negotiating an amicable solution.

13 MS HOLLIS: Mr President, we would have relied on certain
14 materials in this area of cross-examination.

11:30:44 15 PRESIDING JUDGE: All right. We will take the short
16 adjournment now and resume at 12 o'clock.

17 [Break taken 11.30 a.m.]

18 [Upon resuming at 12.03 p.m.]

19 PRESIDING JUDGE: Please proceed, Ms Hollis.

12:05:39 20 MS HOLLIS: Thank you, Mr President:

21 Q. Mr Taylor, Benoni Urey, who is that?

22 A. He's someone that I know.

23 Q. Can you help us with a spelling of his first and last name?

24 A. Benoni, B-E-N-O-N-I. I think it's a Hebrew name, Benoni.

12:06:14 25 Q. And the last name?

26 A. Urey, U-R-E-Y.

27 Q. Is he known by any other names?

28 A. No, not that I know of.

29 Q. Nicknames?

1 A. Not that I know of.

2 Q. Is his first name --

3 A. Yes, I'm sorry, they call him Ben. Sometimes they call him
4 Ben Urey.

12:06:36 5 Q. So they shorten the first name sometimes?

6 A. Yes.

7 Q. How did you meet him?

8 A. Ben Urey, I first met Ben - well, you didn't ask when. How
9 did I meet him? I met Ben when I got back in 1980 into Liberia.

12:07:04 10 I come on that delegation, I met Ben. I don't remember the
11 circumstances, but I met him in 1980.

12 Q. And at that time what was his occupation?

13 A. I'm not sure. Ben at that time, I think, was working - he
14 was working for the Liberian Electricity Corporation, LEC. I

12:07:28 15 don't know what in capacity, but I know he worked there.

16 Q. And Mr Urey is a Liberian citizen?

17 A. Yes.

18 Q. Where is he from in Liberia?

19 A. Benoni is from Montserrado County. He's from Montserrado
12:07:52 20 County.

21 Q. And during the time of the NPFL, was he involved with the
22 NPFL or NPRAG?

23 A. At a very late stage. During the war Mr Urey spent most of
24 his time in Sierra Leone as a refugee. He came very late to the

12:08:12 25 process. I would - in attaching him, I would say not too long

26 before I went to Monrovia around - I would say just before '94 he
27 finally comes, I think, around into Liberia, but he's not

28 involved in a lot of the activities. I would put it to around

29 1994 or thereabouts that he comes and he is with the NPRAG.

1 Q. And what's his position in the NPRAG?

2 A. He didn't hold any position. If anything, he worked - if
3 there's anything, he associated with members of the assembly. He
4 was not a member, but he did not hold any position in the NPRAG.

12:09:02 5 Q. And at this time to your knowledge did he have any business
6 enterprises or ongoing business activities?

7 A. No, I didn't know him very well at that time. I'm not
8 aware. He very well could have, but I did not know, no. I
9 didn't know.

12:09:21 10 Q. When you went to Monrovia as part of the Council of State,
11 did Mr Urey remain in NPFL territories or did he also move to
12 Monrovia?

13 A. He moved to Monrovia. He moved to Monrovia.

14 Q. What was his occupation at that time in Monrovia?

12:09:46 15 A. I don't know, but I know - I don't recollect him being a
16 part of the transitional government. I don't recollect what he
17 was doing, but he just moved back. Because Ben is from one of
18 the settlement towns outside of Monrovia called Careysburg.
19 That's C-A-R-E-Y-S-B-U-R-G. So he just came back and settled in
12:10:25 20 his ancestral area. That's what he did.

21 Q. Then, Mr Taylor, after you became President, did Benoni
22 Urey hold any position in your government?

23 A. Yes, he did.

24 Q. What was that?

12:10:38 25 A. He was made Commissioner of Maritime Affairs.

26 Q. And was this a bureau or a department, or what was Maritime
27 Affairs?

28 A. It's a bureau. It's called the Bureau of Maritime Affairs.

29 It's a bureau.

1 Q. And what was the business of this Bureau of Maritime
2 Affairs?

3 A. The commissioner overseas, he is the eye of the Liberian
4 government in dealing with the management company in the United
12:11:17 5 States that manages the maritime programme for the Liberian
6 government, and that programme is one that oversees our flag of
7 convenience that we make available to shipping groups and
8 agencies around the world. That is managed by a US group, but
9 the commissioner is the Liberian government - I would say
12:11:46 10 controller - that follows up the programme.

11 Q. So that was an appointed position?

12 A. Yes, but that also goes with advice and consent.

13 Q. And who made that appointment?

14 A. I did.

12:12:04 15 Q. When did he become the commissioner of the Bureau of
16 Maritime Affairs?

17 A. That would be sometime right after my inauguration.
18 Sometime in the second half of 1997, depending on all of the
19 confirmation and all of - I don't know the exact time, but that
12:12:21 20 would be sometime after August 1997.

21 Q. And you mentioned that the commissioner deals with the
22 management company in the United States that manages the maritime
23 programme.

24 A. Yes.

12:12:45 25 Q. When you became President, what company was it that was
26 managing the maritime programme?

27 A. I don't quite recall the name, but there was another
28 company that had been managing the programme. Their time had
29 expired and we had them changed. I don't recall the name of the

1 company.

2 Q. Could it have been a company with the initials IRI?

3 A. That could very well be. What's the meaning of IRI?

4 Q. It's a US company.

12:13:16 5 A. Yeah, that's the acronym. What's the actual - I don't
6 know.

7 Q. So you don't recall the company?

8 A. I don't recall the name of the company. It was a type of
9 international registry, but I don't know the exact name. I could
12:13:29 10 help you if you I got to know the meaning of - it sounds like
11 international - it sounds like it, I'm not too sure, but I don't
12 recall, just to cut things short.

13 Q. What company took over the management?

14 A. I think the company was called LISCR. LISCR took over the
12:13:48 15 management.

16 Q. And how did that happen that LISCR took over the
17 management?

18 A. This first company had been in position since the inception
19 of the programme, I think that's right after World War II, and it
12:14:03 20 was time and I think it was renewable either five or ten years
21 and the government just wanted to make some changes, because no
22 one actually knew or had full knowledge of what the old company
23 was doing and so it had been brought to my attention that
24 previous governments before me, Doe and others, had tried to
12:14:30 25 change it but the timing was always wrong because they had such a
26 long period of transition. So we took advantage of the window of
27 opportunity to change it.

28 Q. So was this a change that was done by the executive branch
29 of the government?

1 A. Yes, that's an executive function. It did not require
2 legislative approval. If there's an agreement, it was - I think
3 it did involve some legislative either acknowledgement or
4 something, I'm not sure. It did not require, to the best of my
12:15:11 5 recollection, a bill, but if it did, it was passed. I don't
6 recall the direct sequence.

7 Q. Mr Taylor, in relation to IRI, does International
8 Registries Incorporated ring a bell to you?

9 A. Yes, that could be it, yes. That sounds like it.

12:15:30 10 Q. When was it that LISCR took over the management of the
11 programme?

12 A. I think we did not complete the process until either late
13 '97 or '98, they finally - there were legal challenges in the US
14 courts and all kinds of stuff. I think it finally got settled,
12:15:53 15 if I'm not wrong, somewhere in '98, to best exact.

16 Q. And this LISCR company is located where?

17 A. It's in the United States. LISCR is - all of these
18 companies are located - I think the headquarters is in Maryland,
19 United States. It's a US company.

12:16:14 20 Q. And who was the head of this company, do you know?

21 A. Well, I know the individual that was running it. As to
22 whether he - if you're going to call that the head, I don't even
23 know his last name.

24 Q. Who was he?

12:16:33 25 A. It was an American fellow called, Jewish American, Jay. I
26 know the first name. I don't know Jay's - I forgot his last
27 name.

28 Q. When did LISCR take over the management of the programme,
29 do you recall? I guess you said late '97, sometime 1998.

1 A. I said somewhere in '98, because there were legal
2 challenges. I can't be too sure, but it took a little bit of
3 time because they challenged it in US courts and finally there
4 was a settlement.

12:17:03 5 Q. You said the programme includes the registry for flags of
6 convenience. That's the ships that fly under the Liberian flag?

7 A. That is correct.

8 Q. And it also includes a corporate registry, does it not?

9 A. Yeah, they do corporate registry, and we come back to that
12:17:22 10 word, sometimes I mispronounce it, shelf and shell. Yeah, they
11 do corporate registry.

12 Q. Shelf and shell, is that what you said?

13 A. Yeah, I think the honourable justice helped me one time.

14 Sometimes I mispronounce it. I think it's called a shell company
12:17:41 15 that really - the way it functions, maybe when you ask me, we can
16 probably get into that.

17 Q. So a company that incorporates in Liberia but does its
18 business elsewhere?

19 A. Totally outside, yeah, that is correct.

12:17:54 20 Q. And for the ships that fly the Liberian flag, they have to
21 pay for flying that flag?

22 A. That is correct.

23 Q. How does that work? Do they pay a commission? Do they pay
24 a flat fee yearly? How did that work when you were present?

12:18:14 25 A. Counsel, I swear, I'm sorry. I can't help you. I think
26 they do pay - not think. They do pay a fee. The workings of it,
27 I really do not know, but they do pay a fee for the use of the
28 flag and other stuff, but how the workings are, I really don't -
29 it is 100 per cent owned and operated by this US company. The

1 commissioner is there to make sure that that part that comes to
2 the Government of Liberia comes and even the commissioner doesn't
3 even have full control over what they do. All of their actions
4 are subject to United States laws. I think it's registered under
12:18:56 5 United States laws, operates under United States laws. Our part
6 is that that portion for Liberia, that's the commissioner's
7 function to get it. I don't know the workings of it, quite
8 frankly, I'm sorry.

9 Q. And so for the corporate registry, they would also pay in
12:19:11 10 some fashion to be incorporated in Liberia?

11 A. Yes, to the same company and a particular amount I think
12 comes to the Liberian government, yes.

13 Q. What comes to the Liberian government? Is it a percentage,
14 is it a flat amount or how does that work?

12:19:30 15 A. Counsel, I don't want to mislead you. I don't know. I
16 would guess that it would be a percentage. We don't get 100 per
17 cent, so I would put it to - we do get a percentage of it. I
18 don't know how much because the amounts are remitted certain
19 times of the year. I don't know the mechanism, counsel.

12:20:02 20 Q. Now, you said that it is for the commissioner to ensure
21 that basically Liberia is getting the amounts that it's supposed
22 to receive.

23 A. That is correct.

24 Q. Is that the primary duty of the commissioner?

12:20:12 25 A. I would put it amongst others, yes.

26 Q. And what other duties would the commissioner have?

27 A. I don't know. Whatever - but he is not in any major
28 administrative role. He runs an office with staff personnel
29 qualified of checking on the operation of the company, but that

1 would be all. He is not a minister in the Liberian government.
2 He carries the title of commissioner. That's as best as I can
3 help on that.

12:20:52 4 Q. The monies that come from LISCR come through the
5 commission, is that how those monies are paid?

6 A. Yes, the monies are paid from LISCR. The commission is
7 alighted but it is paid in line with our law directly to the
8 Central Bank of Liberia.

9 Q. So those monies would go to the Central Bank of Liberia?

12:21:14 10 A. Yes, and the commissioner would be notified. He would have
11 knowledge of what goes directly into the registry - I mean, to
12 the bank.

13 Q. And any payment of those monies to other than the Central
14 Bank of Liberia, would that be in accordance with Liberian laws?

12:21:30 15 A. No, they would be paid to - it would not be in accordance
16 with Liberian law. It would have to be paid to the Central Bank.

17 Q. The commissioner of the maritime bureau, would the
18 commissioner have the authority to write cheques or withdraw
19 funds from the Central Bank of Liberia?

12:21:49 20 A. No, no, no, no, no. Once the monies go into the Central
21 Bank of Liberia, it comes under the command and control of the
22 Finance Minister. The commissioner has the authority to write
23 cheques relating to the function of his agency. For example, the
24 monies that are coming, based on the remittances, the government
12:22:19 25 under the budgetary allocation makes an amount available for the
26 operation of the office of the commissioner. Now, out of those
27 funds that are allotted to his authority, he could write cheques
28 directly to run the maritime office.

29 Q. So it would be related to the running of the office?

1 A. That is correct.

2 Q. That would be the authorisation for those cheques?

3 A. Yes, but it would only be - the general authorisation comes
4 to the budgetary process, but he would then manage his budget
12:22:57 5 and, of course, cheques could be written.

6 Q. Was there also a deputy commissioner of the maritime
7 bureau?

8 A. Yes, there were several, I think two or three. I think
9 they had at least two deputies and you have some assistant
12:23:16 10 commissioners.

11 Q. Do you remember the names of any of the deputy
12 commissioners?

13 A. I think there was one called George Cooper. I think if I'm
14 not wrong, George Cooper, who was the controller and deputy
12:23:36 15 commissioner. That's about all that I know.

16 Q. And you said controller and deputy commissioner? What do
17 you mean by controller?

18 A. Well, the financial comptroller.

19 Q. Comptroller?

12:23:53 20 A. Yes, and he carried the title I think of deputy
21 commissioner, but there were assistant commissioners that were
22 assigned in different areas.

23 Q. And as the comptroller, what would his responsibilities
24 have been?

12:24:13 25 A. Making sure that the funding - the financial process, after
26 collections and their remittances to the Liberian government,
27 were on track.

28 Q. Would this comptroller also have the ability to write
29 cheques for the functioning of the office or other functions

1 within the office?

2 A. When you say write cheques, I don't know. He would
3 probably sign cheques because as comptroller, whatever he did,
4 the commissioner - because the comptroller worked for the
12:24:51 5 commissioner. That's separate from LISCR. I'm sure that has
6 comptroller he would have some signing responsibilities. But
7 when you say write cheques, I'm not sure if we're talking the
8 same thing, but he would have some signing responsibilities, I
9 would think, on cheques for the matter of cheques and balances.

12:25:11 10 Q. And George Cooper, had he been involved with the NPFL or
11 the NPRAG?

12 A. No, no, no. George Cooper had been assigned in Washington
13 since the administration of President Tolbert, some - I think
14 George had been assigned in Washington for more than 25 years.

12:25:29 15 No, not at - never been involved with us, no.

16 Q. Mr Urey, how long did he hold the position of Commissioner
17 of Maritime Affairs?

18 A. Up until my departure as President and I think he remained
19 there during the Moses Blah time. I don't know when he left.

12:25:53 20 Q. During that time, did he have any business activities or
21 interests outside of his job as the commissioner?

22 A. Well, I don't know. I know Urey - I can in a way say yes
23 because Urey's wife - again, that family, he's married into a
24 very wealthy family. Remember yesterday I mentioned about the
12:26:24 25 Bright family. In fact, his wife is the daughter of one of the
26 late Brights that was heir to a substantial amount of money left
27 by Honourable Bright and she ran a poultry farm and I think a
28 piggery and other things. So he was involved with his wife with
29 that. I would say yes.

1 Q. Historically, in Liberia, this Bureau of Maritime Affairs
2 and the registry was responsible for a significant amount of
3 revenue, isn't that correct?

4 A. Revenue, yes. Significant, I don't know how to qualify it.
12:27:07 5 Over the years the maritime bureau, on an annual basis, and your
6 question historically, was no more than a maximum of 20, 25
7 million a year. I would put that from the Tubman administration.
8 You wouldn't know what that means, but I would put that almost
9 from the beginning. So if 20 million is substantial, then we can
12:27:32 10 say yes. During the Doe government, it ranged around 15,
11 sometimes 18 million. During my administration, around 15, 18.
12 I wouldn't say substantial, but those are the figures,
13 historically.

14 Q. When you came into the presidency, there wasn't a lot of
12:27:50 15 money in the coffers in Liberia, was there?

16 A. That is true.

17 Q. And most of the money into the coffers at that time was
18 coming to the Bureau of Maritime Affairs, is that correct?

19 A. That is correct.

12:28:14 20 Q. Now, just for a moment, going back to George Cooper. Was
21 he also known as Gerald Cooper or are those different people?

22 A. No, no, no. They're different. Gerald Cooper was in
23 London. He worked with our foreign services in London. No, they
24 are two different individuals.

12:28:29 25 Q. Is George Cooper any relation to Morris - Maurice Cooper?

26 A. No, no.

27 Q. Is Gerald Cooper any relation to Maurice Cooper?

28 A. I would think so. I would think so.

29 Q. Mr Taylor, to your knowledge during the time you were

1 President, was Herman Cohen involved in any way with LISCR in the
2 United States?

3 A. Herman Cohen. Not to my knowledge. Herman Cohen. Not to
4 my knowledge. Herman Cohen did a very short something with the
12:29:13 5 Government of Liberia. No. To your question: No. I'm not
6 aware of Herman Cohen being involved with LISCR, no.

7 Q. You said, "Herman Cohen did a very short something with the
8 Government of Liberia." This is during the time you were
9 President?

12:29:28 10 A. That is correct.

11 Q. What was that that Mr Cohen did with the Government of
12 Liberia?

13 A. For a very - I think a three-month short public relations
14 programme he did for Liberia for my government. Three months or
12:29:44 15 so.

16 Q. And was that for the executive, the legislature, the
17 judicial, or what part of the government?

18 A. I would say for the Government of Liberia. He was working
19 to try to promote some - you know, to do some public relations
12:30:06 20 for the government. I wouldn't - so that would include all
21 three.

22 Q. Do you know what year it was that he was engaged in that
23 for that three-month period?

24 A. That could be - I'm not - that's somewhere - I would put it
12:30:23 25 '98, '99 for a very short period of time.

26 Q. And the funds to pay him for that work would have come from
27 where in the government?

28 A. The national government budget.

29 Q. So who would have actually disbursed those funds to him?

1 A. The Ministry of Finance. Through the Ministry of Finance.

2 Q. Do you recall how much he was paid for that?

3 A. No. Like I said, it was a brief three-month period. I
4 don't remember the amount. We couldn't afford - but it was not a
12:30:57 5 very - it was not a very substantial amount. It had to be - I
6 can't recollect the amount, but it was not - I would put it to
7 something not less than 25,000 but not more than about \$50,000.
8 It was a very short trial period to see if we could get some
9 progress. Very shortly.

12:31:19 10 Q. He was paid \$100,000 for that, wasn't he, Mr Taylor?

11 A. I don't quite recall, because it was a trial period. It's
12 possible, counsel. I wouldn't fight about that if you've got
13 some records about it. I don't quite recall the amount paid to
14 him but it was not substantial, from my recollection. If you
12:31:41 15 have any records on that I wouldn't fight over that, but we did
16 pay him an amount.

17 Q. In his position as a commissioner of the Maritime Bureau,
18 would Mr Urey travel outside the country during your presidency?

19 A. Yes.

12:32:00 20 Q. For what types of purposes would he do that?

21 A. He would go to the United States to visit his offices
22 there. He would visit the office in London. We had assistant
23 commissioners in London. You have the - we had a major office in
24 London with an assistant commissioner there. He came to Europe a
12:32:24 25 lot; to Greece, because a large number of the ships registered
26 were owned by Greek shipping magnates and so most of the areas
27 that there were large - what I would call clients - he would
28 visit those areas to encourage them in and assure them,
29 basically. I don't know all of the areas but he visited Europe a

1 lot, he visited the United States a lot.

2 Q. The assistant commissioner in London, do you remember who
3 that was?

4 A. Yes, the assistant commissioner in London is Dr Agnes
12:33:07 5 Reeves-Taylor, my ex-wife. She has a PhD in business management.

6 Q. How long did he hold that position as assistant
7 commissioner in London?

8 A. I would put it to about two or three years up until the end
9 of my presidency.

12:33:29 10 Q. And as assistant commissioner, what would her duties have
11 been?

12 A. I don't know directly. I know she reported to the
13 commissioner. There is also - you know, London is a major centre
14 and Liberia, having this registry, sits on the board of - what is
12:33:53 15 it? ILO. International Labour Organisation, I'm not too sure.
16 But because of the maritime functions in Europe, that office
17 managed it. I don't know the workings of it, but that office
18 reported to the commissioner - directly under the commissioner as
19 assistant commissioner.

12:34:15 20 Q. Do you recall the names of any of the other assistant
21 commissioners during your presidency?

22 A. No, I think there were about two or three. I don't know.
23 There was one stationed in the New York area. I don't remember
24 that name. I don't know. Some of these things I know because
12:34:35 25 the people associated with them are people that I knew
26 personally, but I don't know their names.

27 Q. Now, the commissioner reported to whom?

28 A. The Commissioner of Maritime reported to a board. There
29 was a board of directors, and he reported to the board. The

1 included the Finance Minister. I think Defence Ministry was on
2 that board, Commerce Ministry was on that board. But there was a
3 board - it was something like an autonomous agency, but it was
4 managed by a board.

12:35:18 5 Q. Were the board members all ministers, or were there other
6 individuals on the board?

7 A. There were other individuals. Under those circumstances
8 that ministers were on the board, that was set up by law. In
9 setting up these agencies, the legislation specifically mentioned
12:35:40 10 certain ministries and agencies, depending on their function,
11 that would associate with that group, but it also involved others
12 that could be nominated, let's say influential accountants or
13 business people. Depending on your standing, you could get
14 nominated to also sit on the board.

12:36:03 15 Q. I had asked you if the comptroller would have the ability
16 to write or sign cheques. Would the other deputy commissioners
17 have the authority to write or sign cheques?

18 A. I can't be sure. If a cheque emanated from the department,
19 probably through the process they could. I don't know, counsel,
12:36:23 20 how they worked internally. I mentioned the comptroller because
21 as the financial person in the organisation, he would have to
22 know what's being written. But as to whether the deputies and
23 assistant commissioners had that authority, I'm sorry, counsel, I
24 really don't know.

12:36:38 25 Q. In terms of the commission itself, you mentioned
26 departments. Was it broken down into departments?

27 A. When you say - within the commission?

28 Q. Yes.

29 A. I don't know, counsel. That could very well be, because

1 one of the functions that you asked me about earlier - and it
2 didn't register - seamen that worked on ships, like Liberians,
3 the Registry in Monrovia could - you know, could help to manage
4 who worked on these ships. So that was another function. So I
12:37:25 5 would think that they were divided into departments, but I don't
6 know the workings. I really don't know.

7 Q. During the time that you were President, did Benoni Urey
8 have business dealings or involvement outside of Liberia?

9 A. I have no --

12:37:46 10 Q. Other than in his capacity as commissioner?

11 A. I have no idea of his private dealings. I don't.

12 Q. After you left the presidency, did you remain in contact
13 with Mr Urey?

14 A. I spoke to him during the first brief period, yeah, until
12:38:12 15 there were all kinds of innuendoes, and so I just cut off
16 contact. That contact, I would say, lasted for close to the
17 first year of my being in exile, and then I stopped it.

18 Q. And was that contact personal, telephone, letter?

19 A. Telephone.

12:38:34 20 Q. Telephone?

21 A. Telephone. No personal contact, no.

22 Q. And what was were the innuendoes that led you to break off
23 contact?

24 A. Well, it was at the time that - in fact, most of the people
12:38:47 25 that were placed on sanctions lists and travel ban and were
26 accused, there were all the innuendoes from your offices about
27 billions of dollars, and people that were managing it, and people
28 that were supposed to be benefitting. So I just cut off contact
29 just to avoid all of the trouble.

1 Q. Was Mr Urey on the travel ban?

2 A. To the best of my recollection from the last time - that's
3 before my arrest that I saw the list - he was put on the travel
4 ban. I don't know if he's still on it.

12:39:31 5 Q. Do you know Mr Urey is associated with Lone Star - Lone
6 Star Telecom?

7 A. I think he is. I'm not - I have no evidence of that, but I
8 think he is.

9 Q. Did you have any business with Mr Urey - any business
12:39:49 10 involvement after you left the presidency?

11 A. No. No business involvement, no.

12 JUDGE SEBUTINDE: Ms Hollis, I think this is a good place
13 to spell that word comptroller that keeps appearing as
14 "controller" in the LiveNote transcript.

15 MS HOLLIS:

16 Q. Mr Taylor, do you want to try that, or shall I?

17 A. Please do, counsel. I'm talking about a financial officer
18 that controls the financial affairs, and I that's - so you can
19 help me.

12:40:19 20 Q. I might get it wrong, but this is way I would spell it:
21 C-O-M-P-T-R-O-L-L-E-R?

22 A. That sounds right, yes.

23 Q. Mr Taylor, I'd like to move to another topic. Do you
24 recall telling the judges about an investigation that you caused
12:40:43 25 to be carried out in 1998 in relation to certain allegations
26 against your government? Do you recall telling them about that?

27 A. Well, I can say yes now.

28 Q. That was on 6 August?

29 A. Which investigation now?

1 Q. You told the judges that you had caused to be carried out
2 an investigation by a delegation and that the delegation that
3 carried out the investigation included a representative of the
4 secretary-general Downes-Thomas, ECOMOG officers, your Foreign
12:41:26 5 Minister, and a US military attache by the name of Colonel
6 Dempsey?

7 A. That is correct, yes.

8 Q. Do you recall that? Because if you need, we can look at
9 the transcript?

12:41:36 10 A. No, I have no difficulty with that. You know, when I asked
11 you "which investigation", I wanted the specificity. So, that is
12 correct, I remember that.

13 Q. And that was in 1998 that that was carried out to your
14 recollection?

12:41:54 15 A. I would say to my recollection that was in 1998.

16 Q. Do you recall who gave you permission to use the US
17 military attache as part of the investigation?

18 A. Well, counsel, no one gave me authority to use - and I did
19 not use him. The United States government sent him to
12:42:16 20 participate in that. I had no control over Colonel Dempsey.

21 Q. So that would have been the embassy that would have done
22 that?

23 A. Again I would assume the embassy, yes. Because he was
24 stationed at the embassy, I would assume that the embassy - but
12:42:34 25 it was an official action on the part of the United States
26 government.

27 Q. Do you recall the names of the ECOMOG officials who were
28 involved?

29 A. 1998, whoever was there as a senior officer. I cannot - I

1 do not know who went there from ECOMOG. I cannot recall. But I
2 know that my main interest - I'll tell you quite frankly, my main
3 interest was not even ECOMOG. I wanted the United States to make
4 sure that they could verify - I don't know, to cut it short. I
12:43:15 5 really don't know the name of the ECOMOG officer that went.

6 Q. So there was one ECOMOG officer that took part in it, to
7 your recollection?

8 A. No, I cannot recollect that way, no, to say there was one.

9 I do not recollect one or more or who went from the ECOMOG side,

12:43:31 10 I do not know, and I'm not saying that it was only one. There
11 could have been - for such a mission, because they were providing
12 security - helping with security and had the logistical, by that
13 I mean vehicles, I would assume that several ECOMOG persons were
14 involved, because where Camp Naama is is such a distance and it

12:43:52 15 would have taken several ECOMOG officers. Maybe a senior person
16 with many other armed personnel.

17 Q. And your Foreign Minister at the time, that was Monie
18 Captan?

19 A. That is correct.

12:44:06 20 Q. Now, in asking you to tell the judges about this
21 investigation, your Defence counsel said that he would limit his
22 questions to your knowledge as of December 1998. Do you recall
23 that?

24 A. I do not recall the specific statement made by counsel.

12:44:28 25 Q. That was on 6 August at page 26156 at lines 10 to 13, where
26 Defence counsel indicated: "I am happy to limit my questions to
27 the witness's knowledge at the time in December 1998." Do you
28 recall that, Mr Taylor? So your recollection of the report that
29 was prepared, yes?

1 A. Well, I now figure - I can see - I remember the statement
2 as it relates to my knowledge as of the time because I made a
3 speech in 1998 recalling what had happened before the end of the
4 year. So I do remember, counsel, referring to it because of the
12:45:24 5 complex I think legal situation regarding --

6 Q. Yes.

7 A. Yes.

8 Q. So your testimony was based on recollection of the report
9 that was prepared by this delegation?

12:45:34 10 A. That is correct.

11 Q. And I would ask that you limit your answers to your
12 recollection based on that report.

13 A. Okay.

14 Q. Thank you, Mr Taylor. Now, you told the judges that this
12:45:49 15 delegation investigated allegations including the training of
16 people, the movement of arms across the border and diamond
17 traffic that you were supposed to be involved in. Do you recall
18 telling the judges that?

19 A. Yes, I do.

12:46:03 20 Q. Do you recall when in 1998 this investigation was carried
21 out?

22 A. That had to be - I would put it to anywhere - I could be
23 wrong on this one. Anywhere between July or August of 1998.
24 June, July, August, I would put it in that section. It could
12:46:33 25 have been a little later, but this is my recollection.

26 Q. You told the judges that Colonel Dempsey and the other
27 members of the delegation prepared this report and had their
28 individual comments as well as a final conclusion in the report.
29 Do you recall telling them that?

1 A. That is correct.

2 Q. And that was how that report was laid out, individual
3 comments and then a final conclusion?

4 A. Well, again now your question how it was laid out, what I
12:47:12 5 read from the report was mostly the conclusion of the report.
6 That was basically my interest. Now, how the report was laid
7 out, I just - I really wanted to really - for the government, it
8 was very important at that time of crisis for some reputable
9 group to whatchamacallit - so I concentrated on the conclusion of
12:47:41 10 the report.

11 As to the layout, I understand that each grouping
12 contributed, but how it was laid out, who did it first, I don't
13 know how it was laid out, but there were contributions from every
14 side. And what do I mean by side? The UN side, the Colonel
12:48:04 15 Dempsey side, we had the ECOMOG side and the Liberian government
16 side. Everyone contributed, but the conclusion that was reached
17 was that this was the situation and I paid specific attention to
18 Colonel Dempsey's conclusion. That's what I paid attention to.

19 Q. And one part of the investigation involved going to Camp
12:48:27 20 Naama, correct?

21 A. That is correct.

22 Q. Do you recall telling the judges that Colonel Dempsey's
23 comments regarding the training were that there was no evidence
24 of any training activities at Camp Naama for several years?

12:48:46 25 A. Counsel, Colonel Dempsey, to my recollection, said there
26 was no evidence of any training in Naama for some time. Now,
27 you're going into years, we can put it to years. The place was
28 practically up in bush. He did say in his report that there was
29 no evidence of any training at Naama for a substantial time,

1 yeah.

12:49:45 2 Q. I'm looking at page 26158 for 6 August, Mr Taylor, because
3 it's of no significance in terms of the meaning of what you have
4 said now and what you said then, on 6 August you told the judges
5 at page 26158, lines 18 to 20 - perhaps I can just remind you and
6 if you disagree, we can look at the page.

7 A. Yes, sure. That would be good, counsel.

8 Q. You were asked: "What were his observations in that
9 report, Mr Taylor?" And at line 18 you begin:

12:50:08 10 "What Colonel Dempsey has said in that report was that
11 there was no evidence of training activities at Camp Naama for
12 several years."

13 Yes?

14 A. I did say that, yeah.

12:50:20 15 Q. Mr Taylor, are you sure that you're recalling those
16 comments of Colonel Dempsey accurately?

17 A. Well, I'll tell you, verbatim, no. No training at Naama
18 for a substantial period, yes. Verbatim, I would not say I
19 quoted him verbatim, no.

12:50:44 20 Q. Is it possible that Colonel Dempsey told you that he saw no
21 training when he was there and that nothing was happening when he
22 was there?

23 A. My understanding of what Colonel Dempsey said was that,
24 being a trained military man - no, I did not understand him as
12:51:06 25 saying that only that there was no training when I was there,
26 which would give an indication that something was going on but by
27 the time I got there it had disappeared. My understanding was
28 the condition of the facility that he met, the presence of bush -
29 in fact, the place was almost up in forest - he said there not

1 had been any training in Naama over a substantial period. This
2 was my understanding as I understood his report.

3 Now, as to whether, you know, there was a verbatim
4 statement, I didn't have his report before me, so I didn't quote
12:51:46 5 it verbatim. So, we come back to your question, I would say that
6 I did not understand his report at the time as speculating that
7 while I was there I didn't see it, but - no, I didn't understand
8 it that way.

9 Q. Mr Taylor, you also told the Court that Colonel Dempsey
12:52:08 10 said that there were indications that small amounts of arms were
11 going across the border into Sierra Leone. Yes?

12 A. That is correct, yes.

13 Q. But that your recollection was Colonel Dempsey commented
14 that this did not appear to be at any official level?

12:52:22 15 A. That is correct. That's my recollection. 100 per cent,
16 yes.

17 Q. Are you sure that you are remembering that correctly?

18 A. I am sure, to the best of my recollection, I'm remembering
19 that correctly.

12:52:35 20 Q. Or was his comment that he did not know where the RUF were
21 getting arms?

22 A. He also added that. He also added that, but he did say
23 that there were small amounts of arms going over and it did not
24 appear to be at any - from any official level. I recall that, in
12:52:56 25 addition to the fact that he did not know where the RUF was
26 getting - he did make all of the statements that I just
27 mentioned.

28 Q. And that he could not say if your government was involved
29 or not?

1 A. I do not recall him saying that. I do not recall the
2 statement at that time as saying that, no.

3 Q. Now, Mr Taylor, regarding this diamond trafficking part of
4 the investigation, do you recall telling the judges that Colonel
12:53:28 5 Dempsey commented that because the diamonds were so small it was
6 possible that there was diamond movement between Liberia and
7 Sierra Leone and that the President of Liberia could be involved?

8 A. Those were the comments in Colonel Dempsey's report, to the
9 best of my recollection. I may not be saying it properly, but he
12:53:49 10 did indicate - I don't know if he used the exact words like
11 "small" and all of that, but he did in that particular report say
12 that from different discussions that he had heard, it appeared
13 that the Government of Liberia was involved, yes, I remember that
14 part.

12:54:07 15 Q. And you're sure you're remembering that accurately?

16 A. Well, I'm not remembering it verbatim, but, generally, I'm
17 sure that the essence and I think this is - I would say what you
18 lawyers call *mutatis mutandis*, there are certain parts that I may
19 be leaving out, but the essence is that he did indicate that
12:54:42 20 there were some indication of some official part, I can say that.

21 Q. Are you sure that he did not comment that, in fact, you,
22 Charles Taylor, were heavily involved in the diamond trafficking?

23 A. I do not recall Colonel Dempsey in that report saying
24 Charles Taylor was heavily involved. I may be wrong, but I can't
12:54:58 25 recall him using those words. I disagreed with what Dempsey was
26 saying, but Dempsey, again, was expected to give, again, an
27 analysis of the situation as he saw it and that was the
28 prevailing discussion, "Yo, yo, there are diamonds," and
29 different things, so he made the comment in that report. And I

1 can't quote it verbatim, but I don't remember him saying that
2 Charles Taylor is heavily involved, because if he had said that,
3 I would have also further up on that report ask him for the type
4 of evidence he was talking about. Definitely I would have asked
12:55:36 5 him. I would not have let that pass. But I do not recall - and
6 he could have very well said it. It's been some time. I do not
7 recall those exact words, no.

8 Q. And you do not recall asking him to provide you with the
9 evidence?

12:55:49 10 A. I do not recall - I recall asking - stating to several
11 United States officials, and he may have been in one of those
12 meetings, "Look, I have been hearing about this. I want the
13 evidence. Bring it to me." And Dempsey could have very well
14 been in one of those meetings, but as a confrontation between
12:56:12 15 Dempsey where I would directly maybe ask to see him, he was not a
16 Liberian government official. No, there was no direct
17 confrontation of that sort that I remember between Dempsey and
18 myself, no.

19 Q. You told the Court that that report was not among your
12:56:32 20 archives, you did not have a copy of the report, correct?

21 A. No, that should still be at the mansion.

22 Q. And this report, was it presented to you or who was the
23 report addressed to?

24 A. That was a Liberian government report. It was addressed to
12:56:47 25 - the Defence Ministry conducted that. It was a Liberian
26 government report.

27 Q. And were there any copies given to any other organisations
28 or governments?

29 A. I don't know. I don't think so. It was a Liberian

1 internal report, so it may have been of interest to other
2 organisations, but the Liberian government did not officially
3 hand that - that's the only way I would remember. I do not rule
4 out the possibility that such a report could have been given out.

12:57:23 5 I don't know.

6 Q. Thank you, Mr Taylor. I'd like to move to another topic
7 having to do with the expulsion of Sam Bockarie from Liberia.

8 A. Okay.

9 Q. You recall telling the judges about the circumstances
12:57:50 10 surrounding the expulsion of Sam Bockarie from Liberia, yes?

11 A. Yes, I do.

12 Q. I believe there was a question asked: "How can you expel a
13 citizen?" Do you recall that question being asked?

14 A. That is correct.

12:58:03 15 Q. How did you go about expelling this Liberian citizen?

16 A. I think I explained during that particular time in the
17 testimony. Sam Bockarie was granted citizenship and under the
18 laws of Liberia, all we had to do was to go to court and withdraw
19 the citizenship. He was not a natural born citizen. So once you
12:58:30 20 are granted citizenship, you can be - under Liberian law - I
21 don't know how it's done in other places - you can go and
22 withdraw the citizenship.

23 Q. And who actually does that? Who goes into court to
24 withdraw the citizenship?

12:58:45 25 A. That goes through immigration and justice. Mostly
26 immigration.

27 Q. Did they do that on their own initiative, or were they
28 ordered to do that?

29 A. They were ordered to do that.

1 Q. Who ordered them to do that?

2 A. That came through my office, yes.

3 Q. When did that order go down to them to go to Court to get
4 this revocation or withdrawal?

12:59:06 5 A. The order of withdrawing Sam Bockarie's citizenship
6 occurred, I would say, late 2000.

7 Q. Was this before or after he was expelled from the country?

8 A. Before.

9 Q. What sort of a document did you receive showing that his
12:59:26 10 citizenship had been withdrawn?

11 A. I didn't receive a document. I received information that
12 the process under the laws had been carried out, and we asked him
13 to leave. I didn't get into the details as President. I asked
14 that the legal procedure be put into place to have Sam Bockarie's
12:59:47 15 citizenship - after I had been advised legally of what could be
16 done - my instructions were: Carry out the process so we can
17 proceed.

18 Q. Was there a judgment? An order? Or what exactly would
19 that withdrawal of citizenship look like?

13:00:01 20 A. I would suppose it had to be probably a judgment that could
21 have been done by - a magistrate could have done that. I didn't
22 see the judgment. I was informed that the process had been
23 concluded.

24 Q. This was a fairly significant matter, yes, to expel Sam
13:00:17 25 Bockarie from Liberia?

26 A. No, it was not significant.

27 Q. Not significant?

28 A. No.

29 Q. So you didn't ask to be shown the documentation for the

1 withdrawal of citizenship?

2 A. No.

3 Q. To whom would that documentation have been provided?

13:00:39

4 A. That documentation would have been provided and kept by the
5 immigration and naturalisation service.

6 Q. While we're talking about this withdrawal, when a person
7 actually becomes a citizen - a naturalised citizen of Liberia, is
8 there any documentation that shows that that process has been
9 completed?

13:00:56

10 A. Yes, there is a process. Depending on it now - in their
11 case it did not require any court order. There are two types of
12 citizenship. People, individuals of what we call now - it used
13 to be called in our constitution Negro descent. Now the word
14 "Negro" is hardly used. People of the black race from any part
15 of the world coming to Liberia - and this was the method that we
16 used under the constitution - under an executive order issued by
17 the President under the constitution can be made citizens within
18 48 hours. That was the process that we used. Now, there's a
19 second process of people of - let's say people that are of - if
20 you came in and you stayed in Liberia over time and you wanted
21 citizenship and you were, let's say, not a full Caucasian, that
22 would take another naturalisation process. But the process used
23 for them was an executive order issued.

13:01:33

13:01:59

24 Q. And this other process over time would take several years
25 before they would qualify for citizenship, isn't that correct?

13:02:26

26 A. Not necessarily. It had to do with the request. Some
27 people came in, stayed under permanent residency and did not
28 require citizenship. But any individual - it has been used by
29 me. It's even been used by the present President of Liberia

1 regarding some Sierra Leoneans. The issue of any member of the
2 black race getting citizenship in Liberia is a matter of 48 hours
3 you can obtain it, and you are to be given land immediately.
4 Upon gaining citizenship you can even be given up to - I think
13:03:14 5 it's 15 acres of land for resettlement from any part of the
6 world.

7 Q. Mr Taylor, even with this procedure you're talking about,
8 this executive order, it requires some additional steps before
9 that person is granted citizenship, does it not?

13:03:29 10 A. No.

11 Q. There has to be a formal hearing, does there not?

12 A. No.

13 Q. And someone has to attest that the person is of good moral
14 character, isn't that correct?

13:03:40 15 A. No. The executive order that is issued by the President
16 under the constitution of Liberia does not require any hearing,
17 because good moral is a question - for example, there was a
18 resettlement of individuals from the Caribbean islands. The
19 constitution of Liberia - I'm sure at some point it can be

13:03:59 20 produced - is very, very, very clear. The constitution was set
21 up - Liberia was set up as a place of asylum for the black man.
22 So if you came from any part of the world, it was not a matter of
23 moral. If it was felt that you were being persecuted in any way,
24 you could be given citizenship, and that was the prerogative

13:04:20 25 under the constitution of the President of Liberia. It's been
26 used by the present President of Liberia regarding Sierra
27 Leoneans that have been given citizenship and given land in - I
28 think right now it's in - it used to be called Bensonville in
29 Liberia. They've been resettled and granted citizenship. It's

1 a --

2 Q. So your testimony is while you were President, by executive
3 order there was no requirement of a formal hearing and there was
4 no requirement of an attestation that the person was of good
13:04:57 5 moral character?

6 A. That is my testimony, yes.

7 Q. What sort of documentation was a person given when they
8 were awarded this citizenship?

9 A. Once you are awarded the citizenship, the executive order
13:05:11 10 was published. You could follow up. If you wanted to, you could
11 follow up and go and ask for a certificate, or some people really
12 never bothered to get - to go and get a formal - you know, a
13 certificate of citizenship. Some people never went to get it.
14 You could also use a copy of the order just in case you were
13:05:35 15 asked, and it depends on the period of time. Some people never
16 followed through with it.

17 Q. So in relation to Sam Bockarie, you issued an executive
18 order awarding him citizenship?

19 A. And his men, yes.

13:05:48 20 Q. All of his men?

21 A. All of his - and they were informed.

22 Q. And their families?

23 A. And their families, and they were informed.

24 Q. Did you keep copies of those executive orders in your
13:05:57 25 archives?

26 A. I didn't bring a copy of it in my archives. I'm sure if
27 they search properly in the mansion, there should be one. I hope
28 they can - it's there.

29 Q. Were these people required to have any sort of proof of

1 this kind of citizenship to carry out various activities while
2 they lived in Liberia?

3 A. No. No. I can see why you're asking these questions,
4 counsel. In advanced countries all that stuff - but people move.
13:06:26 5 You go into Liberia right now, there are thousands of Nigerians.
6 Nobody asks for proof of citizenship. I'm sorry, no.

7 Q. Now, you said that when Sam Bockarie was expelled from the
8 country he was escorted to the border with Cote d'Ivoire. Is
9 that correct?

13:06:46 10 A. That is correct.

11 Q. Who escorted him to the border with Cote d'Ivoire?

12 A. Counsel, I have told this Court I don't know. I was
13 President. I ordered with my knowledge that he would be - I do
14 not know who was involved directly in the escort. It had to be
13:07:04 15 some security personnel. But the direct individuals, I don't
16 know the specifics of who took him.

17 Q. Do you know what unit or organisation would be involved in
18 that?

19 A. That would still be - he was still under the protection of
13:07:19 20 the Secret Service. So if anyone had to escort him for his
21 security, it would be members of the Secret Service.

22 Q. Why was the decision made to escort him to the border with
23 Cote d'Ivoire?

24 A. We were trying - I'll tell you quite frankly. At that
13:07:46 25 particular time my preoccupation was off-loading Sam Bockarie
26 from my hands, and La Cote d'Ivoire just appeared to be the most
27 logical area that he wanted to go through La Cote d'Ivoire, and
28 so we escorted him there.

29 Q. At that point in time why were you preoccupied with getting

1 Sam Bockarie off your hands?

2 A. Well, counsel, if you recall at this particular time in
3 2000 accusations are flying from every corner. Sam Bockarie is
4 planning and training to re-attack Sierra Leone. I'm accused of
13:08:29 5 waging war on Sierra Leone. The international community and
6 their grandmothers are all behind me. So the principal thing
7 that everybody had concluded: If and when Sam Bockarie leaves
8 Liberia, that would have ended all of the accusations. Let's
9 look at the period of time. We're talking 2000. So what were on

13:08:54 10 my plate in 2000? All of the issues about diamonds were on my
11 plate in 2000. You had - first the Ian Smillie report came out.
12 You had the Mark Doyle report. You had this Douglas Farah
13 writing. You had this Serious Channel 4, accusations of diamonds
14 and gun-running and Sam Bockarie. So for the Liberian people,
13:09:23 15 why should Liberia continue to suffer if by getting - by
16 expelling Sam Bockarie would appear to have ended all of the
17 quarrels. So I was anxious to prove to the world that Sam
18 Bockarie proved to be no threat to the government of Tejani
19 Kabbah, so I was anxious to get him out.

13:09:44 20 Q. But at that point in time Sam Bockarie would not have been
21 involved in the diamonds coming from Sierra Leone, would he?

22 A. That's the whole point. I'm saying my plate was full and I
23 didn't need any additional problems. That's the point I'm
24 making.

13:10:01 25 Q. In addition to expelling Sam Bockarie at that time, at that
26 time in 2000 did you expel any of his RUF?

27 A. No, Sam Bockarie, when he was expelled, the individual -
28 whoever he decided that he wanted to go or whoever wanted to
29 leave, left. I do not know. The point of contact was Bockarie.

1 That was the issue, not the other Sierra Leoneans that were with
2 him. He was the issue, and so we dealt with the issue.

13:10:44 3 Q. You remember telling the Court that at some point in time
4 you also sent or allowed to leave from the country some 21 or 22
5 Sierra Leoneans?

6 A. That is correct.

7 Q. Who had been part of Sam Bockarie's RUF?

8 A. That had previously, yes, yes.

13:10:58 9 Q. And you just wanted to get them out of the country because
10 they were committing all sorts of crimes. Do you remember
11 telling the Court that?

12 A. Yeah, they were making a lot of trouble and said that they
13 wanted to go.

13:11:08 14 Q. Including serious crimes, I believe you mentioned: Failing
15 to obey orders; looting. I think you mentioned crimes like that,
16 yes?

17 A. Yes, those were some of the areas, yes.

18 Q. Why didn't you try them for those crimes?

13:11:31 19 A. Well, let's look at the time that they leave. The war is
20 being fought, Liberia is in near chaos, and we're talking about
21 2002. That's when they actually leave, 2002. That's the heat of
22 the war. The city is under attack. Court system, people trying
23 to protect themselves - the whole country is engulfed in war. I
24 just wanted - you want to go? Get out. Because we didn't have
13:11:52 25 the time to try anybody. Courts - which judge would you even
26 find at that time? We are at near chaos in 2002. That's when
27 they leave.

28 Q. So your courts weren't functioning at that time?

29 A. In 2002? They were - we were at near collapse of the

1 entire government by that time.

2 Q. For how long had your courts not been functioning?

3 A. I would say - you know, when you look at it, I would say
4 for beginning the second half of 2002, the picture I'm trying to
13:12:34 5 present to these judges is chaos. That's the word I would use.
6 Beginning the second half of 2002 up until I left Liberia, there
7 was near chaos in the country. I mean, ministries and agencies
8 were hardly functioning. You've got shells at any time falling
9 on the city; mortar rounds, people getting wounded, some
13:12:56 10 buildings hit. The functions of government deteriorated
11 significantly, and so I'm not going to go and ask a judge to go
12 sit down in a building and get blown up, no. So there was not --

13 Q. This group of people we were talking about were people that
14 were in your ATU. Would they have been tried in civilian courts?

13:13:26 15 A. Yes, they were paramilitary individuals. They could have
16 been tried and would have been tried in a civilian court. They
17 were not actually military. They were paramilitary. Police and
18 paramilitary, under Liberian law, would be tried in civilian
19 courts.

13:13:42 20 Q. So during this time crimes committed by people in the ATU
21 were not being tried because the civilian courts had collapsed?

22 A. I would say to - I tell you, those are very good questions,
23 counsel. At that particular time, we're talking cause and
24 effect. I've just tried to describe for you the chaos at that
13:14:04 25 time. It is due to the chaos that a lot of these things, we
26 tried to deal with them as punishment, to deal with people when
27 we could. But in a case of individuals that became so
28 belligerent that expressed their views in different ways, we
29 thought the best thing to do, since they had demanded leaving the

1 country, was not to hold them.

2 Q. And you told the Court, when you were talking about this
3 group, that they weren't Liberians anyway, they were Sierra
4 Leoneans. So had you stripped them of their citizenship as well?

13:14:40 5 A. In the case of these people, no, we had not gone through
6 the procedure of stripping them as we did with the Bockarie in
7 some organised way, no. When I say they were not Liberians
8 anyway, I mean of Liberian origin. So someone that naturalises
9 in a country, even though you become a citizen, but under certain
13:15:07 10 conditions, in dealing with them, I think you deal with them a
11 little differently than if they were actual citizens of natural
12 birth. That's the point I'm making.

13 Q. Now, when this group of some 20 members of your ATU that
14 you're now referring to or did refer to as not Liberians but
13:15:33 15 Sierra Leoneans, but when they left the country, they flew to
16 Ouagadougou, correct, is that what you told the judges?

17 A. To the best of my recollection, yes.

18 Q. What kind of travel documents did they use to travel to
19 Ouagadougou?

13:15:48 20 A. They would use - I think they used laissez-passer.

21 Q. Laissez-passers from what country?

22 A. Liberia.

23 Q. So would they have had those in their possession before or
24 would your country had provided those laissez-passers to them?

13:16:04 25 A. I'm sure we provided them. A laissez-passer is a very easy
26 piece of document. We provided them.

27 Q. Was the government of Burkina Faso informed that these
28 people were travelling to Ouagadougou?

29 A. I don't know, but I would assume they knew because they

1 didn't raise any issue. Sam Bockarie was there. So I would
2 assume that they knew that they were going.

3 Q. But did your government give notice of that?

4 A. I didn't call Blaise and tell him, say, "Guess what?
13:16:36 5 Somebody's coming," no. In West Africa, travel doesn't require
6 that kind of thing, counsel. In West Africa, you don't need a
7 passport, you don't need a visa to travel to West African
8 countries. Under the ECOWAS programme, you don't need a visa for
9 the 16 ECOWAS member states. You can travel on a laissez-passer,
13:17:00 10 you can travel on an ID card, you can travel on a passport and
11 now you can travel on an ECOWAS passport. So it is not as
12 complicated, and I know what you're asking, it's not as
13 complicated as other areas. In West Africa, with a simple
14 identification, people can travel across West Africa, in most
13:17:22 15 cases.

16 Q. So, Mr Taylor, you're sending these people who are quite
17 difficult, belligerent, they're members of your ATU, they were
18 formerly men under Sam Bockarie, you're sending them - basically
19 getting rid of them from your country to another country, but you
13:17:37 20 didn't let your friend Blaise Compaore know that these
21 troublemakers were on their way?

22 A. I didn't personally call him, no, but I want to believe he
23 knew. In fact, lead counsel asked me the same question. I
24 didn't call the President to inform him, but this was a matter -
13:17:56 25 if somebody arrives at the airport - at this particular time what
26 they had said was that they wanted to leave because they wanted
27 to go to be with Bockarie. So Bockarie was in Burkina Faso with
28 the knowledge and understanding of the Burkinabe government. So
29 I would assume that the government had to know that these people

1 were coming. They had to know. So I didn't call the President,
2 but the government had to know, because they said they were going
3 to Bockarie and Bockarie was there, I understand, with the
4 knowledge of the government.

13:18:35 5 Q. Mr Taylor, the truth is that, of course, Blaise Compaore
6 knew about this because you had arranged it with him because you
7 were sending these men to join Sam Bockarie to fight in the Ivory
8 Coast. That's the truth of it, isn't it?

9 A. That is not the truth of it. To say that is to say - are
13:18:54 10 you saying that either I or Blaise or both of us were involved in
11 the operations in La Cote d'Ivoire?

12 Q. No, I'm saying that you were, Mr Taylor.

13 A. Definitely not. Then all President Compaore would have
14 been told me, "No, don't let them come here."

13:19:08 15 Q. Would he have? He supported you during your war, why would
16 he say no to you now?

17 A. But why would a man like Blaise Compaore who had more - who
18 had been the President longer than I would not be able to tell me
19 he would get his country involved in an attack on La Cote
13:19:27 20 d'Ivoire simply because Charles Taylor said, so, what, he would
21 be doing my bidding? No, I don't think Blaise - Blaise would
22 have said no. So your question - I would say no to your
23 question.

24 JUDGE SEBUTINDE: Ms Hollis, let me just interrupt. In
13:19:42 25 view of the answers that the witness has just given, there is a
26 text at page 109 on my transcript, it's at lines 13, where I
27 think Mr Taylor might have misspoken. It goes like this: "I
28 tell you quite frankly that at that particular time my
29 preoccupation was off-loading Sam Bockarie from my hands and I a

1 Cote d'Ivoire just appeared to be the most logical area that he
2 wanted to go through La Cote d'Ivoire. So we escorted him
3 there."

4 Now, this is what you said. I actually heard you say this.
13:20:24 5 Did you mean to get him off my hands and Burkina Faso just
6 appeared to be the most logical area that he wanted to go through
7 La Cote d'Ivoire?

8 THE WITNESS: Burkina Faso was the area. He wanted to go
9 through La Cote d'Ivoire because he was on his way to Burkina
13:20:46 10 Faso, so the logical place that he asked to be escorted was the
11 border.

12 JUDGE SEBUTINDE: So to answer my question directly, sir,
13 which of the two countries appeared to be the most logical area
14 that he wanted to go? Burkina Faso or La Cote d'Ivoire?

13:21:02 15 THE WITNESS: Well, he wanted to go to La Cote d'Ivoire,
16 that's why he asked us to "just take me to La Cote d'Ivoire," but
17 we knew he was en route to Burkina Faso. So the logical area
18 that he wanted to go was La Cote d'Ivoire.

19 JUDGE SEBUTINDE: So then the record will remain as it is.
13:21:21 20 Thank you.

21 MS HOLLIS: Thank you, Madam Justice:

22 Q. You say you knew he wanted to go to Burkina Faso. How did
23 you know that?

24 A. He said. He said that he would leave and try to seek some
13:21:34 25 refuge in Burkina Faso.

26 Q. So he was transiting Ivory Coast to Burkina Faso, that's
27 what he told you?

28 A. He didn't tell me he was transiting. He said he was going
29 to end up there, but he wanted to go to La Cote d'Ivoire and he

1 would do what he wanted to do from there.

2 Q. And he had this conversation with you personally?

3 A. No, not personally. This is what I was briefed by security
4 personnel that Sam Bockarie intended to go to Burkina Faso. All
13:22:05 5 he wanted was to be taken to the border and he would handle his
6 activities from there.

7 Q. Who told you that?

8 A. I got that briefing from the Secret Service, Benjamin.

9 Q. From Benjamin Yeaten?

13:22:19 10 A. That is correct.

11 Q. I thought you were expelling him. It sounds like you're
12 simply giving him an escort so that he can do what he wants to
13 do.

14 A. Well, counsel, I can't deal with how you interpret that.
13:22:34 15 Sam Bockarie - expulsion for me is leaving Liberian territory.
16 That is expulsion, as my government interpreted expulsion. He
17 wanted to be taken to the border, we took him there. That's how
18 I interpret it. So I would disagree with how you put it.

19 Q. So why did you need to strip him of his citizenship?

13:22:54 20 A. Because I did not want any of his activities outside to be
21 construed as that of a citizen of Liberia.

22 Q. So what you're saying here is that you were briefed that
23 Sam Bockarie's ultimate destination would be Burkina Faso?

24 A. I was briefed, that is correct.

13:23:14 25 Q. Then why didn't you tell the United Nations that?

26 A. Why didn't I? They didn't ask me. That was not - the
27 United Nations was more concerned about Sam Bockarie getting out
28 of Liberia. I don't think the United Nations requested that I
29 should be tell them precisely where Sam Bockarie was going. That

1 was not - after he left, they asked me as to whether he had left,
2 I said yes. They said they didn't believe he had left, and I
3 spent months convincing them that he had left. And even in - we
4 had news reports that Sam Bockarie had left and was in Burkina
13:23:47 5 Faso. That was not an obligation of mine.

6 Q. Mr Taylor, in fact, you told the United Nations, did you
7 not, that you had no idea where Sam Bockarie was?

8 A. Yes. But what do you want me to say? Sam Bockarie - I am
9 briefed that Sam Bockarie says he's going to end up in Burkina
13:24:02 10 Faso. I take him to the border. I'm in no position to tell
11 anyone exactly where he is. I can't. And I don't know where
12 exactly he is until 2002.

13 Q. Weren't you playing games with the United Nations,
14 Mr Taylor?

13:24:15 15 A. Why would I play games with the United Nations?

16 Q. Because you didn't want them to know where he was.

17 A. Why wouldn't I want them to know?

18 Q. Because he was carrying out your duties.

19 A. So, in other words, what duties would he be carrying out
13:24:27 20 for me?

21 Q. What?

22 A. What duties would he carry out for me?

23 Q. He would carry out your duties to undermine other
24 governments in the area.

13:24:34 25 A. Powerful Charles Taylor?

26 Q. Yes, powerful Charles Taylor.

27 A. That's a blatant - what I would call it, a hallucination or
28 whatever. That's the way how you people construct things.

29 Charles Taylor, fighting a war, got no money, would undermine

1 other governments? That's total nonsense.

2 Q. Mr Taylor, if you were going to be accurate and honest with
3 the United Nations you would have told them, "You know, I may not
4 know exactly where he is now, but I can tell you we took him to
13:25:04 5 the border of Ivory Coast and he told us he intended to go to
6 Burkina Faso." You could have told them that, couldn't you?

7 A. We told them that we took him to the border.

8 Q. You did tell them that?

9 A. I told them that we took him to the Ivorian border. Yes,
13:25:19 10 we reported that.

11 Q. And that he intended to go to Burkina Faso?

12 A. That was not - that was not my particular prerogative. I
13 told the United Nations and international community that Sam
14 Bockarie was no longer in Liberia. That was my preoccupation.

13:25:35 15 Q. And you had no idea as to his whereabouts?

16 A. That was not the question to me. I was never asked, "Do
17 you know precisely where he is?"

18 Q. You told them you had no idea as to his whereabouts, isn't
19 that correct, Mr Taylor?

13:25:47 20 A. Of course I told them that.

21 Q. So you weren't actually being honest with the United
22 Nations, were you?

23 A. I was being extremely earnest because as President of
24 Liberia, when I say something, I have to be factual. I could not
13:25:57 25 have told the United Nations - because I tell you, for example,
26 you had a witness that appeared here and said Sam Bockarie ended
27 up in East Africa. You wanted me to tell the United Nations when
28 he left Liberia he's in Burkina Faso when the man ended up in
29 Ethiopia? We are told that he ended up in Ghana. He ended up in

1 Nigeria. I would have been lying to the international community.
2 What I told them was exactly what was the official position of my
3 government, that Sam Bockarie was escorted to the border with La
4 Cote d'Ivoire and he left.

13:26:28 5 Now, if I had told them he was in Burkina Faso, I would
6 have been lying, because we know that someone came here and said
7 he ended up in so many other countries and even stayed in Ghana
8 for a while. I have no idea when he gets into Burkina Faso. So
9 it would have been improper for me to have told the international
13:26:49 10 community that he was in Burkina Faso. The only thing the
11 Burkinabe government would have done was to say, "He's not here.
12 Come and see." That's why I didn't tell them.

13 Q. Actually, Mr Taylor, it would have been helpful for you to
14 have told the United Nations that you took him to the Ivory Coast
13:27:05 15 border and that you were informed his final destination by his
16 choice was Burkina Faso. That would have helped them, wouldn't
17 it?

18 A. No. No, counsel. That question is - no. It is based on
19 the assumption that the United Nations wanted Sam Bockarie. At
13:27:18 20 this particular time, let's be - you have introduced the United
21 Nations. This issue here does not just involve, quote unquote,
22 the United Nations. The issue on point for the Government of
23 Liberia and Sierra Leone is that Sam Bockarie should leave the
24 Republic of Liberia. This is what I'm dealing with.

13:27:40 25 I'm not dealing with someone searching for Sam Bockarie or
26 the United Nations trying to inquire because they need him. I'm
27 dealing with getting Sam Bockarie because he poses a threat to
28 Sierra Leone based on what the Kabbah government is saying. So,
29 quite frankly, I didn't have a duty and/or responsibility to go

1 any further than telling the United Nations exactly what happened
2 at the time. You've asked me - they were involved in the process
3 of relaying messages to my government of - the presence of Sam
4 Bockarie to say, "Look, he's not here anymore. I have escorted
13:28:24 5 him to the border and he's gone." I could not have told them
6 anything more. I think it would have been misleading to them.

7 Q. You didn't Ivory Coast he was coming to the Ivory Coast
8 either, did you?

9 A. That's not necessary. That's not necessary. Anybody
13:28:36 10 travelling through countries, we don't call the government and
11 say X or Y are coming through the country. People travel in West
12 Africa all kinds of ways.

13 Q. Was Sam Bockarie still on a travel ban at the time that you
14 expelled him from Liberia?

13:28:48 15 A. Oh, Sam Bockarie was on a travel ban, yes.

16 Q. But you felt no need to tell Ivory Coast that this man on a
17 travel ban was coming into their territory?

18 A. No, I didn't feel any obligation to do that. It's not the
19 function of a government under - to inform other governments that
13:29:12 20 somebody under a travel ban is coming through. I don't know how

21 - you put this as some technical question, but that's not the
22 function of governments. There are people on travel bans in
23 Liberia that travel across the world until now. Countries don't
24 call other countries and say: Guess what? There's a UN travel
13:29:28 25 ban. Please look out. John Brown is coming. It doesn't work
26 that way. That's a fallacy. It is the responsibility of that
27 country to associate and carry out the wishes of the Security
28 Council. It's not the responsibility of governments to call
29 other governments to tell them X is coming or Y is coming. It

1 doesn't work that way, counsel. It doesn't.

2 Q. Mr Taylor, you didn't tell Burkina Faso that your
3 information was Sam Bockarie was going to end up in Burkina Faso.
4 You didn't tell that government either, did you?

13:29:59 5 A. I have answered that question. I said no.

6 Q. Actually, the question I asked before was Ivory Coast.

7 A. No, you asked about Burkina Faso, and I said no. Look at
8 the records. I've answered that question before.

9 Q. So Ivory Coast, did you tell them?

13:30:10 10 A. I did not inform Ivory Coast either, no.

11 Q. So did you inform anyone that you were expelling Sam
12 Bockarie from your country?

13 A. My government knew and all the UN agencies and those
14 people, the United States government and all of the other big
15 governments, my government informed them and said as of X date,
16 Sam Bockarie is no longer on Liberian territory. That was my
17 preoccupation.

18 Q. And are you able to recall at all what date that was that
19 you said as of that date he had left your country?

13:30:41 20 A. No, I can't recall the date, but I know he left in late
21 2000. I would say around December or thereabouts 2000. As to
22 the precise date, I can't recall, counsel.

23 PRESIDING JUDGE: We'll leave it there. We'll adjourn for
24 lunch now and resume at 2.30.

13:30:58 25 [Lunch break taken at 1.30 p.m.]

26 [Upon resuming at 2.30 p.m.]

27 PRESIDING JUDGE: Yes, please continue, Ms Hollis.

28 MS HOLLIS: Thank you, Mr President:

29 Q. Mr Taylor, when Sam Bockarie either left or was expelled

1 from your country, he was travelling on an official Liberian
2 passport in the name of Samuel Johnson. Do you dispute this?

3 A. I really don't know what he travelled on. But it had to be
4 a Liberian document. But I don't know.

14:32:40 5 Q. Who would have given him an official Liberian passport if
6 he had such a passport?

7 A. Oh, that would have been given by the Foreign Ministry, but
8 this would have been a passport that Sam Bockarie could have had
9 from back in '98 because we gave him a travel document in '98. I
14:33:09 10 don't know what name was on it, but we had given him a travel
11 document in 1998.

12 Q. And when his citizenship was stripped from him, that
13 passport would have been retrieved, wouldn't it?

14 A. Well, it could have been retrieved, but I don't think it
14:33:25 15 was. He had to travel on something. Now, don't forget now, when
16 we gave him that passport in '98 he was not a citizen, so it
17 didn't really make a difference.

18 Q. So in 1998 he was given an official Liberian passports but
19 he wasn't a citizen?

14:33:43 20 A. Definitely, to enable his travel. Upon my invitation in
21 1998, he was given a travel document. He was not a citizen.

22 Q. When Sam Bockarie was expelled from the country, his family
23 was not expelled with him, were they?

24 A. No. He was expelled. We did not expel any other members
14:34:07 25 of his family.

26 Q. And they remained Liberian citizens, did they?

27 A. Yes. To the best of my knowledge, yes.

28 Q. And they continued to live in that compound where they had
29 lived before?

1 A. I really don't know. I really don't know. They could
2 have. I don't really know.

3 Q. Did Liberia continue to pay for their accommodation?

14:34:37

4 A. When Bockarie left, we still provided some assistance to
5 his wife and children, yes.

6 Q. What eventually happened to Sam Bockarie's wife and
7 children?

14:34:58

8 A. I think they left the country at some time. I don't really
9 know. We provided some assistance for a short time and they were
10 assisted, I would hope, by other members of the group that came
11 that were receiving substantial salaries and assistance. That
12 assistance did not continue for very long.

13 Q. So it's your testimony that eventually Sam Bockarie's wife
14 and children left Liberia?

14:35:14

15 A. That's not my testimony. I'm saying I don't know where
16 they went to. Whether they stayed in Liberia, moved to some
17 other part of the city, that's not my testimony.

18 Q. Do you know what eventually happened to them?

19 A. No, I do not.

14:35:37

20 MS HOLLIS: Mr President, again, just for the record, in
21 going over this area of cross-examination, there are materials we
22 would have used that are the subject of the formal submissions:

23 Q. Mr Taylor, let's turn to another area of your testimony on
24 direct examination regarding the panel of experts report that the
25 Prosecution had introduced into evidence and also a letter from
26 Michel to the leader that was marked for identification during
27 your direct examination. The letter from Michel to the leader
28 was marked for identification as 279. MFI-279. Perhaps it will
29 assist to have that letter.

1 Mr Taylor, your counsel asked you questions about this
2 letter on 25 August of this year and at page 27589 your counsel
3 referred to language in the letter in the second page of the
4 letter and at page 27589, line 21, your attorney read from the
14:37:40 5 letter this sentence: "The ambassador of Sierra Leone went to
6 see Charles' father in Antwerp yesterday." And then your Defence
7 counsel asked: "Pause, Mr Taylor. Remember, this letter is
8 dated May 2000." You answered, "That is correct."

9 "Q. Was your father in Antwerp in May 2000?"

14:38:14 10 A. No, my father was dead way before 2000."

11 Do you recall that exchange, Mr Taylor?

12 A. Yes, I do.

13 Q. Mr Taylor, you understand that neither the Prosecution or
14 the panel of experts in its report has ever alleged that you were
14:38:32 15 the Charles referred to in this letter. You do understand that,
16 don't you?

17 A. Oh, yes, I do.

18 Q. So you understand that there is not one instance where the
19 Prosecution has indicated that you are the Michel in this - that
14:38:49 20 you are the Charles in this letter?

21 A. The Prosecution has not alleged, that is factual.

22 Q. Nor has the panel of experts report?

23 A. That is factual.

24 Q. Mr Taylor, let's do take a look at this letter though,
14:39:04 25 because there are some other parts of it that are interesting to
26 us. Now, if we look at the first page, and we look about four
27 paragraphs up from the bottom, we see this sentence: "With
28 Charles we can BUY" - all in capital letters - "I am not talking
29 about received for free, the 10 per cent going to Freetown but

1 also the remaining 90 per cent in Kono."

2 Do you see that in that letter?

3 A. Yes, I do.

14:39:48

4 Q. So it's apparent, isn't it, Mr Taylor, that whoever is
5 writing this letter is saying that only 10 per cent of the
6 diamonds were going to Freetown?

7 A. That is - that is correct.

8 Q. Now, Mr Taylor, tell us, where are the other 90 per cent of
9 the diamonds going?

14:40:03

10 A. The remaining, according to this letter, is going - but
11 also the remaining 90 per cent in Kono.

12 Q. It's going in Kono or it's going where from Kono?

13 A. I'm reading from the document. It says here, "10 per cent
14 going to Freetown, but also the remaining 90 per cent in Kono."

14:40:27

15 So you asked me to comment on that. That's what it says.

16 Q. Mr Taylor, we appear to be clear that we are not
17 considering you to be the Charles in this letter. But also to be
18 clear to you, it is our position that the 90 per cent in Kono was
19 going to you. Do you understand that?

14:40:50

20 A. I'm afraid I don't understand your question.

21 Q. We have never said you are the Charles in the letter, but
22 we are alleging that you are the person receiving the 90 per cent
23 from Kono.

24 A. That's your allegation?

14:41:05

25 Q. Yes.

26 A. Oh, okay.

27 Q. You're clear on that?

28 A. Oh, I'm clear on that. I'm clear on that.

29 Q. And if we look at the second page under number 2, the other

1 point, "If we can buy it, how are we going to ship it outside?
2 Through Freetown is probably out of question. Through Monrovia
3 is not safe either. We cannot trust those people."

14:41:42 4 Do you know who they are referring to when they say "we
5 cannot trust those people"?

6 A. I have no idea.

7 Q. Is the reason they couldn't trust those people that they
8 knew in Monrovia, it was you, Charles Taylor, in control of the
9 diamond trafficking?

14:41:56 10 A. I would think it would be silly for anybody to conclude
11 that.

12 Q. Now, Mr Taylor, if we can consider testimony from 25 August
13 when you were asked about a portion of P-19, that is the panel of
14 experts report, and on page 27599 of 25 August, Mr Taylor, you
14:42:30 15 were asked the following - this was in connection with questions
16 about the panel of experts report. Do we have that? This is
17 page 27599 from 25 August. Do you have that before you,
18 Mr Taylor?

19 A. It's coming up now. Yeah, I have it.

14:43:21 20 Q. And if we look at line 2:

21 "Q. Well, let me ask you specifically, Mr Taylor. Did,
22 for example, Mr Smillie, that expert, ask you directly
23 about your alleged involvement in diamond dealing?

24 A. Ian Smillie never did. He knew what he had had to
14:43:47 25 encounter with government. In fact, he was a little
26 concerned about coming to Liberia, but, you know, he was
27 reassured to come. He never - and neither did anyone in
28 that meeting or on that delegation directly say to me,
29 'Mr President, here is some evidence,' or, 'We know that

1 you or your government,' no, it was a courtesy call.

2 Q. Was any allegation made directly to you by any member
3 of that panel --

4 A. No.

14:44:23 5 Q. To give you an opportunity of answering that allegation
6 that you were involved in diamond dealing, though diamonds
7 originating in Sierra Leone?

8 A. No. Not at all, no."

9 Mr Taylor, perhaps it would be helpful if we do look at
14:44:41 10 P-19 at annex 2 of that exhibit, which is at page 25. We see
11 that these are notes on meeting with President Mr Taylor, Ian
12 Smillie, UN expert panel on Sierra Leone, Executive Mansion,
13 Monrovia, 6 October 2000. Then it shows who was present. Do you
14 have that before you, Mr Taylor.

14:45:24 15 A. Yes, I do.

16 Q. And if we look at the second paragraph from the bottom of
17 page 25, we see the following: "He then opened the discussion
18 for questions." The "he" is referring to you, yes, Mr Taylor?

19 A. I really don't know who "he" is and I'm not going to
14:45:48 20 assume.

21 Q. Okay, let's go up a little higher. If we go up to the
22 fourth paragraph from the bottom:

23 "Taylor, sitting behind a large desk, was friendly and
24 charming. He started with a denunciation of the United States in
14:46:01 25 particular and all of his detractors in general, saying that
26 everyone had wanted democratic elections in Liberia. Having been
27 elected democratically, he was now being demonised, and Liberia
28 was being ignored by donors. The US in particular was a major
29 disappointment to Liberia."

1 So you began by denouncing the United States in particular.
2 Now, Mr Taylor, is this the same United States that you told us
3 earlier was one of the major intelligence sources that warned you
4 about the dangers of that camera?

14:46:45 5 A. That is correct.

6 Q. The next paragraph:

7 "This did not last long and he seemed more disappointed
8 than angry. He then opened the discussion for questions."

9 So that is referring to you, yes, Mr Taylor?

14:47:01 10 A. Yes.

11 Q. "We only asked about five or six because he gave long
12 rambling answers that covered a lot of the ground we were
13 interested in. US ambassador Charles Minor had told us earlier
14 that US Under-Secretary of State Thomas Pickering had met with
15 Taylor on 17 July and had told Taylor that he personally had seen
16 evidence that Taylor was trafficking in stolen diamonds. We
17 raised this and Taylor said that Pickering had not presented him
18 with evidence of anything. This was blatantly untrue."

14:47:47 19 So they raised with you what Thomas Pickering indicated he
20 had told you in his meeting with you, yes?

21 A. Yes, but now, you know, you are calling for more than a yes
22 or no here because these are Ian Smillie's notes and my
23 recollection of that meeting and based on what - this is his
24 personal notes, okay, that is attached to this. There was
14:48:06 25 several other notes in that meeting. If you want to rely on Ian
26 Smillie's notes, fine. As far as I'm concerned --

27 Q. Mr Taylor --

28 A. No, listen.

29 Q. Mr Taylor, I'm simply asking you --

1 A. I think, your Honour, we're going to have problems with
2 this because if these questions are going to be asked to me on a
3 very delicate matter like this and this counsel is trying to stop
4 me, because these matters are going deeper than just what you
14:48:27 5 want me to answer, counsel, so you have to give me the
6 opportunity.

7 PRESIDING JUDGE: What was the question? What was your
8 question?

9 THE WITNESS: What's the question?

14:48:33 10 MS HOLLIS:

11 Q. The question, Mr Taylor, is this: In this meeting they
12 raised with you what Thomas Pickering told them that he had told
13 you in his meeting with you. They raised that with you. Yes,
14 Mr Taylor?

14:48:51 15 A. What? Raised what with me?

16 Q. I just read it. Let me read it again:

17 "US ambassador Charles Minor had told us earlier that US
18 Under-Secretary of State Thomas Pickering had met with Taylor on
19 17 July and had told Taylor that he personally had seen evidence
14:49:16 20 that Taylor was trafficking in stolen diamonds. We raised this
21 and Taylor said that Pickering had not presented him with
22 evidence of anything. This was blatantly untrue."

23 So, Mr Taylor, the panel of experts, when they met with
24 you, raised with you what Thomas Pickering had indicated to you
14:49:40 25 in his meeting with you. Yes?

26 A. Concerning diamonds?

27 Q. Yes.

28 A. And I'm saying to you that this is Ian Smillie's notes that
29 Thomas Pickering mentioned to me that these were rumours and

1 allegations and I had said to him they were blatantly untrue.

2 Q. Actually let's go back to the note because that's not what
3 is put here.

14:50:08

4 A. But that's his notes. I'm telling you - you're asking me
5 and I'm saying what was raised with me was Pickering mentioned,
6 similar to what Jesse Jackson had said: "Look we have this
7 information out there." What Pickering said to Minor, I can't
8 comment on that. But --

14:50:26

9 Q. I'm not asking you to comment on that, Mr Taylor. Let's
10 try this: Did the panel of experts when they met with you raise
11 with you that Thomas Pickering, during his meeting with you in
12 July, had told you that he personally had seen evidence that you
13 were trafficking in stolen diamonds? Did the panel of experts
14 raise this with you?

14:50:49

15 A. The panel of experts did not raise the issue with me as
16 mentioned here, no.

17 Q. So they did not?

18 A. As mentioned here, no.

14:51:12

19 Q. Then if we turn to page 26, the very top paragraph: "We
20 raised the question of diamonds." Did they raise the question of
21 diamonds with you, Mr Taylor?

22 A. They did raise the question of diamonds, yes.

14:51:29

23 Q. "And asked what he made of Belgium customs data showing
24 billions of dollars worth of diamonds originating in Liberia. He
25 said, 'You tell me. That is why the UN has appointed you.' He
26 said it was a mystery to him and getting to the bottom of it was
27 in Liberia's interest. He said it was highly probable that the
28 RUF was dealing in diamonds and that some went through Liberia
29 but not officially. He said that the borders were very porous.

1 He said that some of the diamonds going through Liberia could be
2 Russian diamonds. He complained that nobody was helping Liberia
3 monitor diamonds. He also said that Liberia had more diamonds
4 than Sierra Leone. He said that four kimberlites had been
14:52:10 5 identified."

6 Now, Mr Taylor, so they did raise the issue of diamonds
7 with you, yes?

8 A. They raised the issue of diamonds as mentioned in this
9 paragraph, yes. And this is regards to Belgium trading out of
14:52:26 10 the - yes, that paragraph is 100 per cent.

11 Q. But they did not, you say, raise the issue of what Thomas
12 Pickering indicated he had told you about the evidence of your
13 diamond trafficking?

14 A. Never did. If Pickering had told me that he had seen
14:52:42 15 evidence I would have demanded that he show them. No.

16 Q. Mr Taylor, another matter that's relevant to P-19. You
17 have indicated that you knew Nico Shefer, yes?

18 A. Definitely, yes.

19 Q. It's true, is it not, that you in fact asked to have him
14:53:04 20 accredited as a consul or honorary consul for Liberia and South
21 Africa?

22 A. Definitely, yes.

23 Q. He was based in South Africa, correct?

24 A. He is South African, yes.

14:53:21 25 Q. So you did ask South Africa to accredit him as your
26 honorary consul?

27 A. We have hundreds of them around the world. That is
28 correct. 100 per cent correct.

29 Q. Did you see him during your trips to South Africa?

1 A. I saw him each trip I made to South Africa.

2 Q. And he was involved in diamonds, yes?

3 A. Not to my knowledge. He was doing diamond mining in
4 Liberia, yes.

14:53:43 5 Q. He was doing diamond mining in Liberia?

6 A. Yes, yes. Mentioned that on yesterday, yes.

7 Q. Is Nico Shefer an Israeli citizen?

8 A. I know he is Jewish, but he is a South African citizen to
9 the best of my knowledge.

14:54:03 10 Q. Are you aware of any ties he has to Mossad, the Israeli
11 intelligence service?

12 A. I don't know. And even if I knew I don't think it would be
13 proper for me to expose an intelligence officer. But have I no
14 knowledge of that.

14:54:26 15 Q. What is your knowledge of Mr Shefer's relationship with
16 Fred Rindel?

17 A. Oh, I think he knows Fred. He knows Fred, from the best of
18 my knowledge. He met him several times in Liberia, so he knows.
19 As to their association, I have no knowledge of that but I know
14:54:54 20 they are acquainted with each other.

21 Q. One other matter, Mr Taylor. On 26 August your counsel was
22 asking you about portions of MFI-193, which was the response of
23 the Liberian government to the panel of experts report?

24 A. Yes.

14:55:23 25 Q. On page 27716 of 26 August, referring to your government's
26 response, and the response that he was reading at this point is
27 in the executive summary portion, page 3 of 34 continuing on to
28 page 4, paragraph (vii). Do we have the page of the transcript
29 of 26 August?

1 A. It's coming up, but you can start. I'm sure if you go
2 wrong other counsel will stop you. You can start.

3 Q. Beginning at line 1 on that page, reading from your
4 response:

14:56:37 5 "According to the panel's report, during the period 1994
6 and 1999 a total of \$227 million worth of illicit diamonds was
7 traded annually between the three neighbouring countries of
8 Guinea, Gambia and La Cote d'Ivoire. In addition to the alleged
9 \$217 million US value of illicit Sierra Leonean diamonds which
14:57:13 10 were purportedly exported from Liberia. Significantly, these
11 figures exclude the official export from Sierra Leone. It is
12 absolutely stunning and incredible that the experts would attempt
13 to have the international community believe that during this
14 period the value of Sierra Leone's annual production of diamonds
14:57:39 15 was approximately \$450 million US."

16 Do you see that language, Mr Taylor?

17 A. Yes.

18 Q. Now, Mr Taylor, in preparing this response, tell us, how
19 did your government interpret this language: "During the period
14:58:02 20 1994 and 1999," so this would be, what, Mr Taylor, a five-year
21 period, a six-year period?

22 A. Just about that.

23 Q. "A total of \$227 million worth of illicit diamonds was
24 traded annually between the three neighbouring countries of
14:58:20 25 Guinea, Gambia and Cote d'Ivoire." The total of \$227 million,
26 did your government interpret that to be 227 million each year or
27 a total of 227 million over that several-year period?

28 A. Well, I can just - I can just read the language here and I
29 think this Court must understand: I didn't write this report.

1 This report is put together by people that work in my government,
2 so I may not necessarily be able to comment on the exact details
3 of this report. Now, because we had experts in our country, in
4 our ministries and different things, so I'm sorry if I can't
14:59:11 5 answer all of your questions.

6 From my reading of this, during the period 1994 and 1999, I
7 would see this as two years. That's how I interpret it sitting
8 here. If they had said 1994 through 1999, it would be looking at
9 five. They say during the period '94 and '99, I'm looking at two
14:59:37 10 years, '94 and '99. That's my interpretation of it.

11 PRESIDING JUDGE: It's a very badly worded report.

12 THE WITNESS: I know.

13 MS HOLLIS: Yes, very badly.

14 PRESIDING JUDGE: It's quite redundant:

14:59:50 15 MS HOLLIS:

16 Q. So even if it's two years, let's say that it's two years,
17 because it is unclear, how did your government, in preparing this
18 response, interpret the language "a total of \$227 million worth
19 of illicit diamonds was traded annually"?

15:00:08 20 A. I would - listen, again, I would interpret this as I'm
21 sitting here, this report is prepared by a lot of people, so at
22 this time, from my interpretation here, during the period '94 and
23 '97 a total was elicited - was traded annually, I would say that
24 this is 227 million each of the periods.

15:00:33 25 Q. Each year?

26 A. This is how I would interpret it, as I'm looking at it in
27 the report.

28 Q. And it is unclear. It certainly is. The language is poor,
29 isn't that correct, Mr Taylor?

1 A. The language is poor, but, again, they could be speaking
2 about those two years and no other years. So I don't want to
3 join in this poor language business. "A period '94 and '97" is
4 good language. Now, the intent, we may want to stretch it, but I
15:01:06 5 still think during the period '94 and '97. I think that's still
6 good language.

7 Q. Now, if the language "a total of \$227 million worth of
8 illicit diamonds was traded annually" meant that it was the total
9 over the two years, then we would have something like 113 million
15:01:30 10 or 113.5 million per year, correct?

11 A. That would be - yes. Yes.

12 Q. And if the language "during the period 1994 and 1999" is
13 meant to be inclusive of all of those years, then we would have -
14 we could have this total \$227 million divided by five years as an
15:01:56 15 annual amount, correct? Depending on how that is interpreted?

16 A. No. I would say no.

17 Q. No?

18 A. I would - yes --

19 PRESIDING JUDGE: I was going to comment. There are
15:02:11 20 several other interpretations too, if you look at that. It could
21 mean that over a five year period, the annual total, that is,
22 each year was 227 million.

23 MS HOLLIS: Correct. Correct.

24 PRESIDING JUDGE: So I don't think you can make much sense
15:02:26 25 of that report in that regard, Ms Hollis.

26 MS HOLLIS: Yes. Thank you, Mr President:

27 Q. Now, when we look down here, two more lines down, "In
28 addition to the alleged \$217 million US value of illicit Sierra
29 Leonean diamonds, which were purportedly exported from Liberia,"

1 Mr Taylor, where did your government get the \$217 million US
2 value?

3 A. I really don't know where the Ministry of Lands and Mines -
4 I would suppose it could have come from maybe the World Diamond
15:03:07 5 Council reports, but I can't speculate. But I'm sure the people
6 that work on this knew what they were doing.

7 Q. Indeed, Mr Taylor, they probably took it from P-19, the
8 panel of experts report at page 24.

9 A. Okay.

15:03:21 10 Q. Paragraph 122, talking about Liberia.

11 A. Okay.

12 Q. Because in that it indicates: "1998, official diamond
13 exports totalled only 8,000 carats valued at 800,000, i.e., \$100
14 per carat. In the same year Belgium recorded imports from

15:03:45 15 Liberia by 26 companies valued at \$217 million." So they
16 probably took it from there, yes, Mr Taylor?

17 A. They probably took it from there, I agree with you on that.

18 Q. So the total that your response came up with, the \$450
19 million annual production, you did that by interpreting this 227
15:04:16 20 million to be each year and adding to that 217 million. Is that
21 how you came up with that figure?

22 A. I am not sure now because if you put 227, 17 plus 27, that
23 wouldn't add up, would it?

24 Q. That would be approximately 450, wouldn't it?

15:04:39 25 A. They use a specific number here.

26 Q. That would be 244.

27 A. That could be the case.

28 Q. So quite confusing figures there, yes, Mr Taylor?

29 A. I don't know if I can say confusing because when we go back

1 to the prediction of five years, there could still be 113 times
2 5, that could be looked at. If we're looking at two years of
3 227, that would be an annual amount of 113. So if we're looking
4 at five years, there's nothing confusing about that, you just
15:05:18 5 take 113 times 5.

6 Q. Plus 217, which wouldn't be 450.

7 A. But that's it. So, I tell you what, this is - for me, it's
8 technical. You're in government, you're President, you rely on
9 your experts to put this together and the panel of experts did
15:05:34 10 not come up with any questions about this report. So, quite
11 frankly, I'm afraid I can't help with some of these figures, but
12 I'm sure they would have questioned some of these figures and I'm
13 sure these figures are pulled from certain sources. I don't know
14 the sources.

15:05:48 15 Q. And help us again. Who was it who prepared this report or
16 this portion of your response? Do you recall?

17 A. There were several agencies. The Ministry of Lands and
18 Mines participated; the Foreign Ministry participated; I think
19 the Ministry of Planning participated. So a lot went into this,
15:06:11 20 so some of these figures may be a little confusing to us, but I'm
21 sure they knew what they were doing when they put these together.

22 Q. Mr Taylor, if we could turn to another area. Mr Taylor,
23 you testified about the conduct of the Doe regime and the Doe
24 regime leading a very violent campaign against the citizens of
15:07:03 25 the country, yes?

26 A. Yes.

27 Q. Against civilians of Liberia?

28 A. That is correct.

29 Q. You testified that you had no direct quarrel with President

1 Doe because maybe he had his reasons for his violent campaign
2 against civilians of the country. Do you recall that?

3 A. I don't recall the direct language. If it's on the
4 records, yes. I don't deny it, so we can go on. I don't. If
15:07:44 5 it's on the record, yes, I said it.

6 Q. Mr Taylor, what reasons would there be to justify a violent
7 campaign against citizens of the country?

8 A. For me, none. There should be no reason for that. But who
9 knows the heads of people? People do violent things.

15:08:02 10 Q. Would there be any reasons that would justify that sort of
11 action?

12 A. No, I don't think so.

13 Q. Certainly the Doe regime was brutal and exploitative, yes?

14 A. Brutal, yes. Exploitative? I would - I can't comment on
15:08:34 15 that. I don't know the extent of what he did to exploit the
16 people. Brutal, yes, I can agree.

17 Q. Would you consider that the Doe regime was a corrupt
18 regime?

19 A. I don't - let me see. To an extent. To an extent, yes.

15:09:13 20 Q. And the regime committed grievous crimes in particular
21 against the Gio and Mano groups of Liberia, yes?

22 A. That is correct.

23 Q. And you knew that this kind of conduct towards civilians
24 was wrong, didn't you?

15:09:34 25 A. Yes.

26 Q. And you have told the Court that you were going in there to
27 liberate people from this kind of conduct, yes?

28 A. That is correct.

29 Q. And had Master Sergeant Doe lived, he should have been held

1 to account for his conduct, should he not?

2 A. Well, I can't - I can't say what would have happened. I
3 don't know.

15:10:05

4 Q. He should have been held accountable, should he not, for
5 his crimes?

6 A. Well, that's what I'm saying. I've answered you. I said I
7 don't - I don't know. People look at issues in different ways.
8 I don't know what would have happened if Doe lived. I don't
9 know.

15:10:20

10 Q. He should not have had impunity for his crimes, should he?

11 A. Well, not impunity, but different people - different people
12 have different ways of solving crisis in their country and I'm
13 not sure what the decision of the Liberian people would have been
14 in dealing with the Doe issue.

15:10:41

15 Q. You have said that you certainly do not favour impunity.
16 You would not have favoured Doe having impunity for his crimes,
17 would you?

18 A. Well, I don't know what crimes you'll be referring to, but
19 I don't know, counsel, what I would have done. And I don't
20 favour impunity, but different regions and countries have

15:11:02

21 different ways of solving matters relating to actions of people.

22 Q. The Doe regime mass murders of civilians, burning of
23 villages, destruction of villages.

24 A. Well, these are all allegations, so I - like I said, my
25 answer is: I do not know what a new government would have
26 considered finally. That's my response.

15:11:27

27 Q. You told the Court about the philosophy that was in place
28 with your fighters regarding how to treat civilians, yes?

29 A. That is correct.

1 Q. And attacks against the civilian population of a country
2 would be contrary to that philosophy, yes?

3 A. Yes.

15:11:59

4 Q. The civilian population is not to be the object of attacks,
5 correct?

6 A. That is correct.

15:12:20

7 JUDGE SEBUTINDE: Ms Hollis, sorry to interrupt at this
8 stage. Earlier on you referred to the panel of experts report as
9 exhibit P-19. I'm reliably informed that it is, in fact, P-18,
10 for the records.

11 MS HOLLIS: I apologise for that, Madam Justice. P-18 was
12 the panel of experts report:

15:12:40

13 Q. Now, Mr Taylor, crimes such as rapes of civilians, murder
14 of civilians, that would be contrary to this philosophy that your
15 fighters had learned, yes?

16 A. That is correct.

17 Q. Using civilians as sex slaves, that would be contrary to
18 that philosophy?

19 A. That is correct.

15:12:48

20 Q. And certainly enslaving civilians would violate that
21 philosophy?

22 A. That is correct.

15:13:07

23 Q. Forcing them to carry arms and ammunition to the
24 battlefield, forcing them to carry looted goods for fighters,
25 that would be contrary to that philosophy, would it not?

26 A. It would be.

27 Q. And most certainly mutilating or beating civilians would be
28 contrary to this philosophy?

29 A. Definitely.

1 Q. As would looting from civilians. That would be contrary to
2 the philosophy?

3 A. Yes.

4 Q. You seem to have some hesitation, Mr Taylor. Did I --

15:13:31 5 A. No, not at all. I answered you.

6 Q. Okay, thank you.

7 A. I've already answered you.

8 Q. And terrorising the civilians, that would also be contrary
9 to the philosophy that your fighters had, yes?

15:13:42 10 A. That is correct.

11 Q. And ritualistic killings of human beings would also be
12 contrary?

13 A. That is correct.

14 Q. Mr Taylor, on 3 August 2009 at page 25840 you told the
15:14:07 15 Court that, "You go into Africa right now" - is it all right if I
16 continue, Mr Taylor?

17 A. Yes, I'm sure it will come up. It's okay.

18 Q. Starting at line 4 of 25840, 3 August, you said:

19 "You go into Africa right now and stop into some of these
15:14:35 20 countries and ask these people as to whether they understand what
21 these people are talking about when they are talking about
22 democracy, rule of law, all these western terminologies. Our
23 people don't understand that. They have to be educated. Our
24 people do not understand these matters."

15:15:03 25 Mr Taylor, is that really what you meant to say?

26 A. That's exactly what I meant to say.

27 Q. It's a fairly harsh comment, isn't it?

28 A. I don't think so.

29 Q. African victims of atrocities, like those you saw in the

1 courtroom, they understand that they have a right to rule of law,
2 don't they?

3 A. Oh, yes.

4 Q. They don't have to be educated on that, do they?

15:15:35 5 A. It depends on who we're talking about, counsel. Some
6 people came into this Court that couldn't read and write. How
7 would they understand these technical things that we're talking
8 about? So if you want to put the little group that came here,
9 and I'm talking about the African people, a lot of our people
10 still cannot read and write, and do not understand a bit of some
11 of these things that are being put across to them. Even some of
12 the people that came here in this Court who could not read and
13 write, how do they understand some of these things?

14 Q. They understand and want their right for accountability for
15:16:13 15 crimes committed against them, don't they?

16 A. Well, my statement here again is about what? Democracy and
17 other things.

18 Q. Rule of law?

19 A. And rule of law. So you are bringing into specific crimes
15:16:25 20 now. Anybody, whether they can read or write or not, knows when
21 something wrong is done to them. It's got nothing to do with
22 democracy and so-called rule of law as we're talking about. So I
23 see my comment here as being different, but I'll answer your
24 question, but you referred to this and so it has a different
15:16:44 25 meaning for me.

26 Q. So you don't include accountability for crimes under rule
27 of law?

28 A. Of course I will call accountability for crimes the rule of
29 law. Yes, I would.

1 Q. Also when you were testifying to the judges you told them
2 that slavery would still be in existence if blacks had stayed
3 crawling. Do you recall that?

4 A. Definitely.

15:17:15 5 Q. And that would be a terrible thing, would it not; slavery
6 sanctioned by anyone?

7 A. Definitely, yes. We're not having a disagreement about
8 that, yes.

9 Q. Enslavement is a horrific offence against the physical
15:17:31 10 security and dignity of human beings, yes?

11 A. Oh, definitely.

12 Q. And it's no less horrific when the victims are being
13 enslaved by persons of their own race, is it?

14 A. Could you ask that question again?

15:17:46 15 Q. It is no less horrific a crime when the victims are being
16 enslaved by persons of their own race?

17 A. Definitely.

18 Q. That's true, isn't it?

19 A. Oh, definitely.

15:17:56 20 Q. It's no less horrific of a crime when the victims are
21 being enslaved by persons of their own nationality. It doesn't
22 diminish the horrific nature of the crime, does it, Mr Taylor?

23 A. I agree with you; it doesn't.

24 Q. Mr Taylor, you have talked to the judges about Liberia and
15:18:17 25 other countries' right of self-defence, yes?

26 A. Yes.

27 Q. This right of self-defence would in no way justify crimes
28 against civilians, would it?

29 A. I don't understand your question. You've talked about a

1 country. You said Liberia and other countries. Now you've asked
2 me a question about an individual problem. Which of these
3 questions do you want me to answer?

15:18:46 4 Q. I'm asking you if persons acting in their country's right
5 of self-defence, that would not justify crimes against civilians,
6 would it, Mr Taylor?

7 A. People acting - I want to get you clear now. People acting
8 in the interests of their country's self-defence?

9 Q. Uh-huh.

15:19:02 10 A. Oh, of course it would not - it would not give them the
11 right to act against civilians.

12 Q. And it wouldn't give them the right to commit the crimes
13 such as murders or rapes, would it?

14 A. Of course it would not.

15:19:23 15 Q. It wouldn't give them the right to commit acts of terror
16 against civilians, would it?

17 A. It wouldn't, that's true.

18 Q. And it wouldn't give them the right to loot against
19 civilians, would it?

15:19:34 20 A. That's true.

21 Q. When your NPFL attacked Liberia, groups in Liberia who were
22 not affiliated with you, they would have had the right to act in
23 self-defence against your NPFL, would they not?

24 A. Everybody has the right to self-defence, yes.

15:20:00 25 Q. And even the Doe government would have had the right to
26 self-defence, yes?

27 A. I agree.

28 Q. When you attacked Liberia in December of 1989 the Doe
29 government was still the government in power, correct?

1 A. That is correct.

2 Q. You have talked to the Court about the ULIMO group and the
3 LURD group. Members of ULIMO would also have a right to
4 self-defence, would they not?

15:20:28 5 A. Yes.

6 Q. And as a member of the group, the group having a right to
7 self-defence, yes?

8 A. That is correct.

9 Q. And the group LURD would have had a right to self-defence
10 as well, correct?

11 A. I agree.

12 Q. If we think about the conflict that began in Sierra Leone
13 in March 1991, the country of Sierra Leone would have had a right
14 of self-defence against the group that attacked it at that time,
15 would it not?

15:20:51

16 A. Of course it would.

17 Q. But again none of those rights of self-defence by any of
18 those groups would justify crimes against civilians, yes?

19 A. We agree on that.

15:21:08

20 Q. And indeed, as we have mentioned before, all of these
21 crimes would be contrary to the philosophy that your fighters had
22 learned during their training, yes?

23 A. Definitely. Yes.

15:21:35

24 Q. Mr Taylor, regarding crimes that were committed in Sierra
25 Leone after the time that you say you were no longer associated
26 with the RUF, you have indicated that no one on this planet would
27 not have heard through international broadcast or probably
28 discussions what was going on in Sierra Leone. You remember
29 telling the judges that?

1 A. That is correct.

2 Q. And you talked about people getting killed, women getting
3 raped and different things. Mutilations. Do you remember
4 talking about that?

15:22:10 5 A. That is correct.

6 Q. You have testified that the crimes committed in Sierra
7 Leone were surprising to you because no such crimes occurred in
8 Liberia. Do you remember telling them that?

9 A. That is correct. The mutilation, that is correct.

15:22:27 10 Q. You said that crimes by your NPFL subordinates were not
11 widespread. Do you recall telling the judges that?

12 A. Exactly that, yes.

13 Q. That there may have been one or two rapes, killings in the
14 NPFL, but the crimes were not widespread?

15:22:45 15 A. That is correct.

16 Q. You also said that your subordinates did not mutilate. Do
17 you recall telling the judges that?

18 A. Yes. I'm not sure - I don't see in the transcript where
19 we're talking about mutilation --

15:23:06 20 Q. This would be 16 July.

21 A. Or amputations, but I think somewhere in there I'm saying
22 that no such amputations occurred in Liberia, which is factual.

23 Q. Let's be sure that I'm not misquoting you, Mr Taylor. Here
24 if we're looking at 16 July, 24627, toward the bottom of the page
15:23:50 25 beginning at line 20 you talk about it was not widespread.

26 "Definitely not widespread." Then you said and you were correct
27 in your language, Mr Taylor:

28 "There has not been one case brought before this Court
29 where there was an amputation in Liberia. Not one. Not one

1 case. So it was just not tolerated."

2 So your testimony is there were no amputations in Liberia?

3 A. That's my testimony. That's the fact, yes.

4 Q. Now, Mr Taylor, in fact none of those statements you made
15:24:29 5 to this Court about the conduct of your NPFL were correct, were
6 they?

7 A. They were all correct. All of the statements were correct.
8 My statements do not reflect that we did not have some crimes.
9 Those that happened, they were punished and dealt with. I've
15:24:47 10 said they were not widespread and that's correct. That remains
11 my statement.

12 Q. In fact, Mr Taylor, terror became a main tool of all the
13 warring factions in Liberia. That's the truth, isn't it?

14 A. Well, that's not the truth for the NPFL. I think the
15:25:03 15 records of the number of executions of senior generals and
16 different things should point - where I do not claim that we had
17 a control of everything, but what came to the attention of the
18 NPFL we dealt with. And we do not claim that we caught
19 everything, but we dealt with it to the best of our knowledge,
15:25:22 20 yes.

21 Q. In fact, Mr Taylor, all factions, including your NPFL, used
22 terror against civilians in Liberia. Isn't that true?

23 A. I can only speak for the NPFL. I would say that is not
24 true. On the NPFL side that is not true.

15:25:40 25 Q. What was the population of Liberia when you attacked in
26 December 1989? Do you know approximately?

27 A. Approximately I would say about 4 million.

28 Q. Do you know approximately what the population of Sierra
29 Leone was in March 1991 when it was attacked?

1 A. I do not know.

2 Q. Would you accept that it also was several million?

3 A. Yes. Several. Yes.

15:26:10

4 Q. Mr Taylor, terror is an important tool to keep a much

5 larger civilian population under control, isn't it?

6 A. Not for me. I abhor terrorism and this is why again I was
7 so very, very effective in dealing with some of the most senior
8 generals in the NPFL. Definitely not, no. I would not accept
9 that. No.

15:26:36

10 Q. And terror is an important tool when you have to control an
11 area from far away, yes?

12 A. No. I mean, excuse me now, are you - what's your real
13 question, counsel? Do I believe that it is an effective way or
14 do I condone such? What is your question?

15:26:58

15 Q. I'm not asking if you condone it, but terror is an
16 effective way to keep an area and people under control when you
17 are distant from it. Yes, Mr Taylor?

18 A. Because I do not subscribe to that form of control, I would
19 say the way the question - it is almost like trying to prove a
20 negative. I do not condone that, so I would say I would not even
21 accept it as a means of control because I do not condone that.

15:27:21

22 Q. Terror is also an effective means to keep subordinates
23 under control, yes?

24 A. I wouldn't - I don't condone that. I would say - I would
25 say, no, I do not condone that, no.

15:27:41

26 Q. Mr Taylor, it is correct, is it not, that during the civil
27 war in Liberia, both the civil war before you became President
28 and the civil war after you became President, all factions
29 committed crimes against civilians, including your NPFL?

1 A. Well, you're asking me - well, I can say that the NPFL did
2 commit some crimes against civilians. I accept that the NPFL
3 did. That's not - I cannot comment on the other factions. They
4 would have to justify or do what. But the NPFL did make some - I
15:28:31 5 mean, did commit some crimes and we dealt with those that did,
6 yes.

7 Q. And after you became President, forces under your control
8 continued to commit crimes against civilians in Liberia. That's
9 correct, is it not?

15:28:43 10 A. That is not correct. That is not correct.

11 Q. Including security units under your control?

12 A. That is not correct. Except it was not known as
13 government, no. That is not correct.

14 Q. The members of the ATU committed crimes against civilians
15:29:00 15 in Liberia, did they not?

16 A. Definitely not. The ATU? Definitely not.

17 Q. And members of the SSS committed crimes against civilians,
18 yes?

19 A. Not to my knowledge. Not to my knowledge. It's possible
15:29:14 20 that individuals in those units could have done some things and
21 they would definitely be taken to Court because we had
22 established law and order in Liberia. In every - I think it's
23 possible. I would not just say a blanket no to the fact that
24 maybe some members of the security - I think that would be
15:29:38 25 misleading if I were to say that no members of the security
26 committed some crimes. I would say that in some part of the
27 country I think that would be possible.

28 Q. And, indeed, among the forces that you had control over as
29 President, the police also committed crimes against civilians.

1 That's correct, is it not?

2 A. I would not agree. I would not agree with that, no.

3 Q. And, indeed, the crimes that were committed against
4 civilians by all factions, including your NPFL, were actually
15:30:12 5 systematic in nature, were they not, Mr Taylor?

6 A. Definitely not, Ms Hollis, no.

7 Q. Of the armed factions prior to your presidency, the NPFL
8 committed the greatest number of atrocities against civilians,
9 that's true, is it not, Mr Taylor?

15:30:33 10 A. Totally, totally, totally false. If that was true, I would
11 have never won the election. False.

12 Q. In fact, they committed something less than 50 per cent --

13 A. I don't know where --

14 Q. -- of all the crimes.

15:30:46 15 A. I don't know where you get your statistics from, but it's
16 totally wrong. I would disagree with you.

17 Q. And your NPFL victimised the civilian population on a
18 massive scale. That's accurate, is it not, Mr Taylor?

19 A. Totally inaccurate and part of the fantasy that you people
15:31:02 20 have drawn up. Totally inaccurate. No.

21 Q. In fact, entire villages were burned. Isn't that correct?

22 A. Total nonsense. In fact, the best kept area after the war
23 was the NPFL area. Ms Hollis, to win 70 per cent in an election
24 is not a man that you are trying to paint before this Court as
15:31:24 25 raining terror on the people. You are lost on that. You are
26 totally wrong.

27 Q. We'll visit that as well, Mr Taylor.

28 A. Right.

29 Q. All factions systematically targeted women, that's correct,

1 is it not?

2 A. No, all factions did not systematic - the NPFL did not
3 systematically target women. Some individuals in the NPFL
4 targeted women, they committed rape and guess what? They were
15:31:50 5 tried and executed. And you've come up with the list before this
6 Court of people that were involved in such things. Yes. Of
7 course, there are always bad apples, but we dealt with those that
8 did it, that we came across, yes. So I cannot say that - but to
9 say they systematically targeted women, total nonsense. Total
15:32:11 10 nonsense.

11 Q. Mr Taylor, those people that were executed, those people in
12 your NPFL and there were commanders who were executed, they were
13 executed basically because you saw them as a threat to your power
14 or authority. That's why you had them executed, isn't that
15:32:30 15 right, Mr Taylor?

16 A. Total nonsense. Now, let's don't forget, the list that you
17 saw were only the Special Forces. The list that came before this
18 Court were only the Special Forces. The number of trials for
19 rape and harassment of citizens and different things, that's not
15:32:46 20 before this Court yet. So the people that you saw were Special
21 Forces that were in command. It does not mean that other junior
22 commanders were not tried for rape and executed. Those were not
23 the only individuals that were dealt with in Liberia, so you are
24 totally, totally wrong. You are totally wrong. And they did not
15:33:12 25 pose any power. For example, how did Sam Larto, who murdered
26 some 60 some people in Maryland County and shoot a man in the
27 head for stealing a television, how did that threaten my power?
28 No, Ms Hollis, you're wrong. You're wrong.

29 Q. And you've talked about why Sam Larto was executed, yes?

1 A. Yes.

2 Q. Mr Taylor, it's true, is it not, that all factions,
3 including your NPFL, recruited and used child soldiers?

4 A. That's totally false. I cannot speak for the other
15:33:42 5 factions. The NPFL did not recruit child soldiers and we will
6 demonstrate that to this Court. No.

7 Q. And after you became President and the LURD began to attack
8 you, you once again recruited and used child soldiers in your
9 forces, did you not?

15:33:57 10 A. Total nonsense. No. No. By the time LURD attacked, we
11 had - not just the former NPFL fighters, ULIMO-J, ULIMO-K, LPC,
12 we had a huge force. Our problem was, we did not have arms and
13 ammunition, but those factions that joined the government brought
14 all of their men. There was - there was - I don't know where you
15:34:24 15 got this from, but there was no recruitment - no - because there
16 was no training to fight LURD. Everyone that came was a former
17 ex-combatant, so there was no recruitment, so there could not
18 have been any recruitment of even mature individuals because
19 there was no training camp open to fight LURD. No. We relied on
15:34:51 20 the ex-combatants of the war from ULIMO-J, K, LPC, all of them.
21 So whoever came up with that, it's blatantly false. In fact,
22 that any recruitment was done, nonetheless to say that children
23 were recruited. That's totally one of the fallacies. Totally
24 untrue.

15:35:08 25 Q. You used child soldiers in your fight against the LURD, did
26 you not, Mr Taylor?

27 A. No, we did not.

28 Q. When you were the leader of the NPFL, the truth is, you did
29 not put in place any adequate mechanisms to avoid the commission

1 of crimes by your subordinates, did you, Mr Taylor?

2 A. Then how did we try them if we didn't put it into place?

3 We jumped off one train one day and say, "Open a tribunal?"

4 Ms Hollis, that's totally untrue, to answer you directly. That's

15:35:42 5 why there was a mechanism put in place. And who represented some

6 of these people? Lawyers of the bar. There were trained people

7 that represented them, both defence and prosecution. That's not

8 a situation of something just happening. So there was a system

9 put into place.

15:35:58 10 Q. Mr Taylor, you've talked to this Court about the fact that

11 you modelled your system after the Uniform Code of Military

12 Justice of the United States, correct?

13 A. Definitely.

14 Q. So you at the time of the trial had a Judge and you had a

15:36:16 15 jury?

16 A. We did have a judge and a jury, yes.

17 Q. And records were kept of those trials?

18 A. Definitely.

19 Q. Including verbatim records?

15:36:24 20 A. Oh, definitely. To the best of our ability at that time,

21 yes, records were kept.

22 Q. Then there was a review of the findings of the courts

23 martial, correct?

24 A. By whom now? We modelled after the United States, but it

15:36:44 25 doesn't mean that the process was followed verbatim, exactly 100

26 per cent, as is done in the United States. What we did was, the

27 officers were arrested. The people were arrested. They were

28 investigated at the local level. And based on the findings, they

29 were sent to the tribunal. After that, there was not a further

1 review. That was the final tribunal, yes.

2 Q. So there was no independent judicial review of those courts
3 martial?

15:37:23

4 A. Independent judicial review by which area now? By the
5 armed forces or by civilian watchamacall?

6 Q. Well, you tell us. Was there an independent judicial
7 review?

8 A. Well, no. In the United States, do you have an independent
9 judicial review after a court-martial? No.

15:37:32

10 Q. Mr Taylor, you say you know the Uniform Code of Military
11 Justice, so you know that, indeed, there is an independent
12 judicial review.

13 A. By a civilian court?

15:37:44

14 Q. You know that there are military courts because you know
15 the Uniform Code of Military Justice, yes?

16 A. Yes.

17 Q. And that there is an intermediary court of review within
18 the military system, Mr Taylor. You know that, yes?

15:37:58

19 A. But I said we modelled but not that we followed it 100
20 per cent. When you say a judicial review, we did not go through
21 a civilian system to review and neither do you.

22 Q. Well, Mr Taylor, you know the Uniform Code of Military
23 Justice, yes? So you know that in addition to the immediate
24 level military judicial review there is a review by a court of
25 civilian judges. You know that.

15:38:20

26 A. In our case, we did not have, from the best of our
27 knowledge at that time, we did not have a civilian review of the
28 military trial. And to tell you the truth, if you as a retired
29 officer are telling me that, I'll take your word for it, but we

1 did not do it.

2 Q. Mr Taylor, I'm simply asking you, you've told us you know
3 the Uniform Code of Military Justice, so I'm asking you if you're
4 aware of that.

15:38:52 5 A. I'm not aware of that. When I say I know it - I've never
6 been a soldier - I'm talking about the existence of the Code and
7 as it was used by military people in Liberia, because our people
8 tried to model after the United States, so that's what I'm
9 talking about. So I'll take your word if you say that the UCMJ
10 or military tribunals in the United States have a civilian
11 military review, I will take your word, if that's what you're
12 saying. I'm not aware of that, but we did not do that in
13 Liberia.

14 The military courts in Liberia are separate from the
15 civilians courts, and there is no incident or issue that I know
16 of where a military court's work have been sent for civilian
17 review. What I do know of in Liberia, and it happened based on
18 my knowledge is that, if there is an officer of the armed forces
19 that commits a crime, he has to - and he's supposed to be
15:39:28 20 reviewed by any civilian authorities, he is formally discharged
21 or permitted to enter the civilian system. That's how my
22 briefing is. I've never been a soldier before, so I'm not aware
23 of that procedure that you are asking of, of a civilian review of
24 a military tribunal. I am not aware of it, so --

15:40:18 25 Q. Mr Taylor, I'm talking about the procedure that you
26 followed that you say was patterned after the Uniform Code of
27 Military Justice. So there was no review by an independent
28 civilian court, as I understand what you've said, in your system?

29 A. That's correct.

1 Q. Nor was there a review by an independent military judicial
2 court?

3 A. The way how our - no, you are correct. The way how the
4 tribunal was set up is that it was a tribunal of last resort.

15:40:45 5 There was a preliminary, what you call a pre-trial preliminary
6 situation at one level, but the tribunal dealt with the last
7 stage of it. So --

8 Q. And then if there was a decision that this person who had
9 been tried by your court martial would be executed, you were the
10 one who made the decision on that. The final decision.

11 A. But what do you mean?

12 Q. To execute the person or not.

13 A. Well, define decision. Approving the recommendation, you
14 mean?

15:41:19 15 Q. Yes.

16 A. Yes. It would be required that the commander-in-chief
17 would approve the recommendation or he could - there are two
18 reprieves - either carry out the death sentence or give some
19 other sentence. He had two options.

15:41:35 20 Q. So that even in instances where your procedure resulted in
21 a recommendation that the person be put to death, you had no
22 independent judicial review of that decision?

23 A. Well, again, I'm getting into some things here that - and
24 not to - you know, I want to answer your question. When you talk
15:41:58 25 about independent judicial review, to cut it short, we had two
26 processes in the military during the civil war. A crime was
27 committed, the individual was investigated at the local level to
28 determine as to whether such had happened. The results were
29 forwarded to a tribunal that tried. There was not an appeal

1 after that tribunal. It was a tribunal of last resort. An
2 independent judicial review? No, we did not have that because
3 the courts were separate. This is the best I can help with this.

15:42:44 4 Q. Mr Taylor, during the NPFL time, NPFL checkpoints were
5 referred to as gates very often. Isn't that correct?

6 A. The checkpoints were sometimes referred to as gates, that's
7 correct.

8 Q. And they sometimes had aliases or nicknames. That's
9 correct, isn't it?

15:42:59 10 A. I don't know about that. I don't know that. I know they
11 were just gates. They called them gates because you have in some
12 - you have a long stick across the road to stop traffic and they
13 just call it a gate like, you know, that you could open and
14 close. It had a weight on one side. When you released the
15:43:21 15 string the gate would swing open, so they called it a gate. It's
16 a checkpoint but they called it a gate. As to whether it had
17 different names, I don't know, counsel. I don't think so, but I
18 don't really know.

19 Q. And your NPFL checkpoints were very frequently the scene of
15:43:37 20 very serious crimes against civilians. That's correct, is it
21 not, Mr Taylor?

22 A. I wouldn't say so, no. I wouldn't say so, no.

23 Q. Indeed at your checkpoints victims were very often targeted
24 based on their ethnicity. Isn't that correct?

15:43:52 25 A. No, that is incorrect. That is totally incorrect.

26 Q. So that Krahn's and Mandingos were very often singled out
27 for very serious crimes against them at your checkpoints. Isn't
28 that correct, Mr Taylor?

29 A. Factually at the beginning there was some bad people that

1 did try to target some Mandingos that were coming through and a
2 few occasions - in fact a few occasions that reached me, such
3 people, you know, were punished for that. So I would not say
4 categorically that at the beginning of the war there was not this
15:44:37 5 type of attitude. Yes, there was this attitude of Krahn's and
6 Mandingos near the war front. This happened near Monrovia as
7 people, you know, were leaving Monrovia and we put an immediate
8 stop to it. So you find out that during the war I would say
9 almost 60, 70 per cent of the population fled to NPFL areas.

15:44:58 10 Q. But you didn't actually put a stop to it, did you,
11 Mr Taylor?

12 A. Oh, counsel, we did. Let's not joke about this. I did.

13 Q. And it wasn't just at the beginning of the war, Mr Taylor,
14 was it?

15:45:09 15 A. It was at the beginning and we did. We put a stop to it
16 and whenever and wherever - that's one thing that will always be
17 said about the NPFL. Whenever and wherever something went wrong
18 that came to the attention of the authorities there was no way
19 where people got away with it. No. That was my strength.

15:45:34 20 Q. In fact, Mr Taylor, General Isaac Musa was present when
21 civilians were killed and harmed at at least one of your
22 checkpoints. Isn't that correct?

23 A. I don't know. But if General Musa was present I'm sure he
24 would act against it. I'm not aware of that, that he would be
15:45:57 25 present and see civilians mistreated. No. General Musa, if you
26 heard hear his name is Isaac Musa. Isaac Musa was a part Mano,
27 part Mandingo. Musa, that name Musa is a Mandingo name. So
28 Isaac Musa - and there were a lot of Mandingos in the NPFL, a lot
29 that fought alongside. And also I'm not going to sit here,

1 counsel, and tell these judges that there were not some terrible
2 things that happened in the NPFL area. This is not what I'm
3 trying to project to these judges. What I'm saying to them is
4 that impunity, I think they have seen just a minor demonstration
15:46:46 5 from the Special Forces list of Special Forces that I had
6 executed because they were found guilty of acts, not counting
7 numerous other people, junior commandos and the rest of the
8 population, some of them that were imprisoned. So in my area I
9 resist to the very last breath in my body that I encouraged
15:47:11 10 impunity. Never. That's why I won during elections. So I
11 disagree with you.

12 Q. General Isaac Musa was never court-martialled, was he?

13 A. Because General Isaac - no, he was never court-martialled.

14 Q. He was never imprisoned?

15:47:22 15 A. No.

16 Q. And he was certainly never subjected to an order of
17 execution, was he?

18 A. No, because nothing came to me that he had - if he, Isaac
19 Musa, had murdered somebody that had come to my attention.

15:47:46 20 Q. Mr Taylor, when you began the conflict in Liberia you
21 intentionally entered Liberia through Nimba County because of the
22 horrific treatment of people there by the Doe forces, yes?

23 A. I would agree with you, yes.

24 Q. And the great majority of your fighters who trained in
15:48:07 25 Libya were from Nimba County, yes?

26 A. I have told the Court that, yes.

27 Q. And that included those who wanted to avenge what had been
28 done in Nimba County, yes?

29 A. Yes, I can say that, yes. Well, they were threatened.

1 Well, yes, yes.

2 Q. When you actually came into the country through Nimba
3 County the Gio and Manos in Nimba County welcomed the invasion.
4 That's correct, yes, Mr Taylor?

15:48:37 5 A. That is correct.

6 Q. And you recruited many of them into your NPFL?

7 A. I wouldn't say recruited. We accepted a lot of them, yes.

8 Q. Many of your Gio and Mano fighters associated Mandingos and
9 Krahns in particular with the Doe government. Isn't that

15:48:56 10 correct?

11 A. That is correct. That's true.

12 Q. And they identified Mandingos and Krahns as those who were
13 also responsible for the atrocities of the Doe government. Isn't
14 that correct?

15:49:07 15 A. That is correct.

16 Q. And these Gio and Mano wanted revenge for the crimes
17 committed against them and their people, correct?

18 A. I would say so. I would say a lot of them wanted it, yes.

19 Q. And that included revenge against Krahn and Mandingos, yes?

15:49:27 20 A. I would say so, yes.

21 Q. Indeed, Mr Taylor, the Krahn themselves were aware of this
22 danger, yes?

23 A. I want to believe so, yes.

24 Q. Being aware that there would be revenge and that they may
15:49:36 25 be revenged upon because of their membership in those groups?

26 A. Yes. Yes, I would say so.

27 Q. Given all those circumstances, Mr Taylor, as the leader of
28 the NPFL, you knew that many members of your group of fighters
29 were likely to commit crimes against those they saw as Doe

1 supporters. Isn't that correct?

2 A. Yes. I would say so, yes.

3 Q. In particular against the Mandingo and Krahn?

4 A. That is correct.

15:50:06 5 Q. Indeed your NPFL targeted Krahn and Mandingo not just at
6 the beginning of the war but well into the war. Isn't that
7 correct?

8 A. That is not correct. Now you have changed the question.

9 Now you are saying my NPFL. It started off with Gios wanting to
10 revenge, I agree. When you say my NPFL, that's where I came in.
11 I made sure that the NPFL as an organisation did not adopt that
12 as its form. Now when you introduce "your NPFL" I disagree.

13 Q. Indeed your NPFL - many members of your NPFL targeted these
14 groups to be killed and otherwise mistreated. That's the truth,
15:50:47 15 isn't it, Mr Taylor?

16 A. I wouldn't say many. I would say that some people targeted
17 people and those people that were found out were also discouraged
18 by the firm hand that we executed. And I can tell you, just to
19 emphasise, there were others that were executed from the junior
15:51:16 20 commandos that, like I say, we don't have before this Court. So
21 my job was to have a very firm hand to discourage anything of
22 that sort, and I did.

23 Q. But that's not really true, is it, Mr Taylor. You didn't
24 discourage that?

15:51:32 25 A. That is 100 per cent true that I discouraged it. 100
26 per cent.

27 Q. You allowed that activity to continue because it kept those
28 people in your forces?

29 A. Oh, no, counsel. You are so wrong. You are better than

1 that. You are so wrong. So wrong. Never. Never. I kept a
2 very firm hand.

3 Q. And it also enabled you to take over areas of the country
4 through this kind of targeted killing?

15:51:59 5 A. Total nonsense. No. You are totally wrong. Totally
6 wrong.

7 Q. Indeed as your NPFL entered towns, Krahn's, Mandingos and
8 government officials were separated and killed in very, very
9 brutal manners. Isn't that correct?

15:52:18 10 A. That not correct. That is not correct. Totally, totally,
11 totally incorrect. Totally incorrect.

12 Q. Indeed when your NPFL took the town or city of Kakata in
13 1990 your subordinates committed those kinds of crimes against
14 Krahn and Mandingo in that area. Isn't that correct?

15:52:39 15 A. That is so far from the truth, it's so incorrect that I
16 don't know what category to put it in. That is totally, totally,
17 totally incorrect. In Kakata, the situation in Kakata, the day
18 that the NPFL forces moved into Kakata the business centres
19 closed for a few hours and re-opened. There was not even one bit
15:53:06 20 of looting. In fact one of the commanders that took over Kakata,
21 one of my Special Forces, is still alive. Nothing happened in
22 Kakata.

23 Q. Who was that?

24 A. The commander that took over Kakata is General William
15:53:21 25 Sumo.

26 Q. Was he ever court-martialed?

27 A. For what? He did not commit any crimes. Kakata was --

28 Q. He was never court-martialed?

29 A. He was never court-martialed. He is one of my Special

1 Forces. He took Kakata. The Lebanese and foreign nationals in
2 Kakata, Mandingos and different things, came to Kakata as a place
3 of protection. In fact one of our Special Forces, the brother of
4 the late Musa Cisse, Jebbah Cisse whose name has been mentioned
15:53:52 5 in this Court, was present in Kakata, a Mandingo. No, you are
6 wrong.

7 Q. And, Mr Taylor, when your NPFL moved on and took Bong
8 Mines, they committed these horrific crimes also against
9 Mandingos in Bong Mines. Isn't that true?

15:54:10 10 A. No, no, no, no, no. That is not true. That is not true.

11 PRESIDING JUDGE: That William Sumo, is that S-U-M-U?

12 THE WITNESS: No, S-U-M-O, your Honour. He is on the
13 Special Forces list.

14 MS HOLLIS:

15:54:32 15 Q. Mr Taylor, it's also true, is it not, that when your NPFL
16 went into Buchanan in 1990 they killed any Krahn or Mandingo they
17 could find in that area?

18 A. We had - no, no, no. We had a few cases in Buchanan of the
19 murder of some Krahn people in Buchanan and those junior
15:55:05 20 commandos that were responsible were all tried and executed.

21 Q. Those weren't just a few cases in Buchanan, were they?
22 Many people were killed there, weren't they?

23 A. No, no, no. That's totally wrong. Buchanan, no - counsel,
24 I admit to you and to this Court in your question there were some
15:55:21 25 misbehaving terrible things, a few killings occurred and we
26 brought it to immediate halt by convening a court martial in
27 Buchanan and, to convince the population that we were not there
28 for a joke, those junior commandos that were responsible were
29 tried in there. I was still all the way back in Gborplay. I was

1 still some 250 miles away. I authorised the tribunal. They were
2 tried and executed and Buchanan became stable, in fact citizens
3 never left Buchanan. No. That's not true.

15:55:58

4 Q. It was more than a few killings in Buchanan. That's
5 correct, isn't it, Mr Taylor?

6 A. That is incorrect, counsel. Totally incorrect.

7 Q. And those killings included women and children. That's
8 correct, is it not?

15:56:11

9 A. No, no, no. There were no women and children that were
10 killed in that process. These were Krahn men that were - I
11 remember the incident, that were are considered to be armed
12 forces personnel that some of these stupid boys claim had gotten
13 rid of their uniform and gotten into civilian clothes, but they
14 were soldiers. So the thing was even if they were soldiers they
15 had no authorisation to kill them. No, there were no women and
16 children involved in that. No, no.

15:56:30

17 Q. In 1990 your NPFL also killed several hundred civilians in
18 a town in Lofa County. Isn't that correct?

19 A. In 1990?

15:56:44

20 Q. Yes.

21 A. Where were we in Lofa County? In what part of 1990 are you
22 referring to?

23 Q. Do you know the town of Bakedu?

15:57:01

24 A. What time? Because we don't enter Lofa County until very
25 late during the year. Remember we come all the way to Monrovia
26 before we - by July, August. So I want to know what time are you
27 talking about because in Lofa County in the year you are talking
28 about and the time will be important because you've come up with
29 this. What time?

1 Q. Well, Mr Taylor, are you aware of a massacre in Bakedu in
2 1990 by your NPFL?

3 A. There was no such in Bakedu by NPFL, no. Depending on the
4 time you are talking about - the reason why I'm asking for time,
15:57:33 5 because at one point, you know, depending on your question, the
6 NPFL is not even close to Lofa. And so - but I know how you are
7 factoring your questions, the whole thing, I'm supposed to be
8 this person, but early 1990, if there were any massacres, if you
9 will come up with the time, it could have been the AFL in Lofa at
15:57:56 10 the time. Because the NPFL does not get into Lofa until later in
11 1990.

12 Q. No, Mr Taylor, it's your NPFL and they rounded up the
13 people in the town and they killed them. There was a massacre
14 there. You're saying that you were not aware of that?

15:58:12 15 A. What time in 1990 are you talking about, counsel?

16 Q. Mr Taylor, are you aware of any massacre there?

17 A. I'm not aware of any - of any massacre in - you say Bakedu?

18 Q. Yes.

19 A. I'm not aware of any massacre in Bakedu. There were a few
15:58:29 20 massacres as armed forces personnel were pulling out. And I want
21 to leave on the record: By 1990, I will put it to about August
22 or thereabouts of 1990, the NPFL is miles away from Lofa County.
23 We don't even reach into that particular area. So it could have
24 been the AFL retreating, because a lot of the Lomas had joined us
15:59:02 25 and different things. The very Counsellor Supuwood is Loma from
26 that area. A lot of the Lomas had joined us. By this time, if
27 I'm not mistaken, either late 1990, another Loma that you know
28 very well, John Tarnue, there was no way that the NPFL would have
29 carried out any massacre in Lofa County. It had to be the AFL.

1 Totally impossible, because we had even junior commanders that
2 had come into our force. No way. No. It had to be the AFL.

3 Q. And after your NPFL killed these people, they actually
4 burned their bodies.

15:59:41 5 A. Nonsense.

6 Q. Isn't that correct?

7 A. That is incorrect. Nonsense.

8 Q. The killings were justified by saying that Mandingos and
9 Muslims deserved to die.

15:59:49 10 A. No, no, no, no, no, counsel. That hurts me when you say
11 that. I would never make a statement like that. It hurts me. I
12 would never make a statement like that to say that Muslims and
13 Mandingo would die when I had Mandingos with me, no.

14 PRESIDING JUDGE: Just so that I understand the question,
16:00:07 15 Ms Hollis, are you saying that Mr Taylor said that the killings
16 were justified?

17 MS HOLLIS: No, I'm not saying that. Mr President, I'm not
18 saying that:

19 Q. That the NPFL, not you, Mr Taylor. The NPFL that were
16:00:21 20 there at the killings justified them by saying that Mandingos and
21 Muslims deserved to die.

22 A. No, I don't think they would say that, because NPFL - I'm
23 saying, depending on - we don't get in Lofa until late, so I
24 would say the NPFL would not say that, no, because in the region
16:00:40 25 you are talking about, that's a predominantly also Muslim area.
26 Lofa, Muslim. Yes.

27 JUDGE SEBUTINDE: Bakedu is spelt how?

28 MS HOLLIS:

29 Q. Do you know how to spell it, Mr Taylor?

1 A. Bakedu I think is B-A-K-A-D-U. There is a town in Lofa
2 called Bakedu.

3 Q. There may be another spelling with an E. I'm not sure.
4 B-A-K-E.

16:01:11 5 A. That's possible.

6 Q. Mr Taylor, you have testified that Grand Gedeh County was
7 primarily the home of Krahn?

8 A. Primarily, yes, but there were a lot of Mandingos there
9 too, yes. I would say yes.

16:01:34 10 Q. And in 1990 your NPFL were killing Krahn civilians in Grand
11 Gedeh County as well. Isn't that correct, Mr Taylor?

12 A. That is not correct. Grand Gedeh is one of the last places
13 that we enter I would say very, very late or maybe going into
14 '91. What we did, we cut off at the town we've mentioned here

16:01:58 15 before called Tappita, there's a huge river that separates Grand
16 Gedeh from Nimba. We did not bother to go into Grand Gedeh. In
17 fact, most of the citizens up there in Grand Gedeh had either
18 fled to la Cote d'Ivoire across the border, but no. In 1990, no.
19 Citizens of Grand Gedeh were not bothered, no.

16:02:18 20 Q. Indeed, Mr Taylor, your NPFL killed not only Krahn in Grand
21 Gedeh County but also Mandingo in that county, correct?

22 A. That is - that is not correct, no. I would not agree.

23 This is not to say - you see, you are using the word "NPFL".

24 This is not to say that somebody did not do something wrong up

16:02:40 25 there, but, to my knowledge, Grand Gedeh was - when we did go

26 into Grand Gedeh, I would think early '91, the Krahns that had

27 joined us had already gone ahead, because what we did in Grand

28 Gedeh - no, there could not have been any such thing. Ambassador

29 Tiagen Wantee is - he speaks Krahn. We had some Krahn elements

1 with the NPFL after the war started because Nimba County also has
2 Krahn. There are Krahn in Nimba County. And what we tried to
3 do, not to frighten the people, was to send Krahn elements into -
4 so I would doubt very much. We sent Krahn elements up there to
16:03:28 5 keep - you know, to try to minimise the pressure, because Krahn
6 joined us upon entering, those Krahn that are part of Nimba
7 County. Nimba is not just about Gios and Manos. There are
8 Krahn. It's a huge Krahn area in Nimba County. So I doubt very
9 much if what you are explaining went on in Grand Gedeh, no,
16:03:51 10 because the people that went to Grand Gedeh were Krahn to really
11 relax the population. I would say no.

12 Q. Mr Taylor, do you recall any courts martial of your NPFL
13 for massacres in Grand Gedeh County?

14 A. No.

16:04:08 15 Q. Do you recall any courts martial of your NPFL for massacre
16 at Bakedu?

17 A. There could not have been a court-martial put into place
18 for crimes were not committed by the NPFL. So Bakedu - you bring
19 Bakedu. You've asked two questions. Bakedu, I would say no,
16:04:30 20 because it was not NPFL, and Grand Gedeh I would say no, because
21 we're not aware of any mass crimes that were committed in Grand
22 Gedeh, no.

23 Q. One of the things that you did after you entered Liberia
24 was to capture and detain civilians from different countries,
16:04:49 25 correct, the countries that were contributing to ECOMOG?

26 A. You say again now - okay. When I entered - you say when
27 you entered Liberia. That's another matter. But now you've
28 introduced the ECOMOG side. Now we're talking about this August
29 when ECOMOG comes, so if I'm answering your question now, when

1 ECOMOG started the combat later in the year, those individuals
2 that were from ECOMOG contributing countries, we had them rounded
3 up and questioned them and in some cases incarcerated some of
4 them, yes.

16:05:35 5 Q. So you are saying that you did this after ECOMOG had
6 actually come into Liberia?

7 A. Of course. All the evidence say yes.

8 Q. And you held several thousand of these civilians in areas
9 under your control, yes, Mr Taylor?

16:05:51 10 A. I wouldn't say several thousand, no. Not everybody was
11 targeted. Several thousands would include women and children and
12 old men. That was not done. When ECOMOG started their
13 bombardment of our areas and the precision, people - the security
14 started trying to identify people in certain areas, so it was not
16:06:13 15 a massive roundup as was done in World War II with Japanese in
16 the United States, no.

17 Q. In fact, Mr Taylor, your subordinates killed some of these
18 people that you captured and detained. Isn't that correct?

19 A. Not to my knowledge, because I tell you - counsel, no. If
16:06:31 20 anybody played any games with the NPFL - there's one thing that I
21 tell you, to my grave I would say this and millions of Liberians
22 would testify to it: If you as a soldier in the NPFL went out
23 and did something against a civilian, every Liberian will tell
24 you, you did not get away with it. So it is totally, totally
16:06:56 25 untrue, counsel. No. No.

26 Q. Mr Taylor, you recall any courts martial of NPFL personnel
27 for killing detained individuals, civilians from these countries?

28 A. There were ongoing court-martials. I don't know all of the
29 court-martials, counsel. That's why I have emphasised to these

1 judges that the court martial we talk about here for the Special
2 Forces were not all of them. There were court martials that were
3 set up in different part depending on the situation. Those
4 boards dealt with things. The complicated cases even came as far
16:07:36 5 as the tribunal. But that - there were many, many trials. I
6 cannot recall to this Court that I knew the reason for all of the
7 trials.

8 And, mind you, not everybody was executed either, depending
9 on some of the allegations and different things. So it's very
16:07:56 10 possible. In the Kakata area, we had a tribunal in the Gbarnga
11 area, we had one in the Buchanan area, we had one in Nimba area.
12 So - and these were, you know, different, different court
13 settings to deal with it. Even civilians - I tell this Court,
14 civilians committed crimes against other civilians. They were
16:08:19 15 sent to civilian courts.

16 So these actions that you are talking about, for the
17 benefit of this Court, was not just carried out by soldiers.
18 Even families that had long-standing confusion tried to avenge
19 their feelings against other families. So these atrocities were
16:08:36 20 committed. And in those cases, they were tried in civilian
21 courts. So there was a whole system of justice set up, not just
22 military tribunals, but there were civilian courts that remained
23 in place. So the atrocities that we're talking about, civilians
24 did a lot of that trying to vent out angers - old angers. So
16:08:55 25 there were many.

26 Q. We're talking about crimes by your NPFL, Mr Taylor.

27 A. Well, I've given you a general picture. There were many.

28 Q. You did say: "There were court martials that were set up
29 in different part depending on the situation. Those board dealt

1 with things. The complicated cases even came as far as the
2 tribunal." So what is the system that you are describing there?

3 A. I'm describing a system where we did not send people to
4 tribunals all the way in Gbarnga. If somebody went - if a
16:09:34 5 soldier went and took somebody's chicken wrongfully, we didn't
6 send him to a court martial tribunal. We dealt with it on the
7 ground. We made sure that he paid for the chicken. There were
8 different ways in different areas. That's what I mean, counsel.

9 Q. So is a court martial and a tribunal the same thing, or was
16:09:57 10 it a different structure in the NPFL?

11 A. Well, for us it was about the same. We called it - I'm
12 using two words, sorry. You had the court martial and the
13 highest body was called the tribunal of the court martial, which
14 was the - what I described here as the tribunal of last resort.

16:10:17 15 So you had local boards and then you had the area of last resort.
16 There were two. I did describe two tiers.

17 Q. When you say the complicated cases even went to the
18 tribunal, what are you talk about? What kind of cases?

19 A. Murder, rape, and that type of stuff, reached to the
16:10:35 20 tribunal. If you went and stole somebody's goat [indiscernible]

21 soldiers, you go and you kill somebody's goat or you take
22 somebody's chicken, we dealt with you at the tribunal at the
23 court martial board level in that local area. In some cases you
24 had to pay for it. If some soldier went and got drunk and

16:10:59 25 misbehaved, the NP - those are not court martial cases, but it
26 would only be in, you know, if they were not crimes that
27 involved, like I said, murder, rape and that kind of stuff. But
28 on the local level for mischief on part of soldiers, soldiers -
29 if you jump on a civilian and you, let's say, fought with him or

1 took - we had cases where soldiers tried to take people's wives
2 from them. We had to deal with it. But we didn't send a wife
3 case to a tribunal of last resort. We dealt with it at the local
4 level. In some cases we relieved soldiers, send them to civilian
16:11:46 5 courts, that kind of thing.

6 Q. Mr Taylor, in December 1992 your NPFL killed some 35 people
7 at Firestone. Isn't that correct?

8 A. Not to my knowledge. The only one I know at Firestone was
9 the accusation at Carter Camp, which was not the NPFL. That was
16:12:08 10 investigated. Counsel, I have to say -

11 Q. So you're not aware of that in December 1992 some 35 people
12 being killed by your NPFL?

13 A. I would say no. Because if that - if those people had been
14 killed in '92, they would have ended up before a tribunal. So I
16:12:24 15 would say --

16 Q. You have no knowledge of anyone being prosecuted at a
17 tribunal for killing 35 people at Firestone?

18 A. I have no knowledge of that so I have to assume it didn't
19 happen. Because that at least - at that level it would have
16:12:36 20 reached me. That's mass murder. That's not just - that's mass
21 murder. It would be dealt with and it would definitely reach me.

22 Q. It would have definitely reached you?

23 A. Yes. Mass murder? I would have been told of the horrific
24 situation and I would have - it would have reached me.

16:12:58 25 Q. Now, your NPFL carried out murders and other crimes in
26 virtually all the areas that they captured in Liberia. Isn't
27 that correct?

28 A. You know, that's not true, counsel. And I know you focus
29 on "your NPFL", "your NPFL". You've deliberately not said

1 members of the NPFL. You've tried to group the NPFL as an
2 organisation and trying to portray it as a policy. So I'm
3 answering these questions, but I want to lay a marker myself that
4 when you are talking about "your" it was not a policy of the
16:13:32 5 NPFL. So there were mistakes, there were problems again that we
6 dealt with.

7 Q. The crimes against civilians that were committed by members
8 of your NPFL occurred in Maryland County as well as Cape Mount
9 County, isn't that correct?

16:13:57 10 A. You mentioned Maryland County. There was a terrible mass
11 murder in Maryland County and that we dealt with. That caused
12 the execution. You say in Grand Cape Mount County?

13 Q. Yes.

14 A. I can't recall. I can't recall any such situation in Cape
16:14:17 15 Mount County. You say in 1992? Did you call a year?

16 Q. No, this would have been before 1992.

17 A. Before 1992. No, I'm not aware of that because it would
18 have reached - if it was - it would have reached me. I'm not
19 aware of that. Maryland I'm aware and the individual was
16:14:39 20 court-martialled and executed.

21 Q. We've talked about a massacre at Duport Road and that was
22 carried out by your NPFL, isn't that correct?

23 A. You know you mentioned that on yesterday. If that
24 happened, I'm sure those people were tried. Because there were a
16:14:59 25 couple of trials in the - from the tribunal that met in Kakata
26 and there were some people that were executed for some killing in
27 the Monrovia area. I'm not sure if it was Duport Road. I know
28 there was an incident I recall somewhere on the Old Road that
29 those people were judged and found guilty and punished based on

1 the laws that were set up. I'm not sure of Duport Road. I don't
2 recall Duport Road.

3 Q. Indeed, in addition to the massacres, your NPFL also
4 engaged in rapes and amputation and looting. Isn't that correct,
16:15:44 5 Mr Taylor?

6 A. Again, counsel, I think I've answered these questions
7 fully. Whatever personnel that did it, I cannot say that those
8 did not happen, but there was no impunity. Some members of the
9 NPFL that joined the NPFL still carried out some I would say
16:16:03 10 dastardly acts, but they paid the price for it.

11 Q. General Isaac Musa actually led that operation of those
12 massacres at Duport Road. That's correct, is it not, Mr Taylor?

13 A. Definitely not. General Musa? No. General Musa was not
14 that kind of way. He was a kind man. No. He would have never,
16:16:23 15 ever, ever done that, Isaac Musa that I knew, no.

16 Q. And planning for that massacre was actually done in
17 Gbarnga, was it not, Mr Taylor?

18 A. Where do you get these fantasies from? Definitely no. So
19 I sat and planned a massacre?

16:16:43 20 Q. Planning was done in Gbarnga?

21 A. Nonsense.

22 Q. Yes, Mr Taylor?

23 A. No.

24 Q. We've also talked about the killing of five nuns that
16:16:54 25 occurred during Operation Octopus. Do you recall that?

26 A. Well, I recall the death of five nuns.

27 Q. Indeed it was your NPFL under the command of General
28 Christopher Vambos that killed those nuns. Isn't that correct,
29 Mr Taylor?

1 A. Not to my - no. You know you have mentioned this, I'm
2 answering your question that is not correct and I know you don't
3 have to go any further but we've not even - we've brought this
4 before these judges about five nuns, we have not even talked
16:17:31 5 about the conditions under which they got killed. I don't want
6 to start before you say, "Just answer my question," but you know
7 those nuns died trying to get away in the car in combat and the
8 car - bullets hit the car, it was sprayed because it was on the
9 road, okay. These were not people in their homes that were
16:17:52 10 killed.

11 So I don't know how I'm going to answer some of these
12 questions. Those nuns, it was in the heat of combat and they
13 were driving through the combat area and their car came under
14 fire. So unless we tell these judges these were not people in
16:18:10 15 the convent that somebody went and murdered. Isn't that true,
16 counsel? Didn't they die on the road in combat? So I don't
17 know, I don't want to go too far before I'm stopped but we have
18 to tell these judges so they can know what's going on. I know
19 you don't have an obligation to explain that, but that is what
16:18:29 20 happened, isn't it?

21 Q. Mr Taylor, that's not accurate, is it? In fact those nuns
22 were raped and stabbed --

23 A. Total --

24 Q. -- before they were killed. Isn't that correct?

16:18:38 25 A. That's a blatant, blatant lie. Those nuns were killed in a
26 car driving through a very contested combat area with fire. They
27 died in the car. It's a lie and you know that.

28 Q. General Christopher Vambos was also known as Mosquito who
29 was in charge of that. Isn't that correct?

1 A. That is incorrect.

2 Q. General Vambos was never court-martialled, was he?

3 A. General Vambos was never court-martialled, no.

4 Q. Indeed we talked about the fact that the Catholic church in
16:19:18 5 2002 set up a commission to investigate the killing of those
6 nuns, correct?

7 A. I'm not sure but, mind you, when you asked me about this on
8 yesterday you put it a different way that they set up a
9 commission and it was discouraged. Did they set up the
16:19:36 10 commission? Did we discourage it? You've come back now on the
11 record and shown it differently. So I do believe they set up a
12 commission and they did their investigation, but they were not
13 interfered with as suggested in your question on yesterday.

14 Q. In fact they were interfered with when they attempted to
16:19:52 15 carry that out, were they not?

16 A. No, that's not true. And you know that. That's no.

17 Q. Including a threat of legal action against them?

18 A. How would somebody threaten somebody for carrying out an
19 investigation? No. And why would a government threaten and not
16:20:11 20 carry it out? Either we could stop them or we couldn't stop

21 them, counsel. Let's not get carried away with all these fantasy
22 island things, no. Liberia operated under my administration as a
23 free [indiscernible]. The Catholic archbishop Michael Francis,
24 we had our differences but we are from the same town, Arthington.

16:20:36 25 Michael Kpakala Francis and I are from the same town. We are
26 from the same tribe and the same town. I'm not talking about
27 area. The same town. We had our differences, he and myself, but
28 we were good friends. The same town of Arthington. That's where
29 he's from.

1 Q. So you were good friends with the archbishop?

2 A. I'm saying we had our differences. Remember in evidence
3 before this Court, yes, we were good friends. Michael Francis
4 recommended the setting up of the - this vision about Liberia.

16:21:06 5 He was doing his recommendation. I've said that I followed. So
6 remember that's a part of our evidence. Yes, we were not - we
7 were not enemies. Michael and I had differences. Kpakala and I
8 had differences but we were not enemies. In fact, even during
9 the fighting in Monrovia in - what was that - '98 I think Kpakala
16:21:31 10 called me to provide security, so we were not enemies, no. We're
11 from the same home town, the same tribe.

12 Q. Mr Taylor, in May 1993 it is correct, is it not, that your
13 NPFL massacred hundreds of civilians in Belle District?

14 A. What do you call Belle District? I don't know of that
16:21:53 15 district. Where is that?

16 Q. You don't know of that Belle?

17 A. I don't know of any district called Belle District. Maybe
18 you could help me. Belle District, where would that be?

19 Q. And you were not aware of any massacres there because you
16:22:07 20 don't know where this district is?

21 A. There's no such district that I know of in Liberia called
22 Belle District, so the whole idea of a massacre is just fantasy,
23 unless you can tell me where Belle District is. That's just made
24 up again. Belle District? There's no such district in Liberia.

16:22:23 25 Q. Mr Taylor, you have talked about the Carter Camp Massacre
26 in June 1993. Is that when that occurred?

27 A. If you are quoting it correctly I would agree, yes, about
28 1993.

29 Q. Do you recall what month, and if you don't please say you

1 don't?

2 A. No, I don't, but I take your word for it, counsel. I don't
3 think you would mislead me.

16:22:55

4 Q. That massacre resulted in over 500 people being killed,
5 correct?

6 A. That is correct.

7 Q. And that included women and children?

8 A. That is correct.

16:23:02

9 Q. And indeed there was a report from the United Nations that
10 blamed the AFL for that massacre, correct?

11 A. That is correct.

12 Q. But that conclusion was incorrect, was it not, Mr Taylor?

13 A. That's news for me.

16:23:17

14 Q. Because in fact it was your NPFL that carried out that
15 massacre, isn't that true?

16 A. Counsel, I don't know - I will just say that's not true.

17 So you disagree with the UN report in other words. Your question
18 disagrees. Okay, if you disagree, fine, so we agree that some UN
19 reports are incorrect. If you agree, okay. But, for me, I know

16:23:38

20 the NPFL did not carry it out and I believe the results that came
21 from the United Nations that spent weeks in Liberia with experts
22 from around the world that went in, forensic people, if you
23 disagree with the report I agree with the report.

24 Q. In fact, Mr Taylor, you and some of your subordinates

16:23:59

25 forced survivors of that massacre to lie to investigators, didn't
26 you?

27 A. Counsel, where are you - where - no. I don't want to
28 argue. No, that's not true.

29 Q. And you forced them to say that it was the AFL who carried

1 this out. Isn't that correct?

2 A. That is totally, totally incorrect, counsel. Those
3 accusations are so unfounded and that's the type of thing I'm
4 experiencing in this case. Wild goose accusations, now the UN
16:24:29 5 report is wrong and we - wouldn't those people have told the
6 United Nations that? I disagree with you. That's totally - I
7 mean, it is so erroneous that I don't know how to categorise it.

8 Q. Indeed the survivors were taken to Gbarnga by your NPFL.
9 Isn't that correct?

16:24:46 10 A. After the massacre those that wanted - that were afraid of
11 being in the general area of the AFL - the massacre happened not
12 too far from the Camp Schefflein barracks. A lot of people did
13 go to different parts of Liberia, including Gbarnga, for safety
14 because the NPFL area during the war was always the most safe
16:25:13 15 area to be. So a lot of the individuals that were within the
16 area could not stand having the AFL near them and decided that
17 they would move. Some of them moved further up. Palala, some of
18 them went to Totota. P-A-L-A-L-A, Palala. Some went to Totota,
19 that's on the record. And some did go to Gbarnga for safety
16:25:40 20 because they could not stay within the area of the AFL any more.

21 Q. The NPFL took these survivors to Gbarnga after this
22 massacre. Isn't that correct, Mr Taylor?

23 A. No, not the survivors no. Some of these people were
24 treated in hospitals but most of the citizens travelled - not all
16:25:59 25 of the survivors went to Gbarnga. Some of them were treated by
26 NGOs in Monrovia. Some of them were taken to Monrovia, counsel.
27 Where do you get this wild story from? In fact the United
28 Nations that investigated this saw to it that most of these
29 people were treated by NGOs, Medecins Sans Frontieres and others

1 in Monrovia.

2 Q. And in fact it was at Gbarnga that your subordinates told
3 these survivors to implicate the AFL. Isn't that correct?

4 A. Oh, counsel, no. That's incorrect.

16:26:34 5 Q. And they told them to do that under threat of death. Isn't
6 that correct?

7 A. Totally, totally incorrect.

8 Q. And among those who told the survivors to lie about this
9 was Melvin Sogbandi. Isn't that correct?

16:26:50 10 A. That is totally, totally, totally incorrect.

11 Q. And in fact, Mr Taylor, you yourself visited these
12 survivors as part of this scheme, did you not?

13 A. So now I told them to lie too?

14 Q. That's correct.

16:27:05 15 A. Counsel, you know, I'll just cut it short by telling you
16 that that's so incorrect, but I'm just shocked by that
17 allegation. Very shocked.

18 Q. It was to your benefit to make the Liberian people and the
19 international community believe that the AFL was to blame for
16:27:24 20 this, yes?

21 A. I tell you, no. It was not to my benefit. I mean how does
22 someone benefit from the death of people? Those are my people.
23 The people that died, they were Liberian people, they were my
24 people. So no one benefits from any whatchamacallit. The most
16:27:41 25 important thing for us was to get to the bottom of it and bring a
26 neutral international force body to investigate.

27 Now, all of this other wild stuff, don't you think the
28 United Nations that had hundreds of people in Liberia did a
29 thorough job? You are saying that the United Nations did not do

1 a thorough job? That is totally, totally as unfounded as the
2 rest of these allegations that have been brought here. No.

3 Q. Mr Taylor, in 1993 the NPFL was in control of Nimba County.
4 Isn't that correct?

16:28:15 5 A. 1993? In charge of Nimba County?

6 Q. Yes.

7 A. Yes.

8 Q. And during 1993 the NPFL committed crimes against civilians
9 in Nimba County, did it not?

16:28:28 10 A. That would be a catch. That would be a catch. Nimbadians
11 who were fighting the war and most of the people there, they go
12 back and kill their own people? In 1993, oh, no, counsel.
13 Counsel, counsel, no. No, no, not that I know of. It's next to
14 impossible. Incredible.

16:28:51 15 Q. Mr Taylor, in August 1993 members of your NPFL killed 21
16 people in Ganta. Isn't that right?

17 A. You know, counsel, you are so wrong. I can tell you and I
18 know that the documents - all these questions may be coming from
19 the truth commission, but I can tell you that's the trick.

16:29:16 20 Because I can see all these lies I hear you whatchamacallit. As
21 people have come to the truth commission people have just come up
22 with stories and maybe one of those documents that you are trying
23 to get through here, but those would be very much questioned.
24 Those are blatant lies that people went and turned on themselves.

16:29:34 25 Ganta is the home of mostly the Manos, the Gios are there.
26 In fact General Isaac Musa was from Ganta and you are saying that
27 they went into Ganta and massacred Manos in Ganta? No, come on.
28 No. No.

29 Q. You had no courts martial of people for killings in Ganta

1 in August 1993?

2 A. Because there was no killings. No.

3 MS HOLLIS: Is that a good point, Mr President?

4 PRESIDING JUDGE: Yes. We'll adjourn now until 9.30 Monday
16:30:12 5 morning. Mr Taylor, I'll remind you of the order not to discuss
6 your evidence.

7 [Whereupon the hearing adjourned at 4.29 p.m.
8 to be reconvened on Monday, 23 November 2009
9 at 9.30 a.m.]

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I N D E X

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