



Case No. SCSL-2003-01-T

THE PROSECUTOR OF
THE SPECIAL COURT
V.
CHARLES GHANKAY TAYLOR

THURSDAY, 26 NOVEMBER 2009
9.30 A.M.
TRIAL

TRIAL CHAMBER II

Before the Judges:

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

For Chambers:

Ms Doreen Kiggundu

For the Registry:

Ms Rachel Irura
Mr Benedict Williams

For the Prosecution:

Mr Nicholas Koumjian
Mr Mohamed A Bangura
Mr Christopher Santora
Ms Maja Dimitrova

For the accused Charles Ghankay
Taylor:

Mr Courtenay Griffiths QC
Mr Terry Munyard

1 Thursday, 26 November 2009

2 [Open session]

3 [The accused present]

4 [Upon commencing at 9.30 a.m.]

09:31:34 5 PRESIDING JUDGE: Good morning. Appearances, please.

6 MR KOUMJIAN: Good morning, your Honours, Mr President, and
7 counsel opposite. For the Prosecution this morning, Christopher
8 Santora, Maja Dimitrova and myself Nicholas Koumjian.

9 PRESIDING JUDGE: Thank you.

09:32:21 10 MR GRIFFITHS: Good morning, Mr President, your Honours,
11 counsel opposite. For the Defence today, myself Courtenay
12 Griffiths, with me Mr Terry Munyard of counsel.

13 PRESIDING JUDGE: Thank you, Mr Griffiths. Mr Taylor, I
14 remind you that you are still bound by your oath.

09:32:43 15 MR KOUMJIAN: Your Honour, if I could just first explain to
16 the Court the Prosecution situation. Ms Hollis is again ill. I
17 will try, if your Honours would like, to continue the
18 cross-examination. I have to say I have not had time to really
19 organise on the matters of topics, and the Prosecution does not
09:33:04 20 want to prejudice the future and say, well, we covered the topic
21 when I really didn't have the transcript pages and really
22 organise all of our material. I am certainly willing to try to
23 continue until I reach the point where I do not have relevant
24 questions.

09:33:21 25 Your Honours, the other issue is again we are ready to
26 proceed today, but the Prosecution position is that the motion
27 regarding the use of documents is critical for us to continue and
28 present an effective cross-examination. So we would be
29 requesting - of course your Honours know this - but a resolution

1 as soon as possible, and we do want to inform your Honours that
2 we feel that our cross-examination will be much more effective,
3 and it's very difficult for us to go on now without that motion
4 decided. Thank you.

09:33:58

5 PRESIDING JUDGE: Just so we are clear on that,
6 Mr Koumjian, you are not applying for any adjournment at the
7 moment; is that correct?

09:34:16

8 MR KOUMJIAN: No, your Honours. We certainly don't oppose
9 it if your Honours believe that would work better to resolve the
10 motion so we can resolve, but if your Honours wish to proceed
11 with evidence today, I am prepared to go as long as I can keep
12 coming up with what I hope are relevant questions.

13 PRESIDING JUDGE: Well, we will go ahead, Mr Koumjian.

14 DANKPANNAH DR CHARLES GHANKAY TAYLOR:

09:34:44

15 [On former affirmation]

16 CROSS-EXAMINATION BY MR KOUMJIAN: [Continued]

17 Q. Good morning, Mr Taylor.

18 A. Good morning, Mr Koumjian.

09:34:54

19 Q. I will try today to speak slower in the interests of the
20 transcribers and so we don't get another transcript as large as
21 yesterday's.

22 Sir, when we finished yesterday, towards the end of your
23 testimony you talked about obtaining weapons from Serbia. Sir,
24 who did you deal with in order to obtain those weapons?

09:35:17

25 A. Well, I didn't deal with anyone.

26 Q. Who in your government dealt with this issue?

27 A. The Ministry of Defence.

28 Q. Daniel Chea?

29 A. Ministry of Defence.

1 Q. Who particularly in the Ministry of Defence dealt with the
2 issue?

3 A. The minister.

4 Q. Well, was this an issue that you were kept informed about?

09:35:44 5 A. Oh, yes.

6 Q. Who was the minister?

7 A. Daniel Chea.

8 Q. And you informed Mr Chea to contact Serbia? How did you
9 choose Serbia as the - first let me ask you that. Whose decision

09:35:59 10 was it to try to obtain weapons from Serbia?

11 A. The Government of Liberia.

12 Q. Well, sir, is that you?

13 A. I am a part of that, yes, my government.

14 Q. Well, was it your decision?

09:36:08 15 A. I approved the decision.

16 Q. How did you determine that you could obtain weapons from
17 Serbia?

18 A. Well, we shopped around. We were trying to defend
19 ourselves, so we shopped around and the area that was most
09:36:23 20 prepared to make the weapons available, we bought from that area.

21 Q. Thank you. How did you shop around for weapons in
22 violation of the United Nations embargo?

23 A. As you very well know, Mr Koumjian, United Nations
24 Security Council resolutions, I can name many of them that have
09:36:42 25 not been carried out: 242, 338, a whole host of them. The
26 position of my government, a member state of the United Nations,
27 was that Liberia had a legitimate reason for self-defence, and we
28 did. So that was our decision at that time.

29 Q. Well, in fact, that position that you had a legitimate

1 right to self-defence under the United Nations Charter was
2 something that you announced at a press conference in 2003 - is
3 that correct - on 26 March?

09:37:17 4 A. If you have the - I don't recall specifically, but if you
5 have the documents, I would not fight over that.

6 Q. Okay. Well, let's not worry about the exact date. Does it
7 ring a bell with you? Is it correct that you announced to the
8 world that you would bring in weapons in 2003?

9 A. No --

09:37:31 10 Q. When do you say --

11 A. -- I did that before - I did that far before that. I have
12 said to you, Mr Koumjian --

13 Q. Well, when?

14 A. -- that I wrote the United Nations in 2001 and informed
09:37:41 15 them that we would be bringing in ammunition. And the first arms
16 and ammunition that came into the country came in 2001. Now, if
17 there is a subsequent one you have in 2003, I am saying that we
18 brought in weapons in 2001, 2002 under that particular provision.
19 And I don't think I am on trial for violating a UN travel ban
09:38:07 20 here or, you know, weapons, so - but that was a decision of my
21 government.

22 Q. That's correct, sir, you are not on trial for violation of
23 the weapons ban. Is part of your defence saying that you did not
24 have weapons? Have you been telling the Court that, that you did
09:38:24 25 not have weapons to give to the RUF?

26 A. A part of my defence is that the period in question 1997,
27 1998, 1999, and 2000, a part of my defence is that anyone
28 believing that I had weapons is misled, because I didn't have
29 weapons in Liberia. We started ordering weapons in 2001, which

1 is factual.

2 Q. So this is part of your defence, your assertion that you
3 had no weapons to give to the RUF through 2000 at least. Is that
4 correct?

09:39:05 5 A. Definitely. It's a part of my defence.

6 Q. In fact, you understand the indictment goes through the
7 beginning to January 2002?

8 A. Of course I know.

9 Q. So when did you first obtain weapons?

09:39:16 10 A. In 2001, I have told.

11 Q. When in 2001? What month?

12 A. Oh, Mr Koumjian, I don't know. I ordered weapons, I would
13 say, by the middle of 2001. We started getting in weapons.

14 Q. Sir, how did you inform the Security Council?

09:39:32 15 A. I wrote a letter, signed it personally as President of the
16 Republic of Liberia, a letter listing the weapons, the costs, and
17 stating our claim that Liberia felt that under the Charter
18 Liberia had a legitimate right to self-defence, the Security
19 Council had acknowledged that Liberia was under attack, and that
09:39:58 20 under the Charter we felt that the Security Council was wrong in
21 its decision and that we would, under the Charter, inform them
22 and bring in weapons, and we did.

23 Q. And this was an open letter to the Security Council, it
24 wasn't confidential. Is that correct?

09:40:13 25 A. Very open. Yes, it was very open.

26 Q. So, Mr Taylor, is there any reason why it would not be
27 available through the United Nations document system?

28 A. Have you requested such?

29 Q. Sir, yes, I've looked on the internet for that.

1 A. Well, the internet is not - do you have confidential UN
2 documents on the internet? I am not sure --

3 Q. Sir, you just told us it was not confidential.

4 A. It was not confidential.

09:40:36 5 Q. Sir, why isn't it within the United Nations document
6 system?

7 A. Well, don't ask me. You know, what's the issue here?

8 MR GRIFFITHS: Mr President, an internet search doesn't
9 mean the document does not exist. For example, the code cables
09:40:51 10 which we referred to are not available on the internet, so the
11 basis upon which this proposition is being put to the witness is
12 completely false. An internet search doesn't mean it doesn't
13 exist.

14 PRESIDING JUDGE: Yes. Well, of course, that's one
09:41:12 15 argument that can be put forward, Mr Koumjian. I think you have
16 got the witness's answer on that and you can move on.

17 MR KOUMJIAN: Thank you. If your Honour - I hope to
18 clarify one area regarding the answer and the objection:

19 Q. Sir, so the documents that you've presented in Court
09:41:32 20 through Mr Downes-Thomas were confidential documents that are not
21 on the UN system?

22 A. That's not my response. That was not my answer.

23 Q. Well, that's my question.

24 A. Your question is if the documents - some of them are
09:41:45 25 confidential documents; some of them are not confidential
26 documents.

27 Q. Thank you. Now, sir, the document - just so we are clear
28 because of the objection of your counsel regarding confidential
29 documents not appearing - you have told us this letter was not

1 confidential. Liberia was declaring to the world that it would
2 import weapons. Is that right?

3 A. That is very much correct.

09:42:15 4 Q. Now, sir, being the Head of State, did you contact the Head
5 of State of Serbia to get their cooperation to break the United
6 Nations arms embargo on Liberia?

7 A. Mr Koumjian, the weapons were ordered through my Defence
8 Minister. I did not call the President of Serbia or the
9 Prime Minister. In fact, at that particular time - if I am not
09:42:35 10 mistaken, he is dead now, I think. The Prime Minister I think -
11 I may not be quoting it correctly - Zoran Djindjic, I think, may
12 have been the Prime Minister. I authorised the purchase,
13 Mr Koumjian. I was not involved in the negotiations. I did not
14 call the Prime Minister or the President.

09:42:53 15 Q. And you are speaking Mr Djindjic. And for the record, the
16 spelling would be --

17 A. If that's the one. The guy is dead now. I don't know if
18 that's the one.

19 Q. The gentleman who was assassinated in Belgrade, correct, 12
09:43:07 20 March of - I believe it was 2002 or 3. Is that correct? Is that
21 the name you are talking about?

22 A. I don't remember the year he died, but I know he was
23 Prime Minister and he was assassinated.

24 MR KOUMJIAN: Just for the spelling for the record - it
09:43:22 25 could be spelt different ways, depending on how you transpose the
26 Cyrillic - D-J-I-D-J-I-C.

27 JUDGE SEBUTINDE: This is the Prime Minister of where?
28 Serbia?

29 THE WITNESS: Yes.

1 MR KOUMJIAN: Well, my case manager, who probably can spell
2 in Cyrillic better than me, disagrees. We will double check the
3 spelling. D-J-I-N-D-J-I-C.

4 Q. Sir, how did you arrange for those arms to be transported?

09:44:23 5 A. I don't know the details, Mr Koumjian. My Defence Ministry
6 handled all of the arrangements. I don't know. I authorised
7 them, but I didn't get involved in the different transactions.

8 Q. Well, did you have people in your government experienced in
9 how to arrange arms shipments?

09:44:45 10 A. No, not that I know of. Experienced in arms shipment, no.
11 Not that I know of. We didn't have any specialist for that.

12 Q. Was Mr Djindjic and the Government of Serbia - this is the
13 government that replaced Slobodan Milosevic - were they aware of
14 this arms shipment to your knowledge?

09:45:08 15 A. Well, to the best of my knowledge I can say yes, because
16 we - the Government of Liberia sent an end user certificate
17 issued from the Government of Liberia.

18 Q. And you sent it --

19 A. And that was approved. And in fact it had to be approved
09:45:25 20 before the arms supplier provided them and the government, to the
21 best of my knowledge, had to know and had to approve it.

22 Q. So that would be present with the Ministry of Defence of
23 Serbia?

24 A. I would hope so.

09:45:39 25 Q. In fact, Mr Taylor, you didn't deal with the government at
26 all. You dealt with a company in Belgrade called Temex, isn't
27 that correct?

28 A. We dealt with the government. We did order through there,
29 and it was Temex that was subsequently shut down, but we did

1 not - companies don't sell, Mr Koumjian, without the approval of
2 governments.

3 Q. Well, you just --

4 PRESIDING JUDGE: Mr Koumjian, sorry to interrupt, but we'd
09:46:08 5 better get a spelling on that Temex.

6 MR KOUMJIAN: That would be T-E-M-E-X:

7 Q. Sir, you told us the company was shut down. In fact it was
8 shut down because it had engaged in this illegal arms deal
9 against United Nations sanctions against Liberia, correct?

09:46:27 10 A. Well, I don't know why it was shut down. Quite frankly, I
11 don't know. But I can tell that you the best of my knowledge of
12 this issue was that that end user certificate was known and
13 approved by the government and the weapons were bought. If
14 that's the name of the company, Temex, I don't know precisely,
09:46:49 15 but I remember that a company was shut down.

16 Q. Can you tell us again, remind us of the route that the
17 planes took to bring those weapons to Liberia?

18 A. I have no idea. I was not involved in how they got to
19 Liberia, Mr Koumjian. I have told you. The Defence Ministry
09:47:08 20 handled all of the details.

21 Q. Yesterday you did tell us about authorising bribes for
22 officials to have arms transported through their countries, so
23 this was a different occasion when you authorised the bribes to
24 officials to have arms transported through their countries?

09:47:26 25 A. Well, not exactly. When the officials come to me and need
26 money to get something done, I provided the money. And it was
27 not on one occasion, it was more than one occasion. Because the
28 weapons that we brought in from Serbia were not all delivered in
29 one shipment and we didn't hide it. So it was very open. Some

1 countries did enforce - from what my Defence Ministry people
2 said, there were some countries that were more open to permitting
3 weapons to come through and others did not. And so I provided
4 the means and authorised the means. But how they did it, I have
09:48:04 5 no knowledge of the intricacies, but it did happen.

6 Q. And when you say you provided the means, how did you
7 provide the means?

8 A. We are talking money.

9 Q. Where did that come from?

09:48:12 10 A. From the Government of Liberia.

11 Q. From what part of your budget did that come?

12 A. From it came from a covert budget that we had. All
13 governments have. We had a covert budget.

14 Q. Who controlled this covert budget?

09:48:26 15 A. The intelligence community, my office controlled a part of
16 that too.

17 Q. How much was in the covert budget of the Government of
18 Liberia?

19 A. I don't remember the figure personally, no, I don't.

09:48:38 20 Q. Well, can you give us an approximation?

21 A. No, I can't approximate. Yesterday I had an unfortunate
22 situation where I tried to be helpful and it turned out, so I am
23 not going to approximate because that would be guessing for the
24 Court. I am not going to guess. I don't know, is my answer.

09:48:54 25 Q. So you were the President of Liberia, controlling in part
26 at least a covert budget, but you didn't know how much money you
27 had?

28 A. Of course I did not know how much money was in that budget.
29 It happens all the time, Mr Koumjian. I don't think the

1 President of the United States knows the amount of the CIA covert
2 budget either.

3 Q. Mr Taylor, what was the source of funding for your covert
4 budget?

09:51:08 5 A. The taxpayers of the Republic of Liberia.

6 Q. Well, you have told us with quite a bit of precision what
7 the budget was for 1998 in your direct examination. Do you
8 recall that?

9 A. 1998? I don't remember that particular situation, but if
09:51:32 10 it's on the records, yes.

11 Q. You said it was 41 point, and I don't recall the point, 41
12 point something million dollars, is that correct? Does that ring
13 a bell?

14 A. Again, Mr Koumjian, no, I don't want to go - if you are
09:51:47 15 telling me, and I take your word for it, you are the minister of
16 justice that I said 41 and it's on the record, I accept, but I am
17 not going to guess about it.

18 Q. I am sure if I am incorrect someone will correct me. Sir,
19 and I was talking about 1998, your first budget, just to be
09:52:09 20 clear. So out of whatever the budget was for the Government of

21 Liberia, which, Mr Taylor, would you agree that that budget
22 throughout your presidency was very limited; Liberia was very
23 short on government funds and resources for the many tasks and
24 many problems faced by the population of Liberia at that time?

09:52:37 25 A. Now, I really - would you repeat your question, I don't
26 understand your question.

27 Q. Thank you. I concede it was not clear. Thank you.

28 Mr Taylor, would you agree that your budget in Liberia was very
29 small for all the problems faced by the people of Liberia coming

1 out of the civil war?

2 A. Now you are referring to the 1998 budget, is that your
3 question, Mr Koumjian?

4 Q. Well, sir, actually I want to go all the way. I realise
09:53:09 5 the budget went up but I want to go all the way. My question is
6 all the way until you left Liberia?

7 A. Okay, well then I would ask you to kindly help me in
8 breaking it down in years because the budget does increase and to
9 generalise that it was overall small can be relative. But 1998,
09:53:28 10 the figure that you quoted, if that is correct, I agree it is
11 small. 1999 things begin to increase. It increases 2000. By
12 the time I leave office the budget is about a hundred million.
13 So that slow but steady increase, yes, generally saying between
14 1998 to about 2002, I would say an increase up to a hundred
09:53:57 15 million would be small, but it's a gradual increase.

16 Q. What was the population of Liberia approximately when you
17 left?

18 A. Approximately I would say 4.5 million.

19 Q. Now, this covert budget would not appear in any public
09:54:19 20 documents discussing the budget of Liberia. Is that correct?

21 A. No, it would not. It would just - for example, some of
22 these figures are covered under different titles. You would not
23 really know.

24 Q. And before I move on, I'm sorry, but talking about your
09:54:37 25 limited budget, the budget was so limited that you were never
26 able to get electricity in Monrovia, correct?

27 A. Well, that's not the reason why we could not get
28 electricity. They still don't have electricity in Monrovia. We
29 had some. They still don't have. So I don't think the

1 limitation - there is some other - of course electricity is the
2 very, very capital intensive area. I would not say that's the
3 main cause. It could be one of the causes, but --

09:55:12 4 Q. Why didn't you have electricity in Monrovia for the
5 population, besides money?

6 A. It's capital intensive, yeah, but for the same reason they
7 don't have it now.

8 Q. Doesn't capital intensive means it costs a lot of money?

09:55:25 9 A. Yes, but the way you asked the question as to whether
10 because of the low budget that was why we did not have
11 electricity, that was not the only reason why we did not have
12 electricity. That's why I want to clarify that.

13 Q. Well, Mr Taylor, I am still confused. You are saying the
14 low budget is not the reason you didn't have electricity, it's
09:55:43 15 because electricity is capital intensive. Capital intensive then
16 has nothing to do with the money in the budget?

17 A. Capital intensive means exactly what it says, capital
18 intensive. But if you go back to your original question,
19 Mr Koumjian, that's what's causing the problems. Your original
09:55:57 20 question, if I recall, and I can paraphrase, was that the reason
21 why you did not have electricity was because you have a low
22 budget and I am saying that you, yes, that's one of the reasons,
23 but not the only reason why. So I don't have a problem with your
24 assertion. So, yes.

09:56:15 25 Q. Mr Taylor, in addition to your covert budget did you have
26 something called the special government committed fund?

27 A. I don't remember.

28 Q. Excuse me, I'm sorry, I misstated it. Special government
29 commitment fund?

1 A. I don't know the exact title, but we had funds, yes, of
2 that type. I am not sure if that's the correct title, but we did
3 have special commitment funds. I don't know if they called it
4 special government commitment, but we had special project funds.

09:56:55 5 Q. Who controlled that budget?

6 A. It depends. Different ministries and agencies would
7 control special commitment funds. The presidency had funds,
8 agriculture had funds, the Foreign Ministry had special
9 commitment funds, the Defence Ministry had special commitment
10 funds. It depends on which area.

11 Q. How much did the presidency have?

12 A. I don't know.

13 Q. You were the President but you don't know how much money
14 was allocated to you for your discretionary spending?

09:57:29 15 A. No. I did not say - you didn't ask me about discretionary
16 spending, you said special commitment fund. I said I don't know.
17 I did not say discretionary.

18 Q. How much money could you control without the legislature?
19 How much was in your discretion to spend?

09:57:51 20 A. None. The legislature had to approve all expenditures in
21 the Republic of Liberia. Now some of these are grouped. I mean,
22 for example - and special committees of the legislature would
23 know certain things and no further. Say, for example, you may
24 see a million dollars special commitment. If that's a covert
09:58:13 25 amount, a million dollars, the special intelligence committee may
26 know which agencies get that money but not everyone would know,
27 for example, that NSA received this or what other thing. That's
28 how it's done and so sometimes - and those amounts are
29 replenished, depending on the use of them. So when I tell this

1 Court that I don't know the amount, it is factual because the
2 amounts change all the time. So say within the first two months,
3 if the amounts are utilised, it's replenished, so I don't know
4 the regular amounts.

09:58:51 5 Q. So the amounts you authorised for bribes, they were
6 authorised by the legislatures?

7 A. No, that's not what I'm saying. The President has within
8 his purview to carry out certain functions. And as far as that
9 particular function, I am before this Court so I use the word
09:59:13 10 bribe. But in government we don't use the word bribe and, just
11 as other governments do, you just call it a covert expenditure.
12 But I can't tell the - you asked me specifically and I wouldn't
13 lie to these judges. It is a bribe but you don't call it that in
14 government. No government in the world. They call it a covert
09:59:33 15 expenditure and it happens all the time everywhere.

16 Q. Thank you, now please answer my question. So the amounts
17 you authorised for bribes, they were authorised by the
18 legislature, yes or no?

19 A. No.

09:59:42 20 Q. But, Mr Taylor, you just told us that all of the spending
21 was authorised by the legislature?

22 A. Yeah, but remember - this is why, you see, you and I are
23 going to start again today. You asked me about - I have said to
24 these judges that I authorised the amount that special committees
09:59:58 25 of the legislature know and all expenditures are controlled.

26 Then you turn around and you ask me did the legislature authorise
27 bribes. The legislature did not explicitly say, "Go and bribe
28 and I authorise this amount to bribe." The funds are there for
29 covert operations. The President authorises covert. So if you

1 ask me if the legislature authorised bribes, I would have to say
2 no because it is not explicit to them that this is going for a
3 particular purpose. So that's why you get a no on that answer
4 and it is not deceptive to these judges either.

10:00:36 5 Q. Thank you, Mr Taylor. Let's move on. Let's go back to
6 what you were telling us about this Serbian arms shipment. There
7 were six of those deliveries of weapons that came from the
8 factory in Serbia to Liberia, correct?

9 A. It could have been. I am not sure of the amount. We
10:00:52 10 ordered between 2001 all the way into 2002. I don't know the
11 exact number of shipments.

12 Q. Sir, well, approximately how many different shipments do
13 you believe there were?

14 A. Mr Koumjian, I really don't know. I know that - I was not
10:01:17 15 on top of things where: There is one in today; there is a second
16 one in today. I authorised the shipment, I paid for them as
17 President through the Government of Liberia. The Defence
18 Ministry brought them in and informed me that the materials were
19 in. I do not know the exact number of shipments. I have said
10:01:36 20 that. I do not.

21 Q. Was it more than five?

22 A. I do not know, Mr Koumjian.

23 Q. Was it more than three?

24 A. I do not know, Mr Koumjian.

10:01:45 25 Q. Okay. Mr Taylor, you have told us that there were multiple
26 shipments, and sometimes they were transferred through countries
27 that were okay with it, and other times you had to pay bribes; is
28 that correct?

29 A. There were countries that would enforce some of these

1 sanctions. Some people - you know, I was giving a general
2 statement. I don't know specifically the routing, because I was
3 not involved, so I don't know which countries were involved. But
4 I am just saying generally to the Court that during these things,
10:02:16 5 some countries just turned a blind eye and others don't. And so
6 it was the job of the Defence Ministry people to find which
7 routing could be used without problems.

8 Q. So you don't know any country that these weapons were
9 transported through?

10:02:35 10 A. I did not ask. No, I do not know.

11 Q. Now, do you remember yesterday telling us one of the
12 countries that these weapons were transported through, or was
13 this a different shipment?

14 A. Well, you know what I answered. Was your question about
10:02:51 15 the Serbian weapons and I told you --

16 Q. No, it wasn't --

17 A. [Overlapping speakers] -- well, then you --

18 Q. Okay. So you transported weapons through Niger on a
19 different occasion. Is that correct?

10:03:00 20 A. That's right, yes.

21 Q. When was that?

22 A. Oh, that - I can't remember, but that was not from Serbia.
23 That was - I'm not sure where those came from. It may have come
24 from, if I am not mistaken - no, I don't want to guess. I don't
10:03:31 25 recall where those weapons came from.

26 Q. But you remember that you paid about \$35,000 to one of your
27 officials to pay bribes to have those weapons transported through
28 that country, correct?

29 A. Roughly, yes.

1 Q. How much money did you pay in bribes to have the Serbian
2 weapons transported through whatever countries they had to go
3 through?

4 A. The total amount that was made available for payments over
10:04:14 5 the two-year period could have amounted to about \$100,000 or so.

6 Q. Which two-year period are you talking about now?

7 A. 2001 and 2002.

8 Q. I'm sorry, I'm going to have to come back to this when I am
9 a little bit more organised.

10:05:33 10 Just on the subject of bribes, before we move on, do you
11 recall you presented towards the end of your direct examination a
12 document - and just to help you recall that document, it's the
13 one where you were accused of bribing the UN representative in
14 Monrovia - you told us that was Mr Felix Downes-Thomas - and I
10:06:00 15 believe it's MFI-293A and B. It had some kind of Dutch word on
16 the first page, and you were asked previously in your
17 cross-examination by Ms Hollis - you had testified on direct that
18 it came from the Prosecution and Ms Hollis pointed out to you
19 that it did not come from the Prosecution. Have you figured out
10:06:22 20 where that document came from?

21 A. Yes. I know the - well, to be sure, could we - if the
22 document is marked, may I have a look at the document to be sure
23 we are talking about the same document?

24 Q. Sure.

10:07:11 25 JUDGE DOHERTY: Mr Koumjian, could you give us a bundle
26 number, please, if you have it available?

27 MR KOUMJIAN: Your Honours, this was in week 37, tab 4. It
28 was DCT-347. So MFI-293 was tab 4 in week 37.

29 PRESIDING JUDGE: Mr Koumjian, there actually was MFI-293A

1 and 293B. Which document are we dealing with here?

2 MR KOUMJIAN: I believe we are dealing with both of the
3 documents. Let's say 293A:

4 Q. Mr Taylor, you can look at both. So my question,
10:08:30 5 Mr Taylor, is a very simple one: Do you know where you obtained
6 that document from?

7 A. Yes. I have had a reflection. This document, during the
8 tenure of my first Defence team in their investigation, that team
9 came up with this document. It appears to be a Dutch document.
10:08:59 10 Some investigations were being done dealing with the Guus
11 Kouwenhoven case, and the first Defence team - the second Defence
12 team was not aware of this because it was not in my papers. I
13 thought from the marking it was an OTP document, but it is an
14 investigative work done by the investigators on the first Defence
10:09:22 15 team, and it does originate from the case relating to Guus
16 Kouwenhoven, I think.

17 Q. Sir, is this the only document of the ones that were
18 presented during your direct examination that came not from your
19 personal archive, but from your Defence team investigation?

10:09:43 20 A. Is this the only document?

21 Q. Yes, sir.

22 A. Oh, our investigations have been going on, and there are so
23 many documents that investigators picked up. Some of them even
24 the - some are documents from ECOWAS, newspaper clippings.

10:10:09 25 Investigators put those together, so there are many other
26 documents.

27 Q. Just so we are clear, many of the documents that were
28 presented during your direct examination came from the job of
29 your Defence lawyers and investigators, which is collecting

1 documentation that assists you?

2 A. Yeah, from all those sources. Investigators, defence
3 lawyers, my personal archives, most of the UN documents. In
4 fact, others were from public sources. But most of the documents
10:10:41 5 presented during my direct examination, especially in dealing
6 with UN and other related matters, were from my personal
7 archives.

8 JUDGE SEBUTINDE: Mr Koumjian, I'm sorry to interrupt. You
9 referred, on the subject of bribes, to this document, 293A and B,
10:11:01 10 and you stated that it is the one where you are accused of
11 bribing a UN representative in Monrovia, I believe it was
12 Mr Felix Downes-Thomas. And the document that I am looking at
13 does not refer to Downes-Thomas. It says there is suspicion that
14 Phillip Thomas, the US special representative to Liberia,
10:11:31 15 United States, has bought.

16 MR KOUMJIAN: Your Honours, we will look that up. But let
17 me clarify something with Mr Taylor, because --

18 JUSTICE SEBUTINDE: So to me these are two different
19 people, and I think, to be fair, it should be clarified.

10:11:46 20 MR KOUMJIAN: Thank you. I think there was some
21 clarification during his direct examination, but I will go over
22 this again:

23 Q. Mr Taylor, who did you understand - well, perhaps I will
24 come back to that after I have a chance to review the document
10:12:00 25 and testimony. Thank you very much, Justice.

26 Mr Taylor, how much did you pay for the shipments that came
27 from Serbia?

28 A. You know, Mr Koumjian, I just answered you and told you
29 that over the period 2001 and 2002, there was a total of about

1 \$100,000. I just answered that.

2 Q. I am sorry if I wasn't clear, but let me make it clear to
3 you that I am asking you a different question. I am not asking
4 how much you paid in bribes. You told us that was 100,000. I am
10:12:39 5 asking you what you paid for the cost of the weapons and
6 ammunition. How much did you pay for that?

7 A. I don't quite - that figure could have - I am not sure, but
8 it was in excess of \$1.5 million.

9 Q. Where did the \$1.5 million for these weapons come from?

10:13:01 10 A. The government and people of the Republic of Liberia.

11 Q. And what part of the budget did that come from?

12 A. It came from within our covert budget. Mr Koumjian, for
13 these judges - because I don't want us going up and down - the
14 United Nations Security Council resolution prohibited the
10:13:22 15 purchase of arms. We wrote them. We did not get an approval.
16 We ordered the arms. It would have been silly or very stupid on
17 my part or anybody's part to have engaged in any overt
18 transaction of movement of monies through banks and agencies when
19 you Americans would have stopped it. So it was strictly a covert
10:13:42 20 operation. That's what I am saying.

21 Q. Mr Taylor, I live here in The Hague, so I certainly
22 couldn't have stopped it. Mr Taylor, the weapons that you
23 obtained from Serbia, did they include 5,000 M70 automatic
24 rifles? Does that sound correct?

10:14:06 25 A. Mr Koumjian, I really - quoting things like that, I really
26 don't remember the whatchamacallit - the line items in the
27 purchase, so I am not sure. I would have to look at the purchase
28 requests from the Government of Liberia to be sure. I don't
29 know.

1 Q. Hopefully, we will be able to provide you with
2 documentation that can refresh your recollection.

3 A. Okay.

4 Q. In fact, Mr Taylor, the truth is that these shipments came
10:14:41 5 not in --

6 MR GRIFFITHS: I am sorry to interrupt yet again.
7 Mr President, Mr Koumjian is quite openly, in cross-examining
8 this witness, referring to a document which he is holding quite
9 publicly in his hand. Now we know that there is a motion pending
10:15:03 10 as to the use of such documents and it seems to us for
11 Mr Koumjian to be so overtly holding up the document is, in
12 effect, to assume that the motion has already been decided in his
13 favour.

14 It seems to us that he should be limited at this stage to
10:15:24 15 putting his questions without giving the appearance to anyone in
16 this courtroom, or the public, that there is a document in
17 existence which supports the contention he is putting forward.
18 It seems to us for him to do that is totally misleading because
19 it might lead the witness to assume that he does in fact have
10:15:47 20 concrete evidence when we don't know what it is that Mr Koumjian
21 is looking at. So it seems to us he should ask the question
22 without any kind of reference to a document and he is bound by
23 the answer he receives.

24 PRESIDING JUDGE: Yes, do you want to reply to that
10:16:07 25 objection, Mr Koumjian?

26 MR KOUMJIAN: Yes, your Honour I don't know how counsel
27 sees through a two page piece of paper and knows what's on it but
28 actually this is printed off my printer, it has no heading and I
29 believe I am allowed to have notes and these notes of course can

1 include information that I have obtained from outside sources.
2 So I don't know how counsel can say on one hand we don't know
3 what he is holding and then on the second hand say he is quite
4 obviously reading from a document, although I would say that in
10:16:35 5 my submission there is nothing wrong with me using a document in
6 cross-examination for my own purposes.

7 PRESIDING JUDGE: Well, firstly, as we all know, throughout
8 the course of this cross-examination Prosecution counsel has
9 referred to the existence of documents that would support their
10:16:57 10 cross-examination. Now from the Trial Chamber's point of view,
11 the Trial Chamber has already said that, in effect, the purported
12 existence of these documents does not influence the Trial Chamber
13 whatsoever and does not cause the Trial Chamber to draw any
14 adverse inferences against the accused.

10:17:24 15 However, this objection is based not on the effect the
16 reference to these documents could have on the Trial Chamber, and
17 I repeat that effect is nil, but in this case the effect it could
18 have on the accused as to mislead him. I agree with the
19 objection of counsel for the Defence that it could be misleading
10:17:52 20 to the accused.

21 So, Mr Koumjian, until that motion has been decided, and I
22 appreciate what you said earlier that it's important that it be
23 decided as soon as possible, but until then please put your
24 questions without referring to the existence of documents.

10:18:24 25 MR KOUMJIAN: Just to clarify, your Honour is not
26 precluding me from having notes during my cross-examination, is
27 that correct? Holding those in my hand?

28 PRESIDING JUDGE: I don't recall saying that at all.

29 MR KOUMJIAN: Thank you. Well, your Honour, I believe my

1 question which was interrupted would comply with your order. May
2 I proceed with that?

3 PRESIDING JUDGE: Yes, go ahead, Mr Koumjian.

4 MR KOUMJIAN:

10:19:07 5 Q. So in fact, Mr Taylor, the truth is that these shipments
6 from Serbia came, six shipments, between June and August 2002.
7 That's the truth, isn't it?

8 A. I have answered that question that I do not know the exact
9 number of shipments. I have said to this Court that shipments
10:19:27 10 came, they were organised. You have asked me were they five, I
11 have said I don't know. Were they three, I have said I don't
12 know. You have come back again. If you - we are not - I am not
13 contesting the fact that shipments came. Your question to me is
14 with regards to numbers and I say to you again I don't remember
10:19:49 15 the exact amounts. In fact, I was not involved in the day-to-day
16 operation, but shipments came between 2001 and 2002.

17 Q. Okay. Thank you, Mr Taylor. I do appreciate you are
18 correct; you had said you did not know the number of shipments,
19 so let me break down the question to what I am interested in now.
10:20:11 20 These shipments arrived between June and August 2002, correct?

21 A. No, I would say - when you say these shipments, I would not
22 dispute that some shipments arrived, but some shipments arrived
23 in 2001.

24 Q. When did the earliest shipment arrive approximately?

10:20:31 25 A. I have told you somewhere in 2001. I would put it to about
26 the first half to the middle of 2001. I don't know the exact
27 month.

28 Q. And that was from where?

29 A. I said from Serbia.

1 Q. Sir, I want to go back to another point we left off at
2 yesterday and that was the trips of Sam Bockarie to Liberia. Now
3 you have already talked about his last trip in 1998 you have
4 testified was November, returning perhaps early December 1998,
10:21:43 5 correct?

6 A. I have to say no. I did not say that was his last trip to
7 Liberia. His last trip was not in 1998 and I did not say that to
8 this Court.

9 Q. I'm sorry if I said that. I thought I said his last trip
10:21:56 10 in 1998. That's my question, in 1998, that was his last trip.
11 If I didn't use that word I apologise.

12 A. Would you please repeat the question?

13 Q. Sure. My question is: The last trip for 1998, that would
14 have been the trip to Monrovia, then to Burkina Faso and Libya,
10:22:20 15 back to Monrovia in which you said he returned to Sierra Leone in
16 about early December 1998, correct?

17 A. Well, I will put it early to middle because they spent two
18 weeks out, that is correct. That's the last trip in 1998, yes.

19 Q. Now, sir, when was the next time you personally saw Sam
10:22:49 20 Bockarie?

21 A. Sam Bockarie, in 1999 during the movement of delegates to
22 Lome. Around I would put it to March/April or thereabouts he
23 made a trip to Liberia. That was the next time after December
24 1998.

10:23:15 25 Q. Sir, did Sam Bockarie go to Lome?

26 A. No, he did not go to Lome.

27 Q. Why, sir, did he go to Monrovia then in April 1998? Just
28 explain the purpose of his trip.

29 A. Very simple. Mr Koumjian, Sam Bockarie was the leader of

1 the RUF at that time and responsible for everything that happened
2 putting together of the peace, the ceasefire, the movement for
3 peace. He came to Monrovia as leader, then leader, of the RUF to
4 discuss Lome, the movement of people and whatnot. That was the
10:23:54 5 mission to Monrovia.

6 Q. Sir, was Sam Bockarie negotiating in Monrovia with the
7 Sierra Leonean government?

8 A. No, there is no negotiation in that time. All of the
9 delegates - who put Lome together? I was one of the principal
10:24:14 10 people that put Lome together. Sam Bockarie came to Monrovia
11 because if you remember from the records, Mr Koumjian, all of the
12 delegates, the United Nations- in fact the operations for Lome
13 were happening out of Monrovia, the movement of the personnel in,
14 the personnel out, and so Sam Bockarie, as leader of the RUF,
10:24:35 15 came to Monrovia at that time on my personal invitation.

16 Q. Sir, were negotiations taking place in Monrovia?

17 A. No. I have said no. Negotiations were not taking place in
18 Monrovia. Ongoing discussions with me to make sure that
19 nothing - I wanted to ensure that nothing went wrong, that Lome
10:24:59 20 would happen. That's why I invited him at that time.

21 Q. So Sam Bockarie didn't meet with the Government of Sierra
22 Leone in April 1998, correct - April 1999, excuse me?

23 A. Where? In Liberia?

24 Q. Yes.

10:25:18 25 A. No.

26 Q. Anywhere, to your knowledge?

27 A. If he personally met with them?

28 Q. Yes.

29 A. I don't know of Sam Bockarie meeting or having any

1 discussions with the Government of Sierra Leone in May - in March
2 and April 1999. If that happened that was maybe at a side bar
3 situation, I am not aware. But the time I am talking about, I am
4 talking about putting together the final, the fine prints for
10:25:47 5 Lome that he comes to Monrovia to hold discussions with me.

6 Q. Why with you, Mr Taylor? You are not representing the
7 Government of Sierra Leone?

8 A. Mr Koumjian, lest we forget, I am - I would say putting
9 together of Lome, I am one of the principal individuals
10:26:06 10 responsible for putting Lome together.

11 Q. Sir, Mr Taylor, Sam Bockarie was not going to participate
12 in the Lome negotiations, correct?

13 A. What do you mean by he was not going to participate? I
14 don't understand.

10:27:20 15 Q. He wasn't going to Lome as one of the negotiators, correct?

16 A. Of course he was not. He was the leader, so in fact he was
17 a part of the negotiations. He was the leader.

18 Q. He was not the leader, he was the military commander below
19 Foday Sankoh, correct?

10:27:36 20 A. Mr Koumjian, incorrect. Foday Sankoh is incarcerated. He
21 is still incarcerated during the putting together of the Lome
22 Agreement. Foday Sankoh is flown to Lome under some degree of
23 custody. He is not really released until after the actual
24 signing of Lome. So in fact the man that works to put together

10:28:05 25 Lome to make sure that all the bits and pieces are together is
26 Sam Bockarie. Foday Sankoh is incarcerated. He is still leader
27 until Foday Sankoh returns. This is my knowledge and I,
28 Charles Taylor, as President of Liberia, invited him at that time
29 to make sure that nothing went wrong because everybody wanted

1 Lome to happen. That's what I am saying to you.

2 Q. So did you discuss with Sam Bockarie what the negotiating
3 position should be with the RUF?

4 A. No, absolutely not. That was not my role. My role was to
10:28:42 5 make sure we did not have any faux pas in the process. That
6 nobody developed cold feet. "Hey, Lome is going down, make sure
7 that the delegation is ready. If you have any difficulties, let
8 us know." And some of the difficulties were there. For example,
9 travel documents. How do they travel? We provided travel
10:29:00 10 documents to get the delegation to Lome. Any little way that we
11 could aid in the process, that is what mediation is about.
12 Any way, everyone wanted Lome to happen.

13 Q. So, Mr Taylor, is it correct that before Sam Bockarie in
14 1999 spoke to Foday Sankoh, or any other RUF person spoke to
10:29:31 15 Foday Sankoh, you met with Sam Bockarie?

16 A. Well, I cannot say that. I cannot rule out the fact that
17 Foday Sankoh spoke to Sam Bockarie through the kind cooperation
18 of Tejan Kabbah, so I cannot say that. I would be misleading
19 this Court. As a matter of fact, I do believe that that process
10:29:59 20 involved Foday Sankoh while he is incarcerated at intervals
21 speaking to different officials in the RUF. So I would be
22 misleading this Court if I said that. No.

23 Q. So you think it is certainly possible that Tejan Kabbah,
24 the President of Sierra Leone, would allow Sam Bockarie to speak
10:30:21 25 to Foday Sankoh in the interest of negotiations, furthering the
26 negotiations?

27 A. Yes. In fact, I think Tejani did. I think Tejani did. I
28 mean he was under obligation also to making sure that there was a
29 smooth process to Lome and it would have been foolish if, for

1 example, Foday Sankoh had said, "Well, let me speak to someone"
2 and he said no. It would have been foolish.

3 Q. Did you speak to Foday Sankoh before Lome?

4 A. Not at all. Not at all, no.

10:30:50 5 Q. But, Mr Taylor, you are the point President for peace. If
6 Tejan Kabbah allows him - Foday Sankoh to speak to this leader of
7 - the military leader of the atrocious RUF, why won't he allow
8 Foday Sankoh to speak to you?

9 A. Well, I am not saying that he disallowed. I did not
10:31:08 10 request to speak to Foday Sankoh.

11 Q. Why not?

12 A. Because it was not necessary.

13 Q. Sir, you just told us you are the person who put Lome
14 together. You are the point man for peace --

10:31:15 15 A. No.

16 Q. -- you don't speak to the leader of the RUF?

17 A. No, I - again, I wonder for the sake of - we are talking
18 about evidence. I did not say I put Lome together. I said I was
19 one of the main individuals. I am not going to take credit

10:31:31 20 for - I was one of the individuals based on the record before
21 this Court. That's my response before this Court.

22 Q. Thank you. Mr Taylor --

23 A. [Overlapping speakers].

24 Q. Now, as to - go ahead --

10:31:39 25 A. Go ahead.

26 Q. Why didn't you speak to Foday Sankoh? Why didn't you try
27 to --

28 A. Because I felt it was not necessary. There were others
29 speaking to him. In fact, the President of Togo, who was

1 chairman of ECOWAS, was speaking to him. I had my task. I
2 performed my task. My task was to help in whatever way that I
3 could and get them - there was no reason to get to him. None.
4 Others were speaking to him.

10:32:02 5 Q. Because you were so close to Sam Bockarie, the person in
6 charge of the military machine for the RUF, correct?

7 A. No, no. What do you mean by "so close"? I was not so
8 close.

9 Q. You loved him like a son?

10:32:14 10 A. Well, in our African way, we take everybody to be a son.

11 Q. You loved him like a son?

12 A. Yes, in an African way. Not maybe in another way. I don't
13 know what you mean, but I am speaking strictly in an African
14 sense. We're like people - like sons and brothers. People that
10:32:34 15 are not even blood related, we call them our brothers.

16 Q. Mr Taylor, when was the next time you saw Sam Bockarie?

17 A. After Lome, when Foday Sankoh arrived in Liberia in
18 September 1999, Sam Bockarie came to Liberia. And by the way, on
19 this issue on yesterday you asked me questions about it and you
10:33:02 20 tried to infer that - when I say Sam Bockarie reported to Sankoh,
21 you tried to infer that the report had been written in Liberia.
22 I said no such thing. He returned in September 1999 to meet his
23 leader.

24 Q. By the way, did you meet with your Defence team last night?

10:33:30 25 A. No, I did not meet with them. Neither this morning. And
26 if I had met with them, if you are trying to infer that they
27 would coach me, I think I am better than that.

28 Q. What was the - sorry, let me go back to your answer. So in
29 September 1999 you met with Sankoh and Bockarie in Monrovia. You

1 brought - you had Bockarie brought to Monrovia. Is that correct?

2 A. Yes, Bockarie came to Monrovia, yes.

3 Q. And these were two Sierra Leoneans, correct?

4 A. Yes.

10:34:18 5 Q. Why didn't they meet with each other in Sierra Leone?

6 A. You have to ask them. I hosted - in September 1999 I
7 hosted several of them, not just Sankoh and Bockarie. If you
8 recall, just to help in the process, Johnny Paul Koroma is there
9 waiting for Sankoh to arrive. So maybe a question would be why

10:34:50 10 did I not wait until they got to Sierra Leone? But because the
11 process of Lome involved some unsettled issues that had to be -
12 in fact, were subsequently settled in Liberia, two principal
13 issues. So these meetings that are ongoing regards the SLA, the
14 Sierra Leone armed forces; the second issue is reconciling

10:35:17 15 between Sankoh, Bockarie and Johnny Paul Koroma; and the third
16 issue is what would be the role of Johnny Paul Koroma. These
17 were all issues subsequent to Lome that were decided in Monrovia
18 with consultations with all of our colleagues, including Tejan
19 Kabbah. So their presence in Monrovia is not a unique situation.

10:35:40 20 Q. Sir, my question is limited right now, and, believe me, we
21 will get to Johnny Paul Koroma - is limited to Sam Bockarie and
22 Foday Sankoh. Why was it, if you know, that the meeting took
23 place in Monrovia as opposed to Sierra Leone?

24 A. I really don't know why.

10:35:59 25 Q. Was it necessary for you to be at a meeting between Foday
26 Sankoh and Sam Bockarie?

27 A. Well, again now, you see, the word - you say to be in a
28 meeting "between Foday Sankoh and Sam Bockarie". I was not in a
29 meeting - and never was in a meeting - between Foday Sankoh and

1 Sam Bockarie. Foday Sankoh comes to Liberia, he pays a courtesy
2 call with his under-man, Sam Bockarie. I was not in the meeting
3 between them, no.

4 Q. Did you meet with Sam Bockarie in September 1999?

10:36:34 5 A. Yes, I met with him.

6 Q. So he came to meet with you, not with Foday Sankoh; is that
7 what you are saying?

8 A. Before Foday Sankoh arrived in Liberia from his trip from
9 July, Sam Bockarie arrived a few days before him. When he
10:36:49 10 arrived, I did meet him briefly. When Foday Sankoh arrived, I
11 met Foday Sankoh many times, and on one of the visits he came
12 with Sam Bockarie. But I was not present in the meeting between
13 he and Sam Bockarie.

14 Q. What did you discuss in your meeting with Sam Bockarie in
10:37:09 15 September 1999?

16 A. When he first came to Liberia?

17 Q. In September 1999.

18 A. Basically congratulating him for, you know, working very
19 hard to make sure that the peace process happened. Basically,
10:37:28 20 that's it.

21 Q. Was there anything you wanted to make sure to tell Sam
22 Bockarie before he met with Foday Sankoh?

23 A. Definitely not, no. No, Mr Koumjian.

24 Q. What did you tell him about the peace process?

10:37:43 25 A. I said I congratulated him. He knew everything, because
26 the peace process - while the people were negotiating in Lome,
27 the men on the ground, from my understanding, were informed.
28 There was very little I could tell him. My discussion with Sam
29 Bockarie was to congratulate him for letting the process happen,

1 I said.

2 Q. Did you tell him, "Congratulations. This is a great deal
3 for the RUF"?

4 A. Yes, I said, "It's a great day for the RUF and for peace,"
10:38:11 5 yes. It was a great day for peace. I think everybody agreed on
6 that.

7 Q. Do you think so? Mr Taylor, the Lome Accord put the RUF
8 into the Government of Sierra Leone, correct?

9 A. Oh, yes.

10:38:24 10 Q. Although they had not been elected or participated in the
11 elections, is that correct?

12 A. When you say "elected or participated", in which election?

13 Q. The 1996 elections.

14 A. They did not participate, that is correct.

10:38:39 15 Q. Had there been any elections in Sierra Leone since that
16 time?

17 A. Of course, the elections - the RUF took part in the
18 elections later.

19 Q. Sorry, my question is before your meeting with Sam Bockarie
10:38:52 20 in September 1999?

21 A. They were not elected, that's true, yes.

22 Q. And, Mr Taylor, so under the constitution of Sierra Leone,
23 they had no place in the Government of Sierra Leone, correct?

24 A. Well, that's incorrect. Mr Koumjian, you see, that kind of
10:39:11 25 question, when we get into the constitutional legal framework,
26 within the context of peace and conflict, such a question for me
27 would be preposterous because you are asking me - there are so
28 many governments, okay, and you have invited a response. There
29 are so many governments that are formed in this world not based

1 on the electoral process, but for the sake of peace, people are
2 brought into government to stop conflict, to stop bloodshed. So
3 that particular question is outrageous. So I am not aware of the
4 constitution of Sierra Leone. What I am aware of - the process
10:39:50 5 that you are describing - they were brought in under a process of
6 peace.

7 Q. And of course, the Lome Accord left the RUF in control of
8 the key areas of Sierra Leone in terms of wealth and particularly
9 diamonds, correct?

10:40:04 10 A. No, I would - that is incorrect. That is incorrect.

11 Q. Who controlled Kono District and Tongo Fields after Lome?

12 A. I have no - for me, I will tell you strictly. I would say
13 the Government of Sierra Leone.

14 Q. Mr Taylor, are you telling these judges seriously that your
10:40:23 15 understanding, with all of your participation in peace, what you
16 said your participation and interests in the Lome negotiations --

17 A. Yes.

18 Q. -- preparing for this case for years --

19 A. Yes.

10:40:34 20 Q. -- that you don't know who controlled Kono and Tongo Fields
21 after Lome?

22 A. I do - for the best - for my own knowledge, Kono, Tongo
23 Field, whatever other field, from my own knowledge was
24 controlled by the Government of Sierra Leone. I am looking at it
10:40:53 25 from a purely legal and technical point.

26 Q. Well, when you say you are looking at it from a legal and
27 technical point, let's deal with the diamonds physically. Who
28 controlled them?

29 A. The Government of Sierra Leone.

1 Q. And by that you mean Foday Sankoh?

2 A. No. I am saying the Government of Sierra Leone. That's
3 why I did not say Foday Sankoh. I said the Government of Sierra
4 Leone.

10:41:17 5 Q. So you are telling these judges that your understanding
6 today is that after Lome, the diamonds of Sierra Leone were going
7 into the control of the government and enjoyed by the people of
8 Sierra Leone?

9 A. Well, you have extended it. Your question was who
10:41:31 10 controlled the diamonds and I said the Government of Sierra
11 Leone. That's my response.

12 Q. Where were the diamonds going?

13 A. To the Government of Sierra Leone.

14 Q. Into the budget?

10:41:44 15 A. Well, however they did it. I know Lome set up a process of
16 a government, and from what I know and what anyone would have
17 expected was that the Government of Sierra Leone would be in
18 control. Now if there were difficulties amongst them, I did not
19 get into that. But for me, after Lome the Government of Sierra
10:42:04 20 Leone was in control of diamonds. The Government of Sierra Leone
21 was in control of the country, for me.

22 Q. Well, when you say "for me", what do you mean?

23 A. From the legal - I mean, I am one of the signatories to
24 Lome and my understanding after Lome was that the presidency of
10:42:23 25 Tejan Kabbah - that Tejan Kabbah was the President and the head
26 of the Government of Sierra Leone with two Vice-Presidents, one
27 including Foday Sankoh. That's my understanding. I did not
28 leave Lome seeing a divided government, that's what I am telling
29 these judges. Now, whatever difficulties occurred thereafter,

1 that's not my concern. I left Lome as a guarantor. My signature
2 is on that document knowing that we left Lome with one
3 government.

4 Q. Really?

10:42:56

5 A. Really.

6 Q. So did you invite Tejan Kabbah to meet with Foday Sankoh in
7 Monrovia?

8 A. To do what? No. To do what?

9 Q. Through one government; you just told us that.

10:43:09

10 A. But why would I invite the President - Tejan Kabbah and I
11 were in Lome together. Why would I invite him back to Monrovia
12 to hold another meeting with - what would be the reason?

13 Q. Did you invite Tejan Kabbah to meet with Johnny Paul
14 Koroma?

10:43:23

15 A. What would be the reason?

16 Q. For peace.

17 A. They have already signed the agreement, Mr Koumjian.

18 Q. Mr Taylor, why would you invite the two parties that were
19 responsible for the atrocities in Sierra Leone, Foday Sankoh's
20 RUF, Johnny Paul Koroma's AFRC, to reconcile in Monrovia and
21 exclude the Government of Sierra Leone?

10:43:37

22 A. To reconcile what, Mr Koumjian?

23 Q. That's my question: Why? To return them to military
24 power? Was that the purpose of the reconciliation?

10:43:56

25 A. Well, no, it appears to me that, you know - I am sorry to
26 say this, but we are just going off in tangents. I am not sure
27 of your recollection of the issues involved. Maybe I ought to
28 help with the issues. Number one for me would be why is Johnny
29 Paul Koroma in Monrovia? What are the circumstances? Maybe if

1 we dealt with that I think we would get to the bottom of some of
2 your questions. Because your questions lead me to believing that
3 somewhere - you know, I am sorry to say - that you are not aware
4 of the issues surrounding that, and I will be prepared to help.

10:44:36

5 Q. Well, Mr Taylor, I am giving you every opportunity to
6 answer my question. You seem to be delaying it, and let me ask
7 it again: Did you have the RUF, Foday Sankoh and Johnny Paul
8 Koroma come to Monrovia for reconciliation in order to return
9 them to military power?

10:44:54

10 A. No.

11 Q. Why didn't you invite the Government of Sierra Leone to
12 that meeting?

13 A. Because the Government of Sierra Leone was not a party to
14 the issues that were being discussed at that time - to some of
15 the issues. The rest the government was involved, and it did not
16 call for a separate meeting.

10:45:08

17 Q. Thank you. Now explain to us what are the issues between
18 Johnny Paul Koroma and Foday Sankoh that the Government of Sierra
19 Leone is not involved in?

10:45:21

20 A. Well, let's look at why is Johnny Paul Koroma in Liberia.
21 Johnny Paul Koroma comes to Liberia in August 1999 after being
22 held hostage himself and the West Side Boys at Okra Hills taking
23 hostages, so there is a conflict between the so-called SLA and
24 the RUF. I help in getting a settlement to that particular

10:45:51

25 matter. Johnny Paul Koroma is brought to Liberia. The UN and
26 other hostages are released. And there is now bad blood between
27 the SLA leader, who is Johnny Paul Koroma, and the RUF who
28 happens to be on the ground, Sam Bockarie, and the rest, for
29 holding him incarcerated during that period of time. That's his

1 purpose in Monrovia.

2 His purpose of meeting with Foday Sankoh was to reconcile
3 that little difference between the two individuals. His being
4 angry that he has been mistreated or maltreated by the RUF and he
10:46:34 5 harboured that hatred in his heart. That was the first issue.

6 Q. So to reduce the hatred between the two parties that were
7 battling against the Government of Sierra Leone? These were the
8 two enemies of the Government of Sierra Leone, correct?

9 A. Yes. And let me remind you the Government of Sierra Leone
10:46:56 10 was involved in the Johnny Paul Koroma, Foday Sankoh discussions.
11 They were involved. Kabbah was kept informed. In fact, he sent
12 the West Side Boys to Monrovia to participate in that discussion.

13 Q. In fact, that's correct because, contrary to what you said
14 earlier, the issue of the hostages of the West Side Boys at Okra
10:47:17 15 Hills had everything to do with the Government of Sierra Leone.
16 Who were the hostages at Okra Hills?

17 A. UN personnel, Mr Koumjian, if you don't know.

18 Q. And journalists?

19 A. UN personnel, journalists and different things.

10:47:30 20 Q. Were there any RUF in those hostages at that time?

21 A. To the best of my recollection, I understand there may have
22 been. I will help you, Mr Koumjian. There may have been a few
23 officials of the RUF, ministers that had been nominated, I think,
24 a couple. I remember I think, if I am not mistaken, Mike Lamin
10:47:55 25 happened to have been one - one minister Mike Lamin was one of
26 those individuals. I may stand corrected on that. But the
27 government, Mr Koumjian, was involved in that process. Even the
28 airlifting of the West Side Boys from Lome to Monrovia. So Tejan
29 Kabbah, back to your question, didn't have to physically be there

1 but he was involved in the process.

2 Q. Because it was in his interest of course to see the
3 hostages released, correct?

4 A. Of course.

10:48:26 5 Q. And, in fact, unfortunately that's one of the reasons
6 people take hostages; to force governments to make compromises,
7 correct?

8 A. I would disagree with you. Based on the way the question
9 is posed, I would say incorrect.

10:48:43 10 Q. You have never heard of instances where terrorists take
11 hostages in order to force governments to negotiate and
12 compromise?

13 A. I have heard that. But your question was what I said
14 incorrect to and I did mention that, yes, I have heard of that.

10:48:58 15 Q. Let's leave Johnny Paul Koroma's visit for a moment and go
16 to - you have talked about the September visit of Sam Bockarie.
17 How many days after you met with Sam Bockarie did Foday Sankoh
18 arrive?

19 A. Sam Bockarie arrived in Monrovia I would say either the - I
10:49:28 20 would say almost the same day because we knew when Foday Sankoh
21 would be arriving. We had a whole programme set up for him. I
22 think he may have gotten in either late that night or early the
23 next morning, but I met with him I would say a few hours before
24 the arrival of Foday Sankoh.

10:49:47 25 Q. On this occasion, did you give Sam Bockarie the usual gifts
26 that you give your visitors?

27 A. What are the usual gifts, Mr Koumjian?

28 Q. Mr Taylor, what did you normally give Sam Bockarie?

29 A. Well, you are asking the questions, but if you generalise

1 it in "your usual gifts" it could be anything. It could be an
2 aircraft, it could be an aircraft carrier, it could be a ship, it
3 could be anything. So I am asking you what's your question?

10:50:18 4 Q. Well, if you want me to remind you of your testimony, you
5 told us that you normally would give him money to go shopping?

6 A. If you ask me about money the answer is on this particular
7 occasion no, I did not give him any money.

8 Q. What else did you give besides money? Why were you
9 confused with that question?

10:50:30 10 A. Nobody is confused here, Mr Koumjian. You ask your
11 questions in such a general way and dealing with you,
12 Nick Koumjian, we have to make sure of what we say because of the
13 record.

14 Q. So "the usual gifts" you did not understand to mean money
10:50:45 15 because it could have meant something else?

16 A. When you say your gifts, I mean, hey, Mr Koumjian --
17 PRESIDING JUDGE: Let's move on.

18 MR KOUMJIAN:

19 Q. Mr Taylor, in total this was now the sixth trip since you
10:51:02 20 said that you have testified to since the September 1998 visit of
21 Sam Bockarie to Monrovia, your sixth meeting?

22 A. How did you come up with six, Mr Koumjian? Let's check
23 them. How did you come up with six? I would disagree.

24 Q. I added up September, October, November, with April?

10:51:22 25 A. And September.

26 Q. Thank you, September.

27 JUDGE SEBUTINDE: What would be helpful is if you appended
28 years to these months.

29 MR KOUMJIAN: Thank you very much:

1 Q. Let's move on, Mr Taylor, because I had forgotten
2 something.

3 A. Okay.

4 Q. Do you have another trip where you met Sam Bockarie in 1999
10:51:38 5 before he came permanently?

6 A. Yes. Late in - later on, the last half of 1999, yes, I
7 meet him an additional two times.

8 Q. Okay. Let's talk about the first time. What were the
9 circumstances that brought Sam Bockarie to Monrovia?

10:51:59 10 A. The issue of disarmament is at hand and a conflict erupts
11 between Sam Bockarie and his leader, Foday Sankoh, as to the
12 issue of disarmament and there is a complete stalemate in the
13 execution of Lome. I invite the two of them to Monrovia,
14 Vice-President Foday Sankoh, with the knowledge and consent of
10:52:33 15 his President, and the rebel leader, the leader, his commander,
16 Sam Bockarie, to come to Monrovia to resolve the issue of getting
17 disarmament started. That's the circumstances.

18 Q. Where was Foday Sankoh coming from?

19 A. Freetown.

10:52:52 20 Q. Foday Sankoh and Sam Bockarie are still on the United
21 Nations travel ban, correct?

22 A. Well, I'm not sure if Foday Sankoh is still on it, but all
23 of the issues relating to peace - the way how the UN travel ban
24 works, Mr Koumjian, you have asked this question many, many
10:53:13 25 times. Dealing with the issue of peace, the United Nations only
26 requires that the movement be for no other than legitimate peace
27 reasons. And for Lome, you can't show me a document here of any
28 document written from the United Nations saying the following
29 people are excluded from the ban. It doesn't work that way. You

1 have alluded to it but it doesn't work that way. So they are
2 probably still on the ban but, because of the interests of peace,
3 they travel for specific reasons.

10:53:49 4 Q. In fact, Lome is the example that the United Nations will
5 give exemptions. Those are public and those are issued publicly,
6 correct?

7 A. One of the reasons, yes, but they also did it for other
8 reasons.

10:54:04 9 Q. You know Foday Sankoh was still on the travel ban, let me
10 see if I can jog your memory. Do you recall Foday Sankoh making
11 a trip in late 1999 to South Africa?

12 PRESIDING JUDGE: Is that your question, Mr Koumjian?

13 MR KOUMJIAN: Yes.

10:54:26 14 THE WITNESS: What is the question again? Would you repeat
15 that?

16 MR KOUMJIAN:

17 Q. Do you recall Foday Sankoh in 2000 going to South Africa?

18 A. Yes, vaguely I can recall that he goes to South Africa, I
19 think. I am not sure if it's 2000. I don't know because it
10:54:46 20 depends now because Foday Sankoh by May of 2000 cannot go
21 anywhere, he's incarcerated. So what part of 2000 are you
22 talking about?

23 Q. Okay, I agree with you, so let's say sometime between 1999
24 and 2000.

10:55:04 25 A. Mr Koumjian, I don't recall the exact time to these judges.
26 I do recall that Foday Sankoh does travel based on I think we saw
27 a report in this courtroom of Foday Sankoh going to South Africa.
28 I don't recall the time but I know it is earlier than I would say
29 May of 2000.

1 Q. And you recall, don't you, that Foday Sankoh was expelled
2 from South Africa when they realised he was there because he was
3 on the travel ban?

4 A. Yes, because he was not - that could be possible. He was
10:55:37 5 not there for peace, I mean in the interests of peace. For these
6 peace negotiations we did not have any problems moving people
7 because every RUF person was on the travel ban.

8 Q. What did he go to South Africa for?

9 A. I don't know, Mr Koumjian. He is Vice-President of his
10:55:55 10 country, I don't know.

11 Q. But you concede that that was an illegal trip in violation
12 of the travel ban?

13 A. Mr Koumjian, I am - I can say yes, but I am not going to
14 get into, you know, legal UN things. If he was sent back I would
10:56:15 15 say it's illegal.

16 Q. Does it jog your memory that it was February 2000 that
17 South Africa expelled publicly Foday Sankoh?

18 A. I don't recall right now, Mr Koumjian. I do know of
19 the - I have heard of the incident. I wouldn't know the exact
10:56:29 20 time. If you are telling me factually that that's the date, I
21 don't have a reason to fight over that.

22 Q. And he was put on a plane back to another country, not
23 Liberia, correct?

24 A. I don't know the incident. I don't know the details.

10:56:46 25 Q. But he came to visit you after he was expelled from South
26 Africa, correct?

27 A. Who said that now?

28 Q. Charles Taylor.

29 A. I told you that when he came from South Africa he came to

1 visit me?

2 Q. Isn't that true?

3 A. That is not true.

4 MR KOUMJIAN: Your Honours, can counsel and your Honours
10:57:05 5 refer to the transcript of 14 September, page 28819. Can that be
6 shown to Mr Taylor, please. If someone can just alert me when
7 it's ready.

8 PRESIDING JUDGE: It's ready, Mr Koumjian.

9 MR KOUMJIAN:

10:57:43 10 Q. 14 September, beginning at line 1, page 28819, Mr Taylor,
11 you were asked --

12 MS IRURA: I'm sorry, your Honours, I would not be able to
13 display this transcript because I realise now that it was in
14 private session.

10:58:06 15 MR KOUMJIAN: Very well. Thank you. The portion I am
16 going to read will not reveal - just for your Honours' and
17 counsels' sake, I propose to read the first eight lines.

18 PRESIDING JUDGE: We don't have the transcript. I don't
19 have any --

10:58:19 20 MR KOUMJIAN: They can put it on the private. It does not
21 have to be broadcast, but it could be displayed in the courtroom.
22 I guess the issue is then Mr Taylor would - there is the gallery
23 behind Mr Taylor, so that would be the issue. I could read the
24 first - if there is no objection from anyone to the first eight
10:58:40 25 lines, the last four words being "en route from South Africa", if
26 that's okay with your Honours and counsel.

27 PRESIDING JUDGE: Well, we don't have the transcript before
28 us, Mr Koumjian.

29 MR KOUMJIAN: I see. I can come back to that, if

1 your Honours prefer, after the break. We can just photocopy it.
2 Your Honours wish me to proceed on another area? Or read it? Or
3 can we put it - without broadcasting it, be possible to put it on
4 the screen?

10:59:43 5 PRESIDING JUDGE: What was the page you wanted to refer to?
6 28819, is that right?

7 MR KOUMJIAN: Yes. Beginning at the top and going, I
8 believe, eight lines.

9 JUDGE SEBUTINDE: Madam Court Manager, why can't you show a
11:01:46 10 printed copy to Mr Taylor?

11 MS IRURA: Your Honour, I have printed copies which I can
12 also avail to Mr Taylor, to the Chamber and to counsel opposite.

13 MR GRIFFITHS: Mr President, can I respectfully suggest
14 that the previous page also be shown to Mr Taylor? Because the
11:02:21 15 passage which deals with the particular point my learned friend
16 seeks to make commences at line 20 on the previous page.

17 MR KOUMJIAN: Perhaps if I could just request a copy of
18 that page also. I do not have - I only have - I have it, thank
19 you. No, I mean if counsel is asking for the previous page, I
11:02:54 20 don't have - it's printing? Thank you.

21 [Trial Chamber conferred]

22 PRESIDING JUDGE: Well, first of all, this evidence was
23 given in private session. However, it seems to us that the
24 particular passage that counsel for the Prosecution is going to
11:04:52 25 put to the witness in fact does not offer any threat of revealing
26 any identity of any protected witness. But, Mr Griffiths, if you
27 have any objection.

28 MR GRIFFITHS: [Microphone not activated] I cannot see how
29 that could offend in any way.

1 PRESIDING JUDGE: Thank you, Mr Griffiths. Well, providing
2 you do confine yourself to those passages that Mr Griffiths and
3 yourself have referred to, we will allow you to put this in open
4 session.

11:05:27 5 MR KOUMJIAN: Your Honour, I referred to the first eight
6 lines on page 28819 and I am not sure what counsel is requesting
7 to be read, but I will be happy to read something earlier.

8 MR GRIFFITHS: From the question on the previous page which
9 deals with the visit of Sankoh, "Mr Taylor, do you recall
11:05:53 10 inviting Foday Sankoh to that ceremony", and then it goes on from
11 there.

12 MR KOUMJIAN: That's fine:

13 Q. So, Mr Taylor, I am going to read to you from the
14 transcript of 14 September of this year, beginning on page 28818
11:06:16 15 at line 20:

16 "Q. Mr Taylor, do you recall inviting Foday Sankoh to that
17 ceremony?"

18 A. No, I do not recall even Foday Sankoh being present. I
19 do not recall.

11:06:36 20 Q. As far as you're aware, Mr Taylor, apart from that
21 occasion when in September 1999 Foday Sankoh stopped in
22 Monrovia to meet with Johnny Paul Koroma en route to
23 Freetown, do you recall him ever coming back to Monrovia
24 after that?

11:06:55 25 A. September 1999, Foday Sankoh - I cannot recall Foday
26 Sankoh coming back to Monrovia in 1999. No, I cannot
27 recall that.

28 Q. At any time after that visit, do you recall Foday
29 Sankoh coming back to Monrovia?

1 A. Yes. Foday Sankoh came back to Monrovia. It has
2 slipped me, but in 2000 Foday Sankoh made one - I think en
3 route back from South Africa, Foday Sankoh stopped in
4 Liberia, yes.

11:07:36 5 Q. In 2000?

6 A. I would say in 2000. I don't remember the exact time,
7 but it was somewhere in 2000 en route from South Africa."
8 Do you recall testifying to that in September, Mr Taylor?

9 A. Yes, I do.

11:07:53 10 Q. So Foday Sankoh did come to Monrovia to see you coming back
11 from South Africa, correct?

12 A. Well, I can say yes and I can say no because if you look at
13 that sentence starting from line 3, again, you know, these
14 questions are being pressed, I said it has slipped me, I think it
11:08:15 15 is en route back from South Africa because I am not sure. And
16 then when you keep pressing these and you a yes or a no. But I
17 am saying he came back in 2000, I am not sure if it's from South
18 Africa but I remember a trip in 2000. Now if you press harder I
19 will probably say yes or probably say no.

11:08:33 20 Q. Mr Taylor, do you know why Foday Sankoh was going to South
21 Africa?

22 A. No, I do not know why he was going to South Africa.

23 Q. He didn't explain that to you when you saw him on his
24 return?

11:08:45 25 A. Well, upon his return he said he was going down there for
26 medical reasons, that he was going for medical treatment. That's
27 what he said.

28 Q. Mr Taylor, do you recall that in fact this was February
29 2000 that Foday Sankoh was expelled from South Africa and put on

1 a plane to the Ivory Coast?

2 A. I don't remember the month, Mr Koumjian. I have said it.
3 I have said it was in early 2000. It was definitely before May.
4 I don't remember the month. But then again I don't want to fight
11:09:12 5 over the month. If you have the documents that say February, I
6 accept February. But I don't recall the exact month.

7 Q. Sir, Foday Sankoh didn't fly into Monrovia, did he, or did
8 he?

9 A. I think he did fly. What other way could he have come? I
11:09:33 10 am sure he flew into Monrovia.

11 Q. From Ivory Coast?

12 A. I don't know where he came from, whether it was from Ivory
13 Coast or where but he did come into Monrovia and he flew.

14 Q. Were there regular flights between Ivory Coast and Monrovia
11:09:49 15 in 2000?

16 A. No, not to my knowledge. Are you saying he came from
17 Ivory Coast?

18 Q. Well, I am putting that to you, yes.

19 A. I said I don't know where he came from but he flew in
11:10:03 20 though.

21 Q. Mr Taylor, you would be aware if Foday Sankoh was expelled
22 and there was a public information about it from South Africa
23 just before he visited you. That would be one of the jobs of
24 your intelligence people who give you these briefings about world
11:10:18 25 events every morning, correct?

26 A. What makes the expulsion of Foday Sankoh from South Africa
27 a world event?

28 Q. How about the fact that he is coming to see you after being
29 immediately expelled because it's a violation of the travel ban

1 for him to be in South Africa or Liberia?

2 A. Well, no, when you say coming to see me, I will tell you
3 something. South Africa even made a mistake. Normally under UN
4 travel bans and different things if you have been expelled from a
11:10:48 5 country, you are expelled where you are back to your country. So
6 South Africa's job was to move Foday Sankoh from South Africa
7 back to Freetown. So I would disagree with you saying he is
8 coming to see me. He came through Liberia, but South Africa made
9 a mistake. They should have seen him back to Freetown.

11:11:09 10 Q. But it makes sense if you are going to Freetown, and you
11 are on a plane and you arrive in Ivory Coast, to go through
12 Monrovia?

13 A. Not necessarily.

14 Q. Sir, your friend, Nico Shefer - is that okay for me to call
11:11:25 15 him your friend; do you accept that?

16 A. No, I don't accept that.

17 Q. The man you nominated to be honorary counsel in South
18 Africa.

19 A. Exactly.

11:11:37 20 Q. He had a diamond company in Monrovia, correct?

21 A. That is correct.

22 Q. He had previously served time in prison in South Africa,
23 correct?

24 A. That is correct.

11:11:42 25 Q. And later got in trouble for a fraud in the United States,
26 correct?

27 A. I don't know about the United States, but you know why he
28 was in jail in South Africa during the apartheid years and he was
29 recognised by the ANC government. So since you mentioned his

1 imprisonment, it was not because of a criminal offence. He was
2 one of those Caucasian Jews that supported the ANC and was
3 incarcerated by the apartheid regime. So I want that to go on
4 the record.

11:12:09 5 Q. In fact he was incarcerated for a fraud?

6 A. No, not to my knowledge, and he was recognised by the ANC.

7 Q. Sir, in fact I believe you told us on your direct that he
8 was involved in a fraud involving something called something like
9 Greater Ministries in the United States?

11:12:22 10 A. No, my recollection to this Court is that he was involved
11 with Greater Ministries in the United States as a subsidiary,
12 okay, and I did not tell this Court that he was involved in a
13 fraud in the United States. That's not my recollection.

14 Q. Thank you for that distinction. Greater Ministries turned
11:12:44 15 out to be a big Ponzi scheme, bilking people, who thought they
16 were giving money to religious causes, out of their money,
17 correct?

18 A. That's what it turned out to be, that is correct.

19 Q. So did Foday Sankoh tell you whether he saw Nico Shefer,
11:12:58 20 this man with the diamond company, in South Africa?

21 A. No, did he not tell me that.

22 Q. Did you tell him about your friend Nico Shefer?

23 A. No, there was nothing to talk about. By this time, again -
24 that's why I refused to say friend. By this time, Nico Shefer
11:13:16 25 and the Greater Diamond people had been thrown out of Liberia.

26 Q. And why were they thrown out of Liberia?

27 A. Because of the Ponzi scheme in the United States and we
28 cooperated with that investigation.

29 Q. In fact, sir, when I say you nominated him as honorary

1 counsel, the facts are that the Government of South Africa never
2 accredited him, they did not accept his nomination, correct?

3 A. That is not to my knowledge. In fact, to the best of my
4 knowledge, Nico Shefer could not have operated without the
11:13:49 5 knowledge - that's not an ambassadorial position. The job of
6 honorary counsel is less in diplomatic status than one of
7 ambassador. So, to the best of my knowledge, he could not have
8 operated. In fact, I don't know the exact details, but he would
9 not have operated in South Africa if they did not approve his
11:14:16 10 nomination. So I don't have the details on that.

11 MR KOUMJIAN: Your Honour, could I make an application that
12 we take a bit earlier and longer break so I could organise myself
13 a bit to be efficient in the next hearing.

14 PRESIDING JUDGE: Any objection? I think what Mr Koumjian
11:14:43 15 has in mind is we adjourn now and come back at the normal time of
16 12 o'clock.

17 MR GRIFFITHS: I have no difficulty with this particular
18 application.

19 PRESIDING JUDGE: Thank you. We will adjourn a little
11:14:58 20 early, but we will resume at the same time of 12 o'clock.

21 [Break taken at 11.13 a.m.]

22 [Upon resuming at 12.05 p.m.]

23 PRESIDING JUDGE: Please go ahead, Mr Koumjian.

24 MR KOUMJIAN: Thank you, your Honours. May I just first
12:06:25 25 express my gratitude for the ability to collect my thoughts for a
26 few extra minutes:

27 Q. Mr Taylor, I want to read a bit, one of your answers to
28 today and just ask you to clarify it. It's on page - my
29 LiveNote, it's on page 50, line 9.

1 May I proceed? The question that I asked you was Foday
2 Sankoh - I was asking about Sam Bockarie's trips in 1999, you
3 recall, and then on line 9 I asked you:

4 "Foday Sankoh and Sam Bockarie are still on the United
12:07:05 5 Nations travel ban, correct?" I was referring at the time of
6 their visits in 1999. And you answered, "Well," the word that's
7 printed in the transcript is obviously incorrect, "not sure if
8 Foday Sankoh is still on it, but all of the issues related to
9 peace, the way how the UN travel ban works, Mr Koumjian, you have
12:07:27 10 asked this question many, many times. Dealing with the issue of
11 peace, the United Nations only requires that the movement be for
12 no other than legitimate peace reasons. And for Lome, you can't
13 show me a document - of any document," perhaps you said "or",
14 "written from the United Nations saying the following people are
12:07:51 15 excluded from the ban. It doesn't work that way. You have
16 alluded to it, but it doesn't work that way. So they are
17 probably still on the ban, but because of the interests of peace
18 they travel for specific reasons."

19 What are you saying, Mr Taylor? Do I understand that
12:08:07 20 answer to be saying that the United Nations does not publicise an
21 exemption, that there's no documentation of it?

22 A. That's not what I'm saying, no. That's not what I'm
23 saying.

24 Q. So when someone is exempted from the travel ban, there is
12:08:22 25 documentation of that, correct?

26 A. In some cases, yes.

27 Q. Well, let's look at MFI-83K. It's from week 32, the week
28 for 3 to 7 August, binder 1, and at tab 32. It's a single-page
29 document with the title "Outgoing Code Cable".

1 MR KOUMJIAN: Your Honours, actually, I want - I have made
2 an error and I'll come back to this at another time. This is not
3 the document I want. My error. Let me proceed, please:

12:10:43 4 Q. Mr Taylor, we were talking about your trip in November -
5 excuse me, Sam Bockarie's visit in November 1999 to see you in
6 Monrovia. Can you explain the purpose of the November trip?

7 A. You have put it to November. I have said the last quarter,
8 but anyway. Sam Bockarie was there to discuss his conflict with
9 Foday Sankoh in dealing with the issue of disarmament under the
12:11:12 10 Lome Agreement.

11 Q. Well, what was it that Sam Bockarie had to discuss with
12 Foday Sankoh that required them to come to Monrovia?

13 A. In fact, it's good you say "them". The two of them were
14 there. Foday Sankoh, to the best of my recollection, was in
12:11:39 15 favour at the time of beginning the implementation of Lome to
16 begin the disarmament process. Sam Bockarie was at that time
17 refusing instructions from him and did not want to disarm and
18 Lome was, again - may I not just say "again", but Lome was put in
19 jeopardy. And so discussions were held between and amongst all
12:12:14 20 of the Heads of State, including Tejan Kabbah, and it was
21 suggested that they be invited to Monrovia for me to hold
22 discussions with them to see if I could resolve the problems
23 between them. And so Foday Sankoh, as Vice-President, came from
24 Freetown and Sam Bockarie came from the interior to Monrovia.

12:12:39 25 Q. Sir, did you meet with Sam Bockarie personally on that trip
26 - on his trip?

27 A. Yes, I met with them jointly and individually, yes.

28 Q. How many times did you meet, first, with Bockarie?

29 A. I don't recall, Mr Koumjian. It could have been just a

1 brief meeting before I got them together to see what his concerns
2 were. I don't remember the number of times.

3 Q. Why would you meet with Sam Bockarie before Bockarie met
4 with Sankoh?

12:13:10 5 A. There's a conflict, Mr Koumjian. The two people are at
6 odds. Bockarie is challenging Foday Sankoh and it all depends on
7 who gets there first. I don't remember who arrived in the
8 country first. Your question was why did I - I mean, did I meet
9 with him? Yes. And you introduced "first" and I'm going along
12:13:31 10 because I - you know, I had never said in my answer that I met
11 with him first, but you introduced "first". But, the fact of the
12 matter is, it depends, protocol, on who arrived first. If they
13 had gotten there together, obviously I would have seen Sankoh
14 first. It depends on who arrived first.

12:13:50 15 Q. It was clear to you at that time that the RUF was not
16 disarming. That was, you said, one of the issues for discussion?

17 A. Yes. I would - I'll go along with you, counsel, but
18 remember I have said in my answer just now that Foday Sankoh
19 wanted to disarm; Bockarie did not want. Now, your question is,
12:14:21 20 it is clear that the RUF was not disarming. Now, that could be a
21 little hairy there because Foday Sankoh is beginning the process,
22 but on the other side, Bockarie stops it. So it is not that the
23 RUF is not, so to speak - but, I mean, I'm just giving you - then
24 maybe you can put your question the best way.

12:14:41 25 Q. As I understand your answer then, you were quite aware of
26 details of what was going on with the disarmament in Sierra
27 Leone, correct?

28 A. Yes. I was - I had been told by President Kabbah and other
29 UN individuals that there were some glitches developing. Let's

1 not forget, by this time the disarmament is not yet into motion.

2 All of the little bits and pieces are being put into place for

3 disarmament. Demobilisation is occurring, but there is this

4 glitch where Bockarie doesn't want to disarm. Foday Sankoh

12:15:24 5 decides that - upon the request of the UN and ECOWAS to show some

6 goodwill and I think he begins that goodwill process, but

7 Bockarie short-circuits it. He doesn't want to do that.

8 Q. Well, sir, let's just make one thing - let's just clarify

9 one matter. There was no significant demobilisation, disarmament

12:15:50 10 by the RUF - I'm talking about the AFRC but the RUF - until the

11 fall of - let me put it this way: Do you recall the testimony,

12 Mr Taylor, of one of the last witnesses, I believe it's TF1-174,

13 the man who talked about working with children?

14 A. Mr Koumjian, I don't remember. When you say 174 I remember

12:16:16 15 there was a TFI but I don't associate that with a name or a

16 person but I would - if you say anything that I recall I will

17 help and say yes.

18 Q. Do you recall the witness talking about children he met who

19 said that they had taken diamonds to Charles Taylor?

12:16:35 20 A. Children? No, I don't recall that.

21 Q. That they had accompanied RUF leaders taking diamonds to

22 Liberia. Do you recall that?

23 A. No, I don't recall that.

24 Q. Do you recall the witness talking about a story for

12:16:51 25 example, I'm trying to help you recollect the witness, about a

26 young boy who thought he saw a ghost in his home because it

27 turned out it was his sister who was separated from him when

28 their parents were killed and their village attacked by the RUF?

29 A. I don't recall. I must say I don't recall this ghost

1 story. It could have very well been but I just don't recall it
2 I'll be glad to be --

3 Q. Thank you, Mr Taylor. That's interesting. I'll move on
4 then. Would you agree that the significant disarmament - you may
12:17:27 5 not recall the witness but this witness said it didn't really
6 happen until the fall of 2001 that serious disarmament began.

7 A. Well, I don't recall the witness but I agree with the
8 proposition because I know that, you know, it doesn't - I don't
9 recall the witness but I recall this situation that significant
12:17:49 10 disarmament is not put into place until about the time that Issa
11 Sesay takes over as - I don't know if I should continue. Should
12 I continue?

13 Q. Yes, sir.

14 A. I say I do agree with the proposition because it doesn't
12:18:08 15 really start until Issa Sesay is made leader in August 2000. So
16 I don't recall the witness but I recall the proposition, that's
17 correct.

18 Q. Well, from August 2000 when you say Issa Sesay was made
19 leader for at least for more than a year children continued to be
12:18:26 20 held as child soldiers in the RUF. Do you agree with that?

21 A. I don't know the details over there. No, I don't know the
22 details.

23 Q. Women and young girls who had been captured were being kept
24 as sex slaves by the RUF until the end of 2001. Do you agree?

12:18:43 25 A. I have no idea of the information, no.

26 Q. The RUF continued to control the diamond fields. Do you
27 agree with that?

28 A. I have no information. All I know, like I say, is the
29 government in Sierra Leone, whatever the difficulty, there is a

1 President, there is a government, the RUF is a part of that
2 government. That's what I know.

3 Q. At this meeting in November with Sam Bockarie did you give
4 him shopping money?

12:19:19 5 A. No, Mr Koumjian, I did not give him shopping money.

6 Q. Why is it that you were giving him shopping money and then
7 you stopped doing that?

8 A. Mr Koumjian, the issue of giving him shopping money in
9 previous times in 1998 that you referred to was a matter that
10 leaders do all of the time. By the time Sam Bockarie comes to
11 Liberia at the time you are talking about Sam Bockarie doesn't
12 appear to need any little help from me. He is well attired and
13 all that. I mean I could have very well given him money but I
14 didn't. I mean, I didn't see the necessity at that time. It
15 depends on how the leader feels at that time when someone at that
16 subordinate level visits him.

17 Q. So I gather from your answer that it was apparent to you
18 that between what you say is your first meeting with Sam Bockarie
19 in September 1998 and this meeting in November, a little over a
12:20:30 20 year later, Sam Bockarie had enriched himself; he was better off?

21 A. No, Mr Koumjian, I would not use that word. I would
22 disagree. I have not even alluded to enrichment. I said that I
23 saw no need to give him money. Now that's not my testimony that
24 he had enriched himself.

12:20:54 25 Q. Was there a reason why you saw a need to give him money
26 before and then you said he came back, he is well attired and all
27 that. You said, "Sam Bockarie doesn't appear to need any little
28 help from me." So was that because he looked richer to you?

29 A. Well, he looked a little better. He looked better taken

1 care of. The matter of giving gifts to individuals is really -
2 it's really a judgmental matter. From time to time people come
3 different places to visit you. You know, I guess for some of us
4 it's a tradition. I don't know about other parts of Africa.

12:21:36 5 It's a tradition in West Africa to - and may I just almost say
6 most parts of Africa. You come from - especially in dealing with
7 these kinds of things. You do little gifts to people. They
8 come, give them a little money, go buy a gift or something. For
9 me it's mostly traditional, Mr Koumjian.

12:21:59 10 Q. When Sam Bockarie came to stay, I believe you said that was
11 in December 1999, and we understand by "stay" he is not there
12 forever, you understand what I mean, when he came in December '99
13 and was given a house, he was also given a salary?

14 A. Yes.

12:22:17 15 Q. \$1,000 a month. Is that right?

16 A. That is correct.

17 Q. What was the salary of an AFL soldier at that time?

18 A. An AFL soldier was making far less. He could have been
19 making about maybe as much as 1,000 to 1,500 Liberian dollars
12:22:37 20 which would be maybe \$300, \$400.

21 Q. In fact, Mr Taylor, that would have been the salary of SSS
22 or ATU but that was not the salary of regular AFL soldiers, was
23 it?

24 A. What was not the salary of regular AFL soldiers?

12:22:49 25 Q. \$300 a month?

26 A. No, that was not the - yes, certain officers at that
27 particular time, depending on the rank, could have been making
28 about 1,000, like I said, to 1,500 Liberian dollars, yes.

29 Q. An enlisted man in Liberia at that time in the Liberian

1 army, the AFL, would make about \$5 a month. Isn't that right?

2 A. No, Mr Koumjian, that is not correct.

3 Q. \$5 US a month?

4 A. No, that is not correct.

12:23:27 5 Q. How much would they make, according to you?

6 A. I would put it to around maybe 4 to 500 Liberian dollars a
7 month.

8 Q. There was 50 Liberian dollars to the US dollar at that
9 time?

12:23:39 10 A. No. During my administration it was \$40.

11 JUDGE SEBUTINDE: Mr Koumjian, Bockarie's \$1,000, was that
12 US or Liberian dollars?

13 THE WITNESS: US dollars.

14 JUDGE SEBUTINDE: US dollars?

12:23:51 15 THE WITNESS: That is correct.

16 MR KOUMJIAN:

17 Q. In the trips that he had made before he came, you said you
18 didn't give him any gifts on the fifth and sixth trips. In total
19 how much had you given him on the earlier trips?

12:24:06 20 A. Well, again, Mr Koumjian, you have just - I have to be very
21 careful with these records. You and I have not discussed the
22 sixth trip yet. We've discussed only the fifth. You've added
23 the sixth. You're asking me specifically about the November
24 visit, that's what I have responded to and I'm calculating that
12:24:27 25 to be the fifth. You've not asked me about the sixth.

26 Q. Sir, I'm sure, as I made a mistake this morning, I think
27 you are miscounting and just to make it easier for you let's
28 review them. There were three trips in 1998?

29 A. Yes.

1 Q. You have told us September, October and November. And
2 we've talked about April '99, we talked about September '99 and
3 now we're on the sixth trip, November '99?

4 A. Well, you asked me about the November trip and I say -
12:24:57 5 because that's the trip that he and Foday Sankoh are there.

6 Q. No, okay. Now my question, sir, is on the six trips in
7 total how much had you given Sam Bockarie?

8 A. It could have been as much as \$4,000 maybe \$5,000.

9 Q. Sir, what was the condition of the average Liberian at that
12:25:20 10 time? Do you have an idea? What was the, let's say, gross
11 national product per capita? Do you know what that was in
12 Liberia at that time?

13 A. No, I don't remember the figure but the condition in
14 Liberia were not very good, but people were fairly comfortable.
12:25:40 15 I mean not rich. They were suffering but fairly comfortable.

16 Q. Mr Taylor, isn't it true that about 80 per cent of the
17 population was living on less than \$2 a day?

18 A. Well, those statistics, I am not sure if it's \$2. That
19 sounds like a reasonable amount. But, again, because of the way
12:26:03 20 you're going, we have to answer you. I can even agree to less
21 than \$2 a day. But then we are talking about different - well,
22 okay, I'll wait for you. Go ahead.

23 Q. I'm enjoying you're elaboration. Do you have anything else
24 to add to that?

12:26:24 25 A. Because, you know, you say less than \$2 a day, I say I
26 agree. I will see where you are going then I will respond.

27 Q. Did Sam Bockarie in all the time that you knew him give you
28 gifts back as is common in the African tradition and others when
29 you visit a host?

1 A. No, Sam Bockarie did not give me any gifts.

2 Q. All that you did for Sam Bockarie and he didn't give you a
3 single gift in return?

4 A. Sam Bockarie never gave me any gifts. Never.

12:26:57 5 Q. For how many months did you pay Sam Bockarie this \$1,000 a
6 month salary?

7 A. Sam Bockarie received that money up until his departure in
8 late 2000.

9 Q. Sam Bockarie during all this time you knew had been the
12:27:11 10 leader of the RUF, correct? He had been the leader of the RUF up
11 until he left Sierra Leone, correct, the military leader?

12 A. Okay. He had been the military commander.

13 Q. Thank you. That's a better word. Thank you.

14 JUDGE SEBUTINDE: Mr Koumjian, if I may seek clarification
12:27:29 15 from the witness. Did you say you were paying Sam Bockarie a
16 salary because he was working as what?

17 THE WITNESS: No, I was not paying Sam Bockarie a salary
18 because he was working as something. Sam Bockarie was given a
19 subsistence by the Government of Liberia which for us was a
12:27:46 20 contribution to the peace process for being in Liberia. He was
21 not working for the Liberian government. It was a subsistence
22 given for he and his family because he had been invited by the
23 government.

24 JUDGE SEBUTINDE: So it was subsistence, not salary?

12:28:02 25 THE WITNESS: It was subsistence, not salary. He was been
26 asking me about the amounts, your Honour, and I have been really
27 verifying that. He didn't work. He didn't do any work at all
28 for the Government of Liberia.

29 MR KOUMJIAN:

1 Q. Mr Taylor, you were aware at this time that Sam Bockarie
2 had been the commander of a force that had carried out a campaign
3 of atrocities against civilians in Sierra Leone, correct?

4 A. Well, I could say yes to be frank. I am aware he was the
12:28:36 5 commander of the force, yes.

6 Q. When you say you could say yes, does that mean you could
7 also say no?

8 A. Well, the question is really - if you look at it
9 technically it's in about two parts or more. Being aware as
12:28:52 10 commander was one. Being aware as to whether he was committing
11 atrocities is another. But the way how the questions come I
12 don't want to delay. I could have said re-ask the question. You
13 asked me two questions in one. That's why I said I could say
14 yes.

12:29:08 15 Q. Okay. So now we're clear that you knew that Sam Bockarie
16 was the commander of a force that had carried out a campaign of
17 atrocities against civilians.

18 A. Well, you see where we are right now. Because I didn't
19 stop you to ask the two questions, so now you have made a
12:29:25 20 conclusion. Go ahead.

21 Q. Do you want to correct anything that I just said?

22 A. Well, you know, I mean if you asked me a question about
23 what Sam Bockarie did or didn't do in Sierra Leone I'm not in a
24 position to verify anything except that which I also heard which
12:29:43 25 was hearsay. So if we want to be - if we want to look at it that
26 way. But your question now, now you zero in on that it happened.
27 So as far as I'm concerned, did I know he was the commander?
28 Yes. Did I hear of atrocities being committed in Sierra Leone?
29 Yes. Do I have any proof that he did it? No.

1 So that's why sometimes we have to clarify these things to
2 avoid the arguments. You're asking me and whatever I say about
3 Sam Bockarie here it's still hearsay, I have no proof about him
4 committing any atrocities. That's what I mean.

12:30:16 5 Q. Mr Taylor, did you ever ask Sam Bockarie to release the
6 children that were serving in the RUF?

7 A. I was not aware that Sam Bockarie had in his custody any
8 children serving in the RUF. And, mind you, after Sam Bockarie
9 was a citizen and part of a government in Sierra Leone that was
12:30:33 10 the function of his government.

11 Q. Let me go back to your meetings in 1998, or let's go back
12 to 1998. You last met with Sam Bockarie, you said, the first or
13 second week he left Monrovia to return to Sierra Leone. First or
14 second week of December, correct?

12:31:00 15 A. I did not meet him upon his return from Burkina Faso,
16 Mr Koumjian. I met him en route. When he returned, I was not in
17 town. I did not meet him.

18 Q. But he returned in the first or second week of December; is
19 that correct?

12:31:14 20 A. I would put it to about that.

21 Q. Now, during that period of time, did you hear Sam Bockarie
22 make pronouncements about offensives planned by the RUF?

23 A. No, I didn't hear any such thing, no.

24 Q. In fact, didn't you hear Sam Bockarie threatening to attack
12:31:43 25 Freetown in 1998 - late 1998?

26 A. No. You asked me that question before, I think it was
27 yesterday, Mr Koumjian. It's in the records. I have told you I
28 did not hear. I have answered that question. No, I did not hear
29 any threats from him.

1 Q. Specifically, let me just make sure it's not a matter of
2 something slipping your recollection. Do you remember on
3 Christmas Day Sam Bockarie threatening to attack Freetown by New
4 Year's unless the government agreed to negotiate with the rebels?

12:32:14 5 A. So what is your question now?

6 Q. Do you remember that?

7 A. I did not hear that statement from Sam Bockarie is my
8 response.

9 Q. Were you following the news in Sierra Leone in December
12:32:29 10 1998 --

11 A. Not necessarily, no. It depends on what - whatever was
12 important that my staff brought me, I read. No.

13 Q. Well, what did you instruct your staff would be important
14 to bring you?

12:32:42 15 A. No, no, no, you don't - that's - I don't - you don't
16 instruct your staff on what to bring you. It's a part of the
17 national security process to bring in briefings. Sometimes I
18 don't have the time to sit down to listen. I never sat down to
19 listen. It's very rarely. So you don't instruct them, say, "I
12:33:00 20 want to know about this. I want to know about that." No, I
21 didn't give them any specific instructions.

22 Q. Did you ever tell them, "I want to be kept informed about
23 what is going on in Sierra Leone"?

24 A. No. They would inform me if there was a need. We were
12:33:16 25 getting briefings from ECOMOG through their reports. No, I
26 didn't give them any specific situation in dealing with Sierra
27 Leone at a particular time. Don't forget, I'm President and very
28 busy too.

29 Q. And you're the point man for peace. Is that right?

1 A. I'm also working for peace.

2 Q. Did you have any time to work for piece in Sierra Leone?

3 A. Oh, yes, we did our best, and I think the records are
4 there.

12:33:41 5 Q. You had plenty of time to meet with Sam Bockarie on each of
6 these trips, you said you met him at least once, sometimes two or
7 three times, correct?

8 A. No, I did not say two or three times. I said once, at most
9 twice.

12:33:54 10 Q. Do you recall that just before New Year's, on 29 December,
11 hearing, in 1998, that Sam Bockarie said he would not stop
12 shelling Freetown until the Tejan Kabbah government was ousted?

13 A. No, I did not. I did not hear that. I want you to
14 understand, Mr Koumjian, I'm not disputing the existence of these
12:34:17 15 statements. Your question to me is did I hear it. I did not.

16 That's what I'm saying to you.

17 Q. And my question for you, Mr Taylor, is: How could you be
18 so ill informed if you were the point man on peace or even if you
19 were just the President of the neighbouring country that's
12:34:32 20 undergoing such turmoil? How could you be so ill informed about
21 what's going on in your neighbouring country?

22 A. Well, Mr Koumjian, there are so many neighbouring
23 countries. You are asking me about the intricate details of
24 what's going on in Sierra Leone and that's not my concern at this
12:34:50 25 particular time.

26 Q. Actually, there's three neighbouring countries of Liberia,
27 correct?

28 A. Definitely. I don't even know what's happening in Guinea.
29 I don't even know what's happening in Sierra Leone, except it is

1 something maybe diplomatic or seriously political with the
2 government, but I'm not - to answer your question, I'm not in
3 what you call - I'm not totally seized of Sierra Leone - the
4 Sierra Leonean crisis to a level where every detail that's going
12:35:19 5 on I want to know. That was not my - that was not my thing. I
6 had my own problems at the time you are talking about, in 1998.

7 Q. Mr Taylor, in 1999, when you met with Sam Bockarie in
8 September and November, did you discuss with him some of these
9 own problems you had at that time regarding attacks in Lofa
12:35:42 10 County?

11 A. No. That was none of Sam Bockarie's business. No.

12 Q. In fact, let's clear this up because I believe I do not
13 have the transcript references ready, but there have been various
14 dates given in your direct examination. The first attack on Lofa
12:35:59 15 County, the one day attack, you said it was not that serious, in
16 which we also have a report that you came in - I believe that's
17 MFI-247B. That was attack on Voinjama on 21 April 1999. That
18 was the first time there was an attack in Lofa County during your
19 presidency, correct?

12:36:27 20 A. 21 April 1999, yes.

21 Q. And the second attack - and I realise dates are difficult,
22 but --

23 A. August?

24 Q. August '99. And that was when some hostages I believe were
12:36:43 25 taken from NGOs and a man called into the international radio and
26 they asked his name and he said, "I'm Mosquito Spray," or "Call
27 me Mosquito Spray".

28 A. I remember that very well, August, yes.

29 Q. So that was at the beginning of the two attacks in - the

1 first two attacks, April and August of 1999?

2 A. That is correct.

3 Q. So you had had this second attack, Mosquito Spray, before
4 you met with Bockarie in September. Did you discuss with him:

12:37:12 5 Hey, we have a situation. Can you give us any assistance?

6 A. No. Why would I want to discuss that with him? No.

7 Q. Because you needed assistance, didn't you?

8 A. No, I didn't. I didn't need assistance from him. If I
9 needed assistance, I would have gone to the government. No.

12:37:28 10 Q. Which government?

11 A. Tejan Kabbah has a government in Sierra Leone at this time,
12 Mr Koumjian.

13 Q. Did you need assistance?

14 A. No, I didn't need assistance.

12:37:35 15 Q. You were being attacked by - it was an armed incursion,
16 correct?

17 A. It was an armed incursion. Remember, you just told me that
18 it was a one day thing and we repelled it, so we didn't need
19 assistance.

12:37:46 20 Q. It was a one day thing in April and it was a longer battle
21 in August, Mosquito Spray, correct?

22 A. That is correct and we repelled it.

23 Q. But, Mr Taylor, how did you repel it?

24 A. We fought them. How do you repel it?

12:37:58 25 Q. With what? With sticks? What did you fight them with?

26 A. No. Mr Koumjian, I have never told these judges I had
27 fought them with rifles. The problem that the Government of
28 Liberia had was that there were a few rifles in the country that
29 security personnel had been using and even that had been given to

1 personal security by ECOMOG, but the vast - 90 per cent of the
2 people didn't have any weapons. Our problems were weapons, but
3 we managed to repel that attack by these individuals.

12:38:35 4 Q. In fact, you've told these judges repeatedly that you
5 didn't have a single gun. Every gun had been destroyed and you
6 didn't have any guns.

7 A. No, no, no, I have - you see, you are getting into records
8 now, so I would invite you to show these judges where I said that
9 I never had a single gun in Liberia.

12:38:50 10 Q. Thank you. Sir, how many guns were under your control at
11 the time of the Mosquito - let's say first the April attack? How
12 many guns did you control?

13 A. As President of Liberia, I don't know, Mr Koumjian. What I
14 have told these judges, to correct you, is that there were
12:39:11 15 security personnel in Liberia. Some people did hide some of
16 their personal weapons. The ULIMO people dug holes, put their
17 weapons. When the attack occurred, people scrounged around.
18 Whatever they could dig up, they dug up.

19 What I have told these judges, the quantity of arms that
12:39:31 20 you, Prosecution, have said that were going into Sierra Leone, I
21 say it is not true because I didn't have that kind of armed cache
22 in Liberia to send anyone. That's what I have told these judges.

23 Q. This armed attack in August 1999, you say these rebels
24 were, you believe, trained and equipped by the Guinean army?

12:39:56 25 A. They were trained and equipped by the Guinean army.

26 Q. And what weapons did you have to repel them with?

27 A. We had AK-47 rifles. We had some is old M16 rifles and a
28 few - people that had hidden things. We had a few RPG rockets.
29 That's what made it very difficult. It was not a very big force.

1 We had a few - anyone that could put whatever they had in their
2 household - some people that were disearnest during disarmament,
3 rushed, grabbed it and made it available. This was the process.

12:40:44 4 Q. As the commander in chief of the Liberian armed forces, how
5 many weapons do you believe you had under your control in August
6 1999?

7 A. I'm not going to speculate. I really don't know, but it
8 was very few. I'm not going to speculate.

9 Q. As far as you know, you were pretty weak. You were very
12:40:58 10 weak. You didn't have many weapons at all. Just a few here and
11 there?

12 A. That's why we kept making - that is correct.

13 Q. So you had every reason to ask a very experienced, trained,
14 battle-hardened force like the RUF, "Hey, give me some
12:41:11 15 assistance"?

16 A. But I didn't. Every reason? One would have a reason, yes,
17 but I didn't.

18 Q. In fact, it was very similar to the situation you were in
19 when you did make the alliance with Foday Sankoh that you admit
12:41:24 20 to, correct?

21 A. What situation are you referring to?

22 Q. Well, according to you, it was in late 1991 to early 1992
23 that you allied with Foday Sankoh to fight a common enemy.

24 A. Yeah, but you say I was in the very same situation. That's
12:41:36 25 what I'm saying, what very same situation? Of weakness?

26 Q. That you and the RUF - sorry.

27 A. Of weakness?

28 Q. I'm sorry?

29 A. You say a situation of weakness?

1 Q. No. Let me rephrase the question.

2 A. Okay.

3 Q. I believe I did use the word weakness earlier. You were in
4 the same situation, when you talked about ULIMO and having a
12:42:00 5 common enemy and allying with Foday Sankoh, you were in the same
6 situation where now you are saying that you were being attacked
7 by a force armed and trained in Guinea which is an enemy of the
8 RUF, once again you have a common enemy.

9 A. No.

12:42:18 10 Q. And, in fact, according to you, these forces that were
11 attacking you, many of them were ex-ULIMO. It was basically the
12 same enemy, correct?

13 A. I've said no. I'm not in the same situation.

14 Q. Were these forces, many of them ex-ULIMO, the same enemy
12:42:34 15 that you allied with to fight with Foday Sankoh?

16 A. Most of the forces that came were ex-ULIMO, that's true.

17 Q. Did the RUF ever help you in fighting in Lofa County?

18 A. No, not to my knowledge.

19 Q. Are you saying it's possible they were in Lofa County and
12:43:08 20 fighting with your armed forces without your knowledge?

21 A. No, that's not what I'm saying. You asked did the RUF and
22 I said no. I just know they did not help me.

23 Q. So you agree with me that if the RUF was working under, for
24 example, Benjamin Yeaten in a battle in Lofa County, you would be
12:43:30 25 aware of that?

26 A. If the RUF was, of course, depending on the force, yes, I
27 would - it would be told to me or I would hear about it, yes.

28 Q. May the witness be shown P-28.

29 A. Yes, I've seen it.

1 Q. I want to go over this document with you, Mr Taylor.

2 A. Yes.

3 Q. You see it's dated 20 January 2001 and it's entitled "An
4 Operation Order"?

12:45:03 5 A. Yes.

6 Q. I want to ask you about some of the names and whether you
7 know these persons. First, in paragraph one, Brigadier General
8 Mark Gwon. Do you know a Mark Gwon?

9 A. Yes, I do know a Mark Gwon.

12:45:21 10 Q. Who was Mark Gwon?

11 A. Mark Gwon was, during the crisis in that, he was a
12 brigadier general in the NPFL.

13 Q. In paragraph 2, we see the name Matthew Barbue. Do you
14 recall testimony in the Prosecution case that Matthew Barbue was
12:45:40 15 a Liberian member of the RUF?

16 A. That very well could be. I don't recollect right now, but
17 I don't know him.

18 Q. Thank you. I'll come back to number 4. Well, number 4, it
19 indicates Major General Keita and you said when - you do know of
12:46:03 20 Abu Keita, correct?

21 A. In this courtroom, yes.

22 Q. And it indicates that he is commanding the Scorpion unit?

23 A. Uh-huh.

24 Q. In the fifth paragraph we see another name and perhaps your
12:46:19 25 pronunciation will be better than mine, but Alpha Omaiseliki?

26 A. I'll take you for that. That sounds good to me.

27 Q. Do you recognise the name?

28 A. No, I don't.

29 Q. The sixth paragraph, Abraham Jallah. Do you recognise

1 Abraham Jallah?

2 A. No.

3 Q. Seventh, inspector general for operations, Colonel Joe
4 Kwamim. Do you recognise the name?

12:46:43 5 A. No.

6 Q. 8, Logistics, James Stanley. Do you recognise the name?

7 A. No.

8 Q. 9, general adviser Robert Wolobah. Do you recognise the
9 name?

12:46:55 10 A. No.

11 Q. It's signed General Issa Sesay first. Do you recognise
12 that name?

13 A. Yes, I recognise Issa Sesay's name.

14 Q. And that is the Issa Sesay who took over the command of the
15 RUF, correct?

12:47:06 16 A. Yes, that's true.

17 Q. As of this date, January 2001, who was in command of the
18 RUF?

19 A. Issa Sesay was in command of the RUF.

12:47:21 20 Q. The next name, the approved by, director General Yeaten.
21 Do you recognise the name?

22 A. I recognise the name, yes.

23 Q. Do you recognise the signature?

24 A. No, I don't recognise the signature. In fact I have a
12:47:36 25 problem with this whole thing. I don't see how this document can
26 be with original pen signatures of these individuals on this
27 copy. So I have a serious problem with that document as to
28 whether it is even authentic. Here is a document that is a copy
29 of something that is signed with original ink. I have serious

1 problems with it. So while I'm saying I recognise the name, but
2 I have a serious problem. I don't think this document is
3 authentic. I have a problem with it. But the Court will decide
4 later. This copy all wrinkled up, signed with fresh ink on it.

12:48:08 5 This would be on the original copy and not a copy. So I have
6 difficulty with this document and maybe we need to know who wrote
7 on the document like this.

8 Q. I believe we have testimony from a witness about this
9 document and that's in the Prosecution case.

12:48:22 10 A. You've drawn it to my attention and I'm informing the Court
11 I have serious difficulties concerning the authenticity of this
12 document.

13 Q. And that would also be because it would contradict your
14 testimony that the RUF - in fact your claim that the RUF never
12:48:40 15 assisted your forces in Lofa County?

16 A. No, Mr Koumjian, not because of that. I have a problem
17 with two things. One, they did not. Two, I have a problem with
18 the document as to whether it is authentic because I don't
19 believe it is authentic. Even the correction on line 13, who
12:49:01 20 made that correction no one knows. The fact that on a copy like
21 this that has been really put to the test of time to be freshly
22 signed, where did Benjamin Yeaten sign with this fresh ink on
23 this old copy? Where did they find a Benjamin Yeaten to sign?

24 Q. Sir, I'm not asking you to argue the authenticity of the
12:49:21 25 document. You're not giving closing argument. Just wait for the
26 question, please.

27 A. Okay. Well, go ahead.

28 Q. Let's go back to your meetings with Johnny Paul Koroma.

29 A. Very well.

1 Q. How many times in your life did you meet with Johnny Paul
2 Koroma?

3 A. I met with Johnny Paul how many times in my life? Okay. I
4 would say at least four times.

12:49:56 5 Q. When was the first time you met with Johnny Paul Koroma?

6 A. August 1999.

7 Q. And remind us: That was the circumstance where after Lome,
8 is it correct, that you brought him to Monrovia following the
9 West Side Boys incident?

12:50:15 10 A. That is correct.

11 Q. When was next time you met with Johnny Paul Koroma?

12 A. Oh, I would say between late August, early September 1999.

13 Q. Are both of these first two meetings in Monrovia?

14 A. All of the meetings, as a matter of fact, to cut it short,
12:50:39 15 are all in Monrovia.

16 Q. At this meeting what is the purpose of this meeting?

17 A. The second meeting now?

18 Q. Yes, thank you.

19 A. It was either a courtesy call or by this time, if I'm not
12:50:57 20 mistaken, the West Side Boys have arrived and he brings them to
21 visit with me. So I will put it somewhere to about the beginning
22 of September they have arrived, or something like that.

23 Q. Is this the meeting that you recognise this as the meeting
24 that some of the witnesses have testified to --

12:51:16 25 A. Yes.

26 Q. -- where they were present, former members of the SLA, AFRC
27 and you met were Johnny Paul Koroma in their presence?

28 A. Well, I don't know if they were there but I'm saying that
29 this is the meeting I'm referring to.

1 Q. And that was the meeting where some money was given to
2 Johnny Paul Koroma or to the others?

3 A. That is correct.

4 Q. When was your next meeting with Johnny Paul Koroma?

12:51:41 5 A. Upon the arrival of Foday Sankoh in September we met. I
6 met them individually and then held my first meeting with them
7 collectively.

8 Q. Which one did you meet with first, Sankoh or Johnny Paul
9 Koroma?

12:52:06 10 A. I don't recall. They came to the mansion. I think I
11 probably met - I could have met Sankoh first. Maybe protocol
12 called for seniority. I could have met Sankoh first.

13 Q. When was the fourth meeting with Johnny Paul Koroma?

14 A. Again during the departure - the departure ceremonies. In
12:52:33 15 fact there was a long interaction. A programme was held for
16 their joint departure to Sierra Leone and we met again there and
17 so that's why I say at least four times, so it could have been
18 even a fifth meeting during that because there were a series of
19 short meetings arranging the programme, who is going where,
12:53:01 20 talking - trying to get transportation for them. So that's why I
21 say at least four meetings but there could have been a fifth
22 meeting.

23 Q. These four meetings, or at least four meetings, did these
24 all occur during one trip by Johnny Paul Koroma to Monrovia or
12:53:16 25 was he coming and going?

26 A. No, that one trip. After he left in October I've never
27 laid eyes again on Johnny Paul Koroma, no. Just that time.

28 Q. How many times have you spoken on the telephone to Johnny
29 Paul Koroma?

1 A. Once in Sierra Leone before he came in August and I don't
2 recall talking to him on the telephone in Liberia. Whenever I
3 wanted to see him I invited him, but I remember speaking to him
4 on the phone while he was still in Sierra Leone.

12:53:53 5 Q. And that was the telephone call that I believe one of the
6 witnesses who was open, Sammy Kargbo, talked about where Johnny
7 Paul Koroma spoke to you on a satellite telephone. Is that
8 correct?

9 A. Well, Mr Koumjian, I have to be technical here. I'm not
12:54:12 10 going to comment on Mr Kargbo's testimony. I'm going to answer
11 the question about me. I spoke to him to assure him that he
12 could come to Liberia and that he would be released as soon as
13 the West Side Boys - you know, when he got to Liberia. Now some
14 of these evidence from some of these witnesses that he could have
12:54:34 15 heard about it, so I cannot comment on his testimony.

16 Q. Do you know what number was called in order to get in touch
17 with Johnny Paul Koroma on that occasion? I'm not asking you to
18 remember the digits, but whose telephone was called?

19 A. This particular call was made - first I spoke to Bockarie
12:55:01 20 and what I did was to have them take the telephone to Johnny Paul
21 Koroma. So it was not a satellite owned by Johnny Paul Koroma.
22 That satellite belonged to Bockarie. I had them to take it to
23 where he was so I could speak to him. I don't know the number,
24 counsel. I don't know.

12:55:23 25 Q. Now we discussed this morning that - I think you touched on
26 but we haven't discussed in detail these meetings between Sankoh
27 and Johnny Paul Koroma. What was your purpose in having meetings
28 between Sankoh and Johnny Paul Koroma in Monrovia?

29 A. Well, there were several, counsel. There were several.

1 There were several. We know of the West Side Boys story. We
2 know of the incarceration. But there were two very important
3 issues that were still lingering around after Lome. One of those
4 issues was the issue of the SLA, we've talked about that before,
12:56:13 5 and would they become the national army or would they just be out
6 there someplace.

7 The second issue was - and it was raised because Johnny
8 Paul felt that he had not played any part in the whole agreement.
9 The second issue was what he would do during the peace process,
12:56:36 10 okay. And that's the reason why everything was done by the
11 leadership of ECOWAS to try to get these matters resolved at that
12 time. So that's what they were doing in Monrovia and that's what
13 they were discussing.

14 Q. So, Mr Taylor, you are well aware of the issue that the
12:56:53 15 AFRC had with the Lome Accord that they wanted to be reinstated
16 into the Sierra Leone Army, but you don't know who controlled the
17 diamond fields of Sierra Leone after Lome. Is that correct?

18 A. That is fully correct. Because the SLA matter came up at
19 the talks in Lome, so that comparison I would say is a very, very
12:57:15 20 terrible comparison that came up during Lome. The issue of the
21 diamond fields did not come up in the Lome Agreement.

22 Q. When you talked about the reinstatement of the army,
23 whether or not the former AFRC members would be reinstated into
24 the army after they had initiated the coup and committed the acts
12:57:34 25 that you know that they have committed in Sierra Leone, why
26 wasn't the Government of Sierra Leone invited to those talks?

27 A. Well, the Government of Sierra Leone was a part of the
28 discussions. Because the final decision for the return of the -
29 I'm not saying AFRC, the language in the agreement is the SLA,

1 was decided by President Kabbah.

12:58:18 2 Q. Sir, was there a representative of the Government of
3 Liberia in these talks where you discussed the reinstatement of,
4 and I don't want to argue words with you, whether you want to
5 call them AFRC or ex-SLA, into the Sierra Leone Army?

6 A. I'm sorry, I don't understand the question. Is your
7 question did I have representatives at the Lome discussions?

12:58:38 8 Q. Not Lome. You've said you brought Sankoh and Johnny Paul
9 Koroma to Liberia, Monrovia, and you've told us this was the
10 concern of Johnny Paul Koroma; that you were discussing this with
11 Johnny Paul Koroma and Sankoh. Is that right?

12 A. Yes. That came up, yes.

13 Q. But you can't reinstate members to the army of Sierra
14 Leone, can you?

12:58:49 15 A. No, Kabbah did.

16 Q. Sir, why wasn't Kabbah or his representative in these
17 meetings?

18 A. Well, if we go back to the records of this Court we've
19 cleared that but I'll go over it again. The issue of the SLA was
12:59:07 20 discussed in Lome and it remained a contention and Johnny Paul,
21 not being a part of Lome, continued to make that a contention.
22 Kabbah was aware of these discussions and we made it very clear
23 that that issue was not an issue that would derail Lome and that
24 - in fact in my words based on texts before this Court, I said
12:59:31 25 that they should not worry about it because the SLA would be a
26 part based on the agreement of President Kabbah. And the Sierra
27 Leonean government agreed to the reinstatement of the SLA. It
28 was not Taylor; it was the Sierra Leonean government.

29 Q. You are saying that that is in the Lome Agreement that the

1 former AFRC members would be reinstated in the army?

2 A. No, I keep - I'm saying SLA. I don't say AFRC. SLA was
3 the issue at Lome and the Sierra Leonean government agreed to the
4 reinstatement of the SLA.

13:00:05 5 Q. Then Johnny Paul Koroma had nothing to be worried about.
6 There was nothing to discuss, it had already been agreed in Lome
7 that they would be reinstated. Is that what you're telling the
8 Court?

9 A. No, I'm saying to you that issue remained contentious and
13:00:21 10 Johnny Paul Koroma had to be reassured and that was done during
11 his stay in Liberia.

12 Q. Who reassured him?

13 A. I reassured him after discussions with the very Kabbah,
14 with Eyadema, who was the chairman of ECOWAS at the time, that
13:00:35 15 that issue had been resolved and Kabbah accepted it.

16 Q. Sir, wouldn't it make sense if you're Johnny Paul Koroma
17 you want to hear that from the Government of Sierra Leone, not
18 from Charles Taylor?

19 A. Let's not forget my role. You know, if you isolate me as
13:00:50 20 you would like to do from the role that I played and the role
21 that I was encouraged to continue to play then you put me on a
22 lonely island which is not the case and which you will not
23 succeeded in doing. I was authorised and backed by all of my
24 colleagues in all of these discussions.

13:01:08 25 For example, Johnny Paul Koroma was made chairman for the
26 consolidation of peace. That was not done in Lome. It was done
27 through consultations after Lome right in Monrovia. On the line
28 with Obasanjo, on the line with Eyadema, on the line with Kabbah,
29 all of these things. So if you want to make me appear as some

1 Lone Ranger out there for your benefit, fine, but that's not the
2 case, Mr Koumjian. Charles Taylor is acting with the full
3 authority and the full backing of his colleagues in ECOWAS in
4 those discussions.

13:01:43 5 Q. Well, I am putting it to you, Mr Taylor, that you had
6 another purpose. So let's examine some other possible reasons
7 why you would --

8 A. I'll disagree. I'll disagree.

9 Q. -- meet - have Sankoh and Johnny Paul Koroma reconcile.

13:01:56 10 That was part of the purpose, right, to reconcile Sankoh, the RUF
11 and Johnny Paul Koroma and the former SLAs, correct?

12 A. It was part of the peace process, yes.

13 Q. That was part of your purpose of having them meet in
14 Monrovia, correct?

13:02:10 15 A. That was a part, to make sure that things - yes, that was a
16 part.

17 Q. Because these two bodies had been allies from the coup in
18 May 1997 and together had wreaked havoc on the citizens of Sierra
19 Leone, correct?

13:02:24 20 A. I don't dispute that.

21 Q. And they had had a common enemy all through that time,
22 which was the Sierra Leone Army and the ECOMOG forces, correct?

23 A. Incorrect. When you say the Sierra Leone Army, how could
24 the Sierra Leone Army be an enemy to the Sierra Leonean Army? So
13:02:38 25 maybe I missed your question.

26 Q. Yes. Let me clarify. I mean the Sierra Leone loyal army,
27 the army loyal to the government, and the civil militia loyal to
28 the Government of Sierra Leone, those were the common enemies of
29 the RUF and the SLA officers that formed and soldiers that formed

1 the AFRC, correct?

2 A. I would agree to it, yes. I would agree.

3 Q. This Government of Sierra Leone was better off with those
4 two parties not cooperating and remaining as fractured as
13:03:11 5 possible, correct?

6 A. I would disagree. I would disagree. You know,
7 Mr Koumjian, why - I mean, for me - I'm not a lawyer. I'm a
8 politician - if Tejan Kabbah, as the legitimate President of
9 Liberia, did not want this reconciliation and did not want those
13:03:31 10 people together or did not want them back in Freetown, he would
11 never have accepted them. How did they get back in Freetown?
12 They got on a plane provided by Nigeria and flew back and Kabbah
13 received them and welcomed them because that was the ECOWAS peace
14 plan, Mr Koumjian. There was nothing sinister about Taylor's
13:03:52 15 action during that time. No, I disagree.

16 Q. In fact, Mr Taylor, isn't it true that it was after
17 President Kabbah made Johnny Paul Koroma the head of the
18 Commission for Peace that there was a further fracture between
19 the SLAs and the RUF and both of these factions were weakened by
13:04:13 20 that fracture?

21 A. I don't know, Mr Koumjian. You probably know more about
22 this than I do. But I just did my part, what I had to do at that
23 time. Put them together, Kabbah agreed for the reinstatement,
24 gave Johnny Paul the thing, his position as chairman for the
13:04:35 25 Consolidation of Peace. Nigerian President, Obasanjo, sent me a
26 plane. He sent me \$25,000 for them. I put them on the plane and
27 I sent them to Tejan Kabbah. That's what I did. And he received
28 them.

29 Q. So had you spoken to Johnny Paul Koroma through any means

1 of communication before meeting him in Monrovia in August before
2 the phone call you told us about where you invited him to come to
3 Monrovia in August '99?

4 A. In my life, based on your first question, I had never ever
13:05:07 5 spoken to Johnny Paul Koroma. I heard the lie in this Court
6 about when he was chairman in Free - never had I spoken to Johnny
7 Paul Koroma. If I had, I would have said yes. And as I have
8 told these judges, I would have had a good reason to do so.
9 Because from the time I got on that committee in 1997, I could
13:05:26 10 have spoken to Johnny Paul Koroma. I never spoke to Johnny Paul
11 Koroma until that telephone call that the phone was sent to him
12 during the crisis at Okra Hills. I had never spoken to him
13 before. Ever.

14 Q. Sir, why was that?

13:05:42 15 A. Why was it necessary? You have a need to talk to people.
16 I didn't have a need. What was the need?

17 Q. Mr Taylor, you were the point President for peace.

18 A. Oh, of course. But what - what period are we talking about
19 now? Let's go back.

13:05:59 20 Q. Let's start from 25 May 1997.

21 A. That is correct. What reason do I have to talk to him at
22 that time?

23 Q. You certainly could have called him, if you wanted to,
24 correct?

13:06:09 25 A. Why would I call him in May 1997.

26 Q. First answer my question. If you wanted to call him, you
27 could have called him?

28 A. No.

29 Q. You didn't have a number for the State House in Freetown?

1 A. Well, why would I call him? I did not have a number. But
2 May 1997, what am I?

3 Q. You've answered my question. Could you have obtained a
4 number for the State House in Freetown?

13:06:30 5 A. There would be no reason to do so. I'm not President of
6 Liberia, that's what I'm trying to tell you, and you know that.
7 So don't try to trick me into another thing. You know I'm not
8 President. I have no need to call Johnny Paul in May.

9 Q. Let's go to your election in August 1997. Then, did you
13:06:47 10 call Johnny Paul Koroma?

11 A. No.

12 Q. Why not?

13 A. Because there was no need to call him.

14 Q. When were you made the point man for peace?

13:06:54 15 A. In late 1997.

16 Q. Did you call him then?

17 A. No. Why would I call Johnny Paul? There were ongoing
18 negotiations already with the Committee of Five, don't let's
19 forget that. There are ongoing negotiations before I even become
13:07:11 20 President, Mr Koumjian. There are ongoing discussions. The
21 junta is represented. ECOWAS meets with the junta on several
22 occasions negotiating a deadline for return to civilian rule.

23 Q. Was there any --

24 A. So there was no reason to call him because there were
13:07:32 25 ongoing discussions with the junta under the auspices of the
26 committee. I was not given that particular aspect of the
27 negotiations at that particular time. The chairman at that
28 particular time, if I recall, was either Ivory Coast or Nigeria,
29 and so I was not given the task of doing that. So I'm on the

1 committee, but I'm not given the task to do that. There's no
2 reason to.

3 Q. Well, all you had to do, you agree with me, you could have
4 simply picked the phone and called State House and spoken to him?

13:08:08 5 A. For what reason? You asked me. I said I had no reason to.
6 What more do you want?

7 Q. Well, how about saying, "Look, Mr Whatever you want to call
8 him, Chairman Koroma, I'm Charles Taylor. I encourage you to
9 abide by the negotiations of Cotonou to give up power and to
10 restore the elected government" --

11 A. Mr Koumjian, no, I could not --

12 Q. -- at Conakry.

13 A. In Conakry. I could not have done that, Mr Koumjian.

14 There were ongoing negotiations with ECOWAS. In fact, it was
13:08:36 15 chaired by Nigeria at the time. If I remember very clearly, the
16 Minister of Foreign Affairs of Nigeria at that time, Tom Akimi,
17 was really - Nigeria was chairing that whole operation. There's
18 no need for me to call him, and this is why he makes two attempts
19 to get to me in late 1997 and we rebuff it because I want to do

13:09:02 20 nothing that will interfere with the ongoing negotiations that
21 the AFRC is holding with ECOWAS. And I'm a part of that
22 committee and I can remember, my Foreign Minister attended those
23 meetings and Tom Akimi is really pressing for a return to power.

24 So it would have been, I would say, disruptive to have picked up
13:09:25 25 the phone to call him to discuss, what, again. It would show
26 some, what, maybe a fault line and I didn't want that.

27 Q. Would it have been disruptive if you called him up and
28 said, "Restore the elected government. I cannot recognise your
29 government. Restore the elected government of Tejan Kabbah.

1 This is the position of the international community and Liberia
2 is fully supportive of that international position"?

13:09:57 3 A. I have said it would be disruptive to just butt in and call
4 Johnny Paul when I'm already on the committee and the
5 chairmanship under Foreign Minister Akimi is dealing with that
6 matter. There should be no reason for a Head of State to call
7 again because there is controversy between - now it is ECOWAS
8 versus the junta. It would be very, very disruptive and improper
9 to do that.

13:10:14 10 Q. Would it be correct then to summarise what you are saying
11 is, although you had the opportunity existed for you to call him,
12 there was no reason for you to call him and disrupt the
13 negotiations?

13:10:31 14 A. There was no reason. I don't want to push you now with
15 these two questions "opportunity" and then another two questions
16 in one. You've asked me again these two questions, Mr Koumjian.
17 Which ones - I will ask you to help me by breaking these
18 questions down so I can answer them one at a time.

13:10:48 19 Q. Okay. Thank you. Did you have the opportunity to call Sam
20 - Johnny Paul Koroma?

21 A. Yes, I had the opportunity.

22 Q. But you chose not to?

23 A. I chose not to.

24 Q. Perhaps you could explain some prior testimony.

13:11:11 25 MR KOUMJIAN: Could Mr Taylor please be shown page 29548.
26 I believe it's 23 September. However, it is in private session,
27 although the section I wish him to see is not - would not
28 disclose the identity of the witness. It actually begins on
29 29547. I believe the end of 29547 with the question: "What do

1 you say about that, Mr Taylor?"

2 PRESIDING JUDGE: It seems to me as though any answer is
3 going to involve the identity of the witness, isn't it,
4 Mr Koumjian? And if that's so, we'll have to protect that
13:12:01 5 identity by going back into private session.

6 MR KOUMJIAN: No, it will not disclose - I don't believe it
7 will disclose. I don't know if your Honour is seeing something I
8 am not.

9 PRESIDING JUDGE: I'm not saying anything. I haven't seen
13:12:14 10 the transcript at all at this stage. We'll have a look at the
11 transcript when it's available.

12 MR KOUMJIAN: Thank you. The section of Mr Taylor's
13 testimony was in private session because a witness was discussed
14 with this particular testimony - I'm sorry, I don't have the line
13:12:26 15 numbers - but it begins with the question at the bottom of 29547,
16 on 23 September: "What do you say about that, Mr Taylor?" And
17 then his answer.

18 PRESIDING JUDGE: Just remind me, please, Mr Koumjian,
19 what's the passage that you wanted to put to the witness?

13:13:55 20 MR KOUMJIAN: The passage begins with, I believe, the last
21 question on page 29547: "What do you say about that, Mr Taylor?"
22 And I just want that answer up until page 29548, the last three
23 words, "I see". I'm not sure if I have the whole answer is to
24 something else. He refers to something else.

13:14:41 25 PRESIDING JUDGE: Are you saying the last three words? At
26 what part of page 29548?

27 MR KOUMJIAN: It should be ten lines up. On page 29547,
28 the question begins on page 29547, ten lines up.

29 PRESIDING JUDGE: It goes down to line 10. Is that right?

1 Line 10 on 29548?

2 MR KOUMJIAN: Yes, your Honour.

3 PRESIDING JUDGE: I think we all have that passage before
4 us now. Mr Koumjian, I'm relying on you to phrase your question
13:15:30 5 in such a manner that the identity of this witness who gave
6 evidence is not disclosed.

7 MR KOUMJIAN: Thank you.

8 PRESIDING JUDGE: That's the condition that this question
9 is permitted to be asked in open session.

13:15:42 10 MR KOUMJIAN:

11 Q. Mr Taylor, your counsel had read you some testimony and
12 then on line 20 of page 29547 he asked you:

13 "Q. What do you say about that, Mr Taylor?"

14 A. Totally false. Look, I had every right and authority to
13:16:06 15 speak to Johnny Paul Koroma from the moment that entire
16 Committee of Five on Sierra Leone were authorised by ECOWAS
17 to speak to - in fact, I would have been delighted. If I
18 had had an opportunity I would have spoken to Johnny Paul
19 Koroma. I never spoke to Johnny Paul Koroma. And why
13:16:27 20 would I speak to Johnny Paul Koroma on a telephone and he
21 would turn around and send a delegation to Monrovia and I
22 would refuse to see them? I never spoke to Johnny Paul
23 Koroma. I never, ever spoke to Johnny Paul Koroma up until
24 he came in 1999. I really want this point to really be
13:16:48 25 made, you understand me, that I had the right to do so. In
26 fact if I had an opportunity I would have. I would have
27 spoken to him because on the committee I was responsible.
28 I did not get the opportunity to speak to Johnny Paul
29 Koroma. The first time I spoke to Johnny Paul Koroma was

1 August 1999. Period. So this boy is wrong and I did not
2 receive that delegation because - in fact the letter, even
3 though that letter is written to me asking for arms, quite
4 frankly he refers to something else."

13:17:25 5 A. What is your question?

6 Q. Mr Taylor, in fact then you did have every opportunity and
7 you had the authority, the authorisation of ECOWAS, to speak -
8 first let me ask this question: You've told us you did have the
9 opportunity to speak to Johnny Paul Koroma, correct?

13:17:40 10 A. Yes.

11 Q. But you told this Court back in September, 23 September,
12 just a little over two months ago, you didn't have the
13 opportunity to speak to him. You would have been delighted to,
14 you had every authorisation but you didn't have the opportunity.

13:17:57 15 So which is true?

16 A. Well, if you put it that way, having the opportunity and
17 not having the opportunity, I would say - and I say that I did
18 not. Well, you know, both of these statements, if you look at
19 them in technical terms, the way how it goes - because what are
13:18:16 20 we talking about? You leave the whole part - this is responding
21 to a witness's statement. So if you're saying I had an
22 opportunity to speak to Johnny Paul Koroma and I said I did not
23 speak to him.

24 Q. Did you have an opportunity to speak to him or did you not
13:18:32 25 have an opportunity?

26 A. I had an opportunity to speak to him and I did not speak to
27 him.

28 Q. Did you have the authorisation of ECOWAS to speak to him?

29 A. Any member of the Committee of Five could have spoken to

1 him but it would have been disruptive to do so, so we didn't.

2 Q. So when you told the Court that you did not have an
3 opportunity to speak to him in September that wasn't true,
4 correct?

13:18:51 5 A. Well, to cut this matter short, I would say within the
6 context of this that is incorrect but if you look at the full
7 statement and the way it is couched together I think these judges
8 will make their own determination of what opportunity and not
9 having opportunity and how it is expressed and explained here.

13:19:14 10 Sometimes these words get mixed up but I would say that they will
11 make that determination whether I misled them or not. I don't
12 think I did.

13 Q. Mr Taylor, did you encourage Johnny Paul Koroma to abide by
14 Lome? Did you tell him Lome was a good deal?

13:19:32 15 A. Look, I told him Lome was the deal and that it would not
16 change. That was the deal.

17 Q. In the meeting that you had with Johnny Paul Koroma and
18 other ex-SLAs, other former members of the AFRC junta, did you
19 tell them the Lome Accord is a good deal for you guys?

13:20:05 20 A. No, I did not deal with individualising the Lome Agreement.
21 I told them Lome was the best possibility for peace. That's what
22 I told them. I told that to Johnny Paul, I told that to Sankoh
23 who even though Sankoh signed the agreement but he was not too
24 happy and that's why eventually we had to stay up for almost
13:20:29 25 three days trying to get that agreement. I did not individualise
26 my statements to these people. It was a good deal for peace.
27 That's what I told them.

28 Q. But you really didn't know much about the Lome Accords, did
29 you?

1 A. How would you say I didn't know a lot about the Lome - I
2 say I did not - how would I say that I did not know?

3 Q. I say that, sir, and it's a fair question, because you've
4 told us repeatedly today you don't know who Lome - who was in
13:20:55 5 control of the diamond fields after the Lome Accord was signed?

6 A. Well, look, your question, let's go back, I will only
7 answer that based on your question, then we'll have to go to the
8 record and I want to answer - the context of your question brings
9 a response, okay, and I have said to this Court I responded to
13:21:16 10 you before technically - I'm saying technically after Lome the
11 Government of Sierra Leone was in control of diamonds. I am not
12 saying that the issue did not arise where during Lome discussions
13 were held. But, for me, once that agreement was signed, there
14 was a Vice-President, the diamond control, for me, was the
13:21:36 15 Government of Sierra Leone. That's the context of my answer.

16 Q. Did the diamond business interest you?

17 A. No. Not at all. If it had I would have done it in
18 Liberia.

19 Q. Did you have any prior experience with diamonds?

13:21:49 20 A. I don't - of course any Liberian, any West African, you
21 know about diamonds, you have seen them. I've seen diamonds
22 before.

23 Q. What's your experience with the diamond business?

24 A. I don't have any real experience with diamond business. I
13:22:02 25 haven't been a miner before, no.

26 Q. Have you ever traded diamonds?

27 A. No. Never traded them.

28 Q. Have you ever been involved in any aspect of the business
29 of diamond dealing?

1 A. No. No. None. Even with Liberian diamonds, no.

2 Q. Did you possess lots of diamonds?

3 A. None whatsoever. I possess - wait a minute before you --

4 Q. Sure.

13:22:25 5 A. In terms of jewellery with diamonds on it, not a lot. I
6 have a couple of rings with diamonds on it, that's it.

7 Q. Okay. Do you have some expertise in the pricing of
8 diamonds?

9 A. No.

13:22:41 10 Q. If you see diamonds do you know how much they cost?

11 A. No.

12 Q. Based on their carats or numbers or weight?

13 A. No, I have no expertise in that, no.

14 MR KOUMJIAN: Could the witness be shown the same date, 23
13:22:53 15 September, page 29567. Again it's in private session but the
16 item - I'm sorry, I didn't write down the line number. It begins
17 with the question, "What type of condiments," and then the
18 answer. Page 29567 from 23 September.

19 PRESIDING JUDGE: Could you repeat that? Where does it
13:23:40 20 start again?

21 MR KOUMJIAN: I'm sorry I did not write down the line
22 number but it begins with the question, "What type of
23 condiments," and then the answer and then the second question and
24 then the answer. The second question was, "Do you know anything
13:24:02 25 about that?"

26 PRESIDING JUDGE: That's actually line 1 it starts at, but
27 again here as in the previous passage, Mr Koumjian, it doesn't
28 look as though the witness who was protected by this private
29 session is in any danger of having his identity revealed.

1 MR KOUMJIAN: I only propose to read the first nine lines
2 unless counsel requests more.

3 PRESIDING JUDGE: All right.

4 MR KOUMJIAN: The top nine lines.

13:24:23 5 PRESIDING JUDGE: That can be done in open session. I
6 think we've all got the transcript now if you want to proceed.

7 MR KOUMJIAN: I don't know if Mr Taylor does. Does
8 Mr Taylor have it?

9 THE WITNESS: You can start reading.

13:24:42 10 PRESIDING JUDGE: You don't have it on the screen.

11 THE WITNESS: No, not yet. It's okay, he can read it.

12 MS IRURA: Your Honour, I have one copy but the printer is
13 out of paper and we would have to --

14 MR KOUMJIAN: Perhaps we'll just give that to Mr Taylor if
13:24:56 15 everyone else has it. That would be sufficient.

16 PRESIDING JUDGE: No, I was wrong. Not everybody has it.

17 MR KOUMJIAN:

18 Q. Mr Taylor, you were asked these questions at the top of the
19 page: "What type of condiments?" You answered, "Salt and Maggie
13:25:17 20 and also cigarettes. Yes, cigarettes." Then you were asked, "Do
21 you know anything about that, Mr Taylor?" Excuse me, I believe
22 the earlier question and answer were something from a witness.
23 Then your counsel asked you, "Do you know anything about that,
24 Mr Taylor?" You answered:

13:25:58 25 "No, but it doesn't make sense. We are talking about 1,000
26 and 20 or 30 pieces of diamonds? 1,000 and 20 or 30 pieces of
27 diamonds, some 10 carats, some 6 carats. If we look at the
28 quantity of diamonds and we begin to look at the carats involved
29 that 1,000 pieces of diamonds should be what? Maybe half a

1 million dollars."

2 Mr Taylor, how do you have this knowledge of the
3 approximate pricing of diamonds if, as you say, you have no
4 experience in this business?

13:26:32 5 A. Mr Koumjian, Mr Koumjian, Mr Koumjian, this is - does this
6 indicate that I have expertise? As far as I understand this, and
7 this is exactly what I'm saying, that somebody - somebody before
8 has described several pieces of diamonds, 10 carats, 6 carats and
9 up to a thousand pieces and I'm saying - in fact I asked the
13:27:03 10 question what should it be? I mean maybe a half a million? It
11 could be \$10. This doesn't show to - look, if this is going to
12 be, I mean, how I'm found, then I'm already guilty.

13 Look, I'm telling these judges that I don't know. It could
14 be maybe half a million dollars or anything. And the way I'm
13:27:25 15 commenting on this witness's statement to show how absurd it is.
16 And this, your Honour, I have no expertise. If this is an
17 indication, then I will be a bad expert because it could probably
18 be more, it could be less. But I'm really trying to help by
19 saying, no. I say, what could this be? I say, it could be,
13:27:46 20 what, maybe a half a million dollars, okay? And then, you know,
21 I say he only comes back - I'm commenting on how absurd this
22 particular thing is, that somebody comes with a thousand pieces
23 of diamonds and goes back with a few boxes of AK ammunition. I'm
24 sorry, I don't have any expertise and I do not think that is what
13:28:12 25 this evidence says.

26 MR KOUMJIAN: Your Honour, I'm ready - I would move on to a
27 different area, so this would be a convenient time.

28 PRESIDING JUDGE: All right. Well, I gather you are saying
29 that would be better done after lunch.

1 MR KOUMJIAN: Yes.

2 PRESIDING JUDGE: Yes, all right. We've only got about
3 three minutes of tape left anyway, so we'll take the lunch
4 adjournment now and resume at 2.30.

13:28:39 5 [Lunch break taken at 1.27 p.m.]

6 [Upon resuming at 2.30 p.m.]

7 PRESIDING JUDGE: Yes, go ahead, Mr Koumjian.

8 MR KOUMJIAN: Thank you, your Honours:

9 Q. Mr Taylor, today - and on my LiveNote it's page 37, the
14:32:36 10 bottom of the page, line 19 - I asked you:

11 "Q. Mr Taylor, when was the next time you saw Sam
12 Bockarie?

13 A. After Lome when Foday Sankoh arrived in Liberia in
14 September 1999, Sam Bockarie came to Liberia. And by the
14:33:03 15 way, on this issue on yesterday you asked me questions
16 about it and you tried to infer that - when I say Sam
17 Bockarie reported to Sankoh, you tried to infer that the
18 report had been written in Liberia. I said no such thing.
19 He returned in September of 1999 to meet his leader."

14:33:27 20 But, in fact, Mr Taylor, you had said yesterday, didn't
21 you, that Sam Bockarie wrote his report that's been presented in
22 this Court in Monrovia?

23 A. I can remember telling this Court - and I'm sure if you go
24 down I think - that the report was presented through Sankoh in
14:33:53 25 Monrovia. You quipped about, Oh, I see how he reported it, and I
26 said, Well, if you're trying to suggest that it was done in
27 Monrovia, you have to read that full thing to see what my answer
28 is. And I did say that it was not written in Liberia.

29 Q. Let's read your answer from yesterday. This is page 32441

1 from yesterday's transcript. Perhaps Mr Taylor could be given
2 the page. I believe the next page may also be necessary, 32442.
3 I'm sorry, he has it on the screen. I'm sorry. Mr Taylor, let
4 me begin to read at page 32441 when I began the question at line
14:35:31 5 19:

6 "Q. In your direct examination have you --

7 A. It's on the records, Mr Koumjian. It's on the records
8 about Sam Bockarie meeting with Foday Sankoh in Liberia
9 upon his return and even making a report, okay? The report
14:35:46 10 that Sam Bockarie made to Foday Sankoh as leader was made
11 when he arrived in Liberia. It's on the records. It's on
12 the records."

13 Just to continue to make sure we're talking about the same
14 thing, I then asked you:

14:36:06 15 "Q. Sorry, the report - are you talking about exhibit D-9?
16 The salute report, you're saying, was made in Monrovia?

17 A. I don't remember the exact number, but that report was
18 - Sam Bockarie met Foday Sankoh in Liberia when he came
19 from Lome in September 1999. I have told this Court.

14:36:27 20 Q. It's very interesting what you just said. Exhibit D-9,
21 this exhibit that your attorney has relied on quite a bit
22 in your examination, that was made in Monrovia when Sam
23 Bockarie was meeting Foday Sankoh? That's what you just
24 told us, correct?

14:36:42 25 A. Sam Bockarie reported, yes, in Monrovia."

26 A. Do you want my comment now?

27 Q. I want to make sure that everything relevant is read, so
28 I'll read the next question and answer:

29 "Q. That might explain why there was no need for him in

1 that document to explain your role in assisting the RUF
2 since he was in Monrovia at the time, correct?

3 A. Well, you are inferring something different. That is
4 incorrect, Mr Koumjian. Sam Bockarie came to meet Foday
14:37:14 5 Sankoh in Monrovia. He did his report. He was under no
6 influence or any type of thing. No, you're incorrect,
7 Mr Koumjian, I'm sorry."

8 MR GRIFFITHS: Mr President, I'm sorry, but I have to
9 interrupt. The question asked this afternoon by my learned
14:37:31 10 friend was infer that the report had been written in Liberia.
11 There is no mention of the word "written" in the passages to
12 which Mr Koumjian has now referred from yesterday's testimony.
13 To make a report in Liberia doesn't mean a report was written in
14 Liberia. This is a totally erroneous premise.

14:38:00 15 MR KOUMJIAN: May I continue, your Honour?

16 PRESIDING JUDGE: Did you want to answer that objection?

17 MR KOUMJIAN: I don't want to answer the objection, no. I
18 think the language is clear.

19 PRESIDING JUDGE: I'll allow you to - I think Mr Taylor has
14:38:20 20 already answered the question, hasn't he, as to whether - or has
21 he not?

22 MR KOUMJIAN:

23 Q. Mr Taylor, do you adopt what your attorney just said, that
24 the word "made" does not mean written?

14:38:28 25 A. I would please ask the Court to go back to page 41, line
26 25. You see, your Honours - and I want to really refer to you
27 now, because these are the kinds of things that happen in these
28 courtrooms. In fact, what Mr Koumjian did in this whole pursuit
29 now, Mr Koumjian misrepresented to this Court on yesterday on

1 lines 25 and 26 what I had even said in the previous - in his
2 previous question and my answer. There was nothing in my answer
3 that a report was made in Monrovia, you understand me? Reporting
4 was done. But when he goes to line 25 he says, I don't know what
14:39:20 5 D-9 is if you just call it off my head, and refers to D-9 as a
6 salute report, but he throws in "The salute report, you are
7 saying, was made in Monrovia," when I had said no such thing
8 before.

9 Q. Mr Taylor, thank you for that answer --

14:39:34 10 A. Excuse me, I'm addressing the Bench.

11 Q. You're not answering my question.

12 A. I mean, so you come now today and say that I'm saying --

13 MR KOUMJIAN: Your Honours, I believe I asked a different
14 question.

14:39:44 15 PRESIDING JUDGE: We want to hear - we'll let Mr Taylor
16 finish.

17 MR KOUMJIAN: Thank you.

18 THE WITNESS: Okay? So this is the premise that he laid on
19 yesterday that a report - when he said, "The report, you are
14:39:52 20 saying, was made in Monrovia," I said no such thing before then.

21 So why did he misled everybody in this Court by saying that? So
22 we're going on in the conversation and what I'm referring to is
23 reporting the process. He introduced this word and has built on
24 it; now it's resulting to written. So I agree with my Defence

14:40:11 25 counsel in direct response to you what he's saying, because in
26 fact you misled everybody on yesterday by misrepresenting what I
27 had said here. I never said it was made in Monrovia. So in this
28 question you had already misrepresented it because you had all
29 these motives you are portraying today.

1 MR KOUMJIAN:

2 Q. Mr Taylor, let's reread what you said. Page 32441, line
3 22: "The report that Sam Bockarie made to Foday Sankoh as leader
4 was made when he arrived in Liberia." You used the word "made",
14:40:50 5 Mr Taylor. You see that?

6 A. Listen --

7 Q. Do you see that?

8 A. No.

9 Q. Did you use the word "made" yesterday, Mr Taylor?

14:40:59 10 A. Yeah, but not - let's get - -

11 Q. So, Mr Taylor, it was you that used the word "made" and not
12 me, correct?

13 A. No, but "made" is not written. When I said the report was
14 made, that is not as - I'm talking about a process of reporting.

14:41:12 15 The report was made. That is not referring to constructing a
16 document. That's not what - you are referring to the
17 construction of a document as "made". We're talking about two
18 different things.

19 Q. Obviously. Please explain how the construction of a
14:41:27 20 document is different from "made". It's very interesting.
21 Explain that to us.

22 A. Very much so. I can make a report. I can make a report.
23 You make a report. Anybody, even someone who doesn't even write
24 a report, can make it.

14:41:42 25 Q. Can you explain that, Mr Taylor?

26 A. Yes. Someone who doesn't even write a report can make it.
27 I'm talking about he made a report in Monrovia. What you have
28 craftily done, you have tried to construct it as though it is
29 constructed in Monrovia and made up. I'm saying that's not my

1 intent.

2 Q. Mr Taylor, it's clear you were talking about - you kept
3 referring to a document that's in this Court; it's on the
4 records; it's on the records. That was the salute report of Sam
14:42:15 5 Bockarie, correct? D-9, do you need to look at that to see if
6 that's the document you were referring to? Would you like to
7 look at it?

8 A. If D-9 is the document, I'm referring to the salute report.
9 That salute report was presented to Foday Sankoh in --

14:42:30 10 Q. I don't want there to be any possible doubt. Can he please
11 be shown D-9?

12 A. We're not arguing about the number. I'm arguing about
13 you're trying to construe making a report with writing a report.
14 That's my argument against you. Not - I'm sure if it's wrong
14:42:48 15 somebody will correct it. You are trying to build it as --

16 JUDGE SEBUTINDE: Mr Taylor, what exactly happened in
17 Monrovia if it wasn't that the report was written, according to
18 you? What was it that happened in Monrovia in relation to this
19 report?

14:43:03 20 THE WITNESS: He presented - when he arrived in Monrovia to
21 meet his leader, he presented his report to the leader that he
22 brought with him from Sierra Leone. He presented the report.
23 That's why I'm saying the report was made, okay?

24 MR KOUMJIAN:

14:43:20 25 Q. So when you say the report was made, you mean the report
26 was presented?

27 A. That's what I've been saying here a million times, yes.

28 Q. Mr Taylor, how do you know that this report was presented
29 in Monrovia?

1 A. Because Foday Sankoh had told me that he had received a
2 very - that Sam Bockarie had been a very nice commander, he had
3 done a good job, and he had gotten a full account from Sam
4 Bockarie of all of the activities during his absence. He
14:43:46 5 mentioned that to me in our meeting.

6 Q. Won't you take a look at D-9. Make sure we're talking
7 about the same document. I don't want there to be any ambiguity
8 about it.

9 A. This is the document. If it's D-9, this is the salute
14:44:06 10 report that was made to Foday Sankoh when he arrived in Monrovia,
11 according to him.

12 Q. And this was the document you were referring to yesterday
13 when you said it was made in Monrovia?

14 A. I said - no, I did not say that.

14:44:22 15 Q. Go ahead, please.

16 A. Again, you just said if this was the document that was made
17 in Monrovia. This is the report that was made in Monrovia.

18 Q. What you said was it was made when he arrived in Liberia.

19 A. He reported when he arrived. He couldn't have done it
14:44:40 20 before.

21 Q. Now, Mr Taylor, how do you know that this is the report
22 that Foday Sankoh - now you're using the word "presented" -
23 presented to - that Sam Bockarie presented to Foday Sankoh?

24 A. It was a salute report that - well, you know, that's a very
14:44:58 25 good question, whether this is an identical one. If it's not,
26 then you have misled everybody. I'm referring to a salute report
27 and this salute report presented in September is the report that
28 I remember Foday Sankoh referring to.

29 Q. Okay. You saw it in Monrovia?

1 A. He had it in his hand. I did not read it, but I saw it in
2 his hand.

3 Q. And Foday Sankoh told you that Sam Bockarie was doing a
4 good job from that report?

14:45:26 5 A. Foday Sankoh mentioned to me that he was satisfied that
6 Bockarie had been doing very well and that he was very proud of
7 him when he came to meet with me. He brought him along.

8 Q. How did you respond to that?

9 A. I just listened. If he was satisfied with his commander,
14:45:45 10 fine. I just listened.

11 Q. Did you say anything to him about, "Gee, Sam Bockarie
12 actually has been in command of your forces committing horrendous
13 atrocities against the people of Sierra Leone"?

14 A. I did not say that, Mr Koumjian. I said I just listened.
14:46:03 15 This happens all the time. Somebody gives a good word, says, oh,
16 this person did a good job. You listen. And that's just a
17 normal conversation. I did not say that.

18 Q. Mr Taylor, if a subordinate of yours is commanding troops,
19 chopping off arms, killing civilians, raping women, would you
14:46:24 20 like someone to inform you about that?

21 A. If a subordinate of mine, of course I would like somebody
22 to inform of me that.

23 Q. Now, Sam Bockarie, by the way, let's go back to him for a
24 moment. When was the next time you contacted in any way, not
14:46:42 25 visited, saw in person, contacted in any way Sam Bockarie after
26 he came back from Burkina Faso, when was the next contact you had
27 with him in person or by telephone or by any means of
28 communication?

29 A. I thought, you know, we have gone through this a million

1 times again, so I don't know what else you want me to say. I
2 have told you that Sam Bockarie came to Liberia during the
3 movement or just before the movement of the people to Lome for
4 the meeting. I have answered that ten times maybe. So you've
14:47:21 5 come back with it again.

6 Q. I want to make sure you're not misunderstanding me.

7 A. No, no, no, you -

8 Q. You're saying there was no telephone communication between
9 April 1999 and when Sam Bockarie came through Burkina Faso?

14:47:37 10 A. Well, no, I did not have any further contacts with Sam
11 Bockarie personally between the period January until he came, but
12 other members of my staff - Tambakai Jangaba was in constant with
13 him, but personally, no.

14 Q. He was in constant contact with Sam Bockarie?

14:48:06 15 A. I have said who Tambakai Jangaba is, and we are talking
16 about the peace process. We did not just jump to Lome. You know
17 it took a lot of work to get to Lome, so he was in contact with
18 him as was his duty. So Lome didn't just happen. It took a lot
19 of hard negotiations to get Lome and he was in contact with him.

14:48:31 20 Q. Throughout the Freetown invasion, you had no contact with
21 Sam Bockarie?

22 A. None, none, none whatsoever.

23 Q. Mr Taylor, you said some of this yesterday, so I'm going to
24 put it together in one question. If you disagree with any part,
14:48:48 25 let me know. You didn't know about the attack on Kono and Koidu
26 Town in the middle of December 1998, or the taking of Makeni, 25
27 December 1998. Is that what your testimony?

28 A. I have no - yes, that's my testimony is that - I'm not
29 disputing it. My testimony is that I was not aware of the

1 day-to-day activities in Sierra Leone at that time, no.

2 Q. You were not keeping aware of the tactical situation in
3 Sierra Leone?

4 A. At all.

14:49:19 5 Q. Why did you move troops to your border with Sierra Leone in
6 December 1998?

7 A. December 1998, conflict - there's conflict across the
8 border and I'm being accused of all kinds of things, so we put
9 troops on the border so the spill-over cannot come into Liberia.

14:49:38 10 Q. Did you finish?

11 A. Well, go ahead.

12 Q. So without understanding or knowing details of the tactical
13 situation, you moved troops to the border?

14 A. When you get a report that there is fighting across the
14:49:51 15 border that could threaten your country, you don't go and ask,
16 "Give me the names of the towns," and what not. Mr Koumjian, I
17 am aware of conflict in Sierra Leone. I do not know the specific
18 areas of the conflict. I get a report from my defence people as
19 all Heads of State do and suggest that they do not want the
14:50:13 20 fighting to spill over in Liberia. We move some troops as
21 security at the border. That's exactly what I did.

22 Q. How about a town called Freetown, have you heard of that?

23 A. Freetown is the capital of Sierra Leone.

24 Q. Did you hear about the invasion of Freetown on 6 January
14:50:27 25 1999?

26 A. Yes, on the morning of - the morning after the invasion, my
27 national security adviser told me about it.

28 Q. Did you listen to international media reports about that
29 invasion?

1 A. Not exactly. Probably I did, but I relied on news
2 briefings that would come.

3 Q. Do you recall, for example, the recording from Focus on
4 Africa played in this courtroom where from the State House
14:50:59 5 Colonel Sesay announced the takeover and he was asked by the BBC
6 announcer, I believe it was Robin White, who has taken over, and
7 he said the combined forces, the combined force of the RUF and
8 the AFRC? Do you recall that, hearing that?

9 A. I heard the tape here in this courtroom, yes.

14:51:24 10 Q. Do you recall hearing that in 1999?

11 A. No. I don't listen to Focus on Africa, really. That was
12 not my - Focus was the simplest thing for me, no. I never
13 listened to Focus on Africa.

14 Q. Did your national security adviser advise you that morning
14:51:42 15 the RUF and the AFRC have invaded Freetown?

16 A. I have just answered that, yes.

17 Q. Did you receive reports from any means, your national
18 security adviser or otherwise, Sam Bockarie was on the air
19 threatening to burn various parts, embassies, in Freetown?

14:52:00 20 A. Well, I got a report that Bockarie had made some statements
21 on the air, yeah. I don't remember the exact details, but I did
22 get a report that he had spoken on the BBC.

23 Q. And what did you, the President point man for peace, do
24 about this while Freetown was literally burning?

14:52:18 25 A. Nothing. What did you expect me to do except contact other
26 colleagues to find out what was their take on it, what was ECOMOG
27 doing. That's all I could have done.

28 Q. Well, you told us you thought Sam Bockarie was a very
29 reasonable man, correct?

1 A. Mr Koumjian, reasonableness is also subjective, based on
2 the question that you asked me. And it was in the context of
3 peace when I say reasonable. So if you want to expand it to be
4 totally reasonable, fine.

14:52:46 5 Q. You thought he was a man you could deal with, talk to,
6 correct?

7 A. Well, dealing is another thing. I will take it one at a
8 time. Deal with? I did not look at Sam Bockarie as somebody
9 that I could deal with. I did look at him as somebody I could
10 talk with.

14:53:04 11 Q. But you didn't try to talk to him while Freetown was
12 burning?

13 A. To speak to him about what? I mean, as far as I am
14 concerned from reports that were made at that particular time,
14:53:15 15 there was confusion as to even who had attacked Freetown,
16 Mr Koumjian. You know that. There was reports - so what you
17 wanted me to be like a fool, jump in the air, started calling
18 around, stop, stop, like I had control? You only call people and
19 say those things that you have command and control of. I had
14:53:33 20 neither. What did you expect me to do? I was not even the
21 chairman of ECOWAS, so what did you expect to me to do? To call
22 like I had control? You only do that if you have control. I had
23 no control over Sam Bockarie or the RUF. And, in fact, on the
24 first morning, any President would have been a fool to begin to
14:53:50 25 start calling all over the place when no one in the region had
26 even properly assessed the situation, including ECOMOG. So I
27 wouldn't do that.

28 Q. Mr Taylor, I'm in kind of a funny situation.

29 A. Are you?

1 Q. Yes. Because, actually, you did call Sam Bockarie --

2 A. On the morning.

3 Q. -- in January of 1999.

4 A. Yeah, but that was not your question. You said the morning
14:54:08 5 after the coup.

6 Q. No, it wasn't, Mr Taylor.

7 A. I mean, after 6 January. Well, let's go back to the text.

8 Q. Mr Taylor, I asked you when - if you had any communication
9 with him before April 1999 and you said no.

14:54:18 10 A. But then you come back to - all of your questions were
11 featuring around - look, Mr Koumjian, you and I will be on this -
12 if your trying to ask me trick questions, you start with asking
13 me about the BBC interviews, hearing the tape, then you expand it
14 to, I mean, have you ever - did you ever speak - how did I get a
14:54:38 15 ceasefire in January? How did I -

16 Q. That's what I am trying to --

17 A. Yeah, but that's the point --

18 Q. You talked to Sam Bockarie about the ceasefire, correct?

19 A. I think the people will interrupt us because they are not -
14:54:51 20 they can't get it. We are cross-talking, so I'll wait until you
21 finish.

22 Q. Okay. My question is: You talked to Sam Bockarie to
23 arrange a ceasefire in the middle of January 1999, correct?

24 A. That is correct. I have said that on the records.

14:55:03 25 Q. And you did that why?

26 A. Beg your pardon?

27 Q. Why did you do that?

28 A. We're talking about Sierra Leone after the intervention, by
29 this particular time, all of the parties, all of the Heads of

1 State, everybody had held discussions. And, again, every time
2 there was a conflict, Mr Koumjian, involving any aspect of Lome,
3 my colleagues would tell me, "President Taylor" - I would get
4 phone calls from everybody - "see what you can do." I intervened
14:55:37 5 at that time because all of us had agreed that it was appropriate
6 to do so because this is now happening after Lome and we have a
7 legitimate President in Sierra Leone. So even Kabbah had to know
8 that these contacts were being made.

9 Q. So, Mr Taylor, what was different from the middle of
14:55:53 10 January when you started talking to Sam Bockarie from the attack
11 on Kono in mid-December when that was taken, the fighting and
12 attack on Makeni for three days when that was taken around
13 Christmas of 1998, 6 January when Freetown was invaded? Why did
14 you wait until a week or so, the middle of January, to call Sam
14:56:15 15 Bockarie if, as you've just told us, this was your job?

16 A. No, no, listen. Listen. You have said - what was my job?

17 Q. You said you were authorised as the point person for peace
18 to deal with the RUF in particular, correct?

19 A. No, no, no. I did not say that on the record that I was
14:56:31 20 appointed as the point person for peace to deal with the RUF, no.

21 Q. To deal with all parties, correct? Is that more correct?

22 A. To deal with all parties, yes.

23 Q. Thank you. And did you? You were dealing with the Kabbah
24 government?

14:56:45 25 A. Definitely. There are letters - Kabbah and I talked, we
26 wrote each other, we had several conversations, yes.

27 Q. In fact, throughout that month of December and January, the
28 Kabbah government and ECOMOG were accusing you of supporting
29 these rebels, of providing them with ammunition and threatening

1 Sierra Leone through your actions, correct?

2 A. Yes, there were some accusations that had come up. In
3 fact, before that particular time. Those accusations, you failed
4 to mention the time you're talking about moving the troops to
14:57:17 5 border, you failed to mention that Kabbah, and we have presented
6 these documents before this Court, that Kabbah had accused me of
7 moving 5,000 troops to invade Sierra Leone. The UN go there and
8 find out it is not so and it is resolved immediately. You failed
9 to mention that, okay.

14:57:34 10 But the issue specifically you asked about 6 January, 6
11 January is a far different situation where, again, I am asked to
12 do a specific task that I carry on. The internal conflict in
13 Sierra Leone for the towns and different things that you are
14 talking about, I'm not asked to intervene, so I don't. But the 6
14:57:56 15 January situation is very, very important. Everybody is
16 concerned on what we can do to bring stability and I do.

17 Q. But you didn't intervene on 6 January or on 7 January. It
18 wasn't until the middle of the month that you intervened,
19 correct?

14:58:10 20 A. Well, from 7 to 14, we're talking about six days, and when
21 we look at the crisis, Mr Koumjian, within that period of time,
22 Heads of State, ECOMOG, the United Nations, everybody had to get
23 their heads together and come up with a common action and the
24 action was, we need a cessation of hostilities, and "Mr Taylor,
14:58:30 25 see what you can do." Other people were trying to get a
26 ceasefire. I was not the only one. We were able to secure a
27 ceasefire. It was announced publicly to the world that we had
28 managed to achieve a ceasefire.

29 Q. Mr Taylor, in that one week, what had changed? Why did you

1 wait a week to call?

2 A. I just told you. Heads of State were consulting. I just
3 told you. By the 7th, consultations - it's an abnormal
4 situation, totally abnormal, the situation has gone very crazy.

14:59:11 5 If you remember now since you bring up this issue, you know
6 President Kabbah is removed from Freetown for his safety. There
7 are a lot of things going on. No head of state jumps up and
8 starts calling not even knowing who. There had to be serious
9 consultations first before I was asked to do this. I'm not in
14:59:32 10 control of anyone in Sierra Leone. I'm not running Sierra Leone.
11 Sierra Leone has a government. It is only with the authorisation
12 too of that government that you can involve yourself in these
13 kinds of matters.

14 Q. The agreement that you reached was for a ceasefire in
14:59:47 15 place. Is that right? To just stop fighting, for all parties to
16 remain in place, correct?

17 A. No, no. That is incorrect. I arranged for a ceasefire.
18 Now, you have talked about an agreement that all parties will
19 stay in place. No, I did not get an agreement that stated that,
15:00:09 20 no.

21 Q. Thank you. What were the terms of the ceasefire?

22 A. Just what we wanted to do, stop fighting, cessation of
23 hostilities.

24 Q. And doesn't that imply all parties remain in place?

15:00:21 25 A. No, but you used another word that I will be confronted
26 with tomorrow. You say an agreement, and I'm construing here
27 that "agreement" would mean that there's a document, an agreement
28 that all parties should stay in place, and I'm saying no to that.

29 Q. The ceasefire would leave the RUF and its allies in the

1 same positions that they were holding at the time that the
2 fighting would stop, correct?

3 A. Well, no. Mr Koumjian, to help this Court - and I know
4 you're doing your job - when you go through this process where
15:00:55 5 there is death and destruction and you manage to get a
6 ceasefire, nobody begins to talk about movement. The first thing
7 you try to do is stop the shooting, that was my concern, and then
8 begin to get calm heads to move forward, okay? And that's the
9 process. So at this particular time let's just agree to stop

15:01:20 10 shooting. We did not discuss: Will you remain in your position;
11 will you withdraw? What we wanted was, what? Stop the firing.

12 Q. The situation had changed militarily between 6 January and
13 the time you called for a ceasefire, correct?

14 A. I don't know what you mean by "changed". How much, I don't
15:01:42 15 know. I don't know the situation. I know the ECOMOG has said
16 that they had managed to push these individuals out of Freetown.
17 This was the report that was given to the Heads of State. I
18 don't know what significant change or whatever change you're
19 referring to now.

15:02:03 20 Q. ECOMOG had been reinforced with additional troops from
21 Nigeria, correct?

22 A. Within the week?

23 Q. Yes.

24 A. I don't have any recollection. It's possible, but I don't
15:02:14 25 know.

26 Q. And as you said, the attack had started to be defeated,
27 ECOMOG had started pushing these rebels out of the centre of the
28 city, correct?

29 A. That was - those were the reports that were getting to us

1 from ECOMOG, yes.

2 Q. And in fact, these invaders of Freetown were in danger of
3 being cut off, surrounded, correct?

4 A. No, no. Mr Koumjian, I don't know the tactical situation
15:02:43 5 on the ground. ECOMOG reported to all the Heads of State that
6 they were succeeding in pushing them out of Freetown. As to the
7 tactical formation that you whatchamacallit, I can't comment on
8 that.

9 Q. A ceasefire in place in mid-January benefitted the RUF,
15:03:02 10 correct?

11 A. I don't look at it in that way, Mr Koumjian. I just say a
12 ceasefire in mid-January benefitted the Sierra Leonean people.
13 That's the way I looked at it when I dealt with it. I was not
14 looking at who it benefitted, Mr Koumjian, or who it - because if
15:03:18 15 you look, that's a very evil way of looking at things. No, I'm
16 looking at the people of Sierra Leone and my role as Head of
17 State in trying to help. I didn't look at it that way.

18 Q. Let's look at the situation around the Lome Peace
19 Agreement. After Freetown there was a change in the situation in
15:03:45 20 Sierra Leone because of the notoriety of that invasion, wouldn't
21 you agree? Perhaps my question is not clear. I can try to
22 rephrase it. Would you like me to rephrase it?

23 A. Please.

24 Q. I agree with you that's it's not so clear. Mr Taylor,
15:04:11 25 isn't it correct that world attention began to focus on the
26 conflict in Sierra Leone after the horrible atrocities in
27 Freetown, a place where there were international journalists?

28 A. I fully agree. There was an increase in world - I fully
29 agree, yeah.

1 Q. And that placed great pressure on the RUF and its allies,
2 didn't it?

3 A. I think it put great pressure on everybody, including the
4 RUF, but everybody was under pressure. Surely the Kabbah
15:04:41 5 government, ECOWAS, all of us were under pressure.

6 Q. Major powers and the United Nations were pushing for a
7 United Nations intervention, a United Nations force to come in to
8 Sierra Leone, correct?

9 A. Well, I would not say totally, because there were people
15:05:00 10 that were talking about international forces, there were people
11 talking about expanding ECOMOG. There was a debate. I would put
12 it to a debate during that time about the expansion, the
13 upgrading of ECOMOG. United Nations is what? United Nations
14 forces coming in there would not have made any difference because
15:05:24 15 in fact under normal conditions what happens in those areas, the
16 United Nations forces - the peacekeepers on the ground become the
17 UN forces by changing hat, so I would say there was a debate as
18 to what should happen during that time.

19 Q. Whether it was a United Nations force or a beefed up
15:05:43 20 ECOMOG, it meant additional military pressure on the RUF and its
21 allies, correct?

22 A. I would say - I would say either way, yes.

23 Q. You have told us this morning - I just want to make sure
24 this is still your position - you don't know what territories the
15:06:00 25 RUF remained in control of through the Lome negotiations?

26 A. That is my - that is true.

27 Q. You're unaware that they retained control of Kono and Tongo
28 Fields, the diamond producing areas?

29 A. I'm unaware of that. I know the RUF is in control of some

1 part of Sierra Leone, but to specific areas I have no idea.

2 Q. So then since you don't have any idea, for purposes of my
3 question I'm asking you assuming that the RUF, through these
4 negotiations, remained in control of diamond producing areas
15:06:40 5 capable of producing easily \$200 million a year of diamonds, that
6 would benefit the RUF, that agreement, correct?

7 A. I wouldn't assume anything before this Court, Mr Koumjian.
8 I want you to give me a proper question. I'm not assuming diddle
9 before this Court. I want a question; I will answer truthfully.

15:07:01 10 I'm not going to assume here.

11 Q. Mr Taylor, what was Foday Sankoh's position that he
12 obtained through the Lome agreements - positions?

13 A. Foday Sankoh under the Lome agreement was made
14 Vice-President of Sierra Leone.

15:07:17 15 Q. And?

16 A. And in charge of the diamond commission of the Republic of
17 Sierra Leone.

18 Q. Why did Foday Sankoh want that position?

19 A. I have no idea. I did not negotiate for him. I have no
15:07:26 20 idea. None.

21 Q. Mr Taylor, I'd like you to be shown a document, and that is
22 MFI -160. Of course, it's one of the documents presented during
23 your testimony. If it would be helpful, this is in week 33,
24 binder 2, tab 80. Week 33, 10 to 14 August, binder 2, tab 80.

15:09:55 25 If the document could be shown to Mr Taylor. Do you recognise
26 this document?

27 A. Yes.

28 Q. Where did it come from?

29 A. You just told us that it came from the Defence. Didn't you

1 say MFI?

2 Q. Well, Mr Taylor, does it come from your personal archive?

3 Or where does it come from?

4 A. This is a report from my archives from General Jetley.

15:10:29 5 This relates to the Jetley situation. Yes, I had a copy of
6 Jetley's report.

7 Q. So you were aware of it?

8 A. Yes.

9 Q. You had read it?

15:10:38 10 A. Definitely.

11 Q. Let's go to - just to shorten things - the last paragraph
12 on page 2. Perhaps we can go up one paragraph just to make it
13 more complete. The last full paragraph on page 2 beginning,
14 "General Jetley". This article, Mr Taylor, states "General

15:11:16 15 Jetley" - and that was the UN commander at the time - the
16 commander of the UN forces in Sierra Leone, is that correct?

17 A. Yes.

18 Q. "General Jetley argues that senior Nigerian army officers,
19 particularly General Kpamber and Brigadier General Maxwell Khobe,
15:11:34 20 who died earlier this year, did not want to withdraw from Sierra
21 Leone because they were making huge amounts of money from illegal
22 diamond mining and payments from the RUF.

23 It is well known that public opinion in Nigeria was against
24 the continued deployment of Nigerian troops as part of ECOMOG in
15:11:57 25 Sierra Leone."

26 Let me just there. We had addressed this topic briefly, I
27 believe, yesterday. Do you agree with that? It was clearly - it
28 was known that public opinion in Nigeria, even after the
29 intervention, after the death of Sani Abacha, was against

1 continued deployment in Sierra Leone? Were you aware of that,
2 Mr Taylor?

3 A. Well, yes, I think there was a different question before.
4 But this was public knowledge, that Nigerians were a little leery
15:12:36 5 about further deployment, yes.

6 Q. The article continues.

7 "However, the Nigerian army was interested in staying in
8 Sierra Leone due to the benefits that they were getting from the
9 illegal mining. General Khobe was known as the 10 million man.

15:12:55 10 It is alleged that he received up to 10 million to permit the
11 activities of RUF."

12 JUDGE SEBUTINDE: Ten million dollars.

13 MR KOUMJIAN: Thank you, your Honour.

14 Q. "The ECOMOG force commander, General Kpamber, was also
15:13:13 15 involved in the illegal diamond mining in connivance with RUF
16 leader Foday Sankoh, General Jetley wrote?"

17 Now, Mr Taylor, you having read this article, having made
18 it part of your archives and even having talked about here in
19 court, you're still are unaware as of this morning that the RUF
15:13:41 20 controlled the diamond mining areas in Sierra Leone after Lome?

21 A. Well, you know, I have said to this Court and I'll say
22 again, I'm not aware of the specific areas of control over there,
23 but following Lome, what I have told these judges is that, as far
24 as I'm concerned, the Government of Sierra Leone was in place and
15:14:05 25 the RUF was a part of that government. That's my second or third
26 time saying that. And that's my response to your answer - to
27 your question.

28 Q. Mr Taylor, in your direct testimony - I'm sorry, I do not
29 have a citation now - you talked about how you opposed an

1 American position, a United States position, about waiting for
2 trained UN troops to go to the outside of Freetown to deploy in
3 the areas that the RUF was in and you were in favour of Nigerian
4 troops who were already there being deployed. Is that correct?

15:14:50 5 A. That is incorrect.

6 Q. What was your position?

7 A. Well, then again, you see, if you want to refer me to
8 evidence I have given, then we have to pull the record. You
9 don't ask me to correct whatever evidence that you are quoting.

15:15:01 10 I don't think that's - so I would like for you to refer to the
11 evidence so I can comment on what is correct and what is
12 incorrect.

13 Q. Did you oppose the delay in the deployment of United
14 Nations troops?

15:15:16 15 A. Yes, I did. I was against the delay, yes.

16 Q. And if that delay did not take place, then it meant
17 deploying the former ECOMOG troops, the Nigerian troops, earlier,
18 correct?

19 A. Well, you see, look, let me just help because I can see
15:15:39 20 where - I see you are struggling with this. Look, my response to
21 this Court, and I can paraphrase it, was this: The United States
22 government at that time had said that they wanted for troops to
23 train an additional six months before deployment. My opposition
24 was, the situation is precarious right now, we don't need to
15:16:02 25 delay, let's deploy. That's the objection, okay, and that's the
26 record in this Court.

27 Q. Which were the troops that would be deployed under your
28 plan --

29 A. Whether - Nigerian troops - they even wanted to retrain

1 Nigerians. They wanted - any new troops coming from ECOMOG
2 contributing countries, they wanted to train them for six months.
3 In other words, leave the situation as it was. And those of us
4 that were desperate were saying, you can't let this happen, we've
15:16:33 5 got to get the additional troops in the theatre to make sure
6 there is no further bloodshed. That was the opposition.

7 Q. Mr Taylor, it would not surprise you to learn that ECOMOG
8 offices were susceptible to bribery, correct?

9 A. No, it wouldn't.

15:16:51 10 Q. Because you had done it yourself in Liberia, correct?

11 A. Well, I don't remember bribing any ECOMOG officers in
12 Liberia. What I have told this Court is that we purchased arms
13 and ammunition. Now, if you construe that to be bribing, but I
14 didn't use the word bribe. I said we purchased material from
15:17:15 15 them in Liberia.

16 Q. You don't construe that - that's not a bribe in your mind?

17 A. Mr Koumjian, I only want to deal with the statement I made
18 before this Court. I have not bribed any ECOMOG officer. I
19 bought ammunition from them.

15:17:31 20 Q. Sir, I consider a bribe, just so we're clear on the
21 definition, was when you pay someone money to do an act that is
22 illegal or that they are not allowed to do. Is that what you
23 were doing?

24 A. Well, maybe they did not consider selling arms and
15:17:45 25 ammunition illegally based on their own chain of command, because
26 if you're an officer in the field and you sell ammunition that
27 must be accounted for and some superior doesn't ask you, maybe it
28 was a programme.

29 Q. In fact, Mr Taylor, you told us that you bought ammunition

1 from one unit to use and fight against and presumably try to kill
2 other units from ECOMOG, correct?

3 A. Well, I said I bought ammunition from them, yes, and that
4 ammunition was used to fight ECOMOG.

15:18:14 5 Q. Would that be considered a crime by you, selling ammunition
6 to an enemy to be used against your own forces?

7 A. Well, Mr Koumjian, that's a subjective answer. It depends.
8 Under some conditions, I would say yes. It depends on how they
9 look at it at that time. It's really subjective, really.

15:18:34 10 Q. What is your criteria for determining when it's proper to
11 bribe and when it isn't? Do you have any?

12 A. Well, you know, you can have unlawful purchases that I do
13 not construe as a bribe. They are unlawful purchases. You can
14 purchase something unlawfully, illegally or whatever you want to
15 call it, and it's still for me in my definition, that's not a
16 bribe. Because if somebody walked out on the street of - walked
17 out of this courtroom and got out there and unlawfully purchased
18 a bike from someone and you want to say, "Oh, he bribed the
19 person," I see that as being different, Mr Koumjian, and so
15:19:05 20 that's my definition. It's a little different. So it would be
21 unlawful, but, I mean, it depends on how you look at it.

22 Q. If a member of your government forces in 2003, let's say,
23 sold your ammunition to LURD, what would you consider that?

24 A. I would consider that unlawful.

15:19:43 25 Q. What would be the punishment?

26 A. Well, it depends. It depends on the gravity. I don't know
27 what the punishment would be. That would be determined by maybe
28 - if it's a military person, by the court-martial, to connive
29 with the enemy, because selling the ammunition to me would be

1 conniving with the enemy, that could be almost tantamount to
2 mutiny. So it depends on how the prosecutor at that time would
3 construct its case.

4 Q. What is the penalty for mutiny?

15:20:17 5 A. All over the world, the penalty for mutiny to most armies
6 is death, even in the United States, wherever, mutiny is death.

7 Q. Now, Mr Taylor, the Lome Agreement did call for
8 disarmament, correct?

9 A. That is correct.

15:20:35 10 Q. But we know, we all know, don't we, that agreements on
11 paper and implementation are two very different things, correct?

12 A. Yes, I agree. The very tough things, yes.

13 Q. In fact, you've had that experience in Liberia, that many
14 agreements were reached between the factions, some calling for
15 disarmament, that never were implemented, correct?

15:21:00 16 A. Well, never implemented, no, I would disagree. It was
17 finally implemented. If you say it did not get implemented
18 within a period of time, yes.

19 Q. I'm not saying that it was - that the last agreement
15:21:18 20 wasn't. Previous agreements were never implemented. How many
21 agreements did you have in Liberia? Let me withdraw that
22 question.

23 We all know that there were many peace agreements, correct?

24 A. Yes, there were many peace agreements.

15:21:31 25 Q. And it wasn't until the final one that actually disarmament
26 was effective and took place, correct?

27 A. It's always the case, the final agreement, yes.

28 Q. Let me just be clear, when I say disarmament I mean that it
29 was effective to a degree, because it was never completed, was

1 it, Mr Taylor?

2 A. Disarmament was completed, Mr Koumjian.

3 Q. Now, let's look a little bit more at the geopolitical
4 situation in Sierra Leone and for the RUF. That situation became
15:22:24 5 even worse following a few different events. First, the May
6 peacekeeper event added additional international pressure against
7 the RUF, correct?

8 A. I would say yeah.

9 Q. I'm sorry, I wasn't precise on the year.

15:22:39 10 A. May, I think you're referring to 2000.

11 Q. Thank you, sir, yes. That added additional pressure to put
12 military pressure on the RUF to beef up the forces opposing the
13 RUF, correct?

14 A. I would say yes.

15:22:54 15 Q. And then there was an additional incident at Okra Hills
16 where some - in that area where some British soldiers were
17 captured that added yet further pressure, correct?

18 A. I don't - you have to give me some information on that.

19 Q. I think it was in September 2000, there was what was called
15:23:21 20 Operation Barras, B-A-R-R-A-S, where British Special Forces came
21 in and freed some hostages that had been taken by the West Side
22 Boys, killing many of the West Side Boys. Do you recall that?

23 A. Well, vaguely, vaguely. I don't know the details of that
24 or that name you just called, Barras. I did - I can recall some
15:23:51 25 fighting involving British forces. If this is Barras, that's
26 what they call it, I don't remember the exact time. But there
27 was an incident somewhere in 2000 involving British forces, I
28 recall that.

29 Q. Over time United Nations forces were strengthened in Sierra

1 Leone, correct?

2 A. Yes, over time, yes.

3 Q. And an additional force, some British troops, came in
4 beefing up that force, correct?

15:24:19 5 A. I don't know the mechanics there at that time. I don't
6 really know.

7 Q. Mr Taylor, another thing that affected the strategic
8 position of the RUF, another incident, was the RUF's attacks on
9 Guinea. Isn't that true?

15:24:36 10 A. I have no - I can't - I cannot make that conclusion.

11 Q. In fact, the RUF suffered severe military defeats in its
12 attacks in Guinea, correct?

13 A. I don't have that information. What year are we talking
14 about that the RUF attacked Guinea and suffered significantly? I
15:25:03 15 don't have any details of that.

16 Q. I believe we were talking about 2000 and 2001, two separate
17 attacks.

18 A. Okay. I don't have the details of that, Mr Koumjian.

19 Q. In fact, forces from your armed forces from Liberia were
15:25:21 20 also involved in these attacks in Guinea, correct?

21 A. No. The Liberian armed forces were involved in attacks in
22 Guinea but not with the RUF. So if you separate the two - I have
23 said I don't know anything about the RUF attacking Guinea. I
24 have told this Court and I say again today, the Liberian forces
15:25:43 25 did engage in hot pursuit behind LURD rebels inside Guinea and
26 that's it, but not along with the RUF. That would be totally no.

27 Q. Did Liberian forces enter Macenta?

28 A. Liberian forces did pursue - I don't know whether it's
29 Macenta or Gueckedou, but I know there is a border town on the

1 Liberian side that Liberian forces pursued some Guinean and
2 Liberians inside Guinea. I don't recall us entering Macenta.

3 Q. In fact, in both Macenta and Gueckedou there were
4 atrocities against civilians. Do you recall reading about that?

15:26:27 5 A. I heard about the internal problem in - because - but that
6 - what I read was not Liberian. There was a Guinean rebel group,
7 I understand, from what I understand, that was fighting the
8 Guinean government and had involved in certain atrocities, not
9 Liberian forces that had gone there. That's not what I got.

15:26:50 10 Q. Which group was that, Mr Taylor?

11 A. I don't know the name, but it was some French name. I
12 don't recall what that name is.

13 Q. Who was the leader of that group?

14 A. I don't - it was such a small situation. I don't recall
15 his name right now.

16 Q. You know Mohamed Sekou Toure, correct, you know that
17 person, don't you?

18 A. No. Never met him in my entire life.

19 Q. In fact, he was in Liberia with your forces, correct?

15:27:22 20 A. Totally, totally false.

21 Q. Just so we're clear, that is Sekou Toure's, the former
22 President's son?

23 A. Totally - and he will say he's never met me before.

24 Q. How do you know that?

15:27:36 25 A. Because I've never met him.

26 Q. Did you talk to him?

27 A. I'm sure - well, I'm sure he will say the same thing,
28 because if it's true on my side, it's true on his side. I have
29 never met Sekou Toure's former son in my life.

1 Q. Mr Taylor, I want to switch subjects now. In your
2 testimony you've talked about several journalists. One of them
3 was Stephen Smith. Do you remember him?

4 A. Yes.

15:28:30 5 Q. And you said he was some kind of one-man - and I forget the
6 term you used - at African Confidential. Is that correct?

7 A. Of course.

8 Q. What was the term you used; do you remember?

9 A. I don't remember the term.

15:28:44 10 Q. Well, what did you mean?

11 A. Almost any description. I mean a one-man show. I don't
12 see how Stephen Smith - I don't even know - he carries on
13 American passport - I don't know if he's Canadian or whatever -
14 could have published an African Confidential little flying sheets
15 of paper all over the years talking about African affairs. He
16 very rarely knew what he was talking about. That's what I meant
17 by a one-man something floating few sheets of paper from one
18 little room somewhere in Paris. That's what I meant. He was,
19 you know, for me just a cover. We call him a spy, but he used
15:29:04 20 Africa Confidential as a cover. So that's how we --

21 Q. We'll get to your accusation he was spying.

22 A. Okay, good.

23 Q. But these are quite clear, your accusations about him
24 publishing Africa Confidential. You're saying he was the
15:29:46 25 publisher?

26 A. Well, look, I'm not - some of these things I wouldn't get
27 into - into - because when we use that word "publisher", I know
28 he wrote, and the only person we saw coming with a lot of things
29 from there was Stephen Smith. He could very well be the

1 publisher, but he was the one-man show.

2 Q. In fact, Mr Taylor, you're completely confused on this
3 issue. Stephen Smith was a journalist who wrote for French
4 newspapers Le Monde and other papers, and you're confusing him
15:30:13 5 with Stephen Ellis who was the publisher, for a time, of Africa
6 Confidential?

7 A. Maybe - maybe the way how you put it, I'm not sure. I know
8 - Stephen Smith that I know, I know he's a journalist and
9 probably you could be right. I would submit if I got the two of
15:30:33 10 them mixed up, that's a possibility.

11 Q. Mr Taylor, why did you arrest Stephen Smith?

12 A. Stephen Smith was arrested really for his protection.

13 Q. And can you explain that?

14 A. Well, I have already told this Court that Stephen Smith had
15:30:59 15 come into Liberia. He was working there. He had crossed our
16 line, gone into the rebel area of the INPFL, and come back
17 practically risking his life. And our contacts in Abidjan asked
18 us to pick him up and send him out that he would go back, because
19 they did not want him hurt, and we did.

15:31:41 20 Q. In fact, when you say "contacts in Abidjan", what do you
21 mean?

22 A. I'm talking about our contacts at the American embassy in
23 Abidjan that was handling the intelligence activities with us
24 during that particular time.

15:31:54 25 Q. In fact, in your direct you talked about "our handlers"?
26 You used the term "our handlers"?

27 A. The contact, handlers; same thing.

28 Q. And what kind of - so you had a handler in the American
29 embassy - in the intelligence section of the American embassy, is

1 that correct?

2 A. We had contacts and - over there. I did not have a
3 handler, but the NPFL, we had contacts there that we were working
4 with on so many different issues, and we were informed finally
15:32:28 5 that Stephen Smith should be picked up and gotten out of the
6 country for his own good, and we did that.

7 Q. Let me make it clear what my position is.

8 A. What is your position?

9 Q. Mr Taylor, this is a complete invention. Stephen Smith is
15:32:45 10 a widely known and respected journalist. That's his occupation;
11 he's a journalist?

12 A. Listen, I tell you what, Mr Koumjian, if you think that
13 this is an invention, you are so, so, so wrong. Stephen Smith -
14 if that's the Stephen Smith, the tall guy that came here - we
15:33:03 15 picked up Stephen Smith on request and sent him out of Liberia,
16 kept his passport. He did not even leave with that passport so
17 he would not do anything funny, and it was subsequently sent to
18 Abidjan.

19 Q. Mr Taylor --

15:33:20 20 A. So, that's it.

21 Q. Mr Taylor, this is another example of a journalist that
22 you've arrested and invented reasons for his arrest. Isn't that
23 true?

24 A. Totally, totally untrue.

15:33:30 25 Q. This is just another example of the cancer beam camera
26 inventive mind that you have to come up with reasons for
27 arresting people because they're reporting the news objectively,
28 correct?

29 A. That is totally wrong. If that was the case, we would have

1 - other international journalists came into the NPFL area. You
2 know, we received Mark Huband. We talked about it here. You
3 raised it. It's totally, totally - you know, you have gotten it
4 all mixed up. Stephen Smith, his reputation - I am not here to
15:34:07 5 question whether he was a good or bad journalist. What I have
6 said to this Court, which is factual: We were asked to pick him
7 up because he was becoming too adventurous, and we did, and sent
8 him to the people that asked us to pick him up. Simple.

9 Q. Mr Taylor, crossing lines, talking to all sides in a
15:34:30 10 conflict; that is what brave journalists, do, isn't that correct?

11 A. I'm not a journalist. I don't know what brave journalists
12 do. I'm only telling this Court what happened in the case of
13 Stephen - Mr Koumjian, God be my witness, if I had arrested
14 Stephen Smith for any other reason, I swear there's nothing on
15:34:48 15 that planet that would have prevent me from saying that he acted
16 out of conduct and I arrested him and sent him out. I swear on
17 my children I would never lie to this Court. We were asked by
18 the American embassy. We were working - I have told this Court
19 the Central Intelligence Agency was working along with us on many
15:35:09 20 fronts at that particular time. We had been provided equipment
21 and everything. We were asked to pick Stephen Smith up and send
22 him, and I did. If I had, I swear, arrested him for any other
23 reason, I would tell these judges. So, please, don't infer that
24 at all.

15:35:25 25 Q. You're being just as honest as you were when you said that
26 you thought that Sorious Samura - you arrested him because you
27 had information that he might be carrying a camera that had a
28 beam that caused cancer?

29 A. Let me tell you something, Mr Koumjian. You know, when we

1 dealt with that subject matter, I tried to deal with it as
2 clearly as possible. And if I remember, my testimony before this
3 Court was that both the French and American intelligence had
4 warned our own intelligence of the existence of this kind of
15:36:00 5 equipment; that cameras had been used in cases of bombings and
6 these possibilities were there. We concluded - the intelligence
7 of Liberia said that that camera, because of the insistence of
8 these people, posed a threat to my life. That's what I have told
9 these judges. It was subsequently investigated and found out
15:36:21 10 that after we seized the camera it was not so. So if you want to
11 call that an invention, that's your own analysis of it.

12 Q. How long did it take you to analyse the camera? You have
13 the camera; you at it; it does have a cancer beam; and you let
14 the people go?

15:36:37 15 A. Now what's your question?

16 Q. How long did it take you to examine the camera to
17 determine: Gee, this doesn't have a cancer-causing beam in it?

18 A. The camera was disassembled by technicians at the National
19 Security Agency, and it took about three days and a determination
15:36:52 20 was made, with some other assistance, that it was a clear camera.

21 Q. Let's go back to Stephen Smith. Explain your story about
22 why, supposedly, your handlers told you to arrest Stephen Smith?

23 A. I don't have a story to explain. I will answer your
24 question.

15:37:11 25 Q. Tell the facts that you claim occurred?

26 A. What are your questions?

27 Q. Why did your handlers tell you to arrest Stephen Smith?

28 A. Because what we were told was that he was becoming too
29 adventurous and they did not want him killed.

1 Q. As a journalist?

2 A. But he was also an American. I'm talking about - he was an
3 American, and I'm sure they had their own reasons, and I didn't
4 investigate. We were asked - when Stephen Smith returned they
15:37:44 5 asked us to please take him, get him out of the country, and we
6 did. I don't know what reasons they had.

7 Q. Okay. So let me understand. You understood Stephen Smith
8 was a journalist. The American embassy intelligence section
9 asked you to arrest him for his safety, and that's why you did
15:38:02 10 it. Is that correct?

11 A. That is 100 per cent correct.

12 Q. Then why did you tell us before that Stephen Smith was
13 working - identifying Americans, he was working for the embassy?

14 A. What interest would the US intelligence agency in Abidjan
15:38:27 15 have with one single journalist in Liberia? You tell me. If
16 there's not a strong [overlapping speakers].

17 Q. Mr Taylor, my position is the Americans never asked you to
18 arrest Stephen Smith.

19 A. Nonsense [overlapping speakers].

15:38:38 20 Q. As he testified, you arrested him because he was in a
21 territory where you thought he could expose your activities?

22 A. Oh, my God. That means that we fully disagree. We
23 disagree so seriously. In the first place, Mr Koumjian, do you
24 know how long Stephen Smith has stayed in our area before he was
15:38:55 25 asked to be taken out? That was - he was not in there for one
26 day or two days. If he was report - Stephen Smith had been in
27 our area for what? I would say a week to two, going with a host
28 of other European journalists that he talked about in this Court.
29 He was not alone. So if Stephen Smith is supposed to be

1 reporting something, exposing me, what about the other European
2 journalists that are there that he talks about? They are not
3 troubled, Mr Koumjian. There are other European journalists,
4 droves of them. He talks about it in his testimony before this
15:39:31 5 Court. There's nothing that Stephen Smith is doing in Liberia
6 that other western journalists, Europeans, are not doing. He
7 goes across the line; no one followed him. Our - I can call it
8 people - our friends at that particular time say, "Oh, my God,
9 get Smith out of there for us", and we did, and that's the fact.

15:39:52 10 Q. In fact, Mr Smith said - and he said he could not confirm
11 this - but when he went to the Ivory Coast, he heard from others
12 that the area that he was in by the airport - Roberts Airport at
13 that time - a flight was coming in with arms and ammunition from
14 Libya, and that could explain why he was arrested by you?

15:40:11 15 A. Now, I would just please ask: Let's read that question
16 from the text. Because I hear that you say you want me to
17 comment on something that Stephen Smith said he could not
18 confirm. So what do you want me to answer to?

19 Q. Well, was a flight coming in from Libya? Is that why you
15:40:33 20 arrested him?

21 A. Well, I can't - it was not. So but you just said in your
22 question that he said he could not confirm.

23 Q. That's what I said. That's what he testified to.

24 A. Well, then he could not confirm it because it was not true.

15:40:42 25 And if there were any other individuals over there - Mr Smith did
26 say that there were other European journalists. There were
27 journalists - a lot of journalists. He was not singled out for
28 any other reason except getting him out, and all that stuff he
29 talked about here - Stephen Smith mentioned that he was not

1 beaten, he was not nothing. He was brought, he was kept in an
2 area and sent out, and I don't even think - maybe his people told
3 him why they wanted him out, but we did on request. And trust
4 me, if it was not - I had no obligation to permitting journalists
15:41:25 5 in the first place.

6 Q. No. He said --

7 A. In most war areas there are no journalists. Some - in
8 fact, even in the United States there is some area that they shut
9 off journalists. It's only in recent time we knew about
15:41:38 10 journalists being embedded. So at that particular time of the
11 fighting if I had not been asked, I would never have touched him.
12 But we were asked; we did. The other journalists were not. We
13 even provided housing for journalists, Europeans and others, that
14 were in that Harbel area.

15:41:54 15 Q. Well, he said he wasn't beaten. But he said after he was
16 taken away on your orders, but not in your presence, the person
17 that took him away, he did a mock execution. He had him kneel
18 down and fired a gun next to his head. Do you recall that?

19 A. Yeah, I'm sorry, I regret - but, you know, like he said,
15:42:19 20 not in my presence. If that had been reported to me, that was
21 wrong and I would not have tolerated that. But I'm glad that he
22 was able to say that was not done in my presence. So if that
23 happened, that was inappropriate.

24 Q. You met Stephen Smith again in 2000 in Paris, is that
15:42:39 25 correct?

26 A. That is correct.

27 Q. And you agreed to give him an interview along with his
28 colleague, correct?

29 A. That is correct.

1 MR KOUMJIAN: If the witness could be shown, I believe it's
2 P-33B:

3 Q. Mr Taylor, this appears to be - it's dated, and I want to
4 make sure you have the same document. Do you have a Le Monde
15:43:39 5 article that's a translation dated 15 November 2000?

6 A. Excuse me, I don't have the translated document,
7 Mr Koumjian. No, sorry.

8 Q. Do you have the English or the French, sir?

9 A. I have the French version.

15:43:54 10 Q. B should be the English version. Mr Taylor, the document I
11 have, it should have an ERN stamp at the top of 00043984. Does
12 your copy have that number?

13 A. Yes, it has that number.

14 Q. Thank you. Mr Taylor, I'd like to go through how you are
15:45:06 15 quoted in this article and have you, first of all, confirm
16 whether or not you said it and then we'll ask some questions.
17 You see that the interview, it begins a short introduction which
18 - it indicates - well, I'll read it:

19 "Charles Taylor is back in Paris, the only western capital
15:45:26 20 where, two years ago, he was given an official welcome.
21 Boycotted by the United States and Great Britain, in the course
22 of this private stay, he will be received by neither the
23 President nor the Prime Minister, but he is counting on France to
24 end his isolation. Accused of trafficking Sierra Leone's blood
15:45:48 25 diamonds, the ex-warlord Head of State counterattacks.

26 'What do you think of the peace efforts in Sierra Leone?
27 Sometimes it seems you are treated as if you were to restore
28 peace, other times as if you were nothing more than diamond
29 traffickers.'

1 'It's unfortunate that by trying to demonise President
2 Taylor the war in Sierra Leone is reduced to a conflict where
3 Liberia is trying to get something out of. Does the fact that
4 young British soldiers go off to fight in the forests of Sierra
15:46:26 5 Leone and are doing so to stop the Sierra Leoneans from killing
6 one another make any sense? No, it doesn't hold up. Yes, I
7 think the war in Sierra Leone is a war for diamonds but not
8 because Liberia wants those diamonds. We already have
9 diamonds.' "

15:46:49 10 Let me just stop at this point. So far would you agree
11 this is how you answered that question?

12 A. Well, I haven't completed answering the question.

13 Q. I'll continue to read. Do you want me to?

14 A. Yes.

15:47:04 15 Q. "This war is taking place because the British want those
16 diamonds. There are British officials who, via limited public
17 companies located in Vancouver, Canada, own those diamond mines
18 in Sierra Leone. That's what British soldiers are over there
19 for. Not because of us. Accusing us of diamond trafficking is
15:47:26 20 like accusing Saudi Arabia of smuggling petroleum. Liberia has
21 been exporting diamonds for 150 years now. Suddenly the world is
22 at war to make for peace in Sierra Leone. But can't it make for
23 that peace without demonising little Liberia?"

24 Is that how you answered the question?

15:47:50 25 A. Exactly. Exactly.

26 Q. When you said this was a war about diamonds, is that
27 because you believed that to be the case?

28 A. Yes, I believe that to be the case.

29 Q. Yet despite that, you don't know what happened with diamond

1 mining in the Lome Agreement?

2 A. But I did say who wanted the diamonds. I said the British
3 wanted the diamonds and I'm speaking about the companies that
4 were operating, they were British companies. If you look at the
15:48:23 5 House of Commons report, you will see what Sandline and different
6 people were doing there. So I don't know about what they did
7 within Sierra Leone. I'm telling you what the British were doing
8 there. That's what my answer is.

9 Q. Sir, you said that accusing us, and I presume you mean

15:48:41 10 Liberia and your government, of diamond trafficking is like
11 accusing Saudi Arabia of smuggling petroleum.

12 A. Yes.

13 Q. Mr Taylor, which country had more diamonds, Sierra Leone or
14 Liberia?

15:48:57 15 A. It's relative. I would still say Liberia has more diamonds
16 than Sierra Leone.

17 Q. How much money was your government receiving from diamonds
18 during your presidency?

19 A. Very little. Most of the diamond mines in Liberia, we were
15:49:10 20 losing millions. Very little. I would say just probably small
21 amounts of money because of the way that diamonds were being
22 treated in Liberia. We did not have the type of mechanised
23 mining that the British companies and Canadian companies had in
24 Sierra Leone.

15:49:29 25 Q. Would you agree that throughout its history Liberian
26 diamond production in terms of the value of the diamonds was
27 never more than about a tenth of Sierra Leonean's diamond
28 production?

29 A. I disagree. Nonsense. I totally disagree.

1 Q. How much money during your presidency per year was being
2 produced from diamond sales, to your knowledge?

3 A. Well, like I said, small amounts. I don't know the exact
4 figure, but we're coming out of a war too. And even, mind you,
15:50:00 5 you asked me a question here today, we start fighting in Liberia.

6 That Lofa, Lofa is the diamond region of Liberia. Lofa, Cape
7 Mount, Bomi. And war is almost - we don't mechanise as they do
8 in other places. I would put it to about - annually Liberia,
9 during my presidency, did not take in more than I would say \$10
10 million a year, if any, I mean, if that amount, for diamonds.

15:50:23 11 Q. Thank you. Now, Mr Taylor, does that \$10 million a year,
12 in your mind, is that equal to the petroleum production of Saudi
13 Arabia?

14 A. No, Mr Koumjian. You know that's not what I'm talking
15:50:46 15 about. Come on, Mr Koumjian. It's like what the British say
16 taking coal to Newcastle. That's what I'm talking about. What -
17 this is a figure of speech. What I'm saying is that Liberia has
18 diamonds. We don't have to look for it, like, let's say, The
19 Gambia or other countries. So to say that we're going to Sierra
15:51:05 20 Leone to look for diamonds would be silly. That's what I mean.

21 Because Saudi Arabia would not go elsewhere to go to get oil.
22 They have it. It's just a figure of speech, Mr Koumjian.

23 Q. How about Iraq going to Kuwait to get oil? Would that
24 happen? Iraq actually has much more oil than Kuwait. Do you
15:51:24 25 think Iraq would ever invade Kuwait for oil?

26 A. Again, you're asking me - it's possible. But, you know,
27 the issue of the invasion of Iraq in Kuwait, where you're
28 alluding to, the issue was not about oil, if you know the
29 historical perspective behind what Saddam Hussein said was his

1 objective. The issue was, what, that Kuwait was one of the
2 provinces of Iraq, so it was not an oil issue. So, of course,
3 that's possible, that Iraq could invade Kuwait. Of course it's
4 possible.

15:52:04 5 Q. I won't argue history with you outside of West Africa now,
6 so let's move on. Mr Taylor, \$200 million a year, that's the
7 estimated diamond production from Sierra Leone. How does that
8 compare to the Liberian budget during your presidency?

9 A. Well, again, Mr Koumjian, you're saying I estimated. What
15:52:28 10 year are talking about, this estimate? What year are you talking
11 about?

12 Q. I'm not testifying here, so let me ask you. What do you
13 think the value was of Sierra Leonean diamond production? Do you
14 have any knowledge or no?

15:52:40 15 A. I have no knowledge, but you asked me about my
16 administration. But there were periods in Liberia before my
17 government that Liberian diamond revenue was far - so unless you
18 give me a period.

19 Q. I'm not talking about Liberian diamond production --

15:52:52 20 A. No, but listen. But, Mr Koumjian --

21 Q. We're sticking to Sierra Leone. I just want to - I don't
22 want --

23 A. I don't know.

24 Q. I don't want to confuse you. Let me make clear, perhaps my
15:52:59 25 question wasn't, I'm only talking about the value of Sierra Leone
26 diamonds.

27 A. I have - I don't recall the statistical figures, but you
28 threw out 200 million. That could be very well true, but I would
29 want to look at the period in question, okay, because you were

1 specific about the period in dealing with me. You asked me a
2 specific question, what was the intake of diamonds during my
3 administration, which we know that period. Then you throw out
4 200 million for Sierra Leone, and I'm saying to you, I don't know
15:53:35 5 the statistics, but I would want to know, since you are quoting
6 it, to show the period, because when we look at the period and
7 maybe compare it to Liberia during that period, we may give the
8 Court a better opportunity. So that's what I'm saying to you.

9 Q. Mr Taylor, I won't ask you for more estimates of the value
15:53:54 10 of Sierra Leonean diamonds because we have testimony from an
11 expert witness who began this trial on estimates of the value of
12 that production.

13 A. Which one gave the estimates?

14 Q. The first witness was Mr Ian Smillie.

15:54:12 15 A. Oh.

16 Q. Now, Mr Taylor, let me just ask you: \$200 million, from
17 whatever source, would that have been a lot of money to the
18 Government of Liberia?

19 A. Of course \$200 million would be good money for the
15:54:31 20 Government of Liberia.

21 Q. What was the revenue of the Government of Liberia, the
22 maximum revenue, during your presidency?

23 A. About \$100 million.

24 Q. Sir, you, Charles Taylor, personally, this \$200 million,
15:54:46 25 would that have been a lot of money to you, your personal wealth?

26 A. To anybody, yes.

27 Q. How much money - how many were - what was the value of your
28 assets when you left office?

29 A. My personal assets?

1 Q. Yes, sir.

2 A. I would say I would put it to around \$1.5 million.

3 Q. Can you tell us how - where were those assets? Was this
4 cash? Was it property?

15:55:16 5 A. Property in Liberia. Everything I own. Everything that I
6 own is in Liberia.

7 JUDGE SEBUTINDE: Is that 1.5 US or 1.5 Liberian?

8 THE WITNESS: US, your Honour.

9 MR KOUMJIAN:

15:55:30 10 Q. Mr Taylor, I'll come back to that in just a moment. Let's
11 just finish with Stephen Smith. I'm sorry for the digression. I
12 don't want to take the time to read the whole article, but if we
13 go over to the page that begins with the ERN ending 985, the
14 second page of the document. You were asked, on the third line
15 down:

16 "Do you think the Revolutionary United Front must be part
17 of the peace process in Sierra Leone?

18 "Only the belligerents can resolve conflicts. There is no
19 way peace can be made in Sierra Leone while excluding a party
15:56:19 20 from the peace process. As the African saying goes, 'You can't
21 catch anything with one finger. You need two fingers.' The RUF
22 committed terrible atrocities. People will have to answer for
23 that. But the same people who are the cause of the problem have
24 to be part of the solution. Great Britain has problems with the
15:56:44 25 IRA, but the Irish Republican Army participates in the peace
26 process. To the point that the pro and anti-UK terrorists who
27 were in Maze prison were let out. That doesn't make them angles.
28 The RUF's people aren't angels either. But it's time to put an
29 end to the crisis in West Africa. So can we apply some of the

1 your solutions? Nobody calls Yasser Arafat a terrorist anymore.
2 So what do we Africans have to do? Never forget? Never end our
3 crises?"

4 Mr Taylor, does that correctly reflect your answer?

15:57:33 5 A. Definitely.

6 Q. So did you tell Stephen Smith, "The RUF committed terrible
7 atrocities. People will have to answer for that"?

8 A. I have said that, yes.

9 Q. Mr Taylor, what was your position at Lome on the amnesty
15:57:48 10 that was granted in that accord?

11 A. My position was that there should be a general amnesty.

12 Q. What was your position regarding the United Nations
13 reservation that they opposed amnesty for crimes against
14 humanity?

15:58:04 15 A. Well, my position in fact, and many others, were that - in
16 fact, that's why we didn't - all of us - look, all of us ignored
17 what the UN representative had to say. The UN - because we said
18 amongst ourselves the UN comes out with all of these
19 extraordinary things and never do them. Now they are now

15:58:21 20 announcing that they failed in the Congo. So the Heads of State
21 at that meeting said we're going to sign this agreement, whether
22 these UN people say so or not, and we were determined that this
23 will be a West African solution to this problem. So it didn't
24 really matter, Mr Koumjian, what Taylor said. I'm answering you

15:58:39 25 directly and I'm being very fair in what I said. But what I said
26 at that particular meeting and what Heads of State discussed, my
27 saying had nothing to do with the outcome. It was a decision by
28 all of the Heads of State there that we would sign this
29 agreement, and the UN can keep their reservations. That's what

1 we said.

2 Q. Thank you. I am going to leave that article and go to
3 another brief topic.

4 Mr Taylor, I want to read to you some Defence witness
15:59:19 5 summaries. This is a public document, and perhaps it might be
6 helpful for Mr Taylor to have a copy. I don't know if you're
7 capable of printing it for him, but these would be the summaries
8 of DCT-152 and DCT-179.

9 MS IRURA: Your Honour, if the MFI number would be
15:59:55 10 indicated?

11 MR KOUMJIAN: The filing number is 809, and the pages that
12 are relevant would be from - the CMS pages 25884 through 25887,
13 and the second would be 25902 through 25904. If it might be
14 helpful, this is the third version of the Defence witness summary
16:01:11 15 filing. Your Honours, if it's going to take --

16 THE WITNESS: Did you say that you wanted me to respond to
17 Defence witness statements?

18 MR KOUMJIAN: I haven't come to the question yet, but I'm
19 just going to ask if it's going to take several minutes, I could
16:01:45 20 go back to another topic in the meantime.

21 MS IRURA: Your Honour, I would need some time to open it,
22 as I had no advance notice.

23 PRESIDING JUDGE: You go to another topic if you can. It
24 will take some time.

16:01:58 25 MR KOUMJIAN:

26 Q. Mr Taylor, you just told us about your assets at the time
27 of leaving office, mainly properties. Can you tell us: Where
28 did you own properties?

29 A. Only in Liberia. My house. I have listed those. They are

1 part of the record of the Special Court.

2 Q. I'm sorry, but I don't have access to that?

3 A. You have access.

4 Q. Maybe I do. I don't [overlapping speakers].

16:02:20 5 A. They gave you my phone numbers, right? You can ask about
6 the assets.

7 Q. Mr Taylor, I don't have access to anything you file with
8 the Defence office. Sir, what properties did you own when you
9 left office?

16:02:34 10 A. My house.

11 Q. Which house?

12 A. My farmland - White Flower. Farmland that I owned in
13 Gbarnga. I had about 5,000 acres; 3,000 had been planted in
14 coffee; and I owned another 1,000 acres of land near Monrovia.

16:03:02 15 That's what I own.

16 Q. Do you still own those properties?

17 A. Yes.

18 Q. Who lives in White Flower now?

19 A. My wife and my children.

16:03:12 20 Q. When you say your wife, who do you mean?

21 A. How do you interpret "wife", Mr Koumjian?

22 Q. Well, Mr Taylor, actually I've understood you've had
23 several wives, so which wife do you mean?

24 A. I'll only smile, Mr Koumjian. I'm talking about my present
16:03:26 25 wife.

26 Q. And her name is?

27 A. Victoria.

28 Q. What was the value of White Flower when you bought it?

29 A. When I bought it, it was an unfinished house. I would put

1 it to about 100 - maybe \$150,000 US.

2 Q. Who did you buy it from?

3 A. The late Councillor Lawrence Morgan.

4 Q. When did you buy it?

16:04:06 5 A. I bought White Flower in - well now, okay, I have to
6 correct that. Not White Flower, because it was not White Flower.
7 I bought an unfinished building in 1997.

8 Q. What month, do you recall?

9 A. No, I don't.

16:04:28 10 Q. Was it before or after you were elected President?

11 A. Just before I was elected President, so it had to be
12 somewhere - I would put it to the beginning of 1997.

13 Q. Now, it was an unfinished building and you had it
14 completed, correct?

16:04:42 15 A. That is correct.

16 Q. How much money did you spend completing that building?

17 A. I really - I can only guess. I don't know precisely. I
18 can only guess.

19 Q. Please do, if you can?

16:05:03 20 A. I would say I probably put another maybe \$200,000 into it.

21 Q. Was the swimming pool in the grounds when you bought the
22 property, or did you build that?

23 A. I built that.

24 Q. The tennis courts, were they in the grounds or did you
16:05:21 25 build the tennis courts?

26 A. I built that.

27 Q. The lighting for the tennis courts, did you install that?

28 A. Yes, we installed the lightings.

29 Q. And how often did you have access to electricity to light

1 your tennis courts?

2 A. Whenever I wanted to.

3 Q. How about the streets of Monrovia at that time, were they
4 lit?

16:05:42 5 A. Some streets were lit, yes.

6 Q. Sir, the squash court, did you install that or was that
7 already in the building?

8 A. I installed it.

9 Q. And the exercise room, did you install that or was it
16:05:53 10 already in the building?

11 A. I installed it.

12 Q. Did it come with the furniture, or did you furnish White
13 Flower?

14 A. I furnished the house.

16:06:11 15 Q. Mr Taylor, just so there's no confusion, when we are
16 talking during your examination I'm going to presume that if you
17 say dollars it means United States dollars; if it's different,
18 then you'll correct me?

19 A. I'll let you know. That's fair enough.

16:06:26 20 Q. Thank you. Now, you mentioned a farm. Is that the farm in
21 Gbarnga?

22 A. That is correct.

23 Q. How big is the acreage?

24 A. 5,000.

16:06:36 25 Q. Acres? And sir, when did you purchase that?

26 A. The land - I purchased the land in bits and pieces in - I
27 would say beginning 1995 I started purchasing bits and pieces of
28 the land.

29 Q. Until when?

1 A. I would say up until even '98 we were still - I still
2 purchased some, because I didn't really start the farm really
3 until somewhere in '98 late. I would put it to late '98.

16:07:29 4 Q. If we total the various purchases, how much did you spend
5 to purchase this farm?

6 A. The farm - the land itself is not very expensive. I would
7 say the 5,000 acres of land total, I would put it to no more than
8 - because this is farmland. We have different categories of
9 land, and farmland is very cheap. I would put it to maybe a
16:07:50 10 total of about \$20,000.

11 Q. You mentioned some other properties. I've lost my note.
12 What other properties did you --

13 A. I didn't mention properties. I mentioned another piece of
14 land.

16:08:03 15 Q. I'm sorry, I would understand that to be a property. This
16 piece of land --

17 JUDGE SEBUTINDE: Mr Taylor, \$20,000 for 5,000 acres?

18 THE WITNESS: Farmland. This is the farmland. I said the
19 total over that time, yes.

16:08:16 20 MR KOUMJIAN:

21 Q. Was there a building on the farm?

22 A. No.

23 Q. Did you --

24 A. Whatever was there, I built.

16:08:22 25 Q. Did you build a home yourself on the farm?

26 A. Yes, I built a home there.

27 Q. When did you build that?

28 A. When I started the farm, I built a little place to stay.

29 The actual house is not - it never got finished. I never

1 finished the house. But I built a small place, but I still call
2 it home.

3 Q. How much did you spend to build that place?

4 A. I don't recall, Mr Koumjian. It was - we made what we call
16:08:54 5 dirt blocks in Liberia. Dirt blocks and cement, so it was not
6 very expensive.

7 Q. Was it that you constructed this --

8 A. At the beginning of the farm.

9 Q. We talked before about houses in Gbarnga. Did you own a
16:09:12 10 house in Gbarnga before this?

11 A. No. I still don't own one in Gbarnga today, no.

12 Q. The other piece of land besides the farm, where is that?

13 A. That is near Monrovia in an area called Mount Barclay.

14 Q. How many acres is that?

16:09:29 15 A. Roughly 1,000. It is not 1,000 any more because I
16 understand people have been building all over it, so I don't even
17 know how much it is now. But at that time it was 1,000 acres.

18 Q. How much did you pay for that?

19 A. That could have cost me - that cost me a little more. Near
16:09:51 20 the city of - because we wanted to - I would say about - I would
21 put to about \$30,000, \$40,000. This was not farm business; this
22 is for property development. So it cost a lot of money near the
23 city.

24 Q. When did you purchase this land?

16:10:13 25 A. Oh, boy. I would say I think '98, '99. Somewhere there.

26 Q. Mr Taylor --

27 JUDGE SEBUTINDE: Excuse me, Mr Koumjian. I'm sorry,
28 Mr Taylor, did you say that in Gbarnga farmland costs \$4 an acre?

29 THE WITNESS: No, no, no, no.

1 JUDGE SEBUTINDE: Well, that's what \$20,000 for 5,000
2 acres --

3 THE WITNESS: Okay, no. When you asked me - I'm sorry,
4 your Honour, when you say - did I say \$4? I didn't call the
16:10:42 5 figure. I'm referring to - if you calculate it at that, then it
6 it's about \$4, I agree. Farmland is very, very cheap, yes.

7 JUDGE SEBUTINDE: I am calculating. I asked you: "\$20,000
8 for 5,000 acres?" and you said yes.

9 THE WITNESS: Yes.

16:10:59 10 JUDGE SEBUTINDE: Now, a quick calculation throws up \$4 an
11 acre.

12 THE WITNESS: Yes, about that.

13 JUDGE SEBUTINDE: This is the price of farmland in Gbarnga?

14 THE WITNESS: Yes. Very cheap, yes. Very cheap.

16:11:12 15 MR KOUMJIAN:

16 Q. Mr Taylor, did you have any bank accounts when you left
17 office?

18 A. Yes, I don't even - I had a bank account at Tradevco Bank,
19 I think, in Liberia. Yeah, Tradevco Bank.

16:11:30 20 Q. Was that in your name?

21 A. Yes.

22 Q. Now Tradevco Bank, of course, is a bank that no longer
23 exists, correct?

24 A. I don't know if Tradevco is still open. But in fact, the
16:11:47 25 records were checked. In fact, we have information that those
26 records were checked. So whether it's closed now, I don't know.

27 Q. How much did you have in this account at Tradevco?

28 A. At the close when I left Liberia I think it was about
29 \$5,000 or \$10,000 US.

1 Q. Did you leave it in the bank, or did you take it with you?

2 A. I left it in the bank.

3 Q. What did you take with you to Nigeria?

4 A. I took some furniture, my clothes, vehicles. That's what I
16:12:16 5 took along with me.

6 Q. Did you take any money with you?

7 A. No, I didn't take any money with me.

8 JUDGE SEBUTINDE: Could we have the spelling of this bank,
9 please?

16:12:25 10 THE WITNESS: T-R-A-D-E-F-C-O, Tradevco.

11 MR KOUMJIAN: Is it a V-C-O possibly?

12 THE WITNESS: You could be right. Maybe V-C-O. Yes, okay,
13 I would agree with the V.

14 MR KOUMJIAN:

16:12:47 15 Q. Mr Taylor, did you set up a bank account in Nigeria?

16 A. No.

17 Q. From the left Liberia in August 2003 until your arrest in
18 March 2006, what bank accounts did you have?

19 A. None.

16:13:04 20 Q. You lived for almost three years - for two some years
21 without a bank account?

22 A. I did not have a bank account. The Nigerian government can
23 verify that. I did not.

24 Q. Anywhere in the world?

16:13:12 25 A. None. If you know of any, bring it. I had no bank
26 account.

27 Q. Did you have any credit cards?

28 A. No. I had - no, I didn't personally have a credit card.

29 Whenever we travelled, a credit card was used for the government

1 to pay bills, but I didn't personally have a credit card.

2 Q. Mr Taylor, why is that, that for almost two and a half
3 years you lived without a bank account in the modern world?

4 A. Because I'm African. I'm not American.

16:13:49 5 Q. So how did you pay for things? You paid for everything in
6 cash?

7 A. Well, the Nigerian government supported me and whatever
8 they gave me, they gave it to me in cash. Every month that I
9 stayed in Nigeria throughout my stay, the Nigerian government
16:14:04 10 gave me a subsistence, because I told them before I left office I
11 had no money, despite all the lies that had been put together and
12 I'm still waiting for it, that I had no money, the Nigerian
13 government gave me a subsistence every month.

14 Q. Mr Taylor, at that time when you left office, how many
16:14:23 15 children did you have?

16 A. What do you mean in terms of children? My own children?

17 Q. That's a fair question.

18 A. It's not fair. I will tell you why it is not fair.

19 Q. I'm saying it's a fair question on your part.

16:14:33 20 A. Okay.

21 Q. How many children, anyway you want to recognise them, those
22 you recognise as your children, how many did you have?

23 A. Close to 25. Close to 25.

24 Q. And how many countries did they live in?

16:14:47 25 A. They all moved with me - most of the children moved with me
26 in Nigeria.

27 Q. Most but not all?

28 A. Not all because all of the children did not - the bigger
29 ones - I have - one of my daughters is married. She was living

1 in Ghana. Two of my other --

2 Q. Mr Taylor, if you don't want to say the countries, that's
3 fine with me.

4 A. I don't mind. There's no security threat to them. We've
16:15:19 5 got to get it out to the Court. Two of my daughters are
6 Americans. They're living in the United States. So that's what
7 I mean by not all of them moved with me to Nigeria.

8 Q. Sir, how many of your children outside of Nigeria did you
9 support?

16:15:32 10 A. Two. Two of them. Back in Liberia, we had - I was still
11 supporting two that were left back in Nigeria. They were pretty
12 young - I mean in Liberia, excuse me. And that's about all. But
13 the rest of them were all taken care of right in Nigeria.

14 Q. Aside from your children during the time you were in
16:16:08 15 Nigeria, how many wives or ex-wives were you supporting?

16 A. Well, not ex-wives. I don't - at that particular time I
17 had two wives and I was supporting the two of them. The two of
18 them were in Nigeria.

19 Q. So aside from the 25 children and these two wives, was
16:16:28 20 there anyone else you were supporting financially?

21 A. No, no.

22 Q. Sir, you supported all these people without having a bank
23 account?

24 A. Mr Koumjian, I did not have a bank account. Never had a
16:16:42 25 bank account in Nigeria. What came, along with my security - I
26 left Liberia with Secret Service personnel, a full staff,
27 everything. The monies that came were calculated from the
28 Nigerian government. I was having serious problems in Nigeria
29 and the monies came, the staff were paid, everybody, and what was

1 there for my upkeep was turned over to my wife. Simple.

2 Q. Did you have any pressure metals with you?

3 A. Any what again?

4 Q. Precious metals like gold, diamonds.

16:17:17 5 A. No diamonds, no.

6 Q. Diamonds are not metals, precious stones.

7 A. No, I did not carry any precious metals. Gold, in terms of
8 jewellery, yes, but not --

9 Q. Did you have any diamonds?

16:17:32 10 A. No.

11 Q. Mr Taylor, what was your salary as President of Liberia?

12 A. The President of Liberia received I think about 2,000
13 United States dollars a month.

14 Q. Did you have any other sources of income while you were
16:17:51 15 President besides your legal salary?

16 A. No. When you say sources of income, not really. I would
17 call it source of income, no.

18 Q. Were you engaged in any business?

19 A. None whatsoever.

16:18:10 20 Q. Did you own an interest in any business?

21 A. No.

22 Q. Just so it's clear, did you own any businesses or
23 properties through other people? Do you understand my question?

24 A. I understand your question. No, no.

16:18:24 25 Q. You've talked about properties in your name. Were there
26 any separate properties in the names of your wife or wives?

27 A. No. The property White Flower is in my name. A farmland
28 in my name.

29 MR KOUMJIAN: Are the other items ready? I could probably

1 finish them before the end of the day, if they are.

2 PRESIDING JUDGE: Do you think you're going to get through
3 this in about five minutes, Mr Koumjian? Because I've got a
4 brief announcement just before we adjourn.

16:20:55 5 MR KOUMJIAN: Thank you. I see it could take quite a while
6 to read it slowly, yes.

7 PRESIDING JUDGE: Mr Koumjian, just so we're clear, you
8 obviously, from what you said, can't get through your questioning
9 on this topic in five minutes. Is that correct?

16:21:34 10 MR KOUMJIAN: That's correct, your Honour.

11 PRESIDING JUDGE: All right. We won't start it then, in
12 that case.

13 MR KOUMJIAN: Does your Honour want me to ask questions on
14 another topic for five minutes? This is also a convenient time,
16:21:52 15 subject matter wise, to break --

16 PRESIDING JUDGE: If you've got something that will last
17 five minutes, as I said, just before we adjourn, I've got a brief
18 announcement, but it certainly wouldn't take more than a minute.

19 MR KOUMJIAN: Thank you:

16:22:07 20 Q. Mr Taylor, you've told us that your salary was \$2,000 a
21 month while you were President, \$24,000 a year. Prior to
22 becoming President, what were your sources of income, your
23 personal sources of income?

24 A. Prior to becoming President, I had - I received a lot of
16:22:39 25 assistance at that particular time from the Taiwanese government
26 at that time, prior to becoming President.

27 Q. You received assistance?

28 A. The NPFL. I received assistance.

29 Q. Okay. Well, then was the money given to you or was it

1 given to the NPFL?

2 A. The money was given to me.

3 Q. When was that?

4 A. You say prior to - in fact, 1996 and a part of 1997.

16:23:15 5 Q. How much money did the Taiwanese government give you prior
6 to you becoming President?

7 A. I would say as - I had, in fact - in fact, to be accurate
8 it was two sources, the Taiwanese government and, of course, my
9 friend and brother Gaddafi assisted me. The Taiwanese government
16:23:40 10 gave me I would say about a total of about a million dollars over
11 the two years.

12 Q. And that was for what purpose, Mr Taylor? Was there any
13 agreement attached to your receiving the money?

14 A. No, it was assistance to me as head of my organisation.

16:24:01 15 No. I would call that public relations for them.

16 Q. To give about a million dollars to the head of a faction
17 fighting in a civil conflict?

18 A. No, no, Mr Koumjian, I'm not fighting in a civil conflict
19 in 1996 and 1997.

16:24:17 20 Q. Okay. You were one of six members of the council - you
21 were a member of the Council of State, correct?

22 A. That is correct.

23 Q. How many members of the Council of State at that time?

24 A. There were six.

16:24:31 25 Q. Did any of the others get a million dollars from the
26 Taiwanese, to your knowledge?

27 A. I have no idea.

28 Q. How was that arranged, Mr Taylor?

29 A. I was very good friends over a few years with an official

1 of the Taiwanese government stationed in La Cote d'Ivoire that
2 developed an interest in my political career.

3 Q. In fact, were you in fact selling your recognition, your
4 future recognition of Taiwan for that \$1 million?

16:25:07 5 A. No, Mr Koumjian. If we look at what I'm trying to explain,
6 I'm sure the judges will understand better than you. Matters of
7 assistance to officials or permanent individuals in countries
8 occur all the time. [Overlapping speakers].

9 Q. After you became President, did you receive any further
16:25:22 10 assistance - money from Taiwan?

11 A. Personally no, but the government yes. And by the way,
12 Taiwan, even before I became President, had diplomatic
13 recognition with the Republic of Liberia even before I became
14 President.

16:25:40 15 Q. They probably paid money to President Doe for that,
16 correct?

17 A. I don't know. I can't comment on that. I don't know.

18 Q. But after you became President, you received no further
19 funds?

16:25:49 20 A. Personally no.

21 Q. Well, that begs the next question: Did your government
22 receive funds from Taiwan after you became President?

23 A. That is correct, yes.

24 Q. What did your government receive?

16:25:59 25 A. The Government of Liberia received an annual grant of \$10
26 million.

27 Q. And how did you receive that money? Was it --

28 A. It came into the Government of Liberia, the normal way all
29 other revenues came.

1 Q. Was it through some type of bank transaction?

2 A. They were bank transactions.

3 Q. And into what entity of the government?

4 A. Into the financial structure.

16:26:26 5 Q. Did the embassy of Taiwan hand you \$10 million cash or how
6 did the money come --

7 A. No, it was done through a bank transfer. Nobody - they
8 didn't deal with no cash. It was done through a bank transfer.

9 Q. What account would have received that money?

16:26:46 10 A. I don't know how the Central Bank handled it, but it came
11 through the government normal systems.

12 Q. So there was a bank account at the Central Bank for
13 government revenue?

14 A. All government revenue of the Republic of Liberia were
16:26:57 15 deposited at the Central Bank. I don't know how it worked
16 internally, but --

17 Q. Now, the \$1 million that you received before becoming
18 President, what did you do with that money?

19 A. Over the two years, many, many things. It had to do with
16:27:18 20 organisational work. I'm saying now, we've got to - at the two
21 years, I say over the two-year period, it helped with a lot of
22 the organisational work that we were doing between '96 and '97,
23 yes.

24 Q. How much - what percentage of that \$1 million went to the
16:27:37 25 government as opposed to your personal expenses?

26 A. What government?

27 Q. Well, your organisation, excuse me.

28 A. Well, as far as the work for the organisation, I would say
29 about 80 per cent went to organisational work.

1 Q. Just so we're clear, what organisation are we talking
2 about?

3 A. We're talking about - by this particular time, this is why,
4 because of legal reasons, I was giving money. We're talking
16:28:09 5 about - let's say at the beginning of 1997, we're talking about
6 the NPP. Before then, we're talking about leader of the NPFL.
7 Now, under the laws of Liberia, because some of that money were
8 being used for - by me for organisational work, it had to be
9 given to me, that the laws would not be violated.

16:28:28 10 Q. How was it given to you; in cash?

11 A. No, the money was transferred through Abidjan, and then we
12 would pick it up from time to time in cheques from the embassy,
13 small amounts.

14 Q. So it was transferred. But you didn't have an embassy, you
16:28:48 15 said?

16 A. The Taiwanese embassy in Abidjan, Mr Koumjian.

17 Q. And you would pick up cheques?

18 A. Yes, they would write it out and we would cash the cheques
19 about - whenever we needed funds, they would write out a cheque
16:29:04 20 and we would cash it.

21 Q. The cheques were drawn on an account where? What account
22 were the cheques from?

23 A. In la Cote d'Ivoire. I don't know the details. But the
24 money would come and as the need arose, we would go and they
16:29:14 25 would write out a cheque for the amount.

26 Q. Where would you cash the cheque?

27 A. In la Cote d'Ivoire.

28 MR KOUMJIAN: Thank you, your Honour.

29 PRESIDING JUDGE: Thank you, Mr Koumjian. Just before we

1 adjourn for the day, we'd like to announce that we've decided not
2 to sit next Monday, and I'll give you the reason for that.

3 As we all know, the Prosecution has filed a motion pursuant
4 to being called upon by the Trial Chamber to justify the use of
16:29:48 5 fresh evidence in its cross-examination of the accused. As a
6 consequence, the Prosecution has claimed on several occasions
7 that its cross-examination of the accused has been substantially
8 hampered because of its inability to use the documents until the
9 Trial Chamber has made a decision on the motion. Indeed, the
16:30:16 10 Prosecution has already applied for, and been granted, one
11 adjournment to reorganise its cross-examination.

12 Clearly, it is essential that the motion be decided as soon
13 as possible so that the trial can progress. The final pleading
14 required before we can deliberate - that is, the Prosecution's
16:30:51 15 reply - was filed yesterday afternoon. We have therefore decided
16 not to sit next Monday in order to give us the time we will need
17 to address the issues, consider the applicable jurisprudence, and
18 finalise our decision.

19 Now, Mr Taylor, in the interim I'll remind you of the
16:31:20 20 standing order not to discuss your evidence with any other
21 person. We will adjourn now until 9.30 on Tuesday morning.

22 [Whereupon the hearing adjourned at 4.30 p.m.
23 to be reconvened on Tuesday, 1 December 2009 at
24 9.30 a.m.]

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I N D E X

WITNESSES FOR THE DEFENCE:

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CROSS-EXAMINATION BY MR KOUJIAN	32513