



Case No. SCSL-2003-01-T

THE PROSECUTOR OF
THE SPECIAL COURT
V.
CHARLES GHANKAY TAYLOR

WEDNESDAY, 27 JANUARY 2010
9.30 A.M.
TRIAL

TRIAL CHAMBER II

Before the Judges:

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

For Chambers:

Ms Erica Bussey

For the Registry:

Mr Gregory Townsend
Ms Rachel Irura
Ms Zainab Fofanah

For the Prosecution:

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

For the accused Charles Ghankay
Taylor:

Mr Morris Anyah
Mr Terry Munday
Mr Silas Chekera

1 Wednesday, 27 January 2010

2 [Open session]

3 [The accused not present]

4 [Upon commencing at 9.30 a.m.]

09:34:06 5 PRESIDING JUDGE: Good morning. We will take appearances,
6 please.

7 MR KOUMJIAN: Good morning, your Honours, Madam President.

8 For the Prosecution this morning, Maja Dimitrova, Ula

9 Nathai-Lutchman, Christopher Santora and myself, Nicolas

09:34:58 10 Koumjian.

11 MR ANYAH: Good morning, Madam President. Good morning,
12 your Honours. Good morning, counsel opposite. Appearing for the
13 Defence this morning are Terry Munyard and myself, Morris Anyah.

14 PRESIDING JUDGE: Mr Anyah, I notice the accused is not
09:35:16 15 present in court. Could you address us on the reasons for his
16 absence?

17 MR ANYAH: Madam President, this morning, perhaps about ten
18 after 9, I received a call from James Kamara, who is a member of
19 our team, and Mr Kamara advised me that he did speak with

09:35:34 20 Mr Taylor this morning and that Mr Taylor was not going to be
21 present in court. I asked why, and he explained that a

22 circumstance arose at the detention centre whereby a room in
23 which Mr Taylor keeps his confidential legal materials appeared
24 to have been tampered with, meaning that someone other than

09:36:01 25 another detainee, and possibly a detention centre personnel, had
26 gone through his confidential legal materials.

27 I don't know the details of this particular episode. While
28 we were in court here Mr Taylor attempted to reach us, but
29 unfortunately the telephone network did not function because of

1 the presence of what I am told are blockers in the courtroom that
2 prevent calls from coming in.

3 So under the circumstances I would make an initial
4 application, which would be to be given perhaps five to ten
09:36:39 5 minutes to ring Mr Taylor up and find out exactly what is going
6 on.

7 I notice that present here in court today is the head of
8 the sub-office of the Special Court, Mr Townsend, and perhaps he
9 has more information than we do. But for our purposes, this is
09:36:56 10 what we know right now.

11 PRESIDING JUDGE: Indeed I think Mr Townsend does have
12 information, but he speaks for the Chief of Detention.
13 Mr Townsend being a representative of the Registrar of the
14 Special Court, he would not speak for the accused. That is why I
09:37:19 15 had wanted you, from the Defence side, to tell the Court your
16 side of the story as to why the accused is not present.

17 MR ANYAH: We appreciate --

18 PRESIDING JUDGE: And more importantly, as to the
19 possibility of Mr Taylor coming in later today --

09:37:37 20 MR ANYAH: Madam President --

21 PRESIDING JUDGE: -- to advise us.

22 MR ANYAH: If it please, Madam President, I will be in a
23 better position to advise the Court both as to what happened, and
24 as to the possibility of Mr Taylor being present today if given
09:37:50 25 the opportunity to call him. So I make that application. I ask
26 for an adjournment of ten minutes to speak to our client so that
27 we can be better placed to advise the Court about the totality of
28 the circumstances.

29 PRESIDING JUDGE: Mr Anyah, whilst you are on your feet,

1 might I inquire why Mr Griffiths is absent?

2 MR ANYAH: I have not been able to reach Mr Griffiths. I
3 have tried personally, but I know others, including Mr Kamara and
4 Mr Taylor, have tried. Usually when this happens it is something
09:38:26 5 that's rather serious, either he is ill or, given the cold
6 weather in The Hague today, he has had difficulties getting here.
7 It's unusual, but I am sure I will also be speaking to him
8 shortly.

9 [Trial Chamber conferred]

09:39:40 10 PRESIDING JUDGE: Could I ask Mr Townsend to address the
11 judges as to any information you might have from the detention
12 centre, please.

13 MR TOWNSEND: May it please the Trial Chamber:
14 Your Honours, at approximately 7.50 this morning I received a
09:39:56 15 phone call from Mr Anders Backman, the Chief Custody Officer of
16 the International Criminal Court Detention Unit, and he informed
17 me that Mr Taylor is well and had decided not to come to court
18 this morning because he was upset about an inspection that took
19 place on Monday, 25 January - that's this Monday - of the cell,
09:40:20 20 not the one in which Mr Taylor sleeps, but the one in which he
21 keeps his papers and his personal effects. Mr Taylor became
22 aware of that, shall I say, informal inspection yesterday,
23 Tuesday the 26th, and has opted not to come to court today.

24 I don't have any information about what Mr Anyah
09:40:41 25 represented as an apparent tampering, but I understand that
26 Mr Backman entered that cell, the one in which Mr Taylor keeps
27 his personal effects and papers, on the 25th in order to assess
28 the volume of personal effects, and he did that for various
29 detainees who have a growing amount of personal effects, and they

1 are interested in securing additional storage for that, and that
2 was the purpose of that entry.

3 That's the information I have, your Honours, as of now. In
4 terms of his being able to come to court, should he choose so at
09:41:17 5 a later point this morning, I understand that that is a
6 possibility; we would just need to inform the Dutch Transport
7 Police, the DV&O. That's all I can inform you of at this time,
8 your Honours.

9 PRESIDING JUDGE: Well, Mr Anyah, there you have some
09:41:32 10 information which can form the basis of your inquiry from
11 Mr Taylor. What the Court really is interested in is to
12 establish whether this day can be salvaged and the proceedings
13 can continue.

14 I think we can indulge you and allow you a break of, say,
09:41:55 15 ten minutes for you to make the necessary inquiries, and when we
16 return we will mark the way forward as far as today is concerned.

17 MR ANYAH: Thank you, Madam President.

18 PRESIDING JUDGE: We will return to court at 10 to 10.

19 [Break taken at 9.42 a.m.]

10:07:59 20 [Upon resuming at 10.08 a.m.]

21 PRESIDING JUDGE: Yes, Mr Anyah, do you have word from the
22 detention centre?

23 MR ANYAH: Yes I do, Madam President. I have spoken with
24 Mr Taylor and this is what I know: Mr Taylor indicates that
10:08:55 25 there is a room adjacent to his cell at the ICC detention centre.
26 He has had that adjacent room for the past three years or however
27 long he's been at the detention centre. That adjacent room
28 contains all his private documents, in particular his legal
29 papers pertaining to this case. Over the last year he has

1 noticed that from time to time it appears that someone goes into
2 that room unbeknownst to him. The frequency of that occurrence
3 has increased over the last year and this week he decided to turn
4 up the heating in the room and after doing so on the following
10:09:43 5 day, being yesterday, he came into the room and found out that
6 the heating had been turned down and that the room was very cold.

7 This morning he confronted whom he identified as a
8 principal officer at the detention centre. I am told the
9 principal officer is below the chief custodial officer and the
10:10:02 10 deputy chief custodial officer. That principal officer admitted
11 to him after Mr Taylor inquired about the room that on Monday
12 last, the 25th, the chief custodial officer as well as the deputy
13 chief custodial officer and the principal officer went into that
14 room. They did so in the absence of Mr Taylor and the apparent
10:10:25 15 purpose was as was indicated by Mr Townsend; something to the
16 effect that they were looking to ascertain the volume of material
17 in the room, perhaps for purposes of the allocation of space.

18 Mr Taylor found that very disturbing and in our view
19 rightfully so because the practice thus far at that detention
10:10:48 20 centre has been that at the time such an inspection occurs the
21 detainee is present. They may not necessarily always give prior
22 notice of these impromptu inspections, if you will, but at the
23 time of the occurrence when they are carried out the detainee is
24 usually present. In this case at the time of the inspection on
10:11:12 25 the 25th Mr Taylor was not present and post the inspection,
26 subsequent to it, he was not advised of it until he inquired.

27 Now, Mr Taylor has since the course of this morning been
28 undertaking an exercise to ascertain what if any materials are
29 missing from the room. He does believe that materials have been

1 looked into and/or are missing. He is just not sure of what has,
2 if you will, been inspected. So he has spent this morning going
3 through his materials. He doesn't know the extent of the breach
4 and he tells me that it will take perhaps almost a week to go
10:11:50 5 through the over one million documents. I am not sure if it's
6 documents or pages, but the material is in excess of a million
7 pages that he has in the room.

8 Regarding your Honour's primary concern at this point or as
9 indicated previously whether or not there is the possibility of
10:12:10 10 proceeding today he advises me that he can be here during the
11 afternoon session at 2.30 p.m. In fact he is dressed, ready and
12 willing and able to come to court. He is just very disturbed at
13 this turn of events. The information in that room extends beyond
14 materials in this case and include his private personal papers.

10:12:33 15 Your Honours can imagine what those might be, his religious
16 materials and the like and personal thoughts. So this is a very
17 serious matter.

18 So, in the totality of the circumstances, I make another
19 application on behalf of Mr Taylor, which is that the proceedings
10:12:50 20 be adjourned until 2.30 p.m. this afternoon. I have informally
21 advised Mr Townsend that transport might be needed at that time.
22 That's my first application.

23 My second application would be that your Honours order the
24 Registry to undertake an investigation of this matter to
10:13:12 25 ascertain what was done on Monday in that room by these detention
26 centre officers and when the investigation is completed there
27 might be further applications coming from the Defence.

28 The last point of which I can alert the Court to is
29 Mr Griffiths's absence. We have not been able to reach

1 Mr Griffiths. Mr Munday has tried repeatedly and there is a
2 measure of concern on our part that we have not been able to do
3 so. We are considering sending someone to his flat to ascertain
4 his whereabouts. That's what I know, Madam President.

10:13:53 5 PRESIDING JUDGE: Mr Koumjian, do you have anything to say
6 in response before I rule on the application for continuance?

7 MR KOUMJIAN: Thank you, Madam President. The
8 Prosecution's only observation is that, in our view, no valid
9 reason has been given for Mr Taylor not to be here, that if he
10:14:13 10 has matters of concern regarding his detention of course he has a
11 right to bring that to the attention of the Chamber, apparently
12 he's had these for a year but hasn't done so. He needs to be
13 here to bring that to the attention of the Chamber and it sounds
14 like he is available to come to court far earlier than 2.30. We
10:14:34 15 would just ask your Honours to consider setting a time, something
16 like the 12 o'clock normal beginning of the second session, to
17 bring him to court. Thank you.

18 [Trial Chamber conferred]

19 PRESIDING JUDGE: Mr Anyah, thank you for the information
10:16:14 20 you have given the Court. I would like to make a number of
21 observations, having heard from both yourself and from
22 Mr Townsend and finally from Mr Koumjian.

23 Whatever might have happened at the detention centre does
24 not sound to us like a matter for the Trial Chamber now to get
10:16:39 25 engaged in in that it's not a matter that goes to the fair trial
26 rights of the accused. We've not had concrete evidence that that
27 is in fact what happened.

28 We are also aware that the detention rules do give the
29 Chief of Detention latitude to conduct searches of the cells,

1 routine searches of the cells. So far we have not heard anything
2 to indicate to us that anything out of the ordinary went on in
3 the detention centre.

4 Now we are concerned of course that Mr Taylor has opted not
10:17:21 5 to come to court and I think we do agree with Mr Koumjian's
6 observations that the right thing to do would have been for
7 Mr Taylor to come to court and probably use time outside of the
8 court time to search his documents and to ensure that his
9 property is in order. But to assume that he is entitled to take
10:17:42 10 time out of the court in order to satisfy himself that his
11 personal effects and documents were not tampered with I think is
12 not right. This is taking time that the Court has not given him.

13 Now, you have asked for an adjournment until 2.30. The
14 Trial Chamber thinks that's an inordinate amount of time. And
10:18:10 15 you say that Mr Taylor might require the rest of the week to
16 actually make sure that nothing was tampered with, yet he is
17 willing to come in at 2 or 2.30. Mr Taylor can take all the time
18 that he needs outside of the court's sitting time, this is the
19 view of the Chamber, to ensure that he satisfies himself as to
10:18:37 20 the safe custody of his personal effects.

21 We are of the view that he could come in at 12, that is
22 after the mid-morning break, in order to salvage the rest of this
23 day for cross-examination. We are going to grant you an
24 adjournment until 12 and I am going to request Mr Townsend to
10:19:03 25 ensure that transportation is arranged to bring Mr Taylor to
26 court so that he can appear at 12 o'clock and that the trial can
27 continue from there onwards.

28 You seem to think that is not workable, Mr Anyah?

29 MR ANYAH: Well, Madam President, we are in the Court's

1 hands and we are no doubt bound by your Honour's observations.
2 But if it please your Honours, if I could be heard briefly on
3 this point regarding his fair trial rights and the additional
4 point mentioned by learned counsel opposite that Mr Taylor should
10:19:48 5 have been here to convey the essence of what happened to the
6 Court.

7 He does speak through us, we are his lawyers, and when
8 something happens and he tries to reach us and unfortunately
9 could not reach any of us this morning, it is our mandate to come
10:20:03 10 before your Honours and speak for him. He doesn't always have to
11 be here when exigent circumstances occur, and that's what we have
12 done. We are addressing the Court on his behalf and all
13 applications we make are as if he were here present himself
14 making them.

10:20:19 15 With respect to the fair trial rights issue,
16 Madam President. With respect, and this is just for purposes of
17 the record, it is a very serious circumstance when documents that
18 might include confidential attorney client privilege materials
19 might have been inspected and they do go directly in our view and
10:20:41 20 respectful submission to his fair trial rights. We appreciate --

21 PRESIDING JUDGE: Mr Anyah, if I may interrupt. There is
22 nothing at this stage that you have told the Chamber which
23 confirms that documents were in fact tampered with. It's solely
24 a supposition and this is precisely the point that I am making,
10:21:02 25 that Mr Taylor presumed that this happened, presumed that the
26 Court would adjourn and not sit until he is nice and ready and
27 this is where he erred. He should have come in court because we
28 might not have been inclined to grant him an adjournment. But he
29 took an adjournment without asking for it. That's the point I am

1 trying to make.

2 MR ANYAH: I appreciate it, Madam President. I just --

3 PRESIDING JUDGE: If and when a matter does arise that goes
4 to the fair trial rights of the accused, of course that would be
10:21:30 5 addressed when the time comes. But so far, no such thing has
6 arisen. It's all supposition, and the Trial Chamber is being
7 held to ransom here. This is our concern, and I think nothing
8 that I have heard - nothing further that I have heard from you
9 can make me change my mind as to the Court order to resume at 12,
10:21:57 10 and that is the order that I have given.

11 Secondly, also there is nothing that we have heard that
12 will convince us at this stage to order an inquiry, because
13 everything is supposition. We cannot order the Registrar to
14 inquire into what appears to have been a routine search in the
10:22:23 15 detention centre. As you know, matters of detention are purely
16 the purview of the Registrar and not the Trial Chamber.

17 So the Court will adjourn till 12, and we expect that the
18 trial will continue then.

19 MR ANYAH: Thank you, Madam President.

10:22:41 20 [Break taken at 10.22 a.m.]

21 [Upon resuming at 12.05 p.m.]

22 [The accused present]

23 PRESIDING JUDGE: Mr Anyah, I presume the Defence is ready
24 to proceed with the trial.

12:08:13 25 MR ANYAH: That is correct, Madam President.

26 PRESIDING JUDGE: Thank you. Mr Koumijan, are you going to
27 take the cross-examination this morning?

28 MS HOLLIS: Yes, Madam President.

29 PRESIDING JUDGE: Before you do, Mr Taylor, good morning.

1 I would just like to remind you of your declaration to tell the
2 truth as the cross-examination continues.

3 THE WITNESS: Yes, your Honour.

4 PRESIDING JUDGE: Mr Koumjian, please.

12:08:35 5 DANKPANNAH DR CHARLES GHANKAY TAYLOR:

6 [On former affirmation]

7 CROSS-EXAMINATION BY MR KOUMJIAN: [Continued]

8 Q. Good afternoon, Mr Taylor.

9 A. Good afternoon, Mr Koumjian.

12:08:46 10 Q. Sir, looking back with the benefit of some years of
11 hindsight, how would you rate your competency during your period
12 as the chief executive during your presidency of Liberia?

13 A. Did you say my competency?

14 Q. Yes, your performance in that job, Mr Taylor.

12:09:04 15 A. My performance on the job? Well, I would rate - under the
16 very, very tough conditions that I operated under, I would rate
17 my performances as being good under the circumstances. I think
18 the majority of Liberians believe so.

19 Q. Mr Taylor, did you keep yourself - when you were President,
12:09:32 20 did you keep yourself aware of matters of importance that were
21 going on in your government?

22 A. Well, to the extent that any President would, I would say,
23 yes, to the extent that any President could.

24 Q. Did you, for example, implement procedures to make sure
12:09:52 25 that important information reached you?

26 A. When you talk about procedures, I don't understand what you
27 mean by procedures. Would you elaborate, please?

28 Q. Well, let me give you a couple of concrete examples then.
29 Sir, as the President of Liberia you were responsible for how the

1 public money was spent, correct?

2 A. Yes. Not totally, but I would say in part, yes.

3 Q. Well, not totally, are you saying that if there's an
4 element of the budget that you don't take responsibility for?

12:10:27 5 A. What I mean is that the Legislature under our constitution
6 of Liberia is responsible for the purse. That's what I mean,
7 sir.

8 Q. Thank you. And would you agree that it's your
9 responsibility to see that the budget as allocated by the

12:10:43 10 Legislature was in fact spent according to the laws and
11 constitution of Liberia?

12 A. Oh, that would be a responsibility, yes.

13 Q. And for the benefit of the Liberian people, would you agree
14 with that?

12:10:53 15 A. I would agree with that.

16 Q. What kind of procedures did you implement to make sure that
17 you were aware of how money was spent in Liberia by your
18 government?

19 A. Well, along with the responsibilities of the President
12:11:08 20 under the constitution, the constitution also gives

21 responsibility to other parties. For example, the
22 Auditor-General, the office of the Ministry of Finance, the
23 Central Bank, these are all other institutions and some of them
24 operate outside of the full authority of the President. But to

12:11:29 25 the extent under our laws, all of those agencies were given a
26 fair opportunity to carry out their functions under our laws and
27 our constitution.

28 Q. Sir, looking back on that then today, do you think you were
29 kept aware of how money was spent by your government - public

1 money was spent in Liberia during your presidency?

12:12:05 2 A. No President is kept aware of every detail of expenditures,
3 Mr Koumijan. Presidents don't deal with day-to-day expenditures.
4 Presidents deal with general briefings maybe from the Finance
5 Minister. To the best of my knowledge, I received no reports
6 from either the Ministry of Finance, from the office of the
7 Auditor-General, or the governor of the Central Bank that
8 operated exclusive of the Presidency of any improprieties that
9 were not dealt with under our laws.

12:12:25 10 Q. Thank you. Now, Mr Taylor, understandably you wouldn't be
11 made aware of, for example, if money is allocated for office
12 supplies in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, how that was spent.
13 But money that was significant - significant amount of money, how
14 it was allocated to a various ministry or other source of
12:12:49 15 spending or other allocation you would be made aware of up to a
16 certain amount or any money above a certain amount, correct?

17 A. No, that's generalised. Once - under our budget, monies
18 are appropriated, and there's a difference between under our
19 government, our laws what is appropriated and what is allotted.
12:13:15 20 Once a budget has been passed under our laws by an Act of the
21 Legislature, the appropriations are known. Then the second stage
22 is the process of allotment based on what is obtained through the
23 tax collection structure. Now, those ministries and agencies are
24 accountable, okay, and I would not necessarily go in and say,
12:13:46 25 "Well, did you do this or did you do that?" The office of the
26 Auditor-General and the general accounting office had their
27 responsibilities to pursue those.

28 Q. Sir, you were given a copy of the budget of Liberia,
29 corrects, the official budget?

1 A. If I was given a copy by whom?

2 Q. Did you review it?

3 A. I'm trying to be clear now. Are you talking if I was given
4 a copy in Court or over --

12:14:11 5 Q. No.

6 A. Okay.

7 Q. When you were President.

8 A. Well, the President proposes the budget, so of course I
9 would know generally what the general proposition is to the

12:14:23 10 Legislature. So of course.

11 Q. And, Mr Taylor, as far as you've admitted in court,
12 correct, that there were certain monies spent outside of the
13 official budget, what was public in the budget of Liberia,
14 correct?

12:14:36 15 A. I don't know what you mean by money that was spent outside
16 of the official budget. What do you mean?

17 Q. Well, sir, you've talked about covert accounts, money that
18 was spent outside the budget, they did not appear in the budget,
19 correct?

12:14:52 20 A. No, no, no, no, no. Covert accounts are a part of the
21 budget. What is not public is how it was spent, but it's not
22 extra-budgetary, no.

23 Q. So you're aware then --

12:15:09 24 PRESIDING JUDGE: Mr Koumjian just a moment. Mr Taylor,
25 did you say covert accounts are part of the budget or aren't?

26 THE WITNESS: No, they are a part of the budget.

27 PRESIDING JUDGE: Then the LiveNote record has you wrong
28 and this should be corrected. The covert accounts are or form
29 part of the budget.

1 THE WITNESS: That is correct. The covert accounts are a
2 part of the budget. What is covert about it is that the nature
3 of the expenditure is not exposed, except to certain individuals
4 and committees. But it falls within the perimeters of the
5 budget.

12:15:40

6 MR KOUMJIAN:

7 Q. Sir, would you be aware of the spending of any allocation
8 of government, public revenue beyond let's say \$100,000? Would
9 you agree that that would have to come to your attention at some
10 point?

12:15:52

11 A. Not necessarily, Mr Koumjian, no. Not necessarily, no.

12 Q. What amount of money would you be aware of?

13 A. It depends, Mr Koumjian. Maybe we need to explain how our
14 system worked. Once monies are appropriated, generally allotted
15 based on what is collected, and let me explain for the judges,
16 you may get in the budget let's say appropriated \$1 million but
17 during the collection process maybe there's a revenue shortfall,
18 but allotted to you may be a half a million dollars, so you deal
19 with allotment. Now ministers and agencies of government have

12:16:20

20 what we call official vouchers and ministers can sign vouchers
21 for any amount based on what they had approved in the budget or
22 presented. And so the President would not know what a minister
23 is expending once he is doing it within the confines of what he
24 proposed for the President to present to the legislature. So the
25 President would not necessarily know, for example, if a voucher
26 is signed for \$300,000. The only time there could be a problem,
27 if there is controversy about how it was spent and a problem of
28 accountability such would reach to the President. But the
29 President would not know what a minister was doing except it

12:16:44

12:17:09

1 became controversial.

2 Q. Mr Taylor, let's put this in some perspective. In 1998
3 budget for Liberia, we've talked about this before, it was less
4 than \$42 million, correct?

12:17:44 5 A. That's correct.

6 Q. Are you telling me that a minister could sign for a voucher
7 for \$300,000 and that would not eventually reach you, come to
8 your attention?

9 A. If the minister signed a \$300,000 voucher within the
12:18:01 10 confines of his budget and his proposition that was placed before
11 the President that was sent to the legislature that would not
12 necessarily have to be brought to the President, no. That's what
13 I'm saying.

14 Q. Now, sir, just briefly to deal with another topic, what
12:18:18 15 systems existed for you to become aware of human rights abuses by
16 government forces, security forces, or military forces, police
17 forces, in Liberia during your presidency?

18 A. As far as systems, the first line of defence I will say
19 would be the Ministry of Justice. That would be the first line.
12:18:43 20 We put into place a human rights commission. There were other
21 human rights commissions that operated and that system is the
22 same as - we don't have like in other countries where you have
23 maybe in the Foreign Ministry someone responsible for human
24 rights. We had ours in the Justice Department and that would be
12:19:09 25 - the Justice would be our first line.

26 Q. So looking back with the benefit of over six years of
27 history and hindsight, do you feel you were kept aware of the
28 human rights situation in Liberia during your presidency?

29 A. That's a general question there, Mr Koumjian, if I was kept

1 aware of human rights situations in the country.

2 Q. Well, my question, sir, is do you feel right now, based on
3 what you know today, that you were kept aware of the human rights
4 situation in Liberia during your presidency?

12:19:38 5 A. Well, I --

6 MR ANYAH: Madam President, I will object. Many of the
7 series of questions posed thus far by counsel have been vague.
8 You are talking about six years of presidency from 1997 until
9 2003. The phrase in this question that's particularly vague is
10 "the human rights situation". What exactly does counsel mean?
11 Is it every instance that there is - first of all, what is his
12 definition of human rights in this context?

12:19:57

13 PRESIDING JUDGE: Mr Anyah, I think the question is quite
14 simple and straightforward. It is with hindsight. Hindsight
15 meaning now and in view of all the evidence and the propositions
16 that have been seen in this Court. With hindsight does Mr Taylor
17 feel that he was kept abreast of the human rights situation in
18 Liberia during his presidency. I think Mr Taylor is best placed
19 to answer that question and I think you should answer, sir, that
20 question.

12:20:18

12:20:42

21 THE WITNESS: Very well. I've heard the ruling, but it's
22 always good to have 20/20 hindsight as most people would like to
23 have. But it was impossible for any President and it would still
24 be impossible for any President to have been kept abreast of any
25 and all human rights situation in any country. So in my specific
26 case it is impossible and I would say next to, I don't know what
27 a word to expand on - for me to say to this Court that I was kept
28 abreast of every, quote unquote, human rights situation in the
29 country. I would say no.

12:21:03

1 MR KOUMJIAN:

2 Q. Thank you. Mr Taylor, that was not my question so let me
3 try to clarify it for you. I'm not asking you if you were aware
4 of everything that happened in Liberia involving human rights
12:21:38 5 because I agree that of course would be impossible. My question
6 is would you agree first that as President it was your
7 responsibility to the Liberian people to be aware of the human
8 rights situation in that country?

9 A. Look, when I took the oath they said to the best of your
12:21:54 10 ability and I'll tell this Court to the best of my ability, okay,
11 I acted to the best of my ability. Now I can't be expected to do
12 the impossible.

13 Q. Sir, is your ability - looking back on it, were you
14 competent, did you keep yourself aware of the human rights
12:22:17 15 situation in Liberia?

16 A. Well, that's a different question now, did you keep
17 yourself aware. The President has a responsibility and that
18 responsibility rests also with how he coordinates with other
19 officials. Now did I keep myself aware, to the best of my
12:22:30 20 officials' ability of what came to me I would say that is what I
21 was aware of.

22 Q. Mr Taylor, how do you rate your performance as a manager of
23 personnel in choosing people and managing them for important
24 positions in the Liberian government?

12:22:48 25 A. I'm not a personnel manager. Governmental political
26 positions are based on other criteria other than what is done in
27 a normal administrative situation. There are political, there
28 are other considerations that are used in politics to - as far as
29 I'm concerned, as a politician in that office, I acted based on

1 the circumstances in the best possible way and I'm very proud of
2 the appointments that I made in government.

3 Q. So, sir, would you regret today any of the appointments
4 that you made within your power as President?

12:23:22 5 A. No.

6 Q. Benjamin Yeaten, for example. If let's say for some reason
7 you were back in government, you would consider him as a person
8 you could put back into your government. Is that correct?

9 A. Well, I would answer your question this way, because you
10 are getting into hindsight and conjecture: An individual is
11 innocent until proven guilty. Unless there were factual evidence
12 and Benjamin Yeaten had been charged and convicted with a crime I
13 would appoint him again today. I was not into the business of
14 passing judgment on people based on innuendo without proof. If
15 there is evidence proven against not just Benjamin Yeaten but any
16 other official, that was proven and not just talked about as
17 people in West Africa just blab about people, factual evidence,
18 it would be incumbent upon me as President not to nominate him,
19 okay, as SSS director because that process - the office of the
20 SSS is with advice and consent. He is nominated and he is
21 approved by the Senate of the Republic of Liberia. I would do it
22 again unless there were credible evidence that he was involved in
23 improprieties.

24 Q. Sir, it was within your discretion to dismiss Benjamin
12:24:47 25 Yeaten, for example, up until the day you left Liberia in August
26 2003, correct?

27 A. Oh, yes, it was within my discretion, yes.

28 Q. And looking back even in hindsight you believe you made the
29 correct decision in keeping him in charge in the position that he

1 had, correct?

2 A. Well, I've responded to you. Until now and up until that
3 time there was nothing before me or that had been brought in any
4 way that would have led to me not reappointing him.

12:25:20 5 Q. Joseph Tate, I believe he has some relation to your family,
6 is that correct?

7 A. That is correct.

8 Q. What was that relation, sir? Is he a cousin of yours?

9 A. That is correct. He was a cousin of mine.

12:25:32 10 Q. Do you regret his appointment, of the late Joseph Tate?

11 A. Oh, not at all. Not at all. He was a trained man. He was
12 trained in US institutions. Very, very trained and he kept law
13 and order in Liberia that they do not have right now. I would
14 reappoint him again.

12:25:50 15 Q. Sir, how about Benoni Urey? You appointed him as the
16 maritime commissioner, is that correct?

17 A. That is correct. I nominated him, yes.

18 Q. And you do not regret that appointment. Is that correct?

19 A. Not at all. Benoni Urey has two masters degrees from top
12:26:11 20 American universities. Very, very trained and I would appoint
21 him again.

22 Q. So, Mr Taylor, is it correct that you have no reason to
23 believe that Ben Urey did not perform in the job as maritime
24 commissioner in the way you wanted him to perform?

12:26:30 25 A. Would you ask that again.

26 MR ANYAH: Madam President, I object to the question. It's
27 not only compound, it's vague. It calls for speculation. What
28 is Mr Taylor's expectations of Benoni Urey? What's the
29 definition of that? Because when you dissect the question in its

1 different parts it reads --

2 MR KOUMJIAN: Your Honour, I'll withdraw the question if
3 you want to get this over a little faster. I will re-ask it. I
4 asked a double negative and I'll try to do it positive.

12:27:01 5 PRESIDING JUDGE: Okay, rephrase then.

6 MR KOUMJIAN: Thank you:

7 Q. Mr Taylor, did Ben Urey do anything when he was a maritime
8 commissioner as far as you know that you didn't approve of?

9 A. I know of no action taken on the part of Mr Urey in his
12:27:17 10 line of duty that was not consistent with what is his line of
11 duty. That's the best I can say to you. And if Ben Urey had
12 done anything wrong or engaged in any improprieties, I'm sure
13 that I would have acted against him.

14 Q. Sir, did you have any business association with Benoni
12:27:48 15 Urey? Did you have any association in any business with him?

16 A. No.

17 Q. Do you understand what I mean?

18 A. No.

19 Q. You know, don't you, that Benoni Urey is listed as a
12:27:58 20 shareholder in a company that owns or partially owns Lonestar,
21 the mobile phone company, correct?

22 A. I heard that in this Court. I did not know his personal
23 business. I heard that in this Court. In fact before - in fact
24 during the beginning of my arrest, based on documents that were
12:28:17 25 sent with the United Nations travel ban, I read UN reports about
26 that. But I did not know that during the time of my presidency,
27 no.

28 Q. Lonestar was the first mobile company to have a licence to
29 operate in Liberia, correct?

1 A. That is correct.

2 Q. Sir, you had to approve that licence, correct?

3 A. Well, not necessarily, but I did approve it after it was
4 recommended by the Ministry of Post. In fact I was very happy at
12:28:53 5 that particular time that we were getting wireless communication
6 in Liberia.

7 Q. In fact that also is in a country a very valuable - I don't
8 know if the correct word is resource, but right, economic right,
9 the right to operate the only mobile phone company in a country,
12:29:07 10 correct?

11 A. You know, I'm not going to speculate along those lines.

12 Q. You don't know that? You're not sure about that, whether
13 that's a valuable economic asset?

14 A. Well, I'm not into their business. I'm not sure if it's a
12:29:20 15 valuable economic asset for them. My consideration as President
16 at the time was different from their consideration, so I can't
17 speak about whether it is a valuable economic stuff for them.
18 But all I can say that, from my perspective as President, it was
19 a welcomed development based on our need to have
12:29:42 20 telecommunications in Liberia at a time when the telephone
21 services were all down. So that was my consideration at the
22 time.

23 Q. Sir, was it a consideration for you at the time to make
24 sure that the public budget, the Liberian people obtained an
12:30:01 25 appropriate deal on this licence for this economic asset of the
26 right to operate at the time the only mobile phone company in
27 Liberia?

28 A. When I tell you, it depends. It depends, Mr Koumjian. At
29 the time the - if you want to go into the thought process that I

1 went through, I think I will better help with that because it's a
2 thought process. It's a very important question. But the
3 thought process and decisions that went into that decision was
4 based on this: Most little countries like Liberia and other
12:30:38 5 Third World countries, Liberia especially, we were dying to get
6 investments into Liberia. And as a result of that process, we
7 gave a lot of what we call investment incentives for businesses.

8 In the case of telephone, we could have demanded millions
9 of dollars for a licence. In that case we were desperate. The
12:31:04 10 same thing happened with other investments like in timber and
11 other things, that in our little country sometimes we have to
12 give so much incentive to get the investment in that if things
13 were not the same, we would probably obtain more at the front
14 end. But in our cases in some of our little countries, we have

12:31:28 15 to bend over backwards, give extraordinary incentives as a means
16 of bringing companies in. And I could give examples later.

17 Q. Mr Taylor, very quickly: Did you obtain a benefit for your
18 self when you granted that licence?

19 A. No. No, not at all. No.

12:31:47 20 Q. Sir, you were asked this before but I have to ask you
21 again: Who got the licence - who was the investor for Lonestar
22 when they came into Liberia?

23 A. Well, as far as I'm concerned, I don't know all the
24 players, but what I was told at the time was that the owners of
12:32:07 25 that company also - because I wanted to find out as to whether
26 they were credible. They were also operating out of Ghana and I
27 think either Guinea or Sierra Leone and that they were credible.
28 I don't know who the owners are, but I know that - I understand
29 that this cell company was the same ownership of the cell company

1 then in Ghana and I think it was Guinea.

2 Q. Do you mean Cellcom?

3 A. No, no. I said the --

4 Q. Okay. I'm just asking, is that the same as Cellcom?

12:32:41 5 A. No, no, no, no. I'm saying the cellular company.

6 Q. Yes, I know. Sir, who did you deal with from Lonestar?

7 A. No, no. I dealt with the Ministry of Post.

8 Q. But, Mr Taylor, you've told us that important businessmen
9 into Liberia that you as President would develop a - would get to

12:33:01 10 know them and develop a personal relationship.

11 A. Well, no, Mr Koumjian.

12 MR ANYAH: It would be helpful to get a reference to where
13 Mr Taylor said this, the transcript reference for that assertion.

14 PRESIDING JUDGE: Mr Koumjian, are you referring to a prior
12:33:17 15 testimony of the accused?

16 MR KOUMJIAN: Yes, but I do not have a reference at hand.

17 PRESIDING JUDGE: In any event, let us hear what the
18 witness has to say. Perhaps you could ask your question.

19 MR KOUMJIAN:

12:33:35 20 Q. Mr Taylor, you know Mohamed Salame, for example, correct?

21 A. Yes, I knew a gentlemen called Mohamed Salame, yes.

22 Q. And he's not Liberian, correct? What's his --

23 A. Mohamed Salame is of Lebanese origin.

24 Q. And you knew him because he was operating some businesses
12:33:49 25 in Liberia?

26 A. No, not specifically because of that. Mohamed Salame
27 carried a title of ambassador-at-large. That's how I really got
28 to know him, but he did operate a small timber company in
29 Liberia, but I didn't get to know him because of that but because

1 of what we wanted him to do for the government.

2 Q. Well, I'm sorry, now I have to ask: What did you want
3 Mohamed Salame to do for the government?

4 A. Well, he was ambassador-at-large and Mohamed Salame worked
12:34:22 5 extensively in getting our rapprochement with the French
6 government in 1998 and was very helpful in my visit to France in
7 1998.

8 Q. He actually was very helpful for you in the Ivory Coast,
9 correct?

10 A. Well, he lived in la Cote d'Ivoire by the time we were
11 dealing with the French embassy in la Cote d'Ivoire.

12 Q. And he also knew General Guei?

13 A. I would say he had to know him, yes. But Mohamed Salame
14 had been living in la Cote d'Ivoire for many years. He also
12:35:05 15 knows all the other Presidents and I think he still lives there.

16 Q. As your ambassador-at-large, let's clarify that, he was
17 ambassador-at-large for the Government of Liberia?

18 A. That is correct.

19 Q. He dealt with General Guei representing your government,
12:35:19 20 correct?

21 A. Well, no, that is not correct. Liberia had an embassy in
22 la Cote d'Ivoire that dealt with the government. The post of
23 ambassador-at-large did not involve la Cote d'Ivoire. There was
24 an embassy in la Cote d'Ivoire.

12:35:39 25 Q. We'll be coming back to Mohamed Salame. Of course you knew
26 Mr Minin, a businessman, you say, correct?

27 A. Yes, I met Minin.

28 Q. And you say you know him because he was what kind of
29 businessman?

1 A. Well, to the best of my knowledge, Minin was operating - he
2 got I think the concession for timber and teak wood out of
3 Liberia.

4 Q. His nationality was Israeli. Is that correct?

12:36:12 5 A. Well, Minin is a - yes, I would say he is - what do you
6 call, Russian Jew. He's Russian Jew. I understand now he still
7 lives in Israel, yes.

8 Q. Sir, how do you understand now where he lives? When is
9 your last contact with Mr Minin?

12:36:34 10 A. I haven't spoken to or seen Minin in, what, close to I
11 would say seven years. Seven, eight, nine years or so.

12 Q. But you've told us, and this is not the first time, that
13 you know he lives in Israel now. How do you know that?

14 A. From the news reports. Minin's name is on the United
12:36:57 15 Nations asset freeze and whatchamacallit and I think there's a
16 note in there I may have read that he lives in Israel. It's a UN
17 document.

18 Q. So you are well aware of the United Nations travel ban and
19 you keep yourself aware of the people listed on these travel
12:37:14 20 bans?

21 A. It's my business, yes.

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

23 THE WITNESS: I'm sorry, your Honour. I withdraw that
24 word.

12:37:29 25 MR KOUMJIAN:

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

29 A. Yes, I meant the travel ban.

1 Q. Now, Mr Taylor, one of the reasons - let me just first ask
2 you this: Were you aware - right now are you aware of any
3 corruption that occurred during your presidency, corruption in
4 the government?

12:38:03 5 A. Mr Koumjian, I don't know how - well, I will put it this
6 way: It's a difficult question. Do I believe that corruption
7 occurred? Yes. Am I aware of any corruption that occurred? I
8 would say specifically I would only judge that based on evidence
9 brought before me that there was this act or that act and that's
10 the best way I can help now, Mr Koumjian.

11 Q. Mr Taylor, do any incidents come to mind that you believe
12 should be now or should have been investigated where you believe
13 there may have been corruption in your government that come to
14 mind now?

12:38:43 15 A. I tell you, that's a tough one. I wouldn't know. I've
16 been away from government so long, I don't know. And because of
17 my style of governance, unless there is something that came up
18 right now to say, "Well, during your administration, here is -
19 you see this, this happened and this amount," it's very
12:39:10 20 difficult. It's very difficult for me to say, Mr Koumjian.

21 Q. It was important for you to make sure that money was spent
22 appropriately from that limited budget in Liberia during your
23 presidency because it was during that time there were very tough
24 economic times. Begging was a national pastime, would you agree?

12:39:30 25 A. I would agree. I would agree.

26 Q. Just so we're clear, this is what you said on 13 August
27 2009 at page 26698. You were asked by your lawyer, reading an
28 article: "Begging has now become a national pastime. Is that
29 true, Mr Taylor?" And you said, "It is true." So you would

1 still agree that this was a situation of many, many Liberians?

2 A. Oh, I agree. I agree that - and by that I'm referring to
3 the previous question now and - is that what you are talking
4 about?

12:40:01 5 Q. Yeah, I'm talking - well, I'm about the situation in
6 Liberia. It's actually your counsel was reading from an article
7 from New Africa in May 1999, so at that time he was talking about
8 May 1999. You would agree that the - that there were people in
9 Liberia, many of them, were suffering to the point where they -
10 even begging had become common?

11 A. Oh, yes, Mr Koumjian. Coming out of a civil war with no
12 assistance from the international community and a proposed budget
13 of some 40-some million dollars, it was tough on the country. It
14 was tough on the people.

12:40:38 15 Q. What was the salary of a minister at that time?

16 A. Well, to the best of my recollection, a minister could have
17 made as much as \$2,000 or \$1,000.

18 PRESIDING JUDGE: That is per month?

19 THE WITNESS: That is correct, per month.

12:41:03 20 MR KOUMJIAN:

21 Q. You are talking about United States dollars on Liberian
22 dollars?

23 A. I'm talking about - we were paying in Liberian dollars.

24 Q. Well, Mr Taylor, let me just refer you to page 30315, 26
12:41:16 25 October, please. If Mr Taylor to be shown page 30315 --

26 MS IRURA: Please indicate the year, counsel.

27 MR KOUMJIAN: Yes, thank you. 2009:

28 Q. I believe almost all - unless I say otherwise, I'm
29 referring to Mr Taylor's testimony. October 2009, page 30315.

1 October 26, going down towards the bottom of the page with an
2 answer that begins "at some point". Do you have that, Mr Taylor?

3 A. Yes.

4 Q. So just reading the question immediately above it:

12:42:18 5 "This suggestion that they weren't being paid, Mr Taylor; is
6 that correct?"

7 He was talking about a witness from - who said he had been
8 in the ATU and they were not paid. You answered, "At some point
9 in time there was some delay."

12:42:32 10 But you said:

11 "The ATU was paid better than ministers in my government.
12 A private in the ATU made in excess of I think 250 United States
13 dollars, so they were very - the best. They were paid high -
14 higher than any other person."

12:42:47 15 A. Uh-huh.

16 Q. So were you telling the truth when you said that on 26
17 October, Mr Taylor, that your ministers did not make in excess of
18 250 --

19 A. Per month?

12:43:02 20 Q. -- United States dollars?

21 A. Per month?

22 Q. Yes.

23 A. I would say we were paid - yes, that would be truthful. If
24 you convert the Liberian dollars, that, the 2000 so dollars - I
12:43:15 25 don't know what the rate is, but that's not a lot.

26 PRESIDING JUDGE: Yes, but what is the equivalent of 250
27 United States dollars in Liberian currency?

28 THE WITNESS: Well, now it is --

29 PRESIDING JUDGE: At that time.

1 THE WITNESS: At that time it was 40 to 1.

2 MR KOUMJIAN:

3 Q. So it would be a little over \$80, \$82, \$83 United States.

4 Is that correct?

12:43:42 5 A. No, no. Far more than that, Mr Koumjian.

6 Q. Sorry. Thank you.

7 A. At 40 to 1, 4,000 would be about \$1,000. So we're talking
8 about 100 plus dollars or thereabout.

9 Q. Excuse me. I believe I was talking about 2,000 Liberian.

12:44:04 10 You said, if I understood you, ministers were making 2000
11 Liberian dollars.

12 A. That's correct. But converted to US dollars, it was 40
13 Liberian dollars to 1 US. So 400 to 1.

14 Q. That would be \$50, United States dollars.

12:44:20 15 A. Yeah, that's about - yeah.

16 Q. Thank you. Sam Bockarie was getting a salary of \$1,000
17 without working, correct?

18 A. Mr Koumjian, I think we went through this before. I've
19 answered these very questions from you, but I'll answer it again.

12:44:37 20 The circumstances were different and payments were not based -
21 there were different circumstances. I would say yes to your
22 question, but I answered that before. Not today, Mr Koumjian. I
23 mean before in one of your earlier --

24 PRESIDING JUDGE: Mr Koumjian, if I may interrupt, these
12:44:53 25 calculations, I think you've both got them wrong. If it was \$40
26 Liberian to one American dollar - do I get that correctly,
27 Mr Taylor?

28 THE WITNESS: That's correct. That's about a hundred.

29 PRESIDING JUDGE: Then the ATU were receiving the

1 equivalent of 1,000 Liberian dollars. Correct?

2 MR KOUMJIAN: Your Honour, I believe the witness said --

3 PRESIDING JUDGE: And if ministers were receiving 2,000
4 Liberian dollars, that would be - you divide that by 40.

12:45:31 5 THE WITNESS: It's close to a hundred to me.

6 PRESIDING JUDGE: Yes, 50.

7 MR KOUMJIAN: Your Honours, I believe \$250 times 40 would
8 be 10,000. Is that right?

9 PRESIDING JUDGE: 250 times 40?

12:45:52 10 MR KOUMJIAN: Yes, would be 10,000 Liberian dollars per
11 month.

12 PRESIDING JUDGE: That's correct. That's correct. That is
13 the relationship between what the ATU received and what ministers
14 received.

12:46:10 15 MR KOUMJIAN: Your Honours, if the witness could be shown
16 P-32. While that's being prepared:

17 Q. Mr Taylor, did you authorise - we talked about the maritime
18 agency and how it worked, that the agency dealt with a company in
19 the United States which was LISCR after you became President.

12:46:54 20 LISCR would collect the fees from the ships in the corporate
21 registry and LISCR would then pay the Liberian government a
22 portion of those fees after deducting some for itself. Is that
23 correct?

24 A. No. Well, when you say dealt with, my evidence is that
12:47:13 25 LISCR runs the programme, not just deals. LISCR runs the
26 programme. The Liberian maritime under the commissioner, the
27 commissioner does not run or have anything to do with the
28 day-to-day operation of LISCR. It is contracted under contract
29 to this company. It's American owned and operated and we get a

1 part of the fee that is paid to the company.

12:47:56 2 Q. Just so we're clear, this company deals with the Liberian
3 government's corporate registry, Liberia government's maritime
4 registry, correct? These are rights of the Liberian government
5 and people that LISCR is managing, correct?

6 A. That is correct. I would put it that way, yes.

7 Q. And, sir, by contract LISCR is obligated to pay that money
8 to certain accounts of the government, correct?

9 A. When you say to pay that money, what money now?

12:48:13 10 Q. To pay whatever according to the contract is the amount due
11 to the Government of Liberia from the amounts collected?

12 A. That is correct.

13 Q. In fact, the negotiation - the majority of the funds
14 collected at least from the maritime agency for maritime
12:48:30 15 registration should go to the Liberian treasury, correct?

16 A. No. Don't put it that way. You're getting into something
17 - when you say and in fact the majority, I'm not going to get
18 into - I'm not sure, I don't know the percentages. To say here
19 to this Court that the majority - depending on the way the
12:48:48 20 programme run, the majority may not - could not maybe necessarily

21 come to the government. All I can say is that under the
22 programme that I cannot sit here today and go step by step
23 verbatim - that LISCR met its obligation under the agreement
24 whatever it was. I cannot attach majority, minority to it, but I
12:49:13 25 know the Liberian government received what it was entitled to
26 under the agreement.

27 Q. So you have no knowledge of LISCR doing anything that was
28 not authorised by the government?

29 A. LISCR did not act in any way on behalf of the government in

1 terms of authorisation of funding. Because LISCR had to be very
2 careful. LISCR operates under US laws registered I think it's
3 what the state just off --

12:49:42 4 Q. Virginia I believe, is that correct, Mr Taylor? Virginia
5 or Delaware?

6 A. It's Delaware, Mr Koumjian. It's Delaware. And it
7 operates under Delaware laws, US laws. So Liberia hired them.
8 They abide by American laws and then they pay us whatever
9 percentage. I don't remember offhand what that percentage is.

12:50:02 10 But I'm saying that they have always met their obligations to the
11 government.

12 Q. Thank you. You've answered my question in the detail I
13 needed. I don't want you to give the exact percentages. I know
14 they're complicated. But let's go to page 86, paragraph 400 of

12:50:20 15 P-32. I want to review some of these and ask you some questions
16 about them.

17 A. Okay.

18 Q. Perhaps we'll start with paragraph 398.

19 A. May I just see what document is this?

12:50:41 20 Q. This is P-32. Prosecution exhibit 32. Does Mr Taylor have
21 a copy of it? It's page 86 I'm going to begin reading from --

22 PRESIDING JUDGE: The title of the document I think is --

23 MR KOUMJIAN: Thank you. That's fair:

24 Q. This is a United Nations report S/2001/1015. It's the
12:51:04 25 panel of expert reports on Liberia.

26 A. Okay.

27 Q. It's dated 26 October 2001. Sir, paragraph 398 states
28 that:

29 "Charles Taylor began to seek a replacement to IRI in 1996

1 while he was still only a member of the six-person Council of
2 State established to run Liberia under the Abuja Accord. "

3 Let me just ask you, perhaps to go through this quickly, is
4 it correct that IRI was running the registry or the contract with
12:51:53 5 the previous government before it was replaced by LISCR? Is that
6 correct?

7 A. Well, to get it clear, I would say - if you say government
8 I would say no. The previous governments for more than almost 50
9 years they were there.

12:52:08 10 Q. Thank you.

11 A. And it is true that I was opposed to them continuing.

12 PRESIDING JUDGE: It would be helpful if these acronyms
13 were put on the record in full. I know we've heard of LISCR
14 before but it's quite a while since we heard of LISCR. Certainly
12:52:21 15 IRI, I don't recall that the full title was given. But if you
16 can, Mr Koumjian, it would be helpful.

17 MR KOUMJIAN: I would be speculating right now.

18 PRESIDING JUDGE: Or if you would ask the witness.

19 MR KOUMJIAN:

12:52:33 20 Q. Do you know what IRI --

21 A. I'm not sure. It could be International Registry, but I
22 think it would help better for the accuracy of the record if you
23 had some time to check it. I don't want to give - I think it's
24 International Registry Incorporated or like that.

12:52:48 25 Q. Something like International Registries Incorporated?

26 A. Yeah, that sounds like it but I'm sure the record will be
27 corrected.

28 Q. Then I'll read this quickly: "Taylor had failed" - in fact
29 if you don't mind I'm going to skip the second sentence and go to

1 the third to make sure, this is what I'm interested in:

2 "He began" - meaning you - "seeking the assistance of a
3 close friend, United States attorney Lester Hyman to seek a new
4 company to run the registry."

12:53:22 5 Is that correct?

6 A. What year are we talking about? I think it continues.

7 Q. If it's easier for you I'll read the whole paragraph, the
8 rest of the paragraph, and you can answer. Is that better,
9 Mr Taylor?

12:53:31 10 A. Yes.

11 Q. "On 18 December 1998 an agreement was signed between the
12 Government of Liberia" - this of course would be during your
13 presidency - "and Lester Hyman for the creation of LISCR. This
14 was further approved by an Act enacted by the Liberian Senate and
15 House of Representatives on 18 March 1999."

12:53:48

16 Would you agree with what I've read?

17 A. I agree with what you've read.

18 Q. Let's go to paragraph 400:

19 "The Government of Liberia appointed LISCR as its exclusive
12:54:06 20 agent to manage the corporate and maritime registers with effect
21 from 1 January 2000, although the company was required to operate
22 during a transition period beginning 1 June 1999."

23 Do you agree with that?

24 A. Oh, I have - I don't know the legal thing where they will
12:54:26 25 come in. I don't remember the legal implication, but I do agree
26 that they were to start operation. I can't understand why they
27 would start before they signed but - I don't quite agree with
28 that.

29 Q. Just to quickly perhaps without delving too much into these

1 details - is it correct there was a law suit between IRI, the
2 Government of Liberia and LISCR over that transition?

3 A. That is correct.

4 Q. Now paragraph 402:

12:54:58 5 "According to the Bureau of Maritime Affairs the ship
6 register is the political responsibility of the Commissioner of
7 Maritime Affairs appointed by the President."

8 Do you agree with that?

9 A. Oh, yes. All presidential appointments are political, yes.

12:55:15 10 Q. And who was the Commissioner of Maritime Affairs that you
11 appointed?

12 A. Benoni Urey.

13 MR ANYAH: Madam President, I will object to these
14 questions. On 19 November starting at page 32160 we go through
12:55:27 15 the evidence or the questions put to Mr Taylor regarding Benoni
16 Urey and when we come to page 32164 the issue of IRI and LISCR
17 takes over and for several pages questions and answers are
18 elicited regarding in significant detail the operations of LISCR
19 including its formation, place of incorporation and the like.

12:55:51 20 This particular question about the position appointed Benoni Urey
21 by President Taylor has been covered and I don't know why we are
22 spending additional time on it.

23 PRESIDING JUDGE: Mr Koumjian, if it's been covered as it's
24 been shown in the transcript I think you can move on.

12:56:08 25 MR KOUMJIAN: I will move on:

26 Q. Mr Taylor, let's go to paragraph 408. I just want to read
27 the last sentence and get your reaction:

28 "In 2000 the Liberian registry and corporate fee programme
29 generated some United States \$25.72 million officially, which

1 netted, according to the Bureau of Maritime Affairs, some United
2 States \$18 million for the government. "

3 Do those figures sound correct to you?

4 A. Oh, I - that could be right. I don't recall offhand, but
12:56:55 5 I'm speaking from the perspective that the annual maritime monies
6 coming to Liberia have varied between 15 and 19 million. So 18,
7 I have no reason to dispute it. Even if it's not correct, it's
8 around the ballpark.

9 Q. And those figures are a significant source of revenue for
12:57:19 10 the Liberian government during your presidency. Is that correct?

11 A. Oh, I would agree, yes.

12 Q. Paragraph 411, that's the next page, page 88:

13 "LISCR's accounting department records the collections and
14 classifies them as registry revenues (which are retained to cover
12:58:01 15 operating costs), LISCR (registered agents and maritime fees), or
16 government funds (which consist of tonnage taxes and a percentage
17 of MIIPS fees and annual and specified fees charged to clients by
18 acts of law). Weekly amounts due to the government are disbursed
19 to an embassy of Liberia, maritime financial office account at
12:58:33 20 Riggs Bank Washington, DC, which is then transferred through the
21 Citibank system to an account at Ecobank in Monrovia. "

22 Mr Taylor, is it correct that the funds from LISCR that are
23 due the government from the maritime registry- from the
24 registries eventually go to an account at Ecobank in Monrovia
12:58:56 25 during your presidency?

26 A. You know, you are taking one part, there's a whole series
27 of things. I don't know the different transactions because as it
28 is given here it is like it is a routine from Riggs to Citi. I
29 don't know, that could change. But as far as what you say here

1 Ecobank, as far as Ecobank is concerned, it is possible it could
2 go to Ecobank. It's possible it could go to the Central Bank.
3 It's possible the Central Bank could order that it goes to
4 Ecobank. So I wouldn't know where it would end up, but I know
12:59:34 5 that it would be in government's custody.

6 Q. Let's go to the next paragraph, 412:

7 "The above is routine procedure. However, the panel
8 obtained bank transfer details for two LISCOR transfers to San Air
9 General Trading account no 01-01-5712572-01 at Standard Chartered
13:00:08 10 Bank, Sharjah, United Arab Emirates for \$525,000 US on 21
11 June 2000 and \$400,000 US on 7 June 2000 (annex 10)."

12 Your Honours, before I move on, let me make one thing
13 clear. We realised that the P-32 that was admitted in Court
14 stops at annex 2 for whatever reason. So those annexes, which
13:01:05 15 are available to anyone, they were provided to the Defence, are
16 not in P-32. Just if anyone is wondering why you can find it.

17 MR ANYAH: Well, is counsel relying on this annex that's
18 not part of the exhibit?

19 MR KOUMJIAN: Perhaps counsel can wait and see if I do.
13:01:19 20 I've just brought something to the attention so that everyone
21 understands what the situation is.

22 MR ANYAH: Well, if they are going to rely on it, I
23 register an objection. But I'll wait and see.

24 MR KOUMJIAN: Thank you:

13:01:39 25 Q. Okay. Now, I want to ask you a little bit about that.
26 Mr Taylor, were you aware of these two transfers?

27 A. Not the details. I wouldn't be aware of all of these
28 little transfers.

29 Q. Little transfers? Did you consider these little transfers?

1 A. My dear, I'm President - excuse me. I've come to this "my
2 dear" business again. No. Mr Koumijan, if \$525,000 were
3 transferred for a particular purpose, I would not be made aware
4 of the specifics. But I think what is at issue here is the
13:02:15 5 so-called sanction busting activities which the Liberian
6 government had problems with the United Nation as to our own
7 claim about our right to self-defence, so that's where it's
8 going. So I'm not aware of the details, but I have told these
9 judges over and again that I, Charles Ghankay Taylor, as
13:02:36 10 President of Liberia, acting under legitimate self-defence,
11 authorised the purchase of arms and ammunition for legitimate
12 self-defence, and that's where this is going. So I'm not aware
13 of the specifics of these transfers, but if it was done by the
14 relevant authority where we can see the documents, I would say,
13:02:56 15 well, it was done within our laws.

16 Q. So, Mr Taylor, this money, these two transfers which total
17 \$925,000, were for the purchase of arms and ammunition and you
18 were wear of that. Is that correct?

19 A. Well, that's a different question. But if these amounts
13:03:15 20 were actual amounts that we have documents to show that they paid
21 for arms and ammunition by a relevant government authority, I
22 would agree with.

23 Q. \$525,000, \$400,000, in the year 2000, when the Liberian
24 people are in the situation where many are begging, you wouldn't
13:03:39 25 be aware of the purpose that this money was being spent on - for?

26 A. No, no, no. You got it wrong, Mr Koumijan. The same
27 Liberian people through their representatives asked me to use any
28 and all means to defend themselves in 2000 because we are under
29 attack. That's a different issue. What I am saying to this

1 Court is that these two amounts I would not be informed
2 specifically, but if they were for the purchase of arms in 2000,
3 the process of securing arms were approved by me as President of
4 Liberia. That's what I'm saying.

13:04:16 5 Q. Were you or were you not aware of these transfers to San
6 Air in the United Arab Emirates in the month of June and July
7 2000?

8 A. The specific transfers - I cannot recall the specific
9 transfer. No, I cannot.

13:04:33 10 Q. Mr Taylor, would Benoni Urey have done this without your
11 permission?

12 A. No, he would not have done it without my permission. But I
13 think the way how you are rolling it over, once I authorised the
14 purchase of arms, of which I am saying I did as President in

13:04:51 15 legitimate self-defence, because we disagreed that the United
16 Nations Security Council could issue a resolution that would deny
17 us legitimate self-defence. We were attacked. Now, how those
18 officials operated - so I can say Mr Urey operated with my, if
19 not expressed but I mean implied approval, this is with my
13:05:12 20 approval but with not my knowledge of the specifics. So I take
21 responsibility for this.

22 Q. Mr Taylor, who is San Air? What is San Air?

23 A. I don't know. That's the whole point. I don't know.

24 Q. Mr Taylor, what arms and ammunition were being bought with
13:05:28 25 this \$925,000?

26 A. Well, I don't know the - I don't know which specific ones.
27 There were several - there were several purchases. We bought out
28 of - I've told this Court we bought out of Serbia. I did not get
29 into the details. I approved the funding. I guess, Mr Koumijan,

1 to help this Court, if I say I take responsibility for the
2 purchase of the arms, but I do not know the details. You can
3 beat me all over the head; I don't know the details. But I take
4 responsibility because I approved the purchase. I think it
13:06:00 5 helps.

6 Q. Mr Taylor, this money was not going to Serbia, the arms
7 factory at Serbia or anything to do with the Serbian arms that
8 you've admitted to in Court so far, was it?

9 A. I cannot say that.

13:06:15 10 Q. Mr Taylor, you told us that those arms were delivered in
11 2002 and 2003, correct?

12 A. Well, I tell you - no, no, no, no, no. Let's go back to
13 the records. The purchase of arms I said began in 2000. If you
14 look at the records, we will see that accounts were set up in
13:06:36 15 1999, and beginning 2000 we started paying for arms. Some of
16 those deliveries began to come in, but the payment of some of
17 those arms started earlier than the delivery, Mr Koumijan.

18 Q. Hold on a second, Mr Taylor. Now, you've said that you
19 started talking about buying arms in 1999 and that was the day
13:06:57 20 that we showed you the account. December 7.

21 A. No.

22 Q. That was set up in your name at the LBDI bank, correct?

23 A. No, but wait a minute. You just - you introduced a word
24 that I did not say. I said we set up the account in late - we
13:07:15 25 set up the account in late 1999 and I said the issue of the
26 purchase of arms actually commenced in 2000. But you had said
27 2002. I said it started in 2000, because we opened the account
28 in '99.

29 Q. Mr Taylor, I said 2002 because, in fact, the Serbian arms

1 did not start coming to Liberia until 2002. Isn't that the
2 truth?

13:07:46 3 A. Not all of the arms. The arms came in several shipments,
4 Mr Koumijan. Beginning 2001, there were - there was not one
5 shipment of Serbian arms, Mr Koumijan. I've told you, there was
6 more than one shipment.

7 Q. There were six shipments in 2002 and 2003, correct?

13:08:03 8 A. We did not receive any arms from Serbia in 2003. That's
9 out of the question. It was 2000. Whoever UN report - and they
10 got a lot of things wrong. It started in 2001 and 2002. In
11 2003, no.

12 Q. Well, what about the arms that were seized just a day - day
13 or two before you left Liberia from the airport that you've
14 testified in Court you gave to the United Nations? Where were
15 they from?

13:08:21 16 A. To the best of my knowledge, those arms were bought by our
17 people through some channels, I think if I'm not mistaken,
18 through Lebanon, Iran, Lebanon and into Liberia, from what I was
19 told. They were not Serbian arms.

13:08:41 20 Q. The plane came from Tehran from --

21 A. But you knew that, so you are trying to mislead me.

22 Q. Well, sir, those were Serbian arms, correct?

23 A. Not to my knowledge, no. I don't think they were. They
24 were not Serbian arms. I don't - they came through - I know
13:08:58 25 where the plane came from, but I think those were - I don't know
26 how they sourced those arms. I was just glad to have them.

27 Q. So, Mr Taylor, now I understand. You are now telling us
28 that you didn't only buy arms from Serbia. You bought arms from
29 our countries also in the 2000s. Is that correct?

1 A. No, no. I'm saying I don't know all the sources. I
2 approved them. A lot of - I don't know all of the sources, where
3 people that we gave money to sourced the arms, Mr Cisse. But
4 when I asked him, he said that the arms came through Lebanon and
13:09:32 5 from Iran. That's my knowledge.

6 Q. Mr Taylor, you are saying now that you bought arms from
7 Lebanon and Tehran in addition to Serbia. Is that what you are
8 telling us?

9 A. That's not what I'm telling you. I'm telling you that I
13:09:48 10 don't know where they sourced those arms. I'm only saying to you
11 what the individual said to me at the time. And I'm not going to
12 lie and say that those arms came from Serbia because that's not
13 what I was told by the official.

14 Q. So, Mr Taylor, what you are saying is that if you
13:10:02 15 previously said that you only got arms from Serbia, that that was
16 not correct?

17 A. Come on, Mr Koumijan, I'm not sure if I said I only got
18 arms. I could not have said that because I also told this Court
19 that I think late in 2002 that there were small amounts of arms
13:10:23 20 that we got from Burkina Faso. That's on the record. So if I
21 used the word "only", then it had to be a misspoken word because
22 only to me means one. But it's on the records here in this
23 Court.

24 Q. You got arms from Burkina Faso?

13:10:37 25 A. Mr Koumijan, you are taking this very bad. My evidence
26 before this Court is that --

27 PRESIDING JUDGE: Mr Taylor, what would happen is if you
28 would answer simply yes or no, if the answer is as simple and
29 straightforward as this one.

1 THE WITNESS: We said yes.

2 MR KOUMJIAN:

3 Q. What arms did you receive from Burkina Faso?

4 A. We received a small amount of arms and ammunition, rifles
13:11:00 5 and ammunition from Burkina Faso in 2002.

6 Q. How were those paid for?

7 A. They were not paid for.

8 Q. Mr Taylor, let's continue to look at P-32. I believe we
9 stopped at paragraph 412. Let's go to paragraph 413:

13:11:21 10 "LISCR admitted to the panel that it had made four payments
11 to non-governmental accounts in 2000. The disbursements were
12 made following four separate written requests instructing LISCR,
13 from the Commissioner of Maritime Affairs through his Deputy
14 Commissioner of Financial Affairs (DCFA) to redirect a pending
13:11:48 15 distribution of the government's share of the registry collection
16 to a non-governmental account."

17 Mr Taylor, just so everyone is clear, the Commissioner of
18 Maritime Affairs in 2000 was Benoni Urey, correct?

19 A. That is correct.

13:12:05 20 Q. The Deputy Commissioner of Financial Affairs was Lewis B
21 Roberts, correct?

22 A. I don't know. I don't know. That's probably correct. I
23 don't know.

24 Q. Do you know Lewis B Roberts?

13:12:19 25 A. No.

26 Q. Continuing to read:

27 "In addition to the two payments to San Air General Trading
28 in the United Arab Emirates, a payment was made to an undisclosed
29 account at Ecobank in Monrovia and to Riggs Bank in Washington

1 DC. "

2 Mr Taylor, can you tell us anything about these two
3 transfers to the Ecobank in Monrovia or Riggs Bank in
4 Washington DC?

13:12:50 5 A. No, I can't.

6 Q. The next paragraph 414:

7 "Each of the transfers were appropriately accounted for as
8 a distribution to the government of its share of taxes and
9 acknowledged by the Bureau of Maritime Affairs."

13:13:09 10 Unless anyone wants me to I'm going to skip to 415:

11 "LISCR had become increasingly uncomfortable at the growing
12 regularity of requests for divergence from standard procedure in
13 late 2000. Following a new request for disbursement on 17 August
14 2000, LISCR informed the Commissioner of Maritime Affairs that it
15 would no longer honour such requests."

13:13:37

16 416:

17 "Having found resistance from LISCR, Commissioner Urey then
18 changed his strategy, writing to his Deputy Commissioner For
19 Financial Affairs on 13 September to authorise one payment of US
20 \$200,000 on 13 September 2000, one payment of US \$174,000 on 20
21 September 2000, and one payment of US \$174,000 on 27 September
22 2000."

13:14:05

23 Now, Mr Taylor, I added those up. We can add those up.
24 174 plus 174 should come out to 348, plus 200,000, \$548,000.

13:14:45

25 These three payments totalling \$548,000, what were they for?

26 A. I don't know the specifics but I can say this much for the
27 Court: That I take full responsibility and he acted with my
28 authority. I don't remember the specific details of these
29 accounts and they were done in line with Liberian law and I don't

1 think it's any business of whoever did this audit, it was done in
2 line with Liberian law. So I don't understand the question but I
3 agree with what they say in this paragraph and I take
4 responsibility.

13:15:22 5 Q. I'm glad you take responsibility. Let's go on to the next
6 sentence:

7 "According to a copy of Urey's letter in the panel's
8 possession, these amounts were to be transferred to the maritime
9 affairs account at Ecobank in Monrovia for onward transmission to
13:15:38 10 the San Air General Trading account in Sharjah 'via: The account
11 of S Ruprah'."

12 Mr Taylor, are you aware that these transfers were going to
13 Sanjivan Ruprah?

14 A. Well, probably not specifically but the payments, like I
13:16:03 15 say, were approved by me. And depending on what the function had
16 to be, it could have been to this S Ruprah or anybody else. I
17 think for me I've consistently said I don't know the specific
18 details. But I approved these general transactions and I take
19 responsibility for them.

13:16:24 20 Q. And you were doing that, you said, in defence of the
21 Liberian people because you needed arms and ammunition to defend
22 yourself from attacks at that time. Is that correct?

23 A. Well, no. Now, this particular incident here does not
24 state that these are for arms and ammunition and so to ask me
13:16:41 25 that question, I - you know, I don't know how that question arose
26 but that's not a very accurate account of what I have said
27 generally to the Court on that particular matter. Now, if your
28 assertion is that I have said that my actions in the purchase of
29 arms and ammunition were in legitimate defence of the republic I

1 would say yes.

2 Q. Sir, these transfers - you are correct, I haven't asked you
3 specifically. This \$548,000, was that for the purchase of arms
4 and ammunition?

13:17:17 5 A. I don't recollect what it was for, but I'm sure it was for
6 a good reason because Mr Urey would never have done this without
7 my approval.

8 Q. Mr Taylor, do you still think you're a good steward, a good
9 guardian, of the finances of the Liberian people when this amount
13:17:33 10 of money can be transferred and you're not sure of the purpose?

11 A. No, no, no. I'm saying - no, you see again that's not what
12 I have said. The specific purpose - I am saying that I approved
13 the payments. I don't know the specifics. There may be a
14 general category of what is supposed to be done. An amount is
13:17:53 15 approved. For example, there may be \$600,000 approved for X.

16 How it is broken down, I don't get into the details once I have
17 approved the overall amount. Now to answer your question, I
18 believe under the circumstances I was very good custodian of the
19 people's money once it was being used in the interests of the
13:18:15 20 people, yes.

21 Q. Thank you. Now, Mr Taylor, let's use what you just said as
22 an example. "An amount is approved. For example there may be
23 \$600,000 approved for X." If you don't mind, may we use
24 \$548,000. So let's use your example with that amount. An amount
13:18:33 25 is approved. For example, there may be \$548,000 approved for X.

26 This \$548,000, what is X? Because you then say: "How it is
27 broken down, I don't get into the details once I have approved
28 the overall amount"?

29 A. Okay, I'll give you an example, Mr Koumjian.

1 Q. I'm specifically asking about these three payments.

2 A. Yes.

3 Q. Sir, what were they for?

4 A. I don't know the specifics. For example, let's say if we
13:19:04 5 take arms. I could approve let's say a million dollars for arms,
6 but those arms could be bought at three or four different
7 locations. I don't get into the locations. But I know that I
8 approved money to buy arms. I don't remember the specifics of
9 this, but the way how government operated, Mr Urey would have
13:19:28 10 never - never, ever authorised these payments for whatever unless
11 I approved. And there were hundreds of transactions. I'm
12 telling these judges I don't remember this but, the way the
13 maritime operated, it was done with my approval.

14 Q. Mr Taylor, overall in the year 2000 how much money did you
13:19:44 15 approve for the purchase of arms and ammunition?

16 A. You said 2000?

17 Q. Let's go through it year by year. Let's start 2003. Do
18 you recall?

19 A. No, no, no. I don't recall the specific years. I can just
13:20:06 20 - it would be better to help in giving you a total of what I
21 think was spent between a particular period. On a yearly basis I
22 wouldn't be able to tell.

23 Q. That's better than nothing. Tell us what the total is and
24 tell us what the period is that you are speaking about?

13:20:24 25 A. I would say between 2000 and 2003 I would put the total
26 spent on arms to roughly plus or minus, oh, I would say \$12, \$14
27 million.

28 Q. Mr Taylor, when you say arms on this occasion --

29 A. Arms and ammunition. I mean general armaments. I would

1 put it to between 12 and - roughly \$12 and \$14 million.

2 Q. Let's go to paragraph 417:

3 "These transfers from the maritime account correspond with
4 the issuing of a US \$200,000 cheque (number 0019119) from the BMA
13:21:23 5 Ecobank account in Monrovia (account 10610001812018)."

6 Mr Taylor, just to make it clear, BMA is the Bureau of
7 Maritime Affairs, is that correct?

8 A. Yes, I would assume BMA.

9 Q. "This cheque was written out to 'Sanjivan Ruprah', dated
13:21:52 10 '13 September 2000' and signed by the Commissioner of Maritime
11 Affairs, Benoni Urey."

12 Mr Taylor, it's your testimony, correct me if I'm wrong,
13 that this would have been done with your approval, correct?

14 A. That is correct. The specifics I can't recall right now,
13:22:12 15 but Mr Urey would not in my knowledge sign any cheque from the
16 maritime without my approval. By approval I don't mean my
17 signature on the cheque. I mean with my I would say knowledge of
18 or at least acquiescence.

19 Q. "Ruprah transferred US \$179,980 to San Air account
13:22:47 20 00-01-5712572-01 in Sharjah on 16 September 2000. Ruprah also
21 used an employee Jacques Gakali to make three subsequent payments
22 from Monrovia to San Air. A final payment of US \$74,965 was made
23 on 2 January 2001.

24 On 16 November LISCR received a further request from the
13:23:30 25 DCFA to distribute to a non-governmental account. LISCR refused,
26 generating a series of demanding letters from DCFA over the next
27 ten days and political pressure from Monrovia to comply. LISCR
28 eventually decided to distribute the funds in question to three
29 recognised government-controlled bank accounts and since December

1 2000 there has to date been no further Bureau of Maritime Affairs
2 interference in LISCR's distribution of funds to the government. "

3 Paragraph 420:

4 "According to official documents of the Bureau of Maritime
13:24:26 5 Affairs, the government's portion of the funds collected directly
6 by the LISCR programme are deposited directly into a government
7 account that is operated exclusively by the Minister of Finance
8 and not the commissioner. The Bureau of Maritime Affairs is
9 supposed to be allocated 10 per cent of these funds to support
13:24:47 10 its operational budget. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs gets 6
11 per cent, and 4 per cent to the Ministry of Information. The
12 Commissioner For Maritime Affairs also spoke of a 'locked box'
13 bank account shared jointly by LISCR and his bureau in Monrovia.

14 Paragraph 421:

13:25:08 15 "Further investigation proved both these claims to be
16 untrue. Funds are remitted directly to a tripartite account held
17 at the Ecobank in Monrovia, which the Commissioner of Maritime
18 Affairs and the Minister of Finance are signatories, with a third
19 determinational signatory controlled by the Executive Mansion.
13:25:32 20 The Executive Mansion is able to call on these funds at will."

21 Would you agree with that, Mr Taylor, about the account at
22 Ecobank and the ability of the Executive Mansion to call on the
23 funds at will?

24 A. Well, I would say the Executive Mansion could call on
13:26:00 25 funds. I'm not sure of the accounts. That's what he is saying
26 here. If something had to be done, the President would make sure
27 it's done. Generally I would say yes.

28 Q. Let's skip to paragraph 427.

29 MR ANYAH: I appreciate the fact that it is counsel's

1 examination, but we're officers of the Court. To be fair to the
2 witness the very next sentence provides context from the point
3 where counsel stops and that reads that: "The Ministry of
4 Finance admitted that in 2001 due to increased defence
13:26:35 5 expenditure there had been significant diversion of the maritime
6 funds for extra-budgetary use by the Executive Mansion."

7 I think that's the crux of what Mr Taylor has been saying
8 and to be fair to the witness they should put that paragraph to
9 the witness.

13:26:53 10 MR KOUMJIAN: Your Honour, I think counsel has just read
11 it:

12 Q. Mr Taylor, do you want to comment on what your lawyer said?
13 What he is saying is, if I can paraphrase it, isn't it correct
14 that in fact you were able to take money and use it outside of
13:27:08 15 the official budget of Liberia. Isn't that correct?

16 A. That is not correct. That is not correct.

17 Q. But according to the sentence your counsel just read, it
18 said, "There had been significant diversion of the maritime funds
19 for extra-budgetary use by the Executive Mansion." That's what
13:27:29 20 your counsel read, isn't that true?

21 A. That is totally not true. That's the opinion of whoever
22 wrote this report. That opinion is false. I don't know as to
23 whether they know what it means by extra-budgetary. The maritime
24 funds are a part of the budget of Liberia approved by the
13:27:48 25 legislature every July. It is a part. So to say extra-budgetary
26 means that it was not a part at the time of the passage of the
27 budget. So whoever wrote this had nothing to know, he doesn't
28 know anything about accounting or finance. There's no
29 extra-budgetary --

1 PRESIDING JUDGE: Mr Taylor, the extra-budgetary word there
2 relates to the increased defence expenditure --

3 THE WITNESS: No.

4 PRESIDING JUDGE: -- by the Executive Mansion.

13:28:16 5 THE WITNESS: No.

6 PRESIDING JUDGE: That's the extra-budgetary use. It's not
7 the maritime funds that are extra-budgetary. It's the
8 extra-budgetary use by the Executive Mansion on increased defence
9 expenditure. That is how I understand that sentence to read.

13:28:35 10 THE WITNESS: Yeah, but it's what I'm saying, your Honour,
11 that when we talk about extra-budgetary expenditure,
12 extra-budgetary expenditure is not outside of the budget. It is
13 within the budget depending on the use. So to say
14 extra-budgetary, it simply means in my understanding of this that
13:28:55 15 the budget of Liberia did not entertain this expenditure and it
16 was kept outside at the time of the consolidation of the budget.
17 And so these funds now are being used extra because it was not a
18 part of the entire process. And I'm saying this is not true.

19 MR KOUMJIAN:

13:29:15 20 Q. Mr Taylor - unless there's further questions?

21 PRESIDING JUDGE: My understanding of the word
22 "extra-budgetary" as used in this report would be as I've stated.
23 But I've heard what your explanation is, Mr Taylor: In the
24 budget of Liberia, "extra-budgetary" does not mean outside of the
13:29:35 25 budget; it means something different.

26 THE WITNESS: "Extra-budgetary" means outside of the
27 budget.

28 PRESIDING JUDGE: Even in Liberia?

29 THE WITNESS: Yes.

1 PRESIDING JUDGE: Then that settles it. Please continue.

2 THE WITNESS: But that's why I say, your Honour, I disagree
3 with what he's saying that it was done outside, because it was a
4 part of the budget.

13:29:57 5 MR KOUMJIAN:

6 Q. Mr Taylor, I'm going to skip to paragraph 427. The first
7 sentence, "Benoni Urey ordered the LISCR payments to San Air in
8 June, July and September 2000", refers to things I've already
9 read before. I'm interested in the next sentence. "The panel
10 also has bank details showing that on 5 October 2000" --

11 A. I'm sorry, counsel, I'm not with you.

12 Q. I'm sorry, I apologise. Page 91, please.

13 A. What number are we looking at?

14 Q. Page 91, paragraph 427. I apologise to the Court officer
13:30:30 15 for not giving sufficient warning. It's my fault. Do you have
16 paragraph 427 now, sir?

17 A. Yes, I do.

18 Q. I'm interested in the second sentence:

19 "The panel also has bank details showing that on 5 October
13:30:41 20 2000 the Bureau of Maritime Affairs in Monrovia transferred
21 US\$149,980 from its Echo Bank account in Monrovia to San Air in
22 Dubai, further evidence that Bureau of Maritime Affairs funds
23 from Monrovia were used to pay for sanctions-busting."

24 Were you aware of this transfer of almost \$150,000 in
13:31:14 25 October 2000, Mr Taylor?

26 A. Not specifically.

27 Q. But based on what you told us this morning, you say this
28 would have been done with your approval; is that correct?

29 A. Or at least acquiescence.

1 MR KOUMJIAN: It might be an appropriate time to break.

2 PRESIDING JUDGE: Yes, Mr Koumjian, it's exactly 1.30 and
3 this would be a good time to adjourn for the luncheon break. We
4 will reassemble at 2.30.

13:31:59 5 [Lunch break taken at 1.30 p.m.]

6 [Upon resuming at 2.30 p.m.]

7 PRESIDING JUDGE: Good afternoon. Mr Koumjian, please
8 continue.

9 MR KOUMJIAN: Thank you. Your Honours, I would like the
14:31:47 10 witness to be shown a document. It is number 3 in annex 3 of the
11 Prosecution's December disclosure. Excuse me, it's number 31. I
12 misread my own note. Number 31 in annex 3.

13 PRESIDING JUDGE: Could you put the document on the
14 overhead, please.

14:33:20 15 MR KOUMJIAN: This should be a different document. Number
16 31 in annex 3. This may be the --

17 PRESIDING JUDGE: What is the title of the document?

18 MR KOUMJIAN: I understand. My fault. This should be page
19 25 of this document.

14:33:40 20 PRESIDING JUDGE: So this is the correct document, but you
21 want page 25 of it?

22 MR KOUMJIAN: Let me amend that. Apparently the page
23 numbering begins again with the annexes. So it's at the back of
24 the document, page 25 of the annexes.

14:33:59 25 PRESIDING JUDGE: Could we agree on the nature of the
26 document, please?

27 MR KOUMJIAN: Yes, it's called annex 7.

28 PRESIDING JUDGE: Yes, annex to what?

29 MR KOUMJIAN: It's an annex to the United Nations panel of

1 experts' report, document number S/2004/396 dated 1 June 2004.

2 PRESIDING JUDGE: And you're referring to the page as -
3 page 25, that's annex 12. It's referred to as annex 12.

4 MR KOUMJIAN: Yes, thank you.

14:34:52 5 PRESIDING JUDGE: Please continue, Mr Koumjian. We all
6 have the paper in front of us.

7 MR KOUMJIAN:

8 Q. Mr Taylor, you're familiar with John Teng. Is that
9 correct? Do you know the name John Teng, T-E-N-G?

14:35:10 10 A. Yes.

11 Q. And he was a general manager of the OTC company, the timber
12 company that operated in Liberia during your presidency?

13 A. Yes.

14 Q. Mr Taylor, if you would look at the - well, Juanita Neal,
14:35:25 15 can you tell us if you're familiar with her?

16 A. Yes. Very well, yes.

17 Q. And what was her position when you were President?

18 A. Exactly what it says here, Deputy Minister of Finance for
19 Revenue.

14:35:38 20 Q. Thank you. Now, sir, this document, which appears to be on
21 the letterhead of the Ministry of Finance of the Republic of
22 Liberia, addressed to Mr Teng, written by Ms Juanita Neal and
23 with a signature, states:

24 "You are authorised to transfer the amount of US\$500,000
14:35:57 25 against forestry-related taxes to Mr Sanjivan Ruprah, US dollars,
26 at account number 154462 through to Banque Diamentaire
27 Anversoise, 12 Rue Bellot in Geneva, Switzerland? Sir, were you
28 familiar with this authorisation or instruction from Ms Neal to
29 OTC to make a tax payment not to the Central Bank or the Ministry

1 of Finance, but to a Swiss bank account in the name of Sanjivan
2 Ruprah?

3 A. I would say to the --

14:36:49 4 MR ANYAH: Madam President, if your Honours please, I will
5 object to this document in the sense that in the first instance,
6 recalling from Monday, Madam President, you indicated that when
7 fresh evidence is produced in court, before its usage is allowed,
8 to the extent it implicates the guilt of the accused, learned
9 counsel opposite has to satisfy the two-prong test of your 30
14:37:13 10 November decision.

11 Now, how does this on its face implicate Mr Taylor's guilt?
12 I submit that it does in this sense: There have been allegations
13 put by the Prosecution in their case in chief to the extent that
14 there was some association between Mr Taylor and either Guus
14:37:34 15 Kouwenhoven, a Dutch businessman who was a principal officer of
16 the OTC, the Oriental Timber Company, and the inference and
17 suggestion has been put before this Court that Mr Taylor engaged
18 to some degree or another in the illegal shipment of arms through
19 the OTC and/or Mr Kouwenhoven, and to produce this document now,
14:37:57 20 when this report comes from 2004, without indicating its purpose,
21 when, on its face, it is inextricably related to other evidence
22 elicited by the Prosecution going to guilt, I submit they have
23 not satisfied the requisite standard, and so I object to it,
24 whether or not it is part and parcel of a UN official document.

14:38:23 25 PRESIDING JUDGE: Mr Koumjian, could you respond.

26 MR KOUMJIAN: Thank you, your Honours. If I could respond
27 in probably a bit more depth than I will subsequently, because
28 hopefully I'll state my argument now that may be applicable to
29 other documents also.

1 First of all, as I understand the standards in the rulings
2 given by the Trial Chamber, when a document is probative of
3 guilt, then the Prosecution would have to show that it's in the
4 interests of justice and not against the fair trial rights of the
14:38:53 5 accused to use that during the cross-examination, and we
6 understand that that's the subject of appeal, but that is the
7 standard that I'm addressing now.

8 Your Honours, first of all, I believe that when we talk
9 about something that is probative of guilt looking at the
14:39:13 10 jurisdiction that that means evidence that proves the elements of
11 the charges, that evidence - not evidence that could be relevant
12 to the charges, because all evidence in a trial must be relevant
13 in one way or another to the guilt of the accused on the charges
14 or it wouldn't be - it would be irrelevant and not admissible at
14:39:34 15 the trial at all. An example we've put in some of our filings of
16 something that clearly goes to proof of guilt was in the Krstic
17 case where the Prosecution, in this case involving the Srebrenica
18 genocide, hit the accused using a - played a tape recording to
19 the accused during his testimony of a radio conversation that was
14:40:01 20 intercepted by Bosnian forces where General Krstic said, "Kill
21 them all." And the Trial Chamber in that case said, "This is
22 something that the Prosecution should have put into its case
23 because it clearly goes directly to central issues to the guilt
24 of the accused, to his mens rea, to his contributions to the
14:40:20 25 crimes."

26 Certainly there is evidence that we could present now that
27 your Honours could find goes to the elements of crimes, if we try
28 to put on evidence of new crimes in Sierra Leone, for example, or
29 if we put on evidence of shipments of arms from Liberia by

1 Mr Taylor to the RUF or its allies, that would be clearly -
2 that's part of our case proving his responsibility, his
3 contribution to the crimes. But, quite frankly, in the
4 Prosecution case we're under an obligation to put an efficient
14:40:58 5 case, to put on the evidence that we need to prove responsibility
6 and not to anticipate every possible defence and put on every
7 single piece of evidence that could be available to us.

8 We made the decision that arms coming into Liberia, that
9 itself is not an element of the crimes. It doesn't go to his
14:41:15 10 proof of guilt. As Mr Taylor pointed out to me on 26 November
11 when I asked him about the Serbian shipments, he said,
12 "Mr Koumjian, but I'm not charged with violating the United
13 Nations sanctions on arms against Liberia." And I could get a
14 page reference for your Honours if that's needed. And then he
14:41:35 15 did admit - but that was part his defence, is that all the
16 Prosecution evidence of the shipments to Sierra Leone should be
17 viewed as not credible because he's saying, part of his defence,
18 "I had no arms to give."

19 So, in our view, these arms going to Liberia - and this
14:41:54 20 document doesn't even prove that. It's indirect. This document
21 only proves a payment to a Swiss bank account of Sanjivan Ruprah.
22 That even arms going to Liberia is not something the Prosecution
23 should have put on in its case in chief, we might have been
24 prevented from putting it on because it could very well have been
14:42:17 25 objected to as prejudicial, it's outside the jurisdiction of the
26 Court, it shows that he's violating United Nations sanctions
27 unless it's directly linked that those arms are going to Sierra
28 Leone.

29 PRESIDING JUDGE: Mr Koumjian, let's not wander too far off

1 of the mark. Is it your submission that in your opinion this
2 document does not contain evidence that's probative of the guilt
3 of the accused?

4 MR KOUMJIAN: Yes, that it goes to his credibility.

14:42:44 5 PRESIDING JUDGE: And that therefore you need not justify
6 its use by illustrating the two-prong test we laid down in our
7 decision?

8 MR KOUMJIAN: Correct. But if I could, in case your
9 Honours do not agree with me, I would quickly say it's in the
14:43:00 10 interest of justice and it's not against his fair trial rights
11 because it goes to directly contradict some of his own testimony
12 about how money was spent in Liberia and whether or not he
13 authorised any arms shipments, particularly considering the date
14 of this letter, which is 20 August 1999, long before Mr Taylor
14:43:23 15 has told this Court he began seeking arms for Liberia.

16 PRESIDING JUDGE: Thank you. I'll just confer.

17 [Trial Chamber conferred]

18 PRESIDING JUDGE: The Chamber is of the view that this
19 document and the information contained in it is far too remote to
14:44:41 20 go to proof of guilt and therefore we would overrule the
21 objection and hold that the cross-examination on it may continue.

22 MR KOUMJIAN:

23 Q. Mr Taylor, did you authorise this instruction from Ms Neal
24 to OTC to transfer 500,000 United States dollars to a Swiss bank
14:45:11 25 account in the name of Mr Sanjivan Ruprah?

26 A. I wouldn't say specifically, but generally yes.

27 Q. Can you explain to the judges, please, how you generally
28 authorised this payment?

29 A. Well, you know, I don't remember the specific transaction,

1 but a letter from the Ministry of Finance to Mr Ruprah would have
2 gone through some clearance from the presidency I would say. I
3 would not remember the specific, but it would have gone through
4 some clearance.

14:45:50 5 Q. Sir, what was this money being used for?

6 A. I don't really know the specific incident here. I don't
7 know.

8 Q. Half a million dollars was transferred to a Swiss bank
9 account that should have gone to the Liberian Treasury and you do
10 not know what purpose it was --

14:46:06

11 A. I have no recollection of the specific purpose, as much as
12 I can, because of the amount, it had to get some clearance from
13 the mansion and I take responsibility. I would not say that I
14 would remember all of the - \$500,000, while it's a big amount,
15 but it's not something that I would sit here today and remember.
16 But this is an amount that would call for a clearance from the
17 presidency.

14:46:25

18 Q. Mr Taylor, who is this man that you keep authorising
19 transfers of hundreds of thousands of dollars to?

14:46:43

20 A. Well, to the best of my --

21 MR ANYAH: Madam President, Ms Hollis asked Mr Taylor that
22 question seven days ago, on the 20th of this month, about
23 Sanjivan Ruprah.

24 PRESIDING JUDGE: And was the question answered?

14:46:56

25 MR ANYAH: She asked him who he was and he said who he was,
26 as far as he knew.

27 PRESIDING JUDGE: Mr Koumjian, you want to move on?

28 MR KOUMJIAN: Well, I'd like more detailed answers:

29 Q. Mr Taylor, you told Ms Hollis that you knew of Sanjivan

1 Ruprah. What did you know of Sanjivan Ruprah before you
2 authorised hundreds of thousands of dollars that belonged to the
3 Liberian people to be transferred to his bank accounts in the
4 United Arab Emirates and in Switzerland?

14:47:32 5 A. To the best of my recollection, Mr Ruprah served as an
6 ambassador-at-large and did work for the maritime agency. That's
7 how much I know him. And I approved his appointment as
8 ambassador-at-large and he carried a diplomatic passport.

9 Q. Approved by you, correct?

14:47:47 10 A. Definitely.

11 Q. But, sir, you're authorising hundreds of thousands of
12 dollars to be transferred to him, being the good steward of the
13 finances of the Liberian people of the revenues and budget, what
14 did you do to find out what kind of person you were giving

14:48:04 15 hundreds of thousands of dollars to transferred to foreign bank
16 accounts?

17 A. Mr Koumjian, the fact that I approved the recommendation of
18 Mr Ruprah as an ambassador-at-large is sufficient for me, so I
19 don't know what other answer you want. The fact that he went
14:48:23 20 through a system that reached to me to approve him means that
21 those responsible had done their due diligence, so I did what I
22 supposed to do and I approved him.

23 Q. What did they tell you about him?

24 A. I don't recall all of the details of the explanation, but I
14:48:40 25 approved him based on the recommendations that were made. And
26 most times recommendations come, it's not the job of the
27 President to do due diligence on people. I was President of
28 Liberia. Mr Ruprah was recommended and I accepted the
29 recommendati on.

1 Q. How would you know, for example, that this money wasn't
2 just going to a friend of Ms Neal's? She comes to you and says,
3 "I want to transfer a half a million dollars."

14:49:08 4 A. Sometimes you forget I was President of Liberia. That's
5 not my responsibility. If a controversy comes after the action
6 and there is a need to investigate, of course that reached to me,
7 but that's not the way that governments run. You would like for
8 it to be that way before this Court. Government don't run that
9 way. Presidents approve amounts, transactions, sometimes large
14:49:27 10 amounts. After that, different things are done. He doesn't
11 bother himself with getting into the details and this, so that's
12 as much as I can help.

13 The important thing for me is that Mr Ruprah was approved
14 by me. Ms Neal could have never expended as Finance Minister
14:49:45 15 \$500,000 without getting approval through the mansion and that
16 approval would mean a document probably came before the President
17 and he said, okay, or the Ministry of State came and discussed
18 it, but that was the process that was legal in Liberia. Now, you
19 may not like it, but it was legal in Liberia.

14:50:09 20 Q. Mr Taylor, if the President has the power to approve the
21 passport, that means he has an obligation to exercise his
22 judgment as to whether or not it should be approved. Would you
23 agree?

24 A. Well, listen - well, logically we could, but I did not
14:50:22 25 approve a passport as you put it. I approved the issuing of a
26 passport, okay. To approve a passport for me means signing it.
27 The President does not get into these kinds of details. If not,
28 he would never be able to be President. No President does.

29 Q. What's the purpose of having you approve diplomatic

1 passports if you don't exercise your judgment before approving
2 them or not?

3 A. Well, I tell you, if I had to do the due diligence then
4 maybe - my judgment and judgment of most President would rest
14:50:58 5 with those officials that have done their work and come to the
6 President and said, "Mr President, we feel that this is proper.
7 Approve it." Now, if the President has to put everything done
8 and say, "Okay, fine, you've done your work. Now I'm going to do
9 my work," nothing is going to be done in the country. It doesn't
14:51:15 10 work that way. So there are times that Presidents make decisions
11 that fall through, but it is based on what the officials bring
12 and, really, you don't have the time to go and do a personal
13 investigation.

14 Q. Who told you about Sanjivan Ruprah? Who gave you any
14:51:29 15 information about him?

16 A. Mr Koumjian, when these documents - this recommendation had
17 to come through at least two or three agencies. It had to go
18 through the maritime because he was there, it had to go through
19 the Foreign Ministry and it probably had to go through either
14:51:47 20 national security to check his background or something, but I
21 don't get the whole stack of documents on my desk. And once it
22 comes through that the relevant agencies feel that this
23 individual can do what he set out to do, the President approves
24 it.

14:52:02 25 Q. And he's not a Liberian, correct?

26 A. No, he's not a Liberian, but those passports are not just
27 given to Liberians, Mr Koumjian. I think we discussed this
28 before.

29 Q. Yes. Sir, have you been honest with these judges about

1 your knowledge of Sanjivan Ruprah, the man being - that you're
2 transferring hundreds of thousands of dollars - you're approving
3 transfers of hundreds of thousands of dollars to?

4 A. I don't know what you mean by earnest.

14:52:28 5 Q. Did you tell the truth about him?

6 A. About what? I have told him --

7 Q. Thank you. Do you want me to finish? You've asked me
8 about what --

9 A. Yeah, I'm sorry.

14:52:37 10 JUDGE DOHERTY: Excuse me, Mr Gentleman. Mr Taylor
11 repeated the word earnest and I heard you say the word honest.
12 Maybe Mr Taylor misheard.

13 MR KOUMJIAN: Thank you.

14 Q. Sir, have you been honest, have you told the truth and the
14:52:51 15 complete truth to the judges about what you know about Sanjivan
16 Ruprah --

17 A. Yes.

18 Q. -- throughout your testimony?

19 A. Yes, yes. What I have said is what I know and what I know
14:53:06 20 is what came before me. I did not - I do not remember every
21 detail of Mr Ruprah's life. I would be lying if I said I did. I
22 approved his capacity as ambassador-at-large based on
23 recommendations that were brought, and I felt and I had reason to
24 feel that those individuals that brought them had done their due
14:53:27 25 diligence.

26 Q. Mr Taylor, do you recall the panel of experts, the first
27 panel that Mr Smillie was on, the first witness in this trial,
28 came and had a meeting with you in Monrovia and they asked you if
29 you knew Sanjivan Ruprah? Do you recall that?

1 A. I recall the conversation in court here, yes.

2 Q. Well, do you recall the conversation in Monrovia with
3 Mr Smillie and the other members of the panel of experts when
4 they asked you if you knew Sanjivan Ruprah?

14:54:08 5 A. I don't recall the conversation.

6 Q. Well, sir, would you have told them that you knew of - what
7 you knew of Sanjivan Ruprah?

8 A. If they had asked me, I would have told them exactly what I
9 have said to this Court, that I knew of him and I knew that - but

14:54:23 10 I did not - quote, unquote, to know a person is also relative.

11 That I knew of him, I would have told them that.

12 Q. In fact, you told them that - they asked if you knew
13 Sanjivan Ruprah and you said no, you didn't. Isn't that the
14 truth?

14:54:38 15 A. From whose report? Is that Smillie's report --

16 Q. Yes, sir?

17 A. -- or the UN report?

18 Q. That's the UN - that's Mr Smillie's testimony of 7 January
19 at page 571 --

14:54:48 20 A. But you know that we disagree. You know --

21 Q. Well, I'm asking --

22 A. -- Smillie and I disagree about his account of what
23 happened because Smillie had one set of notes that he took, okay,

24 which was separate from the panel of experts' report, and I have

14:55:02 25 serious disagreement with his accounting of that meeting because

26 there are other accounts by other UN personnel, especially the

27 representative in Monrovia. So Smillie and I - of course I

28 wouldn't agree with Smillie.

29 Q. Let me read to what you Mr Smillie said. This at page 571,

1 7 January, the first day of the trial, January 2008. Perhaps it
2 should be brought on the screen for Mr Taylor?

3 A. You can read it, it's okay.

4 MR KOUMJIAN: May I proceed just reading it, your Honour?

14:55:34 5 PRESIDING JUDGE: Yes.

6 MR KOUMJIAN: Which is another witness.

7 Q. Mr Smillie was asked - and I'm not sure, but it might be
8 the fourth line down - fifth line down:

9 "Q. Thank you. We were discussing your meeting with the
14:55:48 10 accused. During that meeting did the panel question the
11 accused about his knowledge of Mr Ruprah?

12 A. Yes. We asked if he knew Sanjivan Ruprah, and he said
13 no, he didn't."

14 Do you now say that you disagree that you would not have
14:56:05 15 said that to Mr Smillie?

16 A. I disagree with Smillie's account.

17 Q. Because that would not be the complete truth for you to
18 say: "No, I don't know Sanjivan Ruprah". That would not be
19 true, correct?

14:56:16 20 A. I disagree with Mr Smillie's account.

21 Q. That's not my question, sir. I understand you disagree
22 with Mr Smillie's account --

23 A. But your question is - is a misnomer because to ask the
24 question that way doesn't give me an opportunity. Maybe if you
14:56:28 25 rephrase it, I will answer you.

26 Q. Let me ask you the question again, sir. If you said to
27 Mr Smillie, as he claims, when they say "Do know Sanjivan
28 Ruprah?" if you said, "No, I don't know Sanjivan Ruprah," that
29 would not be the truth, would it?

1 A. Well, if I told him that I did not know Sanjivan Ruprah
2 that would still be the truth, depending on what we mean by
3 "know". That would still be the truth.

4 Q. That would be being honest?

14:56:57 5 A. That would be honest, that I did not know Mr Ruprah.

6 Q. A man you had approved his situation with a diplomatic
7 passport, and I believe you called him today an ambassador at
8 large?

9 A. I would know of him, but I would not know him. I would
14:57:10 10 know of him.

11 Q. Is that the kind of word games you were playing with the
12 panel of experts?

13 A. Listen, you went to school and I went to school. It
14 depends on your interpretation --

14:57:18 15 MR ANYAH: Madam President, if it please your Honour, I
16 object to this. On the transcript of 20 January here is the
17 question Ms Hollis put to Mr Taylor and here was his response.

18 MR KOUMJIAN: Excuse me --

19 MR ANYAH: The relevant --

14:57:23 20 MR KOUMJIAN: Excuse me --

21 MR ANYAH: May I - I'm addressing the Court, counsel.

22 PRESIDING JUDGE: One person at a time. Mr Anyah is
23 addressing the Court.

24 MR ANYAH: Thank you, I am grateful for that indulgence.

14:57:40 25 On 20 January Ms Hollis put the following question to Mr Taylor.
26 The relevant page is page 33736 and it goes on to the next page,
27 33737. The question at line 29 by Ms Hollis was:

28 "Q. And in fact you knew Sanjivan Ruprah, did you not?

29 A. I knew of him, but I don't know him personally."

1 Now, we are spending a lot of time on this particular
2 issue. On several questions they've been covered before with
3 Mr Taylor and we're going back to repeat the same issues and
4 questions from the testimony of Ian Smillie, and I propose to
14:58:22 5 your Honours that it is not being efficient, proceeding in this
6 manner.

7 PRESIDING JUDGE: Mr Koumjian, could you briefly respond to
8 this very aspect: Whether you think you're being repetitive or
9 not.

14:58:36 10 MR KOUMJIAN: No, I'm not being repetitive. I understand
11 that is exactly the answer Mr Taylor gave on 20 January, but if I
12 proceed, I believe - what I'm saying: Clearly that's not the
13 answer he gave Mr Smillie where he says "I don't know him", and
14 I'd like to proceed with some other questions. I'm going to go
14:58:57 15 on from Mr Smillie now to other areas.

16 PRESIDING JUDGE: No, but I think it is pertinent. I also
17 agree with Mr Koumjian that the question now before Mr Taylor is
18 in relation to Mr Smillie's - or the answer that Mr Smillie says
19 he gave him way back when the panel of experts went to visit
14:59:20 20 Mr Taylor, and to me it's a different aspect of the same subject
21 matter, and I think it's pertinent that the witness should answer
22 this, which I think he has done, Mr Koumjian.

23 MR KOUMJIAN: Thank you:

24 Q. Let's move on. Mr Taylor, when you take an oath before the
14:59:39 25 judges, you take an oath - you understand that your obligation is
26 to tell the whole truth to the judges?

27 A. That's what the oath says, yes.

28 Q. Did you try at any time to mislead these judges about your
29 knowledge of Sanjivan Ruprah?

1 A. I have at no time in any shape or form tried or calculated
2 to deliberately mislead this Court.

3 Q. Let's look at the transcript from 25 August, please, page
4 27685.

15:00:20 5 PRESIDING JUDGE: Kindly repeat the page number again.

6 MR KOUMJIAN: 27685.

7 MR ANYAH: If it's 26 August, that page is not on that
8 transcript.

9 MR KOUMJIAN: Did I say "26"? 25. 25 August. If I said
15:00:58 10 "26", I apologise.

11 PRESIDING JUDGE: Actually, you said "25 August".

12 MR KOUMJIAN: Thank you.

13 Q. Mr Taylor, let's read from the top of that page. You
14 answered:

15:01:17 15 "A. No, I don't. I don't know Victor Bout.

16 Q. Sanjivan Ruprah, do you know him?

17 A. No."

18 That's what you told these judges.

19 A. It's exactly what I'm telling them now. I don't know
15:01:34 20 Mr Ruprah. I know of him. I don't know this man if you brought
21 him as big as this building. I know of him and I remember the
22 situation, but I don't know the man and that's what I'm saying
23 again.

24 Q. So when you told the judges that you didn't know Sanjivan
15:01:48 25 Ruprah, you feel you were giving them a complete and honest
26 answer?

27 A. I've answered that.

28 Q. Let's go to 26 August, the next day. Page 27800. Now,
29 your counsel was going through - the previous day he had been

1 reading and going through with you the panel of experts' report,
2 P-18, the panel that Mr Smillie was on, the panel for Sierra
3 Leone, and on 26 August he was going through your government's
4 response to the panel of experts' report, so at page 27800. We
15:02:41 5 begin - I believe it's six lines down. "The report from your
6 government states the panel" - it's part of Mr Griffiths'
7 question:

8 "The panel documents the extensive and global illegal
9 activities of one Mr Sanjivan Ruprah, alleged to be a Kenyan
15:03:01 10 national. It also admits that he travelled on a Liberian
11 diplomatic passport in false names as Liberia's Deputy
12 Commissioner For Maritime Affairs and that he was authorised in
13 writing by the Liberian Ministry of Transport to act as its
14 agent.

15:03:17 15 Paragraph 26 also alleges that Ruprah carries additional
16 authorisation from the Liberian International Ship and Corporate
17 Registry."

18 Now listen carefully to this, Mr Taylor:

19 "The Government of Liberia, through both the Ministry of
15:03:36 20 Justice and the Ministry of Transport, denied any knowledge of,
21 or association with, Sanjivan Ruprah mentioned in paragraphs 225,
22 226 and 227. The government also challenges the authenticity of
23 any 'written appointment' allegedly given him by the 'Liberian
24 Ministry of Transport to act as the global civil aviation
15:04:07 25 agent'."

26 Now, Mr Taylor, pay close attention to this. Your counsel,
27 Mr Griffiths, asked you:

28 "Q. Mr Taylor, do you know this man Sanjivan Ruprah?

29 A. No, I do not know him."

1 Were you being completely honest with these judges?

2 A. Of course. I said I didn't know him then, and I'm saying
3 that now. I say I knew of him. I did not know the man.

4 Q. He was an arms dealer that you were authorising over a
15:04:41 5 million dollars of payments to be sent to in order to buy weapons
6 in 1999 and 2000, correct?

7 A. I have no knowledge of that. Maybe that's information you
8 know.

9 Q. So that might be true?

15:04:50 10 A. I'm not going to get into speculation, Mr Koumjian. I
11 would assume that if you had --

12 Q. Would that be speculation for you, sir? You don't know the
13 answer?

14 A. Well, if you - if you are telling this Court you're giving
15:05:04 15 evidence in this Court that he was X, Y, Z, that's evidence you
16 are giving; that's not me.

17 Q. Sir, my question was: Did you authorise over a million
18 dollars to be transferred to him for arms payments, arms and
19 ammunition, in 1999 and 2000?

15:05:19 20 A. I said no in earlier questions --

21 Q. Your answer is that you can't speculate about that?

22 A. No, no, no. I've answered that question even before lunch.
23 I said I did not transfer money to Mr Ruprah for an express
24 purpose of buying arms; that the details of whatever was done
15:05:34 25 with him I do not know, but it was of such that I would have
26 authorised the overall payments to Mr Ruprah. The details I do
27 not know. So I'm not - I don't know if I'm supposed to change
28 that evidence, but that's my evidence.

29 Q. Please explain to us, Mr Taylor - I understand you don't

1 authorise the details. That implies to me that you authorise
2 something above that that's not a detail. What is it that you
3 knew that you authorised? What was told to you before you
4 authorised these large transfers of money?

15:06:08 5 A. I don't recall the details, Mr Koumjian. I do not. I have
6 said ten times I do not recall the details. Issues come. It's
7 just like asking the President of the United States to account
8 for a large budgetary amount to the Pentagon. He doesn't know
9 whether it's for space - I mean, he doesn't remember if it's for
15:06:33 10 which weapons system or which civilian system; he proves an
11 amount payable to X for a purpose. I don't recall the details of
12 why these amounts were paid. All I can say: I authorised them.

13 Q. Mr Taylor, a million dollars, if your budget was 40
14 million - actually, your budget was in 1998 42, I believe we
15:06:57 15 said. A million dollars is not a small amount of money. If you
16 compared that to the United States budget, you'd be talking about
17 hundreds of millions of dollars. Are you saying you do not know
18 how over a million dollars of your government's money was spent?

19 A. Mr Koumjian, I have said that over and again. It was - I
15:07:15 20 operated within the laws of Liberia. Any monies that I expended
21 from the coffers of the Liberian Treasury, if I recall what it
22 was specifically used for, I would tell these judges, because I
23 did it within the laws of Liberia and the authorisation of my
24 legislature, and there would be no reason why I would say no.

15:07:37 25 PRESIDING JUDGE: Mr Taylor, let me interrupt. The
26 question was not whether what you did was legal or illegal. The
27 question is did you know the purpose for which this money was
28 being expended?

29 THE WITNESS: Yes, your Honour, I have answered that ten

1 times, but what Mr Koumjian --

2 PRESIDING JUDGE: I don't think so. You have not told us
3 one purpose for which this money was expended.

4 THE WITNESS: I said I do not --

15:08:00 5 PRESIDING JUDGE: You've only said you do not know.

6 THE WITNESS: I do not know the specifics, but I authorised
7 expenditures.

8 PRESIDING JUDGE: We're not asking for the specifics.

9 THE WITNESS: But I do not know --

15:08:09 10 PRESIDING JUDGE: Counsel asked you for the general purpose
11 for which this money was expended.

12 THE WITNESS: I do not recall what it was expended for.

13 MR KOUMJIAN:

14 Q. Mr Taylor, have you ever been to the house of your cousin,
15:08:20 15 Joe Tate?

16 A. Yes.

17 Q. When was the last time you think you visited his house?

18 A. Oh, the last time I visited there was when Joe died. What
19 was that? Back in 1999, 2000. When Joe died, I visited his
15:08:42 20 house.

21 Q. And that was - his house is basically very close to Benoni
22 Urey's house, is that correct?

23 A. Well, Joe Tate's house that - well, it depends on - maybe
24 you know something that I don't know. Joe Tate's house that I
15:08:56 25 know of is in Congo Town - what we call Congo Town back road.

26 Mr Urey lives in an area called Careysburg, which is several
27 miles away.

28 Q. Sir, can we go back to document P-32, please. I'd like to
29 read from paragraph 204.

1 PRESIDING JUDGE: [Overlapping speakers] panel report?

2 MR KOUMJIAN: Yes, your Honour.

3 JUDGE LUSSICK: What was that paragraph again, Mr Koumjian?

4 MR KOUMJIAN: I'm going to read just paragraph 205. I

15:10:11 5 think I said 204, but I just want to read 205 to move things a
6 little faster.

7 MR KOUMJIAN:

8 Q. "When the panel requested information on the whereabouts of
9 Sanjivan Ruprah in Liberia, the authorities claimed the man was
10 unknown to them. Leroy Urey who had signed the leasing contract
11 for West African Air Services also denied knowing Ruprah."

15:10:25

12 If I can stop there for a moment, sir. Who is Leroy Urey?

13 A. Leroy Urey is a brother of Benoni Urey.

14 Q. Did he have a position with your government in the Civil
15 Aviation Department?

15:10:48

16 A. To the best of my recollection, Leroy Urey, a lawyer,
17 worked in the Ministry of Justice, to the best of my knowledge.

18 Q. I'll continue reading:

19 "Ruprah, however, is known to have entered the European
20 Union travelling with Liberian diplomatic passports under

15:11:06

21 different names. According to the passports, he was travelling
22 on behalf of the Liberian Maritime Authority. The Commissioner
23 for Maritime Affairs of Liberia, Benoni Urey, is a brother of
24 Leroy Urey. Benoni Urey also denied knowing Ruprah and knew

25 nothing about the diplomatic passports. Mr Ruprah is no longer
26 in Liberia but had stayed for a long time in a house almost
27 opposite to the one of Benoni Urey. When the panel interviewed
28 Mr Ruprah, he acknowledged this and confirmed that his house was
29 that of the late Joe Tate, the former Inspector General of Police

15:11:31

1 of Liberia who died in 2000 in a helicopter accident."

2 Is that correct, Mr Taylor, that Mr Ruprah stayed in the
3 house of your cousin Joe Tate after your cousin died?

4 A. I have no idea. I'm not sure, but there's so much wrong
15:12:08 5 with this thing. Joe Tate did not die in a helicopter accident,
6 so some of these reports are not right. Joe Tate never died in a
7 helicopter accident. And if he lived in Mr Tate's house, I don't
8 know, he could have leased it. I don't know.

9 Q. Joe Tate died in a plane crash according to you. Is that
15:12:28 10 correct?

11 A. That is correct, but not a helicopter accident, so this is
12 information is totally wrong. It was a twin engine Cessna and
13 not a helicopter. So it's wrong.

14 Q. Who did that Cessna belong to?

15:12:42 15 A. I think that was for --

16 Q. Guus Kouwenhoven?

17 A. No, no --

18 Q. Did that belong to OTC?

19 A. No, no, no. They did not have a twin engine plane. I
15:12:50 20 don't recall who owned the plane, but they did not have a plane.
21 Guus had a - they had a small Mi-2 helicopter, to my knowledge.

22 Q. Let's move on. I want to go into some details about one of
23 the case studies, there are several in this report, and I just
24 want to go into one of the case studies in this report in P-32,
15:13:16 25 that is, the first panel of experts' report for Liberia,
26 S/201/1015. And I'd ask to first turn to paragraph 17 on
27 page 11:

28 "In case study two it is shown how Liberia set up a ghost
29 airline, West Africa Air Services, to transport several arms

1 cargoes. A first flight in July 2000 shipped spare parts for
2 military helicopters from Kyrgyzstan to Liberia. A forged End
3 User certificate for a company in Guinea was again used to buy
4 the military equipment. Directly after that the plane shuttled
15:14:32 5 between Monrovia and Abidjan (Cote d'Ivoire) to bring over 100
6 tons of ammunition to Liberia. This deal was organised and
7 financed by Leonid Minin and a partner in Russia, Valery Cherny,
8 of the company Aviatrend. Minin was later found in possession of
9 forged duplicates of an End User certificate that had been signed
15:15:00 10 by General Robert Guei, the former Head of State of Cote
11 d'Ivoire."

12 Sir, you know Leonid Minin?

13 A. Yes, I do know Minin.

14 Q. You know General Robert Guei?

15:15:16 15 A. Yes, I do know General Guei.

16 Q. I'm going to give you a chance to comment on this, but it
17 may be more efficient if you do it after I finish reading more
18 from this case study, which begins --

19 A. Then I disagree with that paragraph, just in case you don't
15:15:33 20 come back to it. My knowledge of those two, I disagree. I have
21 no knowledge of the details of Guei, so just in case you don't
22 come back to it.

23 Q. Sir, what do you mean when you say you have no knowledge of
24 the details of Guei?

15:15:44 25 A. Well, it speaks here about Guei signing things to Minin.
26 Guei was Head of State of a country. I don't know what existed
27 between Guei and Minin. So there's about, what, several dozens
28 of things in this one paragraph. I'm just saying that I don't
29 agree with the details, but you only asked me about the knowledge

1 of two people, and later on it could be construed that I agreed.
2 So I don't agree.

3 PRESIDING JUDGE: Mr Koumjian has undertaken to come back
4 to the paragraph. When he has a question, he'll let you know.

15:16:15 5 MR KOUMJIAN:

6 Q. Sir, turn to page 46, paragraph 207:

7 "West Africa Air Services was set up for such smuggling
8 operations only. The pilot of the plane told the panel that he
9 had been transporting some Liberian officials on the plane and
10 the aircraft does have a number of passenger seats in front.

15:16:53 11 However, the pilot also mentioned that the individual overseeing
12 the operations of the plane knew more about ships than about
13 aircraft and that his nickname was Mr Sanji. Sanjivan Ruprah
14 signed West African Air Services documents and travelled on
15 diplomatic passports issued by the Liberian Bureau of Maritime
16 Affairs. He is the same person the panel on Sierra Leone
17 identified as an arms dealer involved in the Liberian procurement
18 process."

19 Paragraph 208:

15:17:34 20 "Asked about the trips from Monrovia to Abidjan and back
21 during July and early August, the pilot claimed the plane had
22 been 'empty'. The panel, however, also interviewed Sanjivan
23 Ruprah extensively. He said, 'Those trips from Abidjan to
24 Monrovia were for transportation of ammunition.'

15:17:56 25 The chronology of the West Africa Air Services flights,
26 Abidjan-Monrovia and back, coincides with the arrival at Abidjan
27 airport (Cote d'Ivoire) of an Antonov 124 on 15 July 2000."

28 Paragraph 210:

29 "In cooperation with the Ukrainian authorities, the panel

1 obtained details on this flight. The airway bill showed that the
2 Antonov 124 carried a cargo of 113 tons of 7.62 millimetre
3 calibre cartridges. The plane left the Ukrainian airport of
4 Gostomel on 14 July 2000 and arrived in Abidjan after a fuel stop
15:18:45 5 in Libya on 15 July 2000. In Abidjan the cargo was unloaded by
6 the military.

7 211. The End User for the 5 million cartridges and for a
8 long additional list of weapons was signed by General Robert Guei
9 who was the Head of State of Cote d'Ivoire at the time of the
15:19:07 10 delivery. A stamp on the document showed that the signature of
11 General Guei was authenticated by the ambassador of Cote d'Ivoire
12 in Moscow on 2 June 2000, and on that basis the Ukrainian
13 authorities issued an export permit and authorised the flight.

14 An additional " - I'm just going to skip that just to make it go
15:19:34 15 faster.

16 Let's go down to the second sentence in paragraph 212:

17 "The broker for the 5 million cartridges and the charter of
18 the plan was the Moscow based Aviatrend Company represented by
19 Valery Cherny. Cherny was an associate for this deal of Leonid
15:19:54 20 Efimovic Minin. Minin had been key to the transportation of 68
21 tons of small arms from Burkina Faso to Monrovia in March 1999."

22 Skipping down to just make this a little faster. Paragraph
23 213:

24 "Leonid Minin was arrested on 5 August 2000 in Monza,
15:20:23 25 Italy. When the Italian investigators searched his hotel a
26 significant quantity of documents were found. Among those
27 documents were faxes sent by Valery Cherny of Aviatrend to Minin
28 and correspondence from the son of President Charles Taylor to
29 Minin. Remarkably, several apparently original copies of the End

1 User certificate from Cote d'Ivoire were also found in Minin's
2 documentation. Bank transfers also show that Minin paid
3 \$1 million to Aviatrend. The payment of US \$850,000 to an
4 Aviatrend account at the Alpha Bank in Nicosia, Cyprus, on 7 June
15:21:14 5 2000, a second payment of US \$150,000 to an Aviatrend account
6 with the Chase Manhattan Bank in New York on 13 June 2000 through
7 one of Minin's many offshore companies Sulico Holdings. "

8 "214. The panel interviewed almost every player in this
9 particular case. The ambassador of Cote d'Ivoire to Moscow who
15:21:44 10 had authenticated the signature of General Guei on the End User
11 certificate was interviewed. When he saw copies of the End User
12 certificate the ambassador acknowledged he had signed one of them
13 but said that the other copies found in Minin's possession were
14 forged. "

15:22:03 15 Skipping down to paragraph 215. And if counsel wants me to
16 read anything else, I'm happy to. I'm just trying to move it a
17 bit:

18 "In Moscow the panel interviewed Valery Cherny of
19 Aviatrend. Cherny could not explain why there were multiple
15:22:22 20 copies of the Cote d'Ivoire End User certificate. When asked why
21 Minin had paid him US \$1 million, when only five million
22 cartridges had been sold (the approximate market price was US
23 \$250,000) Cherny acknowledged that more arms were stock piled and
24 waiting for delivery to Cote d'Ivoire. After the 14 July
15:22:44 25 shipment had left Ukraine and preparations were made for
26 additional deliveries, Minin 'disappeared'. Later Cherny heard
27 that Minin had been arrested in Italy. The weapons were waiting
28 for delivery ever since, Cherny claimed.

29 The panel also interviewed General Robert Guei who after

1 the elections in Cote d'Ivoire fled the capital to his home
2 village in the west of the country. The general acknowledged
3 that he had signed the End User certificate. He had signed only
4 one document. He explained that when he took office, after a
15:23:19 5 coup d'etat in 1999" - Mr Taylor, do you remember that that was
6 Christmas Eve in 1999 that General Guei took power?

7 A. Yes. That came before the Court before, yes.

8 Q. "... he wanted to replenish depleted Ivorian army stocks.

9 As a first step he asked the Heads of State of other African

15:23:41 10 countries, including Burkina Faso, Libya, Morocco and Liberia, to
11 supply small quantities of ammunition and light weapons. The

12 Liberian President, General Guei said, supplied some arms and
13 even sent an emissary to help the general out. This emissary was

14 the Liberian ambassador-at-large Mohamed Salame, a resident of

15:24:08 15 Abidjan and owner of a timber business in Liberia. Salame

16 offered his services and asked General Guei to sign the End User

17 certificate. A split up would then be made between Cote d'Ivoire

18 and Liberia for those weapons. The general acknowledged that

19 some of the ammunition had remained in Cote d'Ivoire but most of

15:24:31 20 it had been for Liberia."

21 Let's make sure you have a chance to deal with some of this

22 information, Mr Taylor. First: When General Guei told the panel

23 that shortly after the coup d'etat, Christmas Eve 1999, he asked

24 several countries, including yours, for ammunition and weapons,

15:24:56 25 was he telling the truth? Do you recall that.

26 A. General Guei, yes. General Guei did ask for assistance,
27 yes.

28 Q. And when it says that you sent - that he told the panel

29 that you sent small quantities of ammunition and light weapons,

1 did you send small quantities of ammunition and light weapons to
2 General Guei?

3 A. Well, yes, but I don't think the panel is fooled about
4 this. There were personnel, and those personnel carry small
15:25:25 5 ammunition and weapons. We sent the - some of the Ivorians that
6 were in Liberia that even served as his personal bodyguards, and
7 they carried the small weapons and ammunition, yes.

8 Q. When you say the Ivorians in Liberia, explain who you mean?

9 A. Oh, there were trained Libe - Ivorians that were living in
15:25:48 10 Liberia during the time of my presidency. We packed some of them
11 up and went, and General Guei wanted protection, so we let them
12 go back. When they were going, they did carry their physical
13 arms with them.

14 Q. Immediately before you sent them to General Robert Guei,
15:26:08 15 were they in any military or paramilitary force in Liberia?

16 A. They were Secret Service personnel for his protection.

17 Q. SSS personnel in your country?

18 A. That is correct.

19 Q. Now, General Guei says that at the request of Mohamed
15:26:27 20 Salame, your ambassador at large, he was asked to sign an End
21 User certificate. Did you instruct Mohamed Salame to get General
22 Guei to sign an End User certificate?

23 A. No, I did not. General Guei says he wanted to replenish
24 his stock. No, that's their decision.

15:26:44 25 Q. And General Guei says that when the ammunition came, the
26 majority of it was sent to Liberia, according to the agreement?

27 A. That's what this report says, but that is not - I don't
28 know if General Guei said this, but General Guei did not send
29 ammunition to Liberia.

1 Q. Did you receive any ammunition from General Guei?

2 A. No, I did not. If there's anybody that received, he
3 received from me.

4 Q. Besides what you've just mentioned about the Ivorians you
15:27:11 5 sent armed to help General Guei, what other arms or ammunition
6 did you send to General Guei?

7 A. No, that's it.

8 Q. Paragraph 217:

9 "The practical arrangements were made by Ambassador Salame,
15:27:27 10 according to the General. When the panel contacted Ambassador
11 Salame, he flatly denied any knowledge of ammunition
12 transactions. His business was exclusively timber, he said.
13 However, when the panel interviewed Leonid Minin in prison in
14 Italy, he credited Mohamed Salame for assisting the Cote d'Ivoire
15:27:48 15 part of the Aviatrend arms deal. Minin said the deal had been
16 organised by Mohamed Salame on behalf of the Liberian President
17 ..."

18 That would be you, Mr Taylor, correct?

19 A. I would suppose, yes.

15:28:01 20 Q. "... in return for a beneficial deal for Minin's timber
21 company, Exotic Tropical and Timber Enterprises in Liberia."

22 Now, Mr Taylor, you don't dispute that Leonid Minin had
23 this company in Liberia called Exotic Tropical and Timber
24 Enterprises; you don't dispute that, do you?

15:28:24 25 A. No, I do not.

26 Q. And tell me, Mr Taylor, you knew Leonid Minin was an arms
27 dealer, correct?

28 A. No, I did not know his background. Mr Minin did work as a
29 timber man in Liberia. He may have had many other backgrounds.

1 I was not aware of them.

2 Q. Well, did you think he had any knowledge or competency in
3 obtaining weapons?

4 A. Did I think?

15:28:45 5 Q. Yes. Did you have any information that he was --

6 A. Well, okay, okay. You said did I think. Okay. Well,
7 Mr Minin appeared to have a global outreach that he could get a
8 lot of things accomplished in the business world. That's the
9 position I was looking at. He appeared to be someone with a lot
10 of money, and Liberia needed investors, so we had serious
11 interest in his being in Liberia.

12 Q. Okay. Sir, my question is: Did you think he had the
13 ability to get weapons?

14 A. In all earnesty, I would say that that was a possibility.
15:29:26 15 I would think so. We didn't ask of him, but he - he appeared to
16 have a global outreach, so I would be very fair to this Court to
17 say that included the possibility of getting weapons.

18 Q. What do you mean when you say, "We didn't ask of him"?

19 A. That was not my interest. My interest was in business
15:29:43 20 investment, but I did not ask of him the purchase of weapons.
21 Your question was did I think he had that - that - what did you
22 call it? I said yes, because of his appearance of having a lot
23 of money. That's as far as I can go.

24 Q. Mr Taylor, you did ask Leonid Minin to get you weapons,
15:30:06 25 didn't you?

26 A. I did not ask Leonid Minin to get me any weapons, and I
27 think Minin has also discredited this report.

28 Q. Let's go on for a moment:

29 "Leonid Minin also acknowledged that his arrest in August

1 caused the cancellation of further deliveries of the weapons on
2 the End User certificate. "

3 I want to skip to paragraph 219, the last sentence:

4 "The final delivery to Liberia was arranged between the
15:30:53 5 militarily at Abidjan Airport, Sanjivan Ruprah, Mohamed Salame
6 and Charles Taylor Junior. Minin said a special plane was
7 organised from Monrovia to pick up the ammunition. This is where
8 the Ilyushin 18 of West Africa Air Services played an important
9 role again. An Ilyushin 18 is a relatively small aircraft as
15:31:26 10 compared to 113 tons that needed to be transported. This is why
11 the plane had to fly eight times to bring the cargo over to
12 Liberia, Mr Ruprah told the panel. The operation started on the
13 very day the Ilyushin came back with the helicopter spare parts
14 from Kyrgyzstan. "

15:31:52 15 Then let's go to paragraph 223, the last five lines:

16 "In September the plane made one last flight, to fly
17 members of President Taylor's Anti-Terrorist Unit to Abidjan to
18 assist General Robert Guei when his residence came under attack
19 by a rioting army unit. "

15:32:17 20 Do you remember this incident, Mr Taylor?

21 A. That's what I explained. I have already told the Court.
22 We sent Secret Service to help protect General Guei that he
23 requested.

24 Q. Sir, this is in September, while the coup d'etat where he
15:32:33 25 took power was Christmas Eve of 1999. So we're talking about
26 nine months later.

27 A. These are the same people that are - this is the problem
28 with these panel of experts reports, and it is good for the
29 judges to know the Government of Liberia responded to this

1 report. We challenged this report and if I'm not mistaken, one
2 part of one other report had been brought before this Court.
3 These reports are based on information, disinformation and
4 governments have - there's nothing that is 100 per cent factual
15:33:05 5 about this report. So they're wrong about that. The people that
6 were there had already been there, and I just told the Court that
7 we sent armed personnel at the beginning of General Guei's turn,
8 and what they saw there and heard of were people that had been
9 there.

15:33:20 10 Q. Mr Taylor, you're still lying to the judges now about your
11 relationship to Mr Minin and not trying to use him for arms
12 deals, aren't you?

13 A. What do you mean by I'm still lying to the judges?

14 Q. You lied to them today when you told them you never tried
15:33:36 15 to use Minin to obtain arms.

16 A. Well, prove my lie now.

17 Q. Thank you, sir.

18 A. You said I lied. I have told this Court what is my
19 evidence.

15:33:44 20 Q. Thank you. I will --

21 A. So I do not know what you mean.

22 Q. Thank you. I will prove it. Could Mr Taylor please be
23 shown the transcript for 25 August, beginning page 27669. That's
24 27669 on 25 August. If you look, it should be about halfway down
15:34:27 25 the page. The question begins:

26 "Q. Do you know Leonid Minin, Mr Taylor?

27 A. Yes, I do.

28 Q. Have you met him?

29 A. Yes, I have met him, yes.

1 Q. In what connection?

2 A. Leonid Minin was doing timber business in Liberia.

3 Q. Did you do any arms deals with Mr Minin, Mr Taylor?

4 A. Yes, we tried to get some arms, but he failed. He
15:34:56 5 couldn't get them."

6 So, Mr Taylor, why did you lie to the judges a few minutes
7 ago and tell them you never tried to get arms from Leonid Minin?
8 Is it because you know in fact you did get arms from Leonid
9 Minin?

10 A. We never got arms from Mr Minin. Never received one pistol
11 from Leonid Minin.

12 Q. Mr Taylor, why can't you keep your testimony straight one
13 day from another about these arms deals? Is it because you're
14 not telling the truth?

15 A. It is straight. One lawyer comes, twists a question in a
16 way, another comes --

17 PRESIDING JUDGE: Pause, Mr Taylor.

18 THE WITNESS: I'm sorry --

19 PRESIDING JUDGE: Yes, Mr Anyah.

15:35:30 20 MR ANYAH: Yes, Madam President, I merely rise to make an
21 observation. It's cross-examination, questions and answers flow
22 with rapidity and fluidity and counsel is entitled to put his
23 questions, but there is some elements of civility, even in a
24 courtroom of this nature, when exchanging questions and answers
15:35:54 25 with a witness. Counsel should let Mr Taylor finish his
26 response, and even the tone - he may raise his inflection and the
27 cadence of his voice might change, but there is some element of
28 civility that we still must adhere to in a courtroom. And I
29 don't think this facilitates the process, the manner in which

1 counsel is addressing Mr Taylor. "Why can't you keep your
2 testimony straight from one day to another?" These are
3 argumentative questions that are unnecessary. There are other
4 ways to phrase the questions.

15:36:26 5 PRESIDING JUDGE: Your comments are noted, Mr Anyah.

6 MR KOUMJIAN: Thank you.

7 Q. Mr Taylor, you say "One lawyer comes, twists a question."
8 The lawyer that asked you the question on 25 August was Courtenay
9 Griffiths. Are you saying that he twisted the question to you?

15:36:39 10 A. But if you read - no. If you read this thing you can tell.

11 "Did you do any arms deal with Mr Minin?" "Yes, we tried to, but
12 we failed." If you look at the language there, I mean, I have a
13 different interpretation as you put it, okay? Because even the
14 answer, "Yes, but we tried and we" - so it brings confusion right
15 there. We did, but - yes, but we did not get any arms. Then you

15:37:01 16 come with a question, "Did you get arms from Mr Minin?" And I
17 said "No." Then I have a "yes" here, and then you have a "no"
18 there, and then you try to interpret that. It's not lying. We
19 never received any arms from Leonid Minin, and so even as I say

15:37:22 20 "Yes, but we didn't get it", so what does that mean? I mean, you
21 know, it all depends on how the questions come. A "yes" could be
22 - you know, could mean something in one instance and a "no",
23 depending on how the question is phrased. How do you say yes,
24 you did it, but you didn't get it? So you didn't get it.

15:37:40 25 Q. Mr Taylor, you had no problem explaining that on 25 August.
26 You said, "Yes, we tried, but we didn't get it." That's how you
27 explained it.

28 A. And your question is, "Did you get arms from Mr Minin?"
29 and I said "No." Then you say, "Were you lying because you said

1 that you got it, but you didn't get it."

2 PRESIDING JUDGE: Mr Taylor, if we can go back to the
3 transcript of today, mine at page 96, line 1:

4 "Q. Mr Taylor, you did ask Leonid Minin to get you
15:38:07 5 weapons, didn't you?

6 A. I did not ask Mr Leonid Minin to get me any weapons,
7 and I think Minin has also discredited this report."

8 I think this is the passage that counsel is referring to as
9 compared to what was said in the transcript. If we look at page
10 97, lines 24 - start at 22 where counsel suggests to you, "What
11 do you mean" - sorry, you answered - Mr Koumjian asked:

12 "Q. Mr Taylor, you're still lying to the judges now about
13 your relationship to Mr Minin and not trying to use him for
14 arms deals, aren't you?

15:39:03 15 A. What do you mean by I'm still lying to the judges?

16 Q. You lied to them today when you told them you never
17 tried to use Minin to obtain arms.

18 A. Well, prove my lie now. You said I lied. I have told
19 this Court what is my evidence, so I don't know what you
15:39:24 20 mean."

21 And it is that stage that we then went back into the
22 transcript. Now, for me I think the record speaks for itself.
23 You've asked questions; we've seen the answers; we've looked at
24 the transcripts; now please move on.

15:39:40 25 MR KOUMJIAN: Thank you.

26 Q. Mr Taylor, before I leave the Aviatrend case, let me just
27 summarise it and then get your comments. What the panel reports
28 in this case is a delivery of a large amount of arms and
29 ammunition, I believe it was 113 tons, using an End User

1 certificate signed by the President of Cote d'Ivoire Robert Guei
2 from Ukraine, through the Ivory Coast with the majority of it
3 going to Liberia, Monrovia. And they have that information from
4 Mr Ruprah, from Mr Minin and from Mr Guei. Mr Taylor, that is
15:40:23 5 the truth. You did obtain a large amount of arms and ammunition
6 as reported by this panel from Ukraine through the Ivory Coast,
7 correct?

8 A. That is incorrect.

9 Q. Did you ever obtain any arms and ammunition from Ukraine?

15:40:40 10 A. Not to my recollection. I received arms and ammunition
11 from a different place. No, not to my recollection. I have no
12 knowledge of approving any purchase from Ukraine.

13 Q. Mr Taylor, before I move on, out of fairness to you, is
14 there anything else you want to - comment you want to make about
15:41:00 15 what I've read?

16 A. No. You promised to go back to another paragraph.

17 Q. I'm happy to go back to that if you want, but that
18 summarised what I've read in more detail.

19 A. Well, then we can move on.

15:41:11 20 Q. Do you want me to go back?

21 A. No, no, no.

22 Q. Let's move on then to another subject.

23 PRESIDING JUDGE: Mr Koumjian, what do you want the Court
24 do with annex 12, the one that you referred to earlier?

15:41:47 25 MR KOUMJIAN: Thank you. May that please be given a -
26 marked for identification number?

27 PRESIDING JUDGE: Just the annex?

28 MR KOUMJIAN: Yes.

29 PRESIDING JUDGE: The document entitled "Annex 10", and

1 this is a letter from the Ministry of Finance of the Republic of
2 Liberia dated 20 August 1999 - it is annex 12, although the
3 record shows annex 10, it's annex 12 - is marked MFI-392.

15:43:15 4 MR ANYAH: Madam President, if it pleases your Honour, just
5 for purposes of clarification, this annex, as far as I recall,
6 only the relevant page being read was page 25, but it does
7 include additional pages not covered by counsel, so I wonder if
8 in giving it this exhibit number those pages not covered are
9 included?

15:43:32 10 PRESIDING JUDGE: Yes, we need this clarification.

11 MR KOUMJIAN: I think we did provide a cover page, did we?
12 I'm sorry, I'm a little - let me check with my team. We've
13 provided the whole document, yes.

14 PRESIDING JUDGE: Sorry, what are you saying?

15:43:49 15 MR KOUMJIAN: Perhaps I should listen. My understanding
16 was that Mr Anyah was asking for a cover page.

17 PRESIDING JUDGE: He is asking if you are including in
18 annex 12 the subsequent pages, 26, 27, incidentally, which I
19 don't think are a part of that letter.

15:44:12 20 MR KOUMJIAN: No.

21 PRESIDING JUDGE: It's just the single page 25.

22 MR KOUMJIAN: Yes - excuse me, let me go to that. The next
23 page I should cover. The page marked B, confirmation, I would
24 like to cover that in some questions, if that could be shown to
15:44:41 25 Mr Taylor.

26 PRESIDING JUDGE: But this was not shown to the witness.

27 MR KOUMJIAN: Right. I would ask that it be shown to the
28 witness. We can leave this as that MFI and then be marked A and
29 B, if the second one gets in. But the second one relates to the

1 first. It's the bank transfer.

2 PRESIDING JUDGE: Please show page 26 to the witness.

3 Frankly, my copy is illegible. I don't know what this is.

4 MR KOUMJIAN:

15:45:36 5 Q. Mr Taylor, looking at this document, which as the Presiding
6 Judge has noted has some parts that appear to be illegible,
7 particularly the left-hand side, we see that it's on a letterhead
8 for Bank Boston and in --

9 A. Is there a better copy of this that I could look at?

15:46:00 10 PRESIDING JUDGE: This is a completely illegible piece of
11 paper. If the Prosecution has a better copy, that is what should
12 be displayed.

13 MR KOUMJIAN: It is exactly, I think - I don't know what
14 you have, but I don't believe it's any better.

15:46:28 15 MR ANYAH: Madam President, I cannot make out most of what
16 is on the top part of this document and this is the copy that the
17 Prosecution has that I believe is the original, so to speak. And
18 I don't know that it would be fair to the witness to show him
19 such a document.

15:46:50 20 MR KOUMJIAN: Your Honour, this is of course a photocopy of
21 part of the UN panel report that this was the annex of, so this
22 is photocopied from the UN panel report. This is the best copy.
23 We do not have the original. Your Honour, I'd rather move on
24 because I think we can use our time more efficiently.

15:47:42 25 PRESIDING JUDGE: So the annex remains MFI-392 and it's one
26 page, page 25.

27 MR KOUMJIAN: Your Honour, it's been suggested to me that
28 it might be efficient to include in that the cover page of the
29 report so that everyone knows where the annex came from.

1 PRESIDING JUDGE: The cover page is also included in
2 MFI-392.

3 MR KOUMJIAN:

4 Q. Mr Taylor, while the - I don't want to - I want to show you
15:48:26 5 some other transcript, but I want to give the Court officers a
6 little time to deal with the last one. So let me just ask you
7 this: Would you agree, Mr Taylor, that in the case of dozens of
8 the witnesses who have testified for the Prosecution in this
9 case, their testimony, direct testimony about you, is so contrary
15:48:49 10 to your testimony that there is no possibility that one of the
11 two of you is not lying?

12 MR ANYAH: Objection.

13 THE WITNESS: What do you want me to do with that?

14 MR ANYAH: Objection.

15:49:02 15 PRESIDING JUDGE: Mr Anyah, what is the objection?

16 MR ANYAH: 91 witnesses have been called. My objection is
17 that the question is vague and calls for speculation. How is
18 Mr Taylor to say in each and every instance where there's a
19 contradiction between his evidence and their various evidence and
15:49:19 20 what is the scope of this question? He is asking Mr Taylor in
21 essence to say, in each and every subject touched on by each and
22 every Prosecution witness, "I have quarrels with it," or "Some of
23 it is inconsistent with what I believe to be the case," but we
24 have no parameters by which to go. What is the scope of the
15:49:41 25 question?

26 MR KOUMJIAN: Your Honour, noting Mr Anyah's objection,
27 I'll try to make the question clearer.

28 PRESIDING JUDGE: Yes. Thank you. That will be noted.

29 MR KOUMJIAN: Thank you:

1 Q. Mr Taylor, for many witnesses, and I'm not saying all,
2 there is no possibility that someone is in error because of the
3 conflict in your testimony. For example, just to take one,
4 witness 590, you may not remember him, but this is the man who
15:50:11 5 said he saw your son cut off the head of his friend. He said he
6 was tortured at the Gbatala base. But then he said - of course,
7 those were outside of your presence. Then he said he was brought
8 to White Flower, brought to your house in the middle of the
9 night, tied up naked with tape over his mouth, which you ordered
15:50:32 10 removed, and had a conversation with you where you were accusing
11 them of being Kamajors, he and his friends, and making some
12 threats. Now, you've told us that that never happened. Is that
13 right?

14 A. So what's your question now?

15:50:48 15 Q. So in that case and many cases, there's no question, one of
16 the two - you or the witness is lying, is that right? Would you
17 agree with me?

18 A. Well, let me put it to you this way, Mr Koumjian, if I
19 remember the specific case: What about the case of this witness
15:51:03 20 being asked to describe my front yard that he couldn't? I mean -
21 and there were several passages of his testimony, if I recollect,
22 okay, that cover different subject matters. So I - it is very
23 possible that this witness could have told the truth about how he
24 entered the country, where he lived in Lofa, what happened and
15:51:28 25 other places and lied that he was brought to White Flower when he
26 could not describe my very front yard. So your question is one
27 that I think is, you know, is really improper, if you want to be
28 fair. So it is possible and even probable that witnesses giving
29 testimony will lie in some instances and tell some facts in other

1 instances. But that's the burden of your case, Mr Koumjian.

2 Q. Thank you. Now, Mr Taylor, before we move on from this, so
3 it's clear, you agree, that either he was there at your house or
4 he wasn't, and you're saying he was never there, correct?

15:52:06 5 A. I'm saying, this particular witness was never brought to my
6 house. I do not remember him. He was never brought there. He
7 did not describe my front yard, which further proves to me he was
8 never brought there. Anyone that enters my front yard and cannot
9 say exactly what he saw never entered there. And nobody would be
10 brought to my house.

11 Q. It's interesting that you say he didn't prove - that "it
12 further proves to me he was never brought there." My question,
13 sir, is: Are you saying - is there any question that you maybe
14 don't remember him? That a man could be tied - brought to you
15 tied up, naked, tie-bayed and you would not remember him?

16 A. That's not my evidence. My evidence is that he was never
17 brought there. That's my evidence.

18 Q. And you're saying the proof that he's a liar that the Court
19 should consider his failure to describe - in fact, it was a
15:53:06 20 fountain in the front of your house that your counsel asked him
21 about. Isn't that right?

22 A. That's one of - yeah, but there's several things that are
23 so visible.

24 Q. Now, that fountain, by the way, was part of a Defence
15:53:19 25 exhibit where you asked - that was admitted into this Court,
26 correct?

27 A. That is correct.

28 Q. And that is exhibit - I'll get the number in a moment, but
29 I think we all remember. This was the one that was drawn by your

1 counsel. Is that right? 264S. Sir, this was an exhibit that
2 was drawn by your counsel, and I don't think you need to look at
3 it. You tell me if you do.

4 A. Say that again?

15:53:58 5 Q. A drawing of your White Flower by Courtenay Griffiths, by
6 your counsel, do you recall that being presented in court?

7 A. Yeah, but the exhibit of my fountain is a picture, not just
8 a drawing.

9 Q. Well, there's a drawing. I'm asking you about the drawing.
15:54:13 10 Do you remember that drawing?

11 A. I remember a drawing by Mr Griffiths.

12 Q. We better show it to you if you don't remember. 264S.

13 A. Yeah, let me see it. Where I think the President of the
14 Court at that time said it was not too close to the fence or
15:54:31 15 something like that. But --

16 Q. In fact, the fountain is drawn in the diagram outside the
17 fence and the fountain is inside the fence, isn't it?

18 A. Mr Koumjian, I can't just say. I don't remember. The way
19 - we agreed at that particular time in court that the drawing was
15:54:46 20 not done to scale. That point was made by, I think, a member of
21 the Bench, and so we have a live photograph of my front yard as
22 presented by the Defence.

23 Q. Mr Taylor, my question is - well, first of all, you said it
24 was drawn at your direction. Where was Mr Griffiths when he drew
15:55:05 25 the diagram?

26 A. Right before me.

27 Q. Why didn't you draw it?

28 A. We can't go to hindsight. Maybe I'm not good at drawing
29 and he thought he could do - it was done with my authorisation

1 and in my presence and it was not to scale.

2 Q. Let me move on. Well, if you need to look at it, 264S. Or
3 do you recall that the - tell me if you recall and we don't need
4 to bring it to you. The fountain is drawn outside the fence,
15:55:30 5 correct?

6 PRESIDING JUDGE: If Mr Koumjian is going to refer to an
7 exhibit and to have issue with what's in the exhibit, then we
8 need to look at this exhibit, all of us. But I'm made to
9 understand that the exhibit number you've given is wrong.

15:55:56 10 MR KOUMJIAN: It's MFI - it's not an exhibit number - 264S.
11 It was tab 1 from week 40 in the Defence binders. Tab 1 from
12 week 40, MFI-264S.

13 PRESIDING JUDGE: The drawing is on the overhead.

14 MR KOUMJIAN:

15:56:51 15 Q. Okay, Mr Taylor - I think it needs to be pulled further up
16 the document. Is that correct?

17 A. Reduce it.

18 Q. Zoom out, please.

19 PRESIDING JUDGE: Mr Koumjian, you might want to take back
15:57:37 20 your words.

21 MR KOUMJIAN: Yes, I might want to. I have to restudy
22 this. Thank you, I'll move on.

23 PRESIDING JUDGE: The fountain is inside the wall, not
24 outside.

15:57:51 25 MR KOUMJIAN: Thank you. Could Mr Taylor please be shown 5
26 August 2009, page 26045. I believe I've confused driveway and
27 fountain. I apologise. Is 5 August up?

28 Q. Mr Taylor, on 5 August you were asked at the top of the
29 page:

1 "Q. Did you bring Sam Bockarie and his delegation to White
2 Flower any time in 1998?

3 A. No, that is another problem. White Flower, my
4 residence that is described in Congo Town that you have
15:59:33 5 been hearing about, I obtained that property before I was
6 elected as President. It was an unfinished building,
7 totally in chaos. I bought it. I liked the property. I
8 bought it, and I took me about a year and a half to
9 complete. I was still President completing that building,
15:59:55 10 and in fact I did not move into that building until my
11 birthday, January 28, 1999. So I met Sam Bockarie at the
12 Executive Mansion. So at that particular time I had not
13 moved and there was no one living in White Flower. I met
14 him at the mansion."

16:00:17 15 Mr Taylor, is that true that you never met Sam Bockarie at
16 White Flower in Congo Town --

17 A. That's not what I said --

18 Q. -- in 1998?

19 A. I never met Sam Bockarie - at the particular period you're
16:00:41 20 talking about here I met him, there was no - White Flower did not
21 come into being until 1999.

22 Q. And in fact, Mr Taylor, that would be important because
23 that would impeach several Prosecution witnesses who do talk
24 about you being at that White Flower in Congo Town in 1998. Do
16:01:02 25 you recall, Mr Taylor --

26 A. Of course. Not only should it impeach them, it will
27 impeach them. Because the records are very, very clear that I
28 lived as President of Liberia in the early stages of my
29 presidency next to the German embassy. That is very clear.

1 Every human in Liberia knows. So it would definitely impeach - I
2 don't know if that's another legal word. It would impeach them,
3 because I was not living in White Flower in 1998.

16:01:35 4 Q. I have some testimony from a few witnesses and I don't know
5 - it's not Mr Taylor's own, so I don't know if it's necessary to
6 show him. I can just --

7 A. What the witnesses said?

8 Q. What the witnesses said. 9 January 2008, Varmuyan Sherif.
9 He was asked on page 848:

16:01:49 10 "Q. Now, Mr Witness, could I ask you to pause for a
11 moment" --

12 MR ANYAH: Madam President, I would be grateful for some
13 time to look up each and every reference to each transcript and
14 follow as counsel reads it.

16:02:01 15 MR KOUMJIAN: Thank you. Fair enough.

16 PRESIDING JUDGE: What line are you reading from? We now
17 have the page.

18 MR KOUMJIAN: It's page 848, line 21:

19 Q. "Q. Now, Mr Witness, could I ask you to pause for a moment
16:02:47 20 and let me ask some questions about what you have just
21 said. You said that you went to White Flower. What was
22 White Flower?

23 A. That is the residence of Mr Taylor. They call it White
24 Flower."

16:02:59 25 You recall Varmuyan Sherif is the witness who said in that
26 early 1998 he brought - on your directions he brought Sam
27 Bockarie to see you, and so he's a very important witness,
28 wouldn't you agree, Mr Taylor?

29 A. Well, it depends on what you call important for you. You

1 know, these matters here are going to be proven before this
2 Court. I, Charles Ghankay Taylor, did not move into White Flower
3 until my birthday of 1999. But if you bring that as an argument,
4 there are other witnesses from the Prosecution that have also
16:03:31 5 said that in 1998 I was not living at White Flower. So which one
6 will you take? But I think we would have to prove - and it's a
7 part of our case - that in fact the issue of my living at White
8 Flower is an issue that we will have to prove in our defence too.
9 But there is no - I am not - my God, why would I lie about being
16:03:56 10 in White Flower? I have told this Court that I received Sam
11 Bockarie in late 1998. I have told them. I didn't say I never
12 knew this man. I received him. I was not living in White
13 Flower. Varmuyan Sheriff is lying.

14 Q. Mr Taylor, did you receive important guests in White Flower
16:04:13 15 in 1998?

16 A. How would I receive somebody in --

17 PRESIDING JUDGE: Mr Taylor, that is a question. It is
18 quite simple. What is your answer?

19 THE WITNESS: I've already said no, I did not receive any -
16:04:33 20 I could have asked what he means by "important guests" if I'm at
21 White Flower - because I used to go there while the construction
22 was going on and somebody came there to see me. But he's saying
23 important guests. I never received anybody - important guests at
24 White Flower in 1998.

16:04:53 25 MR KOUMJIAN: If the witness could be shown MFI-37 to 41.

26 Q. Mr Taylor, do you see the image on the screen?

27 A. I do.

28 Q. Do you recognise former President Jimmy Carter?

29 A. That is correct.

1 Q. Did you meet him at White Flower in 1998?

2 A. No, I don't remember meeting President Carter at White
3 Flower in 1998.

4 Q. Perhaps the witness could be shown the testimony from 30
16:06:06 5 July 2009, page 25647. By the way, Mr Taylor, while that's being
6 brought to you, I notice in your previous answer you talked about
7 your birthday as being 28 January 1999, correct?

8 A. No, no, no.

9 Q. In the previous testimony when you talked about not
16:07:11 10 bringing Sam Bockarie to White Flower.

11 A. My birthday is 28 January 1948.

12 Q. Well, sorry. You didn't move into White Flower until your
13 birthday in 1999. Thank you for correcting me; my mistake.

14 A. That is correct.

16:07:26 15 Q. But you say January 28, so you use dates in the North
16 American convention month/date, correct? In Liberia that's
17 common?

18 A. Yeah, but I don't know, you know, maybe the camera - some
19 other people, depending on --

16:07:38 20 Q. That's not my question. That's the way you use - normally
21 state the date: Month/day, correct?

22 A. We go date, month, year.

23 Q. But what --

24 A. Date --

16:07:50 25 Q. If we can go back, then, to how you stated your birthday on
26 5 August. Sir, now we have your testimony on 30 July, and let's
27 read it where it starts with, at the top of the page:

28 "Q. Can we have a look behind divider 36, please. What do
29 we see in that photograph, Mr Taylor?"

1 A. This is the front of my house with President and
2 Mrs Carter.

3 Q. Could you just change places for a minute.

4 A. Yes.

16:08:20 5 Q. Yes, who do we see?

6 A. Here is President Carter, this is Mrs Carter, this is
7 my - but these are staff personnel from the Carter Centre.
8 Of course, that's me here. This is my ex-wife Jewel
9 Howard-Taylor. I don't quite remember their names, but

16:08:40 10 these are staff personnel from the Carter Center. Of
11 course, that's me here.

12 Q. Right. And we see the date. What's the date?"

13 And you answered on 30 July: "That's April of 1998."

14 So, Mr Taylor, if we look at the photograph, we see in the
16:08:57 15 photograph it's dated 4/10/98. You told us you didn't move in
16 until January 1999. This is White Flower, isn't it?

17 A. No, this is not White Flower, Mr Koumjian. Then this -
18 then I'm in total error. This is not White Flower. This is the
19 front of the Executive Mansion here. We can bring a picture.

16:09:19 20 This glass, there's no such glass at White Flower. This is not
21 White Flower. Then that was totally incorrect. This is the
22 front of the Executive Mansion. White Flower doesn't have this.

23 Q. Let's read on to what you said on 30 July, line 12:

24 "Q. Right, and we see the date, what's the date?"

16:09:45 25 A. That's April of 1998.

26 Q. April 1998. And at which premises is that photograph
27 taken?

28 A. This is at my house at White Flower."

29 A. That statement is totally incorrect. I accept it's

1 incorrect. This is not White Flower. The house of White Flower,
2 you have copies. Then this is totally incorrect, I agree. This
3 is the Executive Mansion here, this picture. This is not White
4 Flower.

16:10:24 5 Q. Perhaps the next photographs consecutively from this,
6 MFI-38. I believe there's three other photographs, if they can
7 be shown. Mr Taylor, where are you there?

8 A. I'm sitting down - I'm sitting there.

9 Q. What building is this?

16:10:47 10 A. This is inside White Flower.

11 Q. Thank you. So, Mr Taylor, when you said you didn't move in
12 to White Flower until January 1999, it was chaos, that wasn't
13 true, was it?

14 A. That is true. President Carter did not visit Liberia once.

16:11:08 15 That was true. And in fact if you look at it, the
16 Vice-President, this is Enoch Dogolea who's dead, this was at a
17 different time.

18 MR KOUMJIAN: I'll move on, your Honours. Thank you, that
19 can be taken away:

16:12:12 20 Q. Mr Taylor, let me ask you about the RUF guesthouse.

21 A. Yes.

22 Q. When did you close the RUF guesthouse?

23 A. Well, I would say about 2000 - between late 2000 and 2001 I
24 would put it to.

16:12:52 25 Q. Sir, in fact, didn't you say that you knew the person who
26 was in charge of that guesthouse, Gibri I Massaquoi?

27 A. Yes.

28 Q. When was Gibri I Massaquoi based at the RUF guesthouse?

29 A. If my recollection is correct, this would be somewhere in

1 2000. After Issa Sesay takes over the leadership of the RUF,
2 Gibril Massaquoi - I would put it to somewhere in 2000 after Issa
3 Sesay takes over the leadership of the RUF.

16:13:38 4 Q. Mr Taylor, wouldn't it be more correct that you closed the
5 guesthouse in very late 2001 or early 2002?

6 A. Mr Koumjian, I tell you what, I have said that after Issa
7 Sesay became leader of the RUF that guesthouse was used for some
8 time. That's why I'm saying it could be, but I'm putting it to
9 late 2000 to 2001. You know, I could be wrong about the year but
16:14:04 10 I know it did stay in existence for some time after Issa took
11 over in August of 2000. So years I may have some problems with,
12 but.

13 MR KOUMJIAN: If the witness could please have on the
14 screen testimony from 14 September 2009, page 28808:

16:14:26 15 Q. While that's being put up: Mr Taylor, after Lome what need
16 was there for an RUF office in Monrovia?

17 A. Well, it depends on what Sankoh requested at a particular
18 time, between the time of Lome and their guesthouse. So if Foday
19 Sankoh came through Monrovia and they decided - they asked to
16:14:52 20 maintain it and so we let it stay.

21 Q. Well, sir, what purpose did the guesthouse serve?

22 A. It served as a place that Sankoh could use and he did use
23 it as he came through. It served as a guesthouse. It was a
24 guesthouse.

16:15:07 25 Q. When President Carter came to visit you, or other important
26 guests, didn't you have a place where they could stay?

27 A. Let's take it one at a time. President Carter, I didn't
28 have a place for him, he stayed at the US embassy. But other
29 guests live at hotels.

1 Q. And why couldn't Foday Sankoh have stayed at a hotel?

2 A. In hindsight we can go through that, Mr Koumjian. The
3 decision was taken upon the request of Sankoh to maintain the
4 guesthouse and we did. Now, you want to criticise me for that,
16:15:45 5 fine. That was my decision.

6 Q. Sir, during these times of economic hardship in Liberia
7 what purpose did it serve the Liberian government to have the RUF
8 have an office in Monrovia?

9 A. So what's the question now, because you're saying during
16:15:59 10 the times of - I thank you for your interest in Liberia, but
11 what's your question?

12 Q. What purpose did it serve the Liberian government to have
13 an RUF guesthouse, office, in Monrovia?

14 A. I have answered that. I said it was there as a guesthouse
16:16:20 15 because it was requested. As to purpose, that's subjective
16 again. A decision was taken at that time, it's good to ask well,
17 why did you take it? But it was taken because Sankoh asked that
18 he would have that place as a place en route through Liberia that
19 he could use, and we took that decision. Now if you have a
16:16:37 20 problem with it, so be it.

21 Q. First of all, Mr Taylor, one problem with that is that
22 Foday Sankoh was still on the United Nations travel ban, correct?

23 A. I don't know what Sankoh was on.

24 Q. You don't know whether or not Foday Sankoh was on the
16:16:51 25 travel ban?

26 A. But I was not - I'm not following - Foday Sankoh was placed
27 on the travel ban before. For me when the peace occurred - well,
28 he travelled out of Sierra Leone, didn't he, if you're going to
29 ask the question? He was on the travel ban but Sierra Leone

1 permitted him to travel to South Africa. I'm not there to
2 enforce travel bans.

3 PRESIDING JUDGE: Mr Koumjian, the transcript that you
4 requested earlier happens to be a private session transcript. Do
16:17:20 5 you still wish to refer to it in cross-examination?

6 MR KOUMJIAN: I see. There was a date on there that I
7 wanted to get. So it's not possible to display that now? Let me
8 come back to it then tomorrow as I see we have only a few minutes
9 left.

10 PRESIDING JUDGE: Okay. For now please proceed.
16:17:58

11 MR KOUMJIAN: I only have part of the page so my colleague
12 will check to make sure it's okay. The part I have would be
13 okay, but we may have to - again it's 14 September, page 28808,
14 of 2009.

15 PRESIDING JUDGE: Is this the private session testimony?
16:19:00

16 MS IRURA: Your Honour, that particular page cannot be
17 displayed on that monitor next to Mr Taylor because it can be
18 viewed from the public gallery. However, I can print copies of
19 the page.

20 PRESIDING JUDGE: Mr Koumjian, how do you propose - do you
21 want copies to be shown to everybody or how do you propose to
22 refer to it in open session?

23 MR KOUMJIAN: I believe that there's absolutely nothing on
24 this page - perhaps if we print it and if it's better to do that
16:19:41 25 tomorrow we could do that tomorrow if we have time. If we can do
26 that now, we'll do it now.

27 PRESIDING JUDGE: Do you have any questions that you could
28 ask in the meantime?

29 MR KOUMJIAN: Yes, Madam President. I'm just looking for

1 something I can do and finish in the time that's left:

2 Q. Let me just ask you a few questions, I'm sorry to switch
3 topics on you, Mr Taylor, but you talked to me in December about
4 a bank account at LBDI and you also mentioned a bank account you
16:20:30 5 had at Tradevco bank. Do you remember that?

6 A. Well, the way you put the question, on Tradevco I told you
7 yes. I told you about a government account at LBDI.

8 Q. This bank account at Tradevco, do you say that that is your
9 personal account? Was that your personal money?

16:20:53 10 A. To the best of my knowledge, yes.

11 Q. Do you have any bank statements from that account?

12 A. No. I haven't any.

13 Q. So that was money that belonged to you that was left in the
14 account when you went to Nigeria. Is that correct?

16:21:12 15 A. Yes.

16 MR ANYAH: Madam President, I appreciate the fact Mr Taylor
17 has answered the question, but I'm trying to follow as well and I
18 remember counsel Mr Koumjian covering this LBDI account, and it
19 was more than one account, in several hours of cross-examination

16:21:36 20 and I don't know that it is fair to Mr Taylor to be saying that
21 these were amounts that were left in an account before he went to
22 Nigeria when we traversed several different accounts, including a
23 Citibank account, and money being routed from all sorts of
24 places. I don't think it's fair to the witness to cover this

16:21:58 25 without citing the specific documents that were referred to, the
26 specific account in which there was a dispute regarding the
27 signatories of one particular account and what relevant documents
28 pertain to this issue.

29 PRESIDING JUDGE: Mr Koumjian, I don't know if you were

1 trying to fill in the time, or whether you seriously want to go
2 back into these accounts?

3 MR KOUMJIAN: It's a separate subject. I went into detail
4 on the LBDI account. I'm only asking now a few questions about
16:22:30 5 the Tradevco account which was not covered and it would just take
6 a few minutes, but I see we're also ready and we can proceed.

7 PRESIDING JUDGE: You can ask questions that have not been
8 asked before.

9 MR KOUMJIAN: Thank you. Let me first finish then with the
16:22:46 10 private session from 14 September:

11 Q. Mr Taylor, in order to be sure not to reveal anything that
12 we shouldn't, the first half of the page I'm not going to read
13 out loud but I want to make sure that you agree with me that the
14 subject matter was when the guesthouse for the RUF in Monrovia
16:23:30 15 was closed?

16 A. Yes, that's true.

17 Q. Beginning on line 15 your counsel read some testimony and
18 said that was in early 2001. You were asked:

19 "Q. What do you say about that, Mr Taylor?"

16:23:48 20 A. Oh, early 2001, no. Maybe he was put out of there.
21 But early 2001, no, the guesthouse was still operational.
22 I would put it later that year. I would put it more like -
23 I think he may have made out to early 2002 I would put it,
24 but not early 2001 because in December, if I recall
16:24:12 25 correctly - by December 2000 the first ceasefire agreement
26 is signed so there's a lot of progress. I wouldn't throw
27 them out of the guesthouse in the middle of that progress
28 being made, no. So it's not in early 2001 at all."
29 So back in September you put the closing of the guesthouse

1 to approximately early 2002?

2 A. Mr Koumjian, you know, this is a difficult process, quite
3 frankly. I'm struggling with something here. I'm saying I think
4 it may have been around early 2002. So, Mr Koumjian, if I'm
16:24:49 5 going to be convicted because I mix up whether it's early 2001 or
6 early 2002 and I'm going through a period trying to remember
7 everything that happened during that particular time, then so be
8 it. But, I mean, if this is going to show that Charles Taylor is
9 lying, then fine. I'm saying that this guesthouse was not closed
16:25:07 10 in early 2001 because I remember the process was still going on.
11 So I say maybe somewhere early 2002, and I'm struggling with
12 trying to show the judges of what I may recollect. So this is my
13 evidence, Mr Koumjian.

14 Q. Mr Taylor, the RUF was in the government at that time,
16:25:27 15 correct, as part of the Lome Accord?

16 A. Definitely they were.

17 Q. Well, when the RUF became part of the Lome Accord, you told
18 us originally, if I'm not mistaken, that you set up the
19 guesthouse so they could have contact with other countries. Is
16:25:44 20 that right?

21 A. I beg your pardon? Say that again.

22 Q. What was your original purpose in setting up the
23 guesthouse?

24 A. That when they came to Liberia, I said in evidence here,
16:25:52 25 number one, for their security. That they would not have to go
26 to public hotels and different things. One of the reasons was
27 for security.

28 On the part of contact with foreign governments, I talk
29 about the giving of the phone. But the house was to make sure

1 that they did not mingle with Sierra Leoneans that were in - it
2 was more of a security situation. This is what I told this
3 Court.

16:26:18 4 Q. Now, after Lome - you had already given Sam Bockarie a
5 phone in October 1998, a satellite phone, correct, you've told
6 us?

7 A. That is correct.

8 Q. And we've seen a receipt for a phone for Foday Sankoh in
9 July 1999, which you say you have no recollection of. Do you
16:26:35 10 recall that?

11 A. In July 1999? No, I have no recollection of buying a phone
12 for Foday Sankoh.

13 Q. Although you showed us - there was a receipt in your
14 personal archives for a phone to Foday Sankoh.

16:26:47 15 A. Yes, we had that - well, we had that receipt amongst things
16 that - and now, again, these judges know that the archives I say
17 had three components. So one component was investigation,
18 another component from the government. So this is a document
19 that was a part of the component of investigation. I have talked
16:27:08 20 about those three components.

21 Q. Mr Taylor, did you give Issa Sesay a satellite phone?

22 A. I think I did. I think I did give Issa a phone. I'm not
23 too sure, but I think I did.

24 Q. Mr Taylor, just in the moments to come back just to try to
16:27:27 25 finish the topic I began, you recall the Tradevco bank you told
26 us had \$5,000 or \$10,000 in it when you left Liberia?

27 A. Yeah. I'm not sure of the amount, yes.

28 Q. Mr Taylor, let's take the lower amount, \$5,000. When you
29 left Liberia for Nigeria, you told us you were broke. Is that

1 right?

2 A. Yes, I was broke, Mr Koumjian.

3 Q. You had no cash?

4 A. I did not take that money with me. I did not take - I did
16:27:56 5 not have any money with me. I had a few thousand dollars, but
6 when I say - when a President says he was broke, it means that I
7 did not have money to - for my upkeep in Nigeria.

8 Q. Well, sir, \$5,000, according to what you told us about your
9 annual salary as President, was two and a half month's salary.

16:28:17 10 Is that right?

11 A. That's about that, yes.

12 Q. Mr Taylor, why - if you were so impoverished, why would you
13 leave two and a half month's salary sitting in a bank before you
14 leave the country?

16:28:31 15 A. Mr Koumjian, I swear, I regret leaving the money there. It
16 really - the events of that time - in fact, by the time I'm
17 leaving in August, Monrovia - even if I wanted to I could not get
18 the money out of the bank. Banks are closed. The vaults are
19 shut. There is practical fighting in the City of Monrovia. So
16:28:54 20 even if I wanted to withdraw that money, the managers would not
21 have been available. It was not normal business on August 11 or
22 thereabout where I left Liberia. There was nothing normal about
23 the city. If it was normal, I would have withdrawn it, but it
24 was not normal. I couldn't get it out.

16:29:13 25 PRESIDING JUDGE: Mr Koumjian, you have time for one more
26 short question.

27 MR KOUMJIAN: I don't have a single question that I could
28 ask, your Honour, so perhaps we'll move on to a different topic
29 tomorrow.

1 PRESIDING JUDGE: Thank you. That would be a good time to
2 adjourn. Mr Taylor, I remind you, as I normally do, not to
3 discuss your evidence with anyone.

4 THE WITNESS: Yes, your Honour.

16:29:36 5 PRESIDING JUDGE: The proceedings are adjourned to tomorrow
6 at 9.30.

7 [Whereupon the hearing adjourned at 4.30 p.m.
8 to be reconvened on Thursday, 28 January 2010
9 at 9.30 a.m.]

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I N D E X

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CROSS-EXAMINATION BY MR KOUJIAN	34197