



Case No. SCSL-2003-01-T

THE PROSECUTOR OF  
THE SPECIAL COURT  
V.  
CHARLES GHANKAY TAYLOR

MONDAY, 23 NOVEMBER 2009  
9.30 A.M.  
TRIAL

TRIAL CHAMBER II

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Before the Judges:

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

For Chambers:

Ms Doreen Kiggundu

For the Registry:

Ms Rachel Irura  
Mr Benedict Williams

For the Prosecution:

Ms Brenda J Hollis  
Mr Mohamed A Bangura  
Mr Christopher Santora  
Ms Maja Dimitrova

For the accused Charles Ghankay Taylor:  
Mr Morris Anyah

1 Monday, 23 November 2009

2 [Open session]

3 [The accused present]

4 [Upon commencing at 9.30 a.m.]

09:31:57 5 PRESIDING JUDGE: Good morning. We will take appearances,  
6 please.

7 MS HOLLIS: Good morning, Mr President, your Honours,  
8 opposing counsel. This morning for the Prosecution, Brenda J  
9 Hollis, Mohamed A Bangura, Christopher Santora, our case manager  
09:33:58 10 Maja Dimitrova, and we are also joined this morning by an intern  
11 in our office, David Vineyard.

12 PRESIDING JUDGE: Thank you. Yes, Mr Anyah.

13 MR ANYAH: Good morning, Mr President. Good morning,  
14 your Honours. Good morning, counsel opposite. Appearing for the  
09:34:16 15 Defence this morning myself, Morris Anyah. I am joined by an  
16 intern in our office, Ms Priyanka Reddy.

17 PRESIDING JUDGE: Mr Taylor, I will just remind you you are  
18 still bound by your declaration to tell the truth. Ms Hollis,  
19 please continue.

20 DANKPANNAH DR CHARLES GHANKAY TAYLOR:

21 [On former affirmation]

22 CROSS-EXAMINATION BY MS HOLLIS: [Continued]

23 Q. Good morning, Mr Taylor.

24 A. Morning, counsel.

09:34:40 25 Q. Mr Taylor, you recall at the end of last week we were  
26 talking about some of the crimes that were attributed to your  
27 subordinates. Now, Mr Taylor, you do recall, do you not, that in  
28 mid-January 1994 your NPFL subordinates killed over 30 people in  
29 River Cess County? You recall that, do you not?

1 A. No, I do not recall that. River Cess County was occupied  
2 by the LPC, so that's - I do not recall. That's totally false.

3 Q. And just to remind us, what did the LPC stand for?

4 A. The Liberian Peace Council.

09:35:21 5 Q. And in fact, your subordinates killed these people because  
6 they were accused of supporters of the LPC. That's correct, is  
7 it not, Mr Taylor?

8 A. Totally incorrect.

9 Q. After your headquarters in Gbarnga was attacked in 1994  
09:35:37 10 your NPFL killed many civilians, did they not?

11 A. They did not kill civilians, no.

12 Q. Indeed, in September 1994 your NPFL subordinates robbed and  
13 killed civilians who were fleeing from the fighting Gbarnga.  
14 That's correct, is it not?

09:35:54 15 A. We don't kill our own people. No, that is not correct.

16 Q. And also in September 1994, your NPFL killed some 100  
17 people in Palala, Bong County. You recall that, don't you,  
18 Mr Taylor?

19 A. No, I don't recall that because it never happened. Palala  
09:36:11 20 is, in fact, the home town of one of my ministers. No, totally a  
21 lie.

22 Q. And they killed those people because your NPFL suspected  
23 those people of being ULIMO supporters. That's correct, is it  
24 not, Mr Taylor?

09:36:23 25 A. Definitely not.

26 Q. And indeed, in October and onward in 1994, your NPFL  
27 subordinates killed many, many people in Maryland County. Isn't  
28 that correct, Mr Taylor?

29 A. That is not correct.

1 Q. And these people were killed because they were suspected of  
2 supporting the LPC. Isn't that correct, Mr Taylor?

3 A. Totally incorrect.

09:36:55

4 Q. Now, you have talked about Joe Tuah, one of your NPFL  
5 generals, correct?

6 A. Yes, I have.

7 Q. And he remained a trusted subordinate after you were  
8 elected President, correct?

09:37:08

9 A. Well, I don't know what you mean by "trusted subordinate".  
10 He remained a subordinate. "Trusted" is another issue, so I  
11 disagree.

12 Q. Deputy director in your SSS?

13 A. But that doesn't mean trusted. I disagree with "trusted",  
14 so I disagree.

09:37:18

15 Q. Member of the delegation you sent to Lome?

16 A. Qualified, yes. You said - your question, counsel, was a  
17 "trusted subordinate". I agree that he is a subordinate. I do  
18 not agree with the terminology "trusted". So there were two  
19 questions in one. I hope we can keep them separate.

09:37:34

20 Q. So you didn't trust Joe Tuah?

21 A. You work with people. It's got nothing to do with trust.

22 Q. You didn't trust him to send him to Lome as part of your  
23 delegation?

24 A. He is qualified. That's got nothing to do with trust.

09:37:49

25 Q. You didn't trust him to be a deputy director of your SSS?

26 A. He was never, ever - there is no document and I challenge  
27 you to show he was ever deputy. He was never a deputy director  
28 of the SSS.

29 Q. Tell us again what his position was in your SSS?

1 A. Ask your question again.

2 Q. Tell us again what his position was in your SSS?

3 A. But you know. The document you presented to this Court  
4 says he was assistant director without portfolio. Now you quote  
09:38:17 5 it as being deputy. So you are trying to mislead me or who, I  
6 don't know. You know he was the assistant director without  
7 portfolio.

8 Q. And tell us again what that meant?

9 A. I told you. It meant that he was someone that did not have  
09:38:31 10 a specific assignment, but he was a technical person and he was  
11 at the university. So he was something like what you would call  
12 - you know, he would assist around with whatever had to be done.  
13 He was at the university. I said that.

14 Q. Now, in November 1994 your NPFL subordinates killed over  
09:38:55 15 100 civilians in a place in Bong County called Foloblai, yes?

16 A. I know of no place in Bong county called Foloblai, no.

17 Q. You know of a place called F-0-L-0-B-L-A-I in Bong County?

18 A. I have no idea of that place in Bong county. I lived in  
19 Bong County for many years and that probably missed me. No, I  
09:39:16 20 don't, counsel.

21 Q. Perhaps spelled F-0-L-0-B-L-A-H?

22 A. It still doesn't ring a bell, counsel.

23 Q. Now, these hundred civilians in this location in Bong  
24 County, they were killed by subordinates under the command of Joe  
09:39:35 25 Tuah. That's correct, is it not, Mr Taylor?

26 A. That is totally incorrect.

27 Q. During the time of the NPFL, your NPFL subordinates engaged  
28 in acts of cannibalism, did they not, Mr Taylor?

29 A. No, not to my knowledge. I am not - I don't know of any

1 subordinate of mine that engaged in cannibalism. I do know, in  
2 helping the Court, that some parts of Liberia you do have  
3 cannibalism, even today. But I know of no individual. If  
4 anybody had been brought to my attention as being a cannibal  
09:40:15 5 during that time, he would have in fact first of all had to tell  
6 me how he got somebody killed to cannibalise, and he or she would  
7 have been dealt with. So that is totally, totally false.

8 Q. Your Special Forces' eyes and ears would have told you  
9 about such acts, would they not, Mr Taylor?

09:40:34 10 A. Well, to a great extent such information of that nature,  
11 which is actually murder, I would hope that they would. Even if  
12 it did not come directly to my attention, it would have been  
13 dealt with within the framework that we had set up of courts and  
14 military tribunals. I mean, it did not necessarily have to reach  
09:41:00 15 to me, but the system was set up in a way that that person or  
16 persons would have been handled.

17 Q. Now, Mr Taylor, these killings of civilians who were  
18 suspected of supporting ULIMO and LPC, these killings that were  
19 carried out by your subordinates after the attack on your  
09:41:19 20 headquarters in Gbarnga, those killings were carried out on your  
21 instruction. Isn't that correct, Mr Taylor?

22 A. I think - that is not correct. I think you very well know  
23 that when Gbarnga was attacked, I was even out of the country  
24 without access to even radio at Akosombo in Ghana. So all these  
09:41:40 25 stories that have come out from your undertaking are totally  
26 without foundation, counsel. Totally, totally without  
27 foundation.

28 Q. Mr Taylor, when did you return from that conference?

29 A. I returned from that conference about five, six days later.

1 Q. When would that have been in September?

2 A. Well, I don't exactly remember the date. You brought the  
3 argument, so - but I did return some several days later. We did  
4 not stop the conference after Gbarnga was attacked. I remained  
09:42:11 5 at the conference and ended the conference and signed all of the  
6 agreements. If you look at the Akosombo agreements, I signed  
7 them. So I remained there several days and I finally got back  
8 into Liberia some five, six days later.

9 Q. Six days after the conference ended - five or six days?

09:42:25 10 A. I would say about that, yes.

11 Q. Indeed, Mr Taylor, the NPFL killings of civilians in  
12 different parts of Liberia actually strengthened support for the  
13 ULIMO and LPC factions. Isn't that correct?

14 A. I would disagree, no. I would disagree. If that was the  
09:42:47 15 case, I think it would have shown even during the election.  
16 These are people that all participated. The groups that you call  
17 converted into political parties, that won less than 10 per cent  
18 of the votes. That should translate into some votes. That is  
19 totally, totally incorrect, counsel.

09:43:06 20 Q. Mr Taylor, in a very odd sort of way it did translate into  
21 votes, didn't it? Because the people who voted for you certainly  
22 voted voluntarily. They chose you voluntarily, and they chose  
23 you because they knew if you didn't win, you would return to the  
24 same sort of conduct you had engaged in throughout the war.

09:43:27 25 That's correct, isn't it, Mr Taylor?

26 A. That's totally incorrect. You see, that is the - I heard -  
27 I've heard that notion that you mentioned here several times, and  
28 that is without foundation. Because the fact of the matter is  
29 the - those elections were held by the international community,

1 and you and I have talked before this Court about the numbers of  
2 individuals that were there where there was supposed to be some  
3 18,000 that did not - apparently we have some agreement here -  
4 that did not get up to the level of 18,000. The participation of  
09:44:05 5 the international community in Liberia, at that particular time  
6 no one can make a valid argument that people in Liberia were  
7 scared that: Oh, Taylor would return to this, so we must vote  
8 for him. That's total nonsense. You know that, and that's been  
9 the notion used by individuals that lost. But that is totally  
09:44:27 10 incorrect, counsel. Totally incorrect.

11 Q. And indeed, these people who voted for you were basically  
12 voting a peace referendum, were they not, Mr Taylor?

13 A. I would disagree. I would disagree.

14 Q. Knowing that if you lost, you would throw Liberia back into  
09:44:43 15 this vicious civil conflict? That's the reality of it,  
16 Mr Taylor?

17 A. I would disagree. Maybe a little later on we will get to  
18 know. By the time the elections were held in Liberia, the NPFL  
19 was occupying principally two counties, Nimba and Bong. Grand  
09:45:03 20 Bassa, Maryland, the entire southeast of Liberia was being  
21 occupied by the LPC. The entire northeast/northwest was occupied  
22 by ULIMO-J and K. By the time of the elections in Liberia, the  
23 National Patriotic Front - and that can be proven - was in charge  
24 of only two counties. So that notion is totally wrong. That is  
09:45:28 25 totally incorrect, and that can be proven.

26 Q. Now, Mr Taylor, during the NPFL times it was actually a  
27 brother of yours who was responsible for killings at Lofa bridge,  
28 Bong Mines, Sinoe areas of the Liberia. Isn't that correct?

29 A. A brother of mine?



1 Q. Yes.

2 A. Totally incorrect. What brother? So maybe if you were to  
3 bring the name before these judges, we will be able to know as to  
4 whether that is just a made-up question or not. What brother? I  
09:45:56 5 had no brother that participated in the war. So what brother are  
6 you referring to, counsel?

7 Q. Did you have a brother by the name of Nelson?

8 A. I had a brother by the name of Nelson Taylor that was never  
9 involved in combat, was not a soldier at all. From the beginning  
09:46:10 10 to the end of the war never participated. In fact, he was in the  
11 United States for most of the war. So whoever brought that  
12 argument, he was living in the state of Rhode Island and did not  
13 participate in the war. It's a total and unadulterated lie.

14 Q. Actually, Mr Taylor, what I said is your brother killed  
09:46:32 15 civilians. I didn't say he killed people in combat.

16 A. Well, he never. How could he kill civilians when he was  
17 not there.

18 Q. Indeed, Mr Taylor, your brother killed many civilians in  
19 those areas, isn't that correct?

09:46:44 20 A. No, that's incorrect, counsel. I just told you where he  
21 was most of the time and he came to Liberia only after there was  
22 a cessation of hostilities in the country. How could he kill  
23 people when he was in Rhode Island.

24 Q. And this large scale killing of people associated with your  
09:46:59 25 brother Nelson Taylor actually caused ULIMO to launch a  
26 resistance, isn't that correct?

27 A. Counsel, totally, totally incorrect.

28 Q. And, in doing this, they had the help of the people of the  
29 Lofa bridge and Bong Mines areas. That's correct, is it not,

1 Mr Taylor?

2 A. Totally incorrect. Totally. I think we have talked about  
3 that, where Nelson was, so for me your questions now are just  
4 without foundation and without even merits.

09:47:32 5 Q. Mr Taylor, indeed in Sinoe County your NPFL continued  
6 killing civilians there until the LPC came into existence. Isn't  
7 that correct?

8 A. Totally incorrect. I won, if you look at the percentages  
9 in Sinoe County, even though we were not occupying Sinoe during  
09:47:50 10 the elections you will see that I won closed to 75 per cent of  
11 the votes in Sinoe, when the LPC who remained in Sinoe won less  
12 than 12 per cent. The documents are all available. That's  
13 incorrect.

14 Q. Indeed the people in Sinoe had every reason to understand  
09:48:09 15 what would happen to them if you lost. Isn't that correct,  
16 Mr Taylor?

17 A. That is totally incorrect, because I was never there for  
18 them to think that way, counsel. No.

19 Q. Mr Taylor, do you consider cutting off someone's ear to be  
09:48:22 20 an amputation?

21 A. Of course. If you cut off somebody, that's a form of - I  
22 am not sure whether you call that amputation. I know  
23 it's - well, we are getting into definition of amputation. Well,  
24 it's a form of amputation, mutilation. I would leave that for  
09:48:48 25 the medical people, but cutting off is a form of amputation.

26 Q. And indeed your subordinates were responsible for cutting  
27 off the ears of civilian. Isn't that correct?

28 A. To the best of my knowledge I would say no, but if anybody  
29 did - I cannot say categorically here before these judges that it

1 probably never happened in NPFL area. The only thing I can  
2 guarantee to these judges and anybody else, if anybody cut  
3 anybody's ear off in the NPFL-held territory, he was held or she  
4 was held accountable for it. And I can guarantee that. That's  
09:49:23 5 why we had courts and I think the NPFL area in the wars in  
6 Africa, and even in Liberia, the NPFL is the only organisation  
7 that fought a war that I know of that can state and can verify  
8 that there were court systems set up during the war, both  
9 civilian and military courts that held people accountable. And  
09:49:46 10 that was not the case with any other organisation in Liberia. So  
11 I cannot tell these judges that there could not have been ear  
12 cutting off or that maybe civilians would do it to another  
13 person. But if it happened, you were accountable. That's my  
14 answer.

09:50:01 15 Q. Actually, Mr Taylor, it was your subordinate John T  
16 Richardson and your subordinate Cocoo Dennis who were involved  
17 in cutting off the ears of these people. Isn't that correct?  
18 A. That is totally incorrect. And, you know, John Richardson  
19 would never ever do anything like that. Ever. John Richardson  
09:50:25 20 is not a soldier. He has never fought in any combat.

21 In fact, I think it would be very important for these  
22 judges to know, how did John Richardson become a part of the  
23 NPFL? John Richardson was a civilian in Monrovia. When the NPFL  
24 approached Monrovia, there was a terrible incident that happened,  
09:50:47 25 I mentioned to this Court, around the Old Road. Some civilians  
26 did get killed. John Richardson was outraged. He had not even  
27 joined the NPFL. And he risked his life and he drove all the way  
28 to me at the Coca-Cola factory and he said, "Look, I have never  
29 met you before, I don't know you, but this is unacceptable. Some

1 people just got killed on the Old Road. It's unacceptable."  
2 Those people that were responsible were arrested. Richardson  
3 would never do that. Anyone that said that is telling a blatant,  
4 blatant lie about John Richardson.

09:51:28 5 Coocoo Dennis was in the field, I doubt if he did anything  
6 like that. I can't fully account for it. John Richardson was  
7 never involved in firing one shot or giving any orders in the  
8 field. That's a blatant lie.

9 Q. Indeed, Mr Taylor, contrary to what you've told these  
09:51:47 10 judges, John T Richardson was a commander in your NPFL, wasn't  
11 he?

12 A. I don't know how a man - that man has a master's degree in  
13 civil engineering. Never fired a shot in combat. Never  
14 commanded anyone. He has a master's degree from one of your  
09:52:04 15 prestigious universities in the United States in civil  
16 engineering. He never commanded any combat forces during the  
17 entire Liberian civil war. That's a lie.

18 Q. And John T Richardson carried out your taskings throughout  
19 your NPFL area. Isn't that correct, Mr Taylor?

09:52:18 20 A. That's superfluous right now. That's totally incorrect.

21 Q. And he continued to carry those taskings during your  
22 presidency. Isn't that correct?

23 A. What task?

24 Q. Taskings you gave him.

25 A. Beg your pardon?

26 Q. Taskings you gave him during your presidency?

27 A. But what task are you referring to?

28 Q. Well, Mr Taylor, what positions did he hold in your  
29 government?

1 A. But when you just said task, counsel, I don't know what you  
2 mean. We have to be factual here.

3 Q. It's not a tough word, Mr Taylor. What positions did John  
4 T Richardson hold in your government?

09:52:44 5 A. No, no, no. You said tasks. Now what task are you asking  
6 me to respond to? I want to respond to your question. What  
7 task?

8 Q. Fine. What positions did Mr Richardson hold in your  
9 government?

09:52:53 10 A. Mr Richardson was Minister of Public Works.

11 Q. And he carried out taskings in that position, yes?

12 A. Within the ministry that task, yes.

13 Q. And then what other positions did he hold?

14 A. He was national security adviser in my government.

09:53:06 15 Q. And he carried out taskings in that position as well, yes,  
16 Mr Taylor?

17 A. Definitely. That is correct. Now you are being specific.  
18 But when you are being general I couldn't.

19 Q. Did he carry out any other taskings for you during your  
09:53:16 20 presidency, Mr Taylor?

21 A. Only those associated with his assignments, both first as  
22 Minister of Public Works and secondly as national security  
23 adviser.

24 Q. And does John T Richardson continue to carry out taskings  
09:53:31 25 for you today, Mr Taylor?

26 A. John Richardson, yes, not for me directly because since my  
27 incarceration I don't give instructions. But John Richardson, a  
28 good man, decided that they could not see this lie that is being  
29 promulgated by this OTP suffice, so they have gone out to try to

1 solicit information and assistance to help in my defence, which  
2 they have a right to do.

3 Q. And of course you worked with John Richardson to set that  
4 assistance up, didn't you, Mr Taylor? You worked with John  
09:54:10 5 Richardson to set up this assistance that he and others provide,  
6 yes, Mr Taylor?

7 A. No, no, no, that is - no, I have not worked with him to set  
8 it up. I was incarcerated when that happened. And, as a matter  
9 of fact, counsel, every action that I undertake - that I have  
09:54:27 10 undertaken during my incarceration is within the full view of  
11 this Court.

12 Q. Well, that's not true at all, is it, Mr Taylor? You have  
13 routinely misused your privileged access lines to talk with  
14 whomever you choose?

09:54:40 15 A. That is totally incorrect. That question has come before  
16 this Court; I have given you the answer. And since the Registrar  
17 without orders from this Court were able to provide some of this  
18 information to you about a subject that was strictly between the  
19 Registrar and my counsel, I think they did not do me any service  
09:55:03 20 because records that have been put together since my  
21 incarceration I think are not supposed to be turned over to you  
22 without an order from this Court, but you have got that totally  
23 wrong and it's without foundation.

24 The issue that was solved at that particular time, all the  
09:55:20 25 records are there and the Registrar has since written and made  
26 written corrections of most of the errors that they made and that  
27 they turned over to you, which they should not have. So you are  
28 totally incorrect.

29 Q. So your misuse of privileged access lines should remain a

1 hidden matter? Is that what you're saying, Mr Taylor?

2 A. That's not what I'm saying, counsel, and you know that. I  
3 am saying to you that the Registrar of this Court without a court  
4 order should not turn over any information relating to my custody  
09:55:48 5 without these judges' orders. That's what I'm saying to you.

6 Q. Mr Taylor, in fact you weren't even honest with these  
7 judges about your misuse of those lines, were you?

8 A. I have been totally earnest and if you have any information  
9 to the contrary, that's a part of your impeaching my evidence.

09:56:03 10 Q. Well, Mr Taylor, I think you have told these judges that  
11 this misuse of these privileged access lines began two or three  
12 months ago. Is that what you said?

13 A. No, no. Let's get something straight. This particular  
14 issue, you know, you and I will be going up and down, I don't  
09:56:22 15 think that would be proper. You ask me a specific question I  
16 will answer it, because this matter is still a matter I'm sure  
17 that could come before this Court about the Registrar of this  
18 Court acting where we believe inappropriately in giving you  
19 information relating to my custody without a court's order. So  
09:56:40 20 that matter is a matter that I think we will hear more about.

21 Q. So the Registry is bound by some sort of the privilege,  
22 Mr Taylor. Is that what you're telling the Court?

23 A. That's not what I am telling the Court. I am trying to say  
24 issues relating to my custody that the Prosecution doesn't have  
09:56:56 25 any special rights without a court order to give any information  
26 to the Prosecution regarding issues of my custody. That's the  
27 question.

28 Q. Now, Mr Taylor, your misuse of these privileged access  
29 lines was actually found out back in May of this year. That's

1 correct, isn't it, Mr Taylor?

2 A. I have never misused any privileged line and the Registrar  
3 knows that and I don't think you have any information to the  
4 contrary.

09:57:22 5 Q. It was discovered because when you supposedly were on a  
6 privileged access line with one of your attorneys, Mr Supuwood,  
7 mysteriously another Mr Supuwood called to talk to you. Isn't  
8 that correct, Mr Taylor?

9 PRESIDING JUDGE: Yes, Mr Anyah.

09:57:39 10 MR ANYAH: I hesitate to rise. I have an objection. On 16  
11 and 18 November these questions were covered with the witness.  
12 In particular this specific question regarding Counsellor  
13 Supuwood was raised with Mr Taylor and he provided a response.  
14 So my objection is it's been asked and it's been answered.

09:57:59 15 PRESIDING JUDGE: Yes, I will give you a chance to reply to  
16 that objection but I recall this matter having been dealt with  
17 earlier as well, Ms Hollis.

18 MS HOLLIS: It was asked, it was answered incorrectly and  
19 the Prosecution has a right to probe that. It was not answered  
09:58:13 20 honestly and we have a right to probe that.

21 PRESIDING JUDGE: Why didn't you do it at the time?

22 MS HOLLIS: We wanted to be sure of our information before  
23 we put things to the witness. And, besides, we would point  
24 thought that during our case the Defence routinely went over  
09:58:28 25 matters multiple times during their cross-examination.

26 PRESIDING JUDGE: All right. Well, we are not talking  
27 about getting even here. I am just thinking about wasting time.  
28 I thought all of this matter was dealt with before. If you have  
29 got something new to put to the witness, go ahead.



1 MS HOLLIS: Thank you, and that's what I am doing,

2 Mr President:

3 Q. So it was actually in May that you were caught, Mr Taylor,  
4 isn't that correct?

09:58:49 5 A. Well, I don't know if I was caught. What details are you  
6 asking me about? What is your question, counsel?

7 Q. Your misuse of the privileged telephone lines, you were  
8 actually caught doing that in May of this year. Isn't that  
9 correct, Mr Taylor?

09:59:04 10 A. There was no misuse of the privileged line that I was  
11 caught in May of doing.

12 Q. Mr Taylor, do you have two Defence attorneys with the name  
13 Supuwood?

14 A. And? You said two. Supuwood and who?

09:59:21 15 Q. Do you have two attorneys with the name Supuwood?

16 A. I have one attorney by the name of Supuwood.

17 Q. Correct. One attorney. Yet in May of this year, you were  
18 supposedly talking to Mr Supuwood, your attorney, when in fact  
19 mysteriously someone else named Supuwood also wanted to talk to  
09:59:44 20 you on a privileged access line.

21 A. Ms Hollis, in direct answer to your question --

22 PRESIDING JUDGE: Just a minute, Mr Taylor, there is  
23 another objection and I think you are going to object that this  
24 matter has been covered. Is that right, Mr Anyah?

09:59:56 25 MR ANYAH: Yes, Mr President.

26 PRESIDING JUDGE: And my recollection is these questions  
27 have been asked before, Ms Hollis. They are not new questions at  
28 all.

29 MS HOLLIS: But he is being evasive, Mr President. We have

1 a right to pursue that.

2 PRESIDING JUDGE: Move on, please, Ms Hollis.

3 MS HOLLIS: We would like to note our objection to that  
4 ruling just for the record.

10:00:22 5 PRESIDING JUDGE: We note your objection, but please move  
6 on.

7 MS HOLLIS: Thank you, Mr President:

8 Q. And indeed, Mr Taylor, when you were caught in May of this  
9 year, this had been ongoing since before May of this year.

10:00:35 10 That's correct, is it not, Mr Taylor?

11 A. That is totally incorrect.

12 Q. So, Mr Taylor, your comment that everything that you do is  
13 known is just not a correct comment, is it?

14 A. It's a correct comment.

10:00:46 15 Q. You can hide anything that you want to do behind your  
16 misuse of these privileged access telephones lines. Isn't that  
17 correct, Mr Taylor?

18 A. That is totally incorrect.

19 Q. Including such things as contact with John Richardson to  
10:01:00 20 determine how to spend the monies that his association is  
21 bringing in on your behalf. Isn't that correct, Mr Taylor?

22 A. That is totally incorrect. John Richardson has no money.

23 In fact, the organisation has no money, Ms Hollis. You know,  
24 it's this money business you people talk about, just like you

10:01:17 25 have talked about the billions that were before these judges and  
26 you have not brought. John Richardson and that organisation have  
27 absolutely no money. Mr Richardson works. He - in fact, the  
28 offices - do you know where the offices are right now? They are  
29 closed because there is no money. There is no money. That

1 office does not exist any more, and your investigation in  
2 Monrovia should be able to tell you. That office has been closed  
3 for months. There is no money. So all these ideas about money  
4 and instruction, where you all get these fantasies from, is just  
10:01:52 5 totally that.

6 There is no money. There is no organisation right now.  
7 It's closed. There is nothing. Mr Richardson runs a little  
8 woodworks place near Kakata that you should know of. Your FBI's  
9 are in Monrovia right now working for you, so you should know  
10:02:07 10 that organisation doesn't work. The offices have been closed for  
11 months. There is no money. So that's totally, totally  
12 incorrect.

13 Q. Mr Taylor, you know that the Special Court for Sierra Leone  
14 has no FBI. You know that, don't you?

10:02:20 15 A. The United States has. They are in Monrovia right now.  
16 You know what they are doing there, so let's go on.

17 Q. So the FBI is working for the Office of the Prosecutor, the  
18 Special Court; is that what you are telling the Court, Mr Taylor?

19 A. They gave you information, all of you. Why were you sent?  
10:02:35 20 You were sent down here to prosecute and they are helping you.

21 The whole Prosecution team from David Crane to Alan White, Chris  
22 Santora, you, Nick Koumjian, the whole American goon squad came  
23 down, so you know what I'm talking about.

24 Q. So you're calling us a goon squad, Mr Taylor?

10:02:52 25 A. But you came to prosecute me, didn't you?

26 Q. That makes us goons if we're going to prosecute you for  
27 your conduct, Mr Taylor?

28 A. Let's go on, Ms Counsel.

29 Q. Well, Mr Taylor, you're the one doing the name calling.

1 A. I just identified --

2 Q. You're telling this Court that all of us are part of the  
3 FBI? Is that what you are telling the Court?

10:03:09

4 A. No, no, no, no, no. That's not what I am saying. That's  
5 not what I said.

6 Q. Indeed, Mr Taylor, if anyone wants to point out your  
7 misconduct to you, somehow they become very suspect in your mind,  
8 don't they, Mr Taylor?

10:03:20

9 A. No, no. I think we are before this Court and these judges  
10 are going to look at the evidence. I am not that simple-minded  
11 to believe that, no. I believe that these fair judges are going  
12 to look at - this case was brought before this Court, and you  
13 have an obligation to prove your case beyond reasonable doubt,  
14 and I believe, God willing, these judges will see. So I am

10:03:44

15 waiting now for the third week, Ms Hollis, for you to bring the  
16 evidence of my crimes in Sierra Leone, and I am still waiting, so  
17 I don't - I don't think that simply.

18 Q. Mr Taylor, you sat in Court every day for the Prosecution  
19 case in chief, did you not?

10:03:56

20 A. Yes.

21 Q. You want to just disregard that evidence?

22 A. Which evidence?

23 Q. All the evidence you heard as you sat in court during our  
24 case in chief, Mr Taylor.

10:04:07

25 A. Well, if you call that evidence, I think I will have an  
26 opportunity to respond to these lies that you people put before  
27 this Court, people - evidence led before this Court when you knew  
28 very well - very well - for example, you've misled this Court,  
29 Ms Hollis, you know that. I will give you several examples.

1 Q. Mr Taylor, are you answering questions or are you making a  
2 speech?

3 A. I am answering your question. I said the evidence that you  
4 Ied over here were misleading to the court. That's what I am  
10:04:42 5 talking about. They were totally misleading, and I can give  
6 examples of how misleading they were.

7 Q. Mr Taylor, you spent months telling the Court what you  
8 thought the evidence said on direct examination; do you recall?

9 A. Yes, I do.

10:04:54 10 Q. Now, Mr Taylor, this association - and when you refer to  
11 the efforts of John T Richardson, you were talking about this  
12 Association for the Defence of Charles Taylor. That's correct,  
13 isn't it, Mr Taylor?

14 A. Well, I am talking about the efforts of John Richardson,  
10:05:12 15 yeah. You asked me about it. I heard about the association. I  
16 heard about it, yes.

17 Q. You did more than hear about it. You knew about it,  
18 Mr Taylor, didn't you?

19 A. I was not informed before it was put together. After it  
10:05:21 20 was put together, I read about it on the internet. My counsel  
21 provided me news, stories and different things. I read about it.  
22 But I had nothing to do with the putting together of it. It was  
23 done while I was incarcerated, and it was at the time I was still  
24 incarcerated in Freetown. And at that particular time up until  
10:05:46 25 now all conversations that are conducted by me, Ms Hollis, are  
26 recorded. So there is no way, if I am misleading these judges,  
27 that you could not get a court order to go and bring forward all  
28 of the conversations. So let's stop guessing and making up  
29 theors and hypothesis. It is so simple. If you, as the

1 Prosecutor prosecuting me, believe that I helped organise, aided,  
2 and/or otherwise abetted in putting together an organisation, it  
3 is simple to pull the telephone records. So let's stop  
4 filibustering here about these lies.

10:06:26 5 Q. Let's stop filibustering, Mr Taylor --

6 A. Yes, so --

7 Q. -- because you know very well that your privileged access  
8 line telephone conversations are not recorded, are they?

9 A. Ms Hollis, I have never --

10:06:35 10 Q. Mr Taylor, they are not recorded, are they?

11 A. They are not, and I have never abused that privilege. No.

12 Q. Now, Mr Taylor, did you use this Association for the  
13 Deference of Charles Taylor as a means for you to be able to  
14 transfer money to John Richardson for him to use --

10:06:49 15 A. From where?

16 Q. -- to help you?

17 A. Transfer it from where, Ms Hollis?

18 Q. Mr Taylor, did you do that?

19 A. No. You are talking about an impossibility. This is  
10:06:58 20 getting to the berserk right now. How do you transfer money in  
21 jail that people would not know? And if there were even - this  
22 Court has all the powers to review, to go through everything. No  
23 such thing happened, and you know it did not happen, Ms Hollis.

24 Q. Actually, Mr Taylor, the Prosecution doesn't know that at  
10:07:21 25 all.

26 A. But it's so - are you guessing?

27 Q. And did you use any of your associates who have benefitted  
28 financially from their dealings with you to use this association  
29 to transfer money?

1 A. I've had no association. No, to your question that have  
2 benefitted from their association with me. No, I have no such  
3 individuals.

4 Q. To make funds individuals to buy witnesses to come testify  
10:07:46 5 on your behalf, Mr Taylor.

6 A. No, that's a prosecution trick, that's not --

7 Q. No, Mr Taylor.

8 A. Oh, yes.

9 Q. You know that we have disclosed every disbursement on  
10:07:55 10 behalf of witnesses. You know that?

11 A. Well, we will see because --

12 Q. Not like you, Mr Taylor, who has no duty to disburse - to  
13 disclose --

14 A. We will see. Ms Hollis, we will soon see as to whether you  
10:08:08 15 have made full disclosure. We will see. Because we know of some  
16 payments that were made by this Prosecution to witnesses that did  
17 not testify for you that will come. We will see. We will see  
18 before these judges if you have made full disclosure. We will  
19 see --

10:08:21 20 Q. Witnesses who did not testify --

21 PRESIDING JUDGE: Mr Taylor - just let me say this,  
22 Ms Hollis, it might speed things up a little bit. We have no  
23 objection to you giving full answers to the questions you are  
24 asked as long as you answer the questions you were asked and do  
10:08:38 25 not digress.

26 THE WITNESS: Okay, your Honour.

27 PRESIDING JUDGE: Next question, Ms Hollis.

28 JUDGE SEBUTINDE: Also I think what might help is if the  
29 witness addressed the Bench in his answers. That might cut out

1 the - you know what I mean.

2 PRESIDING JUDGE: Go ahead, Ms Hollis.

3 MS HOLLIS: Thank you, Mr President:

10:09:14

4 Q. Now, Mr Taylor, the killings and other crimes against  
5 civilians that were committed by your subordinates continued  
6 after you became President; that's correct, is it not?

7 A. That is incorrect.

10:09:33

8 Q. And indeed, in September 1998 some 13 Krahn victims were  
9 killed on Schefflein Highway by your commander Mark Gwon; isn't  
10 that correct, Mr Taylor?

11 A. This is not to my knowledge, no. If it had happened, I am  
12 sure he would have been prosecuted. No.

13 Q. And this Mark Gwon was one of your commanders, wasn't he,  
14 Mr Taylor?

10:09:44

15 A. Well, are we talking about - Mark Gwon was not - you said  
16 1998. I am President of the Republic of Liberia.

17 Q. That's correct.

10:10:05

18 A. 1998. And the individual that you are talking about was a  
19 commander of the NPFL during the war. Now, when I become  
20 President of Liberia, the ministries and agencies, the Courts,  
21 the law is operating. There is no way I am aware of any such  
22 thing being committed by an individual called Mark Gwon and if it  
23 had happened, I suggest that it would have been handled by the  
24 Justice Department or somebody. I am not aware of that.

10:10:25

25 Q. And you remember Mark Gwon as a commander who was involved  
26 in an operation into Guinea in 2001, yes.

27 A. I don't remember Mark Gwon --

28 Q. January 2001?

29 A. I don't remember Mark Gwon as being that kind of operator,



1 no.

2 Q. Operation No Taking Sides?

3 A. No, I'm not aware of any such operation.

4 Q. Where he was one of the commanders of the operation as a  
10:10:52 5 brigadier general. You remember that, don't you, Mr Taylor?

6 A. No, I do not remember that. I know Mark Gwon, but I do not  
7 know any operation named - what did you say? Operation No --

8 Q. No Taking Sides.

9 A. No, I am not aware of that operation.

10:11:05 10 Q. Not aware of that?

11 A. No.

12 Q. Now, Mr Taylor, who was Mark Gwon during your NPFL days?

13 A. Mark Gwon, as far as I know, is an old AFL soldier that  
14 worked under the marine division under Melvin Sogbandi. He was  
10:11:23 15 not one of your overall commanders during the NPFL days.

16 Q. And he was from where in Liberia?

17 A. He is from Nimba County.

18 Q. And Mr Taylor, this operation No Taking Sides in January  
19 2001, you recall that actually the RUF participated with your  
10:11:50 20 Liberian forces in that operation, don't you, Mr Taylor?

21 A. No, not to my knowledge. That could not have happened.  
22 Not to my knowledge.

23 Q. What operations into Guinea during the conflict against the  
24 LURD - what operations into Guinea do you recall, Mr Taylor?

10:12:07 25 A. Well, not any operation in terms of specifics. What I do  
26 know is this: I am aware of hot pursuit missions into Guinea.  
27 Those forces that came that were repelled were pursued into  
28 Guinea and back. That's - these are Standing Orders that were  
29 approved by me as commander-in-chief. Now, you talk about some

1 operation name you called. I am not aware of those, and there  
2 was no specific operation planned except hot pursuit operations  
3 into Guinea.

10:12:51 4 Q. So your testimony to the Court is that the only time your  
5 forces, joined or not joined by the RUF, went into Guinea was hot  
6 pursuit?

7 A. Not joined.

8 Q. And that was the only time they went into Guinea was in hot  
9 pursuit; that's your testimony to the Court?

10:13:05 10 A. My testimony to this Court - you are using "only". "Only"  
11 for me means one. My testimony to this Court is that there were  
12 operations that crossed into Guinea, but they were all hot  
13 pursuit operations. There was not one. I am not telling this  
14 Court that there was one. There could have been several, but  
10:13:25 15 they were all hot pursuits and I personally ordered the hot  
16 pursuits; no one else.

17 Q. Mr Taylor, you have told this Court about fighting in  
18 Monrovia in September 1998, your forces against the forces of  
19 Roosevelt Johnson. Do you recall?

10:13:41 20 A. Yes, I do.

21 Q. Now, in April 1999, persons who had been arrested and  
22 charged with treason were brought to trial. Do you remember  
23 that?

24 A. Yes, April 1999. Well, I will take your word for this one,  
10:13:59 25 counsel. I don't remember the exact month, but I know they were  
26 brought to trial sometime later, yes.

27 Q. And some of these persons who had been arrested and  
28 detained by your subordinates had been severely beaten following  
29 their arrest. Isn't that correct, Mr Taylor?

1 A. That is not with my knowledge, no. I don't know. I doubt  
2 it very much.

3 Q. And at least two of these persons had suffered broken  
4 limbs. Isn't that correct, Mr Taylor?

10:14:25 5 A. Not to my knowledge. I doubt that very much.

6 Q. This type of misconduct would have been brought to your  
7 attention, would it not, Mr Taylor?

8 A. Well, it depends. Counsel, your Honours, you know, these -  
9 you know, again, it's better to address you. These - I am  
10:14:42 10 answering the counsel's question. These matters - I am President  
11 of Liberia, counsel. There is not everything that is brought to  
12 my attention, you know. There is not everything that is brought  
13 to my attention, and there are some of these things that could  
14 very well be right. But not everything is brought - I am not a

10:15:01 15 minister or director, your Honours. So, I mean, it was not  
16 brought to my attention, counsel, if it happened. I know they  
17 were treated fairly, they were judged, and I can remember I  
18 released most of them. Bai Gbala was released and others that  
19 are still good friends of mine. So I'm not aware of these, and I  
10:15:20 20 am not denying that in the heat of combat and arresting people,  
21 it happens everywhere. Professional armies do these. So I  
22 personally as President don't get to know every little thing  
23 happens out there. So it could very well have happened. It was  
24 not brought to my attention.

10:15:40 25 Q. You were not given briefings when abuse of people in  
26 detention occurred?

27 A. Well, you know, no. I would say that Abu Ghraib - there  
28 were abuses in Abu Ghraib. Did George Bush get to know  
29 immediately? Look, some of these things are not brought to the

1 President's attention, as simple as that.

2 Q. So you had no knowledge of this --

3 A. I said that --

4 Q. -- is that what you are telling the Court?

10:15:59 5 A. -- as simple as that. I said that. That's what I said to  
6 you. I have answered that question. I had no knowledge of that,  
7 and I am telling these judges I do not say that these things -  
8 some of these things didn't happen. It was not brought to any  
9 attention. I have answered that.

10:16:13 10 Q. Mr Taylor, August of 1999 some 25 people were massacred in  
11 Lofa County by your militiamen. That's correct, is it not,  
12 Mr Taylor?

13 A. How would - I had no militiamen in 1999. The Government of  
14 Liberia in 1999 did not have any militiamen and no such thing  
10:16:37 15 happened. In 1999 I am not aware of any militiamen doing that,  
16 no.

17 Q. In January of 2000 persons subordinate to you massacred  
18 some 26 unarmed civilians in Bomi County. Isn't that correct,  
19 Mr Taylor?

10:16:59 20 A. That's my home county and no. I am from Bomi.

21 Q. And these perpetrators, subordinates of yours, killed these  
22 people because they accused them of supporting the LURD. That's  
23 correct, isn't it, Mr Taylor?

24 A. That's totally incorrect.

10:17:15 25 Q. Indeed these subordinates of yours were acting on the  
26 orders of Melvin Sogbandi when that happened. Isn't that  
27 correct?

28 A. No. Counsel, whoever gave you this information is wrong.  
29 No, that's - in fact Melvin Sogbandi as you very well asked me,

1 counsel, was commanding the Marine division 200 miles away from  
2 Bomi. The commander of Bomi at the time was Siafa Norman, from  
3 to Bomi, a Gola man of my tribe, and most of the commanders in  
4 Bomi were Gola people from there to protect that particular  
10:17:56 5 region. So no, counsel, whoever gave you that information  
6 mislead you. No, that's not true.

7 Q. And, Mr Taylor, during the year 2000 at Gbatata over a  
8 hundred people were executed there by perpetrators under the  
9 command of your son. Isn't that correct?

10:18:13 10 A. No, that's totally incorrect. And - but that's not  
11 correct. As President, I heard about people being killed at  
12 Gbatata and different things. We sent there, we investigated, we  
13 got NGOs to go there. That's totally false. If a hundred people  
14 are massacred at a place like that there would be evidence,  
10:18:41 15 counsel, of - even if it's 50 years, there would be evidence of  
16 those corpses and the corpses of the people. That's not true.  
17 That's totally false.

18 Q. Some of these people who were executed there included  
19 persons held as suspected dissidents. Isn't that correct,  
20 Mr Taylor?

21 A. Totally incorrect. Totally incorrect. No, even prisoners  
22 of war that were caught by the NPFL were kept in Monrovia and all  
23 of them duly released before I left office. We did not mistreat  
24 individuals. Even POWs that we arrested in combat. That's  
10:19:13 25 totally incorrect, counsel.

26 Q. And these prisoners of war that were kept in Monrovia, that  
27 was during what time period?

28 A. Throughout the war. From the - up until I left in 2003 and  
29 what I did was, because I did not want any error, I released all

1 POWs, LURD, MODEL, I released them to their families. That was  
2 the last act that I did in Liberia before I left. So we did not  
3 abuse POWs, no, no.

10:19:50 4 Q. Mr Taylor, March 2001, some 14 persons were killed in  
5 Lofa County on the orders of your subordinate Momo Dgi ba,  
6 correct?

7 A. No, not to my knowledge. Momo Dgi ba could have not done  
8 that. Momo Dgi ba, no, not to my knowledge.

10:20:07 9 Q. Now, Momo Dgi ba was never prosecuted for anything by you,  
10 was he, Mr Taylor?

11 A. Because such alleged crimes were never probably reported or  
12 brought up. If not he would have been prosecuted. Momo Dgi ba  
13 was not above the law. We had prosecuted and executed top  
14 trained generals in the NPFL and other places. So as President  
10:20:28 15 of Liberia, if you recall, counsel, my brother-in-law committed  
16 murder that you have mentioned to this Court. He was tried in  
17 the courts and he was imprisoned and you mentioned that to this  
18 Court. Mr Cassell, my brother-in-law, who married my younger  
19 sister. I did not intervene. That's not my style, counsel. No,  
10:20:50 20 I would have let the law takes its course. And you mentioned  
21 that. So no, I disagree, no.

22 Q. Now, Mr Taylor, in February 2002 in Tubmanburg, men accused  
23 of being dissidents were tortured by your ATU. Isn't that  
24 correct?

10:21:07 25 A. No, not to my knowledge, counsel. The ATU were not  
26 fighting in Bomi during the war. The ATU most of the war were  
27 involved in VIP protection in the city of Monrovia. Combat of  
28 the ATU in Bomi? No. In fact, your ATU witness brought here  
29 would have said that. That's not true, counsel. That's not

1 true.

2 Q. Mr Taylor, we are not talking about combat. We are talking  
3 about the torture of people who were accused of being dissidents?

10:21:37

4 A. They were just not in the area, no. They were just not  
5 there.

6 Q. So you are telling the Court you are not aware that one of  
7 these men died?

10:21:51

8 A. I am totally unaware of such because the ATU were busy in  
9 Monrovia taking care of embassies, NGOs and different things and  
10 would not have been involved in any such action when they were -  
11 the army division was in Bomi at the time under the command of  
12 General Norman and that would not have happened.

13 Q. Mr Taylor, how far is Tubmanburg from Monrovia?

10:22:16

14 A. Counsel, I would say about 60 to 75 miles or more, I would  
15 say, I am approximating.

16 Q. So, Mr Taylor, then according to you you would not have  
17 known that one of these dissidents had his scrotum beaten with a  
18 hammer by the ATU? You wouldn't have know that?

10:22:35

19 A. Of course not. I mean that's something that would have  
20 come to me. But anyway that's something that I would bet that  
21 the ATU would not be involved in. And I am sure that with the  
22 number of investigations that have been conducted, the ATU was a  
23 professional group. They would not have done that. I doubt very  
24 much that they would even do that for it to be brought to me. I  
25 doubt it very much.

10:22:59

26 Q. Mr Taylor, in July 2002 your subordinates massacred some  
27 175 people at the Mahir River bridge in Tubmanburg. Isn't that  
28 correct?

29 A. No, not to my knowledge. 150 people?

1 Q. 175.

2 A. 175 people massacred in Tubmanburg, no. In 2002, you said?

3 Q. Yes.

4 A. No.

10:23:26 5 Q. And that was actually on the orders of Benjamin Yeaten,  
6 wasn't it, Mr Taylor?

7 A. That's totally, totally --

8 Q. The victims were massacred because they were accused of  
9 being LURD sympathisers? Isn't that correct, Mr Taylor?

10:23:38 10 A. That is totally, totally, totally incorrect, counsel.

11 JUDGE SEBUTINDE: Sorry, Ms Hollis, what's the name of this  
12 river again?

13 MS HOLLIS: M-A-H-I-R river bridge, Tubmanburg:

14 Q. You knew about that, Mr Taylor?

10:23:59 15 A. Definitely not. It's like saying somebody came into my  
16 house and killed my children and I wouldn't know. I say I am  
17 from Bomi.

18 Q. So you would have known about that?

19 A. I am from Bomi. If anything of such had happened, I - at  
10:24:13 20 least some family or somebody would have reached. Even if the  
21 security didn't report it, some family member or something  
22 because I am Gola from that region and Bomi is one of the  
23 smallest counties, so all of that nonsense - and mind you, it  
24 would have come out. I mean it's impossible that now I am  
10:24:33 25 hearing all these things from you that did not come out then or  
26 under the administration of Gyude Bryant. I don't know what you  
27 are talking about at all. I have no idea.

28 Q. Now, Benjamin Yeaten was never tried for massacres in Bomi  
29 County, was he?



1 A. How do you get charged? No. How do you get charged for a  
2 crime that nobody brings up, nobody knows about? Only you appear  
3 to know about this, no.

10:25:13 4 Q. Mr Taylor, July 2003, over 70 of your former combatants who  
5 had been wounded were massacred on the instructions of Benjamin  
6 Yeaten. That's correct, is it not, Mr Taylor?

7 A. Now that's totally incorrect and I know where the question  
8 is coming from, but you know it's incorrect. That has been  
9 contested here about two different versions that never happened,  
10 never happened. That's incorrect. No.

11 Q. These people were moved on the pretext of being paid and  
12 then they were massacred. That's correct, is it not, Mr Taylor?

13 A. Totally, totally incorrect and these are the people that  
14 you are referring to that are supposed to be massacred at  
10:25:47 15 Schefflein. You know, we went through, that's incorrect.

16 Q. So you say that didn't happen?

17 A. Never happened. And it's been proven here. We can refer  
18 to the transcripts of two different individuals that - one came  
19 and said and the other one said it never happened. Your  
10:26:04 20 witnesses. I remember that. That never happened. Never  
21 happened. And I remember it because it was around one witness  
22 said Schefflein. It never happened.

23 Q. Mr Taylor, when you told these judges that the atrocities  
24 against civilians in Sierra Leone - that these atrocities were  
10:26:23 25 surprising to you, you weren't being truthful with these judges  
26 were you?

27 A. I was very, very, very truthful to these judges.  
28 Extraordinarily truthful to these judges, because I was speaking  
29 from the standpoint that not that terrible things didn't happen

1 in Liberia, but there is a big difference in Liberia than what  
2 happened in Sierra Leone. There were no amputations of hands and  
3 limbs in Liberia and I have said to these judges that those  
4 terrible things that happened in Liberia, murder occurred, rape  
10:26:57 5 occurred, we dealt with them, we kept courts open during the war  
6 and we dealt with them. I would be lying to these judges if I  
7 said terrible things didn't happen too in Liberia. In these wars  
8 sometimes you can't stop them, but what I did, and the Liberian  
9 people know, is that people were held accountable when they were  
10:27:16 10 brought forward. That I can say without stupor.

11 Q. And, Mr Taylor, these perpetrators of these crimes in  
12 Sierra Leone, including your NPFL, understood that this was the  
13 way you conduct yourselves toward civilians. They understood  
14 that, didn't they, Mr Taylor?

10:27:33 15 A. No. Your Honours, I have almost three questions in that  
16 one question. I don't know which one to answer, because I --  
17 PRESIDING JUDGE: I think you will have to break that up.  
18 There is more than one question in that.

19 MS HOLLIS:

10:27:45 20 Q. Mr Taylor, you are aware that the perpetrators in Sierra  
21 Leone of these crimes against civilians, they understood that  
22 this was the way to conduct themselves with civilians. Isn't  
23 that right, Mr Taylor?

24 A. I disagree. I mean, that type of hypothetical, no. I  
10:28:04 25 cannot decide psychologically in somebody's head in other country  
26 whether they agreed that that was the proper way of dealing. I  
27 disagree - even if that was the case, I disagree with that  
28 assumption.

29 Q. These perpetrators included your NPFL, did they not,

1 Mr Taylor?

2 A. Not one NPFL personnel of mine, an NPFL that I know of was  
3 sent to Sierra Leone. Liberians went to Sierra Leone, but they  
4 were not NPFL, except those that I sent there between August and  
10:28:36 5 May 1991 to 1992. Other than that, no, I would say no.

6 Q. And indeed, Mr Taylor, the atrocities against civilians in  
7 Sierra Leone were simply a continuation of business as usual, the  
8 way you treated civilians in Liberia. Isn't that correct,  
9 Mr Taylor?

10:28:54 10 A. No, that is incorrect. I think the records for this Court  
11 speaks for itself about actions that were taken by me against  
12 military people that misbehaved in Liberia. This Court has seen  
13 on the Special Forces list close to eight, 10 persons, top  
14 generals, that were executed, not counting the other courts of  
10:29:18 15 imprisonment and other things. I did not tolerate in the NPFL  
16 area any such situation. If and when it was brought, the whole  
17 Liberian nation would tell this Court that Mr Taylor punished  
18 people that committed crimes. No, I disagree with you.

19 Q. Mr Taylor, you not only tolerated it, you often ordered it.  
10:29:41 20 Isn't that correct?

21 A. Nonsense.

22 Q. And the so-called trials for perpetrators were simply a way  
23 for you to have cover. Isn't that correct, Mr Taylor?

24 A. No. Counsel, that's not possible. No, I would say no to  
10:30:00 25 you. You know, we can't have it both ways. On the one hand  
26 impunity, Taylor doesn't punish for impunity. Then on the other  
27 hand when you punish it's only a cover. We can't have it that  
28 way. I did what I had to do, what I felt was right at the time  
29 under very tough situations. And what I cannot deny to the world

1 is that, yes, terrible things happened in Liberia, but we  
2 punished people to the point of execution, imprisonment. All I  
3 did during the war, not even after, during the combat, we did  
4 that. So I would say no, you are wrong.

10:30:35 5 Q. And you have told the judges that before but in fact,  
6 Mr Taylor, the people that you executed were the people you  
7 thought were a threat to your power and control. That's the  
8 truth of it, isn't it?

9 A. You have asked me that question before and I have answered  
10:30:48 10 it. I said have no. You asked me that a few days ago and I said  
11 no.

12 Q. Mr Taylor, you've talked about your knowledge of the UCMJ  
13 and we've talked about that. Of course you understand,  
14 Mr Taylor, that the UCMJ came into being because, without a  
10:31:03 15 system that included independent review, the top commander simply  
16 told his subordinates what he wanted done and then they carried  
17 it out?

18 A. Well, I tell something --

19 Q. Isn't that right, Mr Taylor?

10:31:18 20 A. I'll tell you something, counsel: You're a colonel. I  
21 can't argue with - I have told these judges that trials were  
22 conducted using the Uniform Code of Military Justice. I was not  
23 one of those judges that sat on that. I must confess,  
24 your Honours, I am not an expert in the UCMJ. I used it because  
10:31:38 25 that was the trial system. I was not one of the participants.  
26 It was done by people that felt that they knew what. So I would  
27 have to rely on you, counsel, to help with the expertise on that.  
28 You are a retired colonel. You know better than I. I am not  
29 going to challenge you on this.

1           PRESIDING JUDGE: The question was that the system was that  
2 the top commanders simply told his subordinates what he wanted  
3 done and they carried it out. What's your answer to that?

4           THE WITNESS: I don't know. I am not an expert here. I am  
10:32:14 5 not an expert on the --

6           MS HOLLIS:

7 Q. Mr Taylor, you were the top commander. You told these  
8 people what to do and they carried it out; isn't that correct?

9 A. No, that is not correct. In terms of the top commander,  
10:32:24 10 like I say, I am not an expert. I was the commander-in-chief,  
11 but there were other commanders over - if that is the case, does  
12 the President of the United States order, as the top commander,  
13 what happens at the military tribunal? If that is so, then I  
14 have to assume that's his responsibility. That was not the case  
10:32:42 15 with me.

16 Q. That's what you are telling the judges, Mr Taylor?

17 A. Oh, yes. I am saying that that was not the case with me.

18           MS HOLLIS: Mr President, we would again note for the  
19 record that there are documents that we would have used in this  
10:32:57 20 area of cross-examination, materials that are the subject of the  
21 formal submissions.

22           Mr Taylor, let's take a look at some of the documents that  
23 your counsel has marked for identification.

24 A. Okay, counsel.

10:33:16 25 Q. And if we could look at MFI-4, that is DCT-108. That was  
26 tab 5 in the binder for week 30. Now, Mr Taylor, this document  
27 in the New African, "With Taylor Inside Liberia", October 1992,  
28 and it includes an interview conducted with you by a Baffour  
29 Ankomah, yes?

1 A. That is correct. I'm looking at it.

2 Q. And he also travelled about in different areas in Liberia  
3 for a month; isn't that correct?

4 A. I don't know how long he stayed there, but he did travel.

10:34:49 5 Q. Now, if we look under the title "With Taylor Inside  
6 Liberia", this would be on the first page of text. I think it  
7 says page 11 at the bottom. It says, "Baffour Ankomah spent a  
8 month behind the lines with Charles Taylor and his forces in  
9 Liberia."

10:35:09 10 A. I don't have a problem with that, yes.

11 Q. Yes?

12 A. Yes.

13 Q. And, Mr Taylor, if we look at this first page, page 11,  
14 left-hand column, beginning with the third paragraph up from the  
10:35:30 15 bottom "Doe's soldiers". You see that, Mr Taylor?

16 A. Yes, I do.

17 Q. "Doe's soldiers, badly humiliated, were in retreat and were  
18 burning whole villages and towns in Nimba County as they fled to  
19 Monrovia (the capital). Anything Gio or Mano that moved was fair  
10:35:53 20 game.

21 Taylor's troops were in hot pursuit. And seeing the  
22 atrocities committed against their tribespeople by Doe's  
23 soldiers, they vented their spleen on Krahn and Mandingo  
24 civilians in a grotesque campaign of human destruction.

10:36:10 25 Human beings were worth less than chicken those days. I  
26 was told that some Krahn pregnant women had their stomachs slit  
27 open in front of their husbands and their babies thrown into the  
28 air and allowed to fall to their deaths in a sickening show of  
29 human insensitivity."

1 Similar to the testimony you heard in this Court by Joseph  
2 Marzah; isn't that correct, Mr Taylor?

3 A. Yes.

10:36:45

4 Q. "Small boy soldiers, (some as young as nine and ten years  
5 old), would put a knife to the throat of some elderly Krahn man  
6 and tell him: 'Popee (papa) don't worry, it won't hurt you.' In  
7 another minute his head would not be his."

10:37:12

8 So Mr Ankomah was also aware of the NPFL use of boy  
9 soldiers, some of young as nine and ten years of age; isn't that  
10 correct, Mr Taylor?

10:37:36

11 A. Well, I would say incorrectly so. Again, we have talked  
12 about individuals, and it depends on where this is taking place.  
13 I don't dispute that there were young individuals that were with  
14 their brothers and different things that their brothers could  
15 have had do this. I mean, I am not aware of this, but he had  
16 fair access to moving around. It depends on where he took these  
17 statements from. I really don't - I don't have a quarrel with  
18 the fact that bad things happened. I don't have a quarrel with  
19 that.

10:37:54

20 Q. And he goes on:

21 "Some teenage soldiers, both boys and girls, told me in  
22 separate interviews that they just wanted to seek revenge for the  
23 atrocities committed against their parents, whose dismembered  
24 bodies were left to rot in the open by Doe's soldiers.

10:38:11

25 One boy, who is now 14 years old, told me in a disarmament  
26 camp at Kwedin near Tappita (Nimba County): 'I returned to our  
27 village from school in Monrovia to find I had no mother, no  
28 father.

29 They had been slaughtered like goats by Doe's men. What

1 did you want me to do? Sit down and cry? I joined  
2 President Taylor's army and sought revenge.' "

3 So here he is seeing and being told of Krahn and Mandingo  
4 being targeted and of people acting out of revenge, yes,

10:38:50 5 Mr Taylor?

6 A. Yes, we have that. We are talking about Gios and Manos.  
7 This was a civil war. It was with a tribal ethnic war and like I  
8 said, terrible things happened. And some of these very  
9 individuals, as we found out, I had to bring this thing under

10:39:08 10 control. Now, it depends. This is - I don't know when this  
11 interview is done later, but by the time I get in Liberia in  
12 April 1990, I have had to really put my foot down. So I am not  
13 going to sit before the world and say terrible things didn't  
14 happen in Liberia. I get to Liberia in April, and there are some

10:39:31 15 terrible things going on. That's when I have to really put down  
16 tribunals and begin to deal with individuals. I don't have any  
17 quarrel with this. Anybody that says terrible things didn't  
18 happen during the war, they would be lying.

19 Q. This journalist was here during 1992, Mr Taylor. You see  
10:39:46 20 that, yes?

21 A. Yes, but he is talking about what happened before. This is  
22 the first time that somebody enters.

23 Q. Now, Mr Taylor, he goes on: "More of such orphans (now put  
24 together in a 'Small Boys Unit') joined Taylor's forces."

10:40:05 25 So these orphans joined your forces in a Small Boys Unit?

26 A. No.

27 Q. Yes, Mr Taylor?

28 A. No. Listen - listen - listen. If we want to get this  
29 straight - we have to get it straight.



1 Q. This is what he is reporting, isn't it, Mr Taylor?

2 A. Well, he is reporting this. We --

3 Q. So you disagree?

4 A. Well, I disagree in the way that he puts it. Everybody  
10:40:29 5 that is fighting during that particular time is a part of Taylor  
6 forces. This is the way they do it, okay? I get in Liberia and  
7 again we are talking about what? During Doe's retreat in early  
8 1990. So he is reporting some two years later about what  
9 happened in early 1990, okay? And I do not dispute that terrible  
10:40:54 10 things happened in early 1990. By the time I get into the  
11 country we begin to deal with it. It this is the point I am  
12 making.

13 Q. Mr Taylor, if we look at this again, he says:

14 "More of such orphans (now put together in a 'Small Boys  
10:41:10 15 Unit') joined Taylor's forces. Not only them. Villagers (men,  
16 women, boys and girls) who saw their lives threatened by Doe's  
17 retreating soldiers hopped over to Taylor's side. They were  
18 given some few weeks training before joining the war. Some,  
19 though, may have been forced into Taylor's army, but they no  
10:41:32 20 longer admit it."

21 So he is talk about people being forced into your army,  
22 yes, Mr Taylor?

23 A. No, that's one that - that's not true. But he also says  
24 that they no longer - why would people be forced and neither -  
10:41:43 25 but they no longer admit it? I disagree. I disagree with him.

26 PRESIDING JUDGE: Yes, Mr Anyah.

27 MR ANYAH: Mr President, I apologise for interrupting, but  
28 for those of us wearing the headsets, there appears to be a noise  
29 that's quite distracting. I think it is the someone typing on a

1 keyboard, perhaps quite close to the microphones where opposing  
2 counsel is speaking from, and it's quite distracting and perhaps  
3 that could be borne in mind.

4 PRESIDING JUDGE: Thank you, Mr Anyah. It looks as though  
10:42:20 5 Mr Santora is admitting to being the --

6 MS HOLLIS: Is he the culprit?

7 PRESIDING JUDGE: Anyway, that's noted. I am sure it will  
8 improve from now on.

9 MR ANYAH: Thank you, Mr President.

10:42:31 10 MS HOLLIS: Thank you for that, and Mr Santora will desist:  
11 Q. Now, Mr Taylor, if we look at page 12 of this article, and  
12 if we look at the first full paragraph in the left-hand column  
13 beginning with "After the final fall". Do you see that,  
14 Mr Taylor?

10:43:03 15 A. Yes. Yes, I do.

16 Q. "After the final fall of Roberts International Airport, the  
17 Americans asked Doe to leave. He wouldn't. Taylor's troops then  
18 encircled Monrovia and actually sat on the campus of the  
19 University of Liberia for more than two months. There was just a  
10:43:22 20 street dividing them from Doe's Executive Mansion. 'We could  
21 have taken the mansion any moment, but we had a promise to keep',  
22 Taylor told me."

23 And then if we go down. Skip the next paragraph and go to  
24 the paragraph "Taylor now regrets". Do you see that, Mr Taylor?

10:43:45 25 A. Yes, I do.

26 Q. "Taylor now regrets taking Herman Cohen at his word. 'I  
27 made a terrible mistake, terrible mistake, very, very bad  
28 mistake. But my concern at the time was also to avoid massive  
29 loss of life had we launched a major artillery assault on

1 Monrovia. And if you check all the records, my soldiers never  
2 entered Monrovia proper. There was no fighting by our soldiers  
3 in Monrovia'."

10:44:18 4 Now, Mr Taylor when you said "Monrovia proper", what did  
5 you mean?

6 A. I am talking about the main city. We - the main city of  
7 Monrovia where the large, I would say influx, of civilians had  
8 set up. We were on the outskirts, suburban - what you would call  
9 the suburbs of Monrovia, but we did not enter Monrovia proper,  
10:44:44 10 the city.

11 Q. Now, Mr Taylor, if we look at the centre column and the  
12 first full paragraph beginning with:

13 "As I drove up and down the country for four weeks through  
14 the dense rainforest that covers the country from border to  
10:45:10 15 border, I began to understand why there was such carnage during  
16 the war.

17 The killing, however, was not limited to one side. All  
18 three factions that fought the war - President Doe's Armed Forces  
19 of Liberia (AFL), Taylor's National Patriotic Forces of Liberia  
10:45:30 20 (NPFL), and Prince Johnson's Interim National Patriotic Forces of  
21 Liberia (INPFL) all share a common guilt for the atrocities."

22 And that's correct?

23 A. To a great extent I would be fair and say yes. You know,  
24 like I said, I don't have any disagreement with that. The  
10:45:51 25 problem with civil wars, I would say, rests with impunity. And  
26 all I can say is that he is right. Doe forces killed Gios and  
27 Manos. And they were not just military people. I want these  
28 judges to know, it was not just military people with guns that  
29 carried out atrocities in Liberia during the civil war.

1 Civilians went after other civilians with cutlasses, with spears,  
2 with bow and arrows. They did all kinds of stuff.

3 I had to make sure - like I say, my faction is the only  
4 faction that is proven that of set up courts and court martials  
10:46:31 5 to deal with impunity. I would be the last person to say that  
6 terrible things didn't also happen in Liberia, but the NPFL has a  
7 record of dealing with individuals. There was no, so to speak,  
8 impunity. I don't have a problem with this. Yes, I think some  
9 terrible things did happen, but the leadership of the NPFL acted  
10:46:51 10 against impunity.

11 Q. Now, Mr Taylor, you indicated that your faction was the  
12 only faction that has proven to have set up courts and courts  
13 martial to deal with impunity. In fact, Mr Taylor, the findings  
14 were just the opposite to that, weren't they; that your faction  
10:47:12 15 did not impose controls over conduct?

16 A. What findings are you referring to?

17 Q. Well, what findings are you referring to, Mr Taylor?

18 A. I don't know. Well, I disagree. Let's me just cut it  
19 short. I don't want to argue. I disagree. Because we have seen  
10:47:26 20 before this Court of incidents of court martials and executions  
21 and punishments so I disagree with - I don't know what findings  
22 you are referring to. I disagree.

23 Q. Now, Mr Taylor, the atrocities that were talked about in  
24 this article committed by people who often were acting out of  
10:47:42 25 revenge, you chose these people because they wanted to avenge  
26 themselves for the crimes that had been committed against their  
27 families, their friends. Isn't that correct, Mr Taylor?

28 A. No, counsel. Quite the contrary, no. I did not.

29 Q. And you set them loose on the country with very little

1 training. Isn't that right, Mr Taylor?

2 A. That is totally - well, the Armed Forces of Liberia,  
3 counsel, was trained, trained by the --

10:48:12

4 Q. I am talking about the people you had in [overlapping  
5 speakers]?

10:48:29

6 A. No, that's what I am trying to say. No, that's not the  
7 case, your Honour. You asked several questions. You say I cut  
8 loose untrained people, okay, because of their anger against  
9 other people to carry out atrocities. So you compiled it so now  
10 I am trying to break it down. I am saying no to you because even  
11 the AFL that was US trained committed atrocities. So no one - I  
12 did not cut loose untrained people. These things that happened  
13 in the country were sometimes hundreds and hundreds of miles away  
14 from any location. When he talks here about the dense rainforest  
15 we are talking about a civil war in the country. The American  
16 civil war, there were atrocities in the south between the Yankees  
17 in the north. Atrocities happened.

10:48:53

10:49:11

18 What I have said to the world, and I stand by it, is that  
19 during the Liberian civil war the NPFL made sure to the best of  
20 my ability I dealt with impunity. The records are there.

10:49:32

21 Thousands of Liberians will come and say, "Yes, President Taylor  
22 had courts, they had tribunals, they tried people for rape, they  
23 tried them for murder." That I say. I don't deny that terrible  
24 things happened in Liberia. I did not order them, I did not  
25 condone them. That I can say. Without any fear I say that.

26 Q. Indeed, Mr Taylor, these crimes that your subordinates  
27 committed against civilians in Liberia achieved your purpose.  
28 Isn't that correct?

29 A. That's total nonsense, counsel.

1 Q. You allowed a very small force to take control over a much  
2 larger population. That's correct, is it not, Mr Taylor?

3 A. That's totally incorrect. You know that.

4 Q. Now, Mr Taylor, if we could look at another document that  
10:50:08 5 has been marked for identification, that would be MFI-192,  
6 DCT-265. That is found at tab 102 in binder 2 of 4 for week 33,  
7 MFI-192. That is the chapter of the book by Herman J Cohen, the  
8 chapter on Liberia?

9 A. That is correct.

10:51:10 10 Q. And if we could please look at page 147 of that exhibit.  
11 Under the caption "Enter ECOWAS and ECOMOG"?

12 A. Yes.

13 Q. The beginning of that first paragraph under that:

14 "By the first week of July 1990, the NPFL had cut off  
10:51:49 15 Monrovia, except by sea and the road northwest to Sierra Leone."

16 And then if we go to the next paragraph:

17 "In one of many telephone chats, I acknowledged to  
18 Charles Taylor that victory was in his grasp and suggested that  
19 it would be better for everyone if a battle for Monrovia could be  
10:52:12 20 avoided. I said the way to achieve that was to give the Krahn  
21 an overland escape route. If he agreed, then the road to Sierra  
22 Leone should be left open. Taylor inferred from our conversation  
23 that we expected an NPFL victory. He was thus conciliatory and  
24 promised to keep the road to Sierra Leone open. The NPFL  
10:52:40 25 nevertheless attacked Monrovia on 2 July for the first time, and  
26 on 5 July Taylor predicted Monrovia's fall within a few weeks.  
27 The escape route for the Krahn was never opened. As predicted,  
28 they defended Monrovia ferociously, as if their lives depended on  
29 it, which was the case."

1           So, Mr Taylor, when you told this Court that you refrained  
2 from attacking Monrovia, you weren't telling the Court the truth,  
3 were you?

4           A.     I told the Court the absolute truth and Herman Cohen is so  
10:53:19 5 wrong here, that's why we brought this document. You have told  
6 this Court when Operation Octopus occurred, which is in 1993.  
7 You know that. Herman Cohen knows very well - there were several  
8 things that he said in this particular thing that were totally  
9 untrue and subsequently after the publish of this book we told  
10:53:41 10 Herman Cohen that he had misled the world in a lot of the things  
11 that he said.

12           Now, Herman Cohen asked me not to attack Monrovia. I  
13 didn't. That's what I meant in the piece, your Honours, that  
14 just went through when I said I had a promise to keep. He asked  
10:53:56 15 me not to attack Monrovia. I didn't attack Monrovia. He asked  
16 me to open the road, I opened the road. And what happened? In  
17 1990, Doe was killed, okay. We did not attack Monrovia until  
18 Operation Octopus in 1993. You know that, counsel. So what  
19 Herman Cohen is talking about here, 2 July and different things,  
10:54:21 20 he is totally wrong. We have since dealt with Herman Cohen on  
21 this. Totally, totally wrong. That's what I meant in that piece  
22 in 1992 that I had a promise to keep and later on I said we  
23 regret that we did because Herman Cohen's promise from the  
24 United States government they never fulfilled. So he is wrong  
10:54:39 25 about this, just as he is wrong in a couple of other things that  
26 I mentioned during my examination-in-chief. That's why we  
27 brought this document. He is totally wrong and we've told him  
28 that he's wrong.

29           Q.     Actually, Mr Taylor, you are the one who is not being

1 truthful. Isn't that correct?

2 A. Nonsense. You know that. We dealt with Herman Cohen on  
3 this, no.

10:55:01

4 Q. Mr Taylor, Operation Octopus was actually in October 1992,  
5 isn't that correct, not 1993?

6 A. Yes. Excuse me, I misspoke. 1992. This happened in 1990  
7 that he is talking to. Two years later.

8 Q. Operation Octopus was simply another time that you attacked  
9 Monrovia. Isn't that correct, Mr Taylor?

10:55:15

10 A. Totally, totally, totally incorrect. I did not attack  
11 Monrovia. And Prince Johnson killed Doe. I did not go into  
12 Monrovia. If anybody attacked Monrovia at that time it could  
13 have been the INPFL because Prince Johnson capture and murdered  
14 Doe. Not Taylor. So he's wrong.

10:55:34

15 Q. Now, Mr Taylor, if we look at page 131 of this chapter, we  
16 see this at the top of this page:

17 "Reports of AFL human rights violations against civilians  
18 provoked our first public reaction. The NPFL rebels were killing  
19 members of Doe's Krahn tribe, but behaved well toward other  
20 ethnic groups. Doe in turn sent in his Krahn troops, who  
21 specialised in pillaging, killing and extortion. Like every  
22 other AFL activity, the war in Nimba County had become a  
23 business. The Gio majority ethnic group in Nimba County suffered  
24 greatly, thereby furnishing many new recruits for the NPFL.

10:56:21

25 Gaining momentum between January and April 1990, the NPFL  
26 retaliated for the killing of Gios by Krahn soldiers with  
27 indiscriminate massacres of Krahns."

10:56:45

28 Again, Mr Taylor, you agree that that happened. Isn't that  
29 correct?



1 A. Early 1990 I would agree that we did have this tit for tat.  
2 I got there in April and really had to put my foot down because  
3 this was not about an ethnic war. I agree in early - remember he  
4 said between January and April, I agree. I agree. I don't have  
10:57:22 5 a problem with that. I agree.

6 Q. Mr Taylor, if we can look at page 132, please, under the  
7 caption "Who is Charles Taylor and what is the NPFL?" This goes  
8 over into page 133, but looking at page 132 and if we look at the  
9 last paragraph on that page, starting five lines up:

10:58:02 10 "The American embassy in Ouagadougou, Burkina Faso,  
11 reported Libyan cargo planes unloading there at night and  
12 Liberians retrieving military supplies in vehicles that had  
13 transited Cote d'Ivoire. Expatriates in contact with Taylor  
14 reported a force of 1,000 well-armed commandos operating from a  
10:58:25 15 base just inside Cote d'Ivoire."

16 So, Mr Taylor, you were receiving supplies from Libya to  
17 support your conflict in Liberia. Isn't that correct, Mr Taylor?

18 A. No. If I had received supplies from Libya I would be proud  
19 to say so. Libya never got around to giving me supplies. I will  
10:58:51 20 only answer that question because the paragraph goes further, but  
21 I will answer that question, that is not the case, no. March  
22 1990, that is just the beginning of the war, that is  
23 totally - this is just information. I would not call that  
24 intelligence. I would call this information. And it's  
10:59:09 25 disinformation, really.

26 Q. And that those supplies from Libya were flown into  
27 Ouagadougou and then they were transited across Cote d'Ivoire to  
28 your forces. That is correct, is it not, Mr Taylor?

29 A. That is totally incorrect. I have told this Court that

1 after April I did get some assistance from the Burkina Faso  
2 government. This states April 1990 - up to about March 1990. I  
3 did not receive any supplies from the Libyan government. I  
4 received training from Libya. They never got around to actually  
10:59:45 5 giving me supplies. If they had, counsel, I swear, just as I  
6 have taken an oath, I would say that they gave. I was waiting to  
7 - praying to get Libyan supplies, but I didn't and I am not going  
8 to lie on them.

9 Q. Now, Mr Taylor, we suggest that you are not being truthful  
11:00:03 10 about that, but we understand your response. Let's move to page  
11 133.

12 A. I disagree, counsel.

13 Q. Now, if we look at page 133, the first paragraph beginning  
14 with, "Taylor used a satellite phone," do you see that?

11:00:25 15 A. Yes.

16 Q. And the last sentence in that paragraph ends, "Taylor  
17 claimed no political ambition except evicting Doe." So you told  
18 Herman Cohen that you had no political ambition except to evict  
19 Master Sergeant Doe. Is that correct, Mr Taylor?

11:00:49 20 MR ANYAH: Mr President, it is not entirely correct to say  
21 that Mr Taylor told Herman Cohen this personally on the basis of  
22 this paragraph. I mean, the paragraph starts with Tom Woveiyu  
23 making a call from Newark, New Jersey, to the Bureau of African  
24 Affairs in January 1990 and the question is Mr Taylor told  
11:01:14 25 Mr Cohen such and such. I don't think the paragraph warrants  
26 such a conclusion that Mr Taylor told Herman Cohen anything.

27 PRESIDING JUDGE: Do you wish to answer that objection?

28 MS HOLLIS: Well, we will look at the entire sentence.  
29 That should clarify it:

1 Q. The sentence says: "In his first conversation with me,  
2 Taylor claimed no political ambition except evicting Doe." So,  
3 Mr Taylor, is it correct that in your first conversation with  
4 Herman Cohen you claimed no political ambition except evicting  
5 Doe?

11:01:50

6 A. That is incorrect.

7 Q. So Herman Cohen is wrong about that as well?

8 A. Well, what Herman Cohen is talking about, I don't want to  
9 get into the merits of this particular statement because we will  
10 have to get into the context and I don't want the judges to say  
11 don't go to - keep going, because what happened is that in these  
12 discussions --

11:02:04

13 Q. Mr Taylor, it is very simple.

14 A. I have answered you.

15 Q. It's very simple.

16 A. No, I disagree with Herman Cohen's own assertion in this  
17 paragraph. I disagree with him.

18 Q. So you say he has that wrong as well?

19 A. I say I disagree with his assertion here that I said to him  
20 I had no political ambition.

11:02:29

21 Q. Now Mr Cohen goes on to say:

22 "What Taylor told us, however, was not what he told others,  
23 especially media interviewers. In April 1990, for example, he  
24 told the Financial Times he would capture Monrovia, depose Doe,  
25 and rule by decree for five years to prepare for democratic  
26 elections."

11:02:48

27 So, Mr Taylor, the truth is you were telling different  
28 people different things about your political ambitions. Isn't  
29 that correct, Mr Taylor?

1 A. That is incorrect. Totally incorrect. What the Financial  
2 Times says here is totally correct. I had said to the Financial  
3 Times that - and nobody expected anybody to go through a bitter  
4 civil war and rush to elections. The war had taken about, what,  
11:03:19 5 two years. It would have taken time to really settle the  
6 country. And what I did say was that within five years it would  
7 be reasonable to go into an election. And I did not tell Herman  
8 Cohen or no one else that I had no political ambition except  
9 throwing Doe. I was going to throw Doe out and just walk away  
11:03:42 10 from the country? I didn't tell Herman Cohen that.

11 Q. Now, Mr Taylor, according to Mr Cohen's account, it was in  
12 April 1990, some four and a half months or so after you began the  
13 war in Liberia, that you told the Financial Times you would  
14 capture Monrovia, depose Doe, and rule by decree for five years?

11:04:04 15 A. Yes, I agree but I have told this Court that I did not  
16 enter Liberia until about, April so it is about this time that,  
17 you know, I make - I do these interviews and this interview is  
18 not even done inside Liberia. I think it's on the border. But  
19 April, I don't have a problem with April. That's when I really  
11:04:30 20 start getting involved, as I have told this Court.

21 Q. And you told this to someone who was working for the  
22 Financial Times, correct?

23 A. I remember an interview that I did that it would take about  
24 five years. How these newspapers put their things, but I did say  
11:04:48 25 it would take about five years to prepare the country and I was  
26 speaking from the beginning of the war to the end to really bring  
27 the country under control.

28 Q. And this person that was interviewing you for the Financial  
29 Times, do you recall the name of that person? Could it have been

1 Mark Huband, Mr Taylor?

2 A. Well, yes, Mark Huband. Yes, I think it was Mark Huband in  
3 Liberia about I would put it April/May 1990. Yes, Mark Huband.

11:05:36

4 Q. In fact you had a first meeting with Mark Huband in April  
5 1990, correct?

6 A. Counsel, I am not going to fight with you. I said April,  
7 May or thereabouts. I would say yes.

8 Q. That was after he had tried to take a train up to Yekepa  
9 and had been captured by your forces?

11:05:54

10 A. That is correct. That is correct.

11 Q. And you had a meeting with him at that time?

12 A. That is correct. He was brought to me - as a matter of  
13 fact the train was captured and Mark Huband and another  
14 journalist, he just died a few months ago, were brought to me in

11:06:12

15 Gborplay and I hosted Mark there for a few days before he left,  
16 yes.

17 Q. And at one point you met with him and you were sitting at a  
18 table with a map and you had a revolver on the table?

11:06:30

19 A. I don't recall the details. I mean, I wouldn't be  
20 simple-minded to put a revolver on the table as to threaten Mark.  
21 Mark was captured and treated very properly and brought to me. I  
22 don't remember having a revolver or something on the table.

23 Sometimes when --

11:06:49

24 Q. In fact when you assisted him back into the Ivory Coast,  
25 did you not?

26 A. Yes, which is normal, yes.

27 Q. And then he came back again in May and there was a press  
28 conference that you actually held in Liberia in May, isn't that  
29 correct, with Mark Huband and other journalists?

1 A. May of 1990?

2 Q. Yes.

3 A. It very well could be, counsel. I can't recall if Mark  
4 actually returned in May. He could have. I don't recall. I  
11:07:15 5 remember we helped him out and were very nice to him, but I don't  
6 recall him returning in May. He very well could have. I don't  
7 recall.

8 Q. This was a press conference that was set up by Tom Woveiyu,  
9 set up from the United States by Tom Woveiyu. Do you recall  
11:07:35 10 that?

11 A. I don't recall it. I don't deny of such thing, but I just  
12 can't recall right now. No, I can't recall it but it very well  
13 could have happened. I can't recall.

14 Q. Now, Mr Taylor, if we look at this same page, 133, just  
11:07:53 15 before "Washington hand-wringing: To take charge or not",  
16 paragraph:

17 "By the end of March 1990, security had deteriorated so  
18 much that the need to protect our expensive and irreplaceable  
19 facilities led us toward a dialogue with Taylor, the Libyan  
11:08:13 20 connection notwithstanding."

21 So at that point in time the dialogue was determined to be  
22 the way to deal with the situation. Is that correct, Mr Taylor?

23 A. I can't speak to what decisions were made in the  
24 United States at that time, so I can't disagree with Herman Cohen  
11:08:34 25 on this. This was internal to the United States. But if this  
26 Court recalls, as early as January 1990 I made a public  
27 statement. Also in January 1990, if you recall, I had - Tom  
28 Woveiyu wrote John Dobrin at the State Department. So maybe  
29 Herman Cohen is right here where internal to the United States

1 they took a decision to begin a dialogue with me, so I don't have  
2 any disagreement with what he is saying here. That's possible  
3 and even probable.

4 Q. Now, Mr Taylor, if we turn to page 135, please, and if we  
11:09:31 5 look under "Military developments", beginning with the second  
6 sentence in that first paragraph:

7 "Doe's military situation deteriorated rapidly although he  
8 refused to acknowledge it. From mid-April to July the rebels  
9 broke out of Nimba County, captured Buchanan, Liberia's major  
11:09:54 10 minerals and timber port, took Robertsfield International Airport  
11 and placed Monrovia itself under siege. Rebel advances were  
12 attributable more to AFL desertions and refusal to fight than to  
13 rebel military prowess."

14 Now, during that time period, Mr Taylor, were a lot of the  
11:10:16 15 AFL deserting to get NPFL?

16 A. I would not say a lot, counsel. What I can say is that the  
17 Gio, Mano and some of the other ethnic groups did come in, but I  
18 would not say a lot, counsel. Not a lot, but we did have some  
19 defections, but not a lot.

11:10:45 20 Q. Now if we could turn to page 139 and the topic that is  
21 dealt with on page 139, 140 and 141, and that is "Liberians come  
22 to Washington". He starts out by talking about: "On 2 May the  
23 all-parties delegation from Liberia arrived in Washington, headed  
24 by Winston Tubman." So he is setting the scene for this  
11:11:19 25 delegation coming to Washington?

26 A. What year is he referring to here?

27 Q. On 2 May and he appears to be talking about 1990.

28 A. Okay.

29 Q. Because if we look at page 138, he talks about, "May 1990

1 was a threshold month for our involvement in Liberia."

2 A. Okay.

3 Q. "First glimmer of negotiations between the Doe regime and  
4 the NPFL began under our auspices." So May 1990?

11:11:56 5 A. Yes, I would agree.

6 Q. And then if we look at page 140, about halfway down the  
7 page, the paragraph beginning, "En route to Washington to meet  
8 with Tubman," do you see that, Mr Taylor?

9 A. Not yet. Just a minute, counsel. I am trying to get it.

11:12:17 10 Q. It's the third paragraph down.

11 A. Yes.

12 Q. "En route to Washington to meet with Tubman, Tom Woweiyu  
13 was quite open with officers at our embassy in Abidjan about the  
14 NPFL's war aims. Woweiyu was not in the mood for a real

11:12:37 15 negotiation. As far as he was concerned, Doe was 'dead meat'."

16 Now, Mr Woweiyu would have been expressing your position at  
17 that time. Correct, Mr Taylor?

18 A. Well, I can't agree with that. Tom Woweiyu was Defence  
19 Minister and, no, I would not agree that he was expressing my

11:13:00 20 views. Tom had his own way with words. "Dead meat" is an  
21 American expression. I know this expression, but I did not - had

22 never used this in dealing with this situation because I had  
23 always dealt with all of our discussions. I wanted a way out for  
24 Doe, because I had no intention of killing Doe, so I wouldn't

11:13:30 25 say - this is his own view. No, not mine.

26 Q. In May 1990 Tom Woweiyu was your Defence Minister?

27 A. That is correct. That is correct.

28 Q. Now if we look at the bottom of page 140:

29 "Talks between Doe's delegation and Woweiyu did not take



1 place. Woweiyu received last-minute orders from Taylor not to  
2 sit with Doe's representatives. We suggested proximity talks,  
3 which the government side rejected."

4 So you told your representative not to sit with Doe's  
11:14:03 5 representative for these talks. Is that correct, Mr Taylor?

6 A. Yes. Without getting into the reasons, because you haven't  
7 asked me, I would say yes.

8 Q. Then at page 141 towards the bottom, in fact the second  
9 paragraph up from the bottom: "Charles Taylor called to  
11:14:29 10 reiterate his pledge to protect US assets." And then the two  
11 last sentences: "He also reiterated that he had no personal  
12 ambition. My only objective is to get rid of Doe."

13 So that's what you told Herman Cohen at that time, yes,  
14 Mr Taylor?

11:14:51 15 A. Well, yes, based on - yes, I can say yes, because again we  
16 are not getting into - you didn't ask me about - these are long  
17 conversations. Herman Cohen is paraphrasing long diplomatic  
18 discussions, but I mean your question, I only have to answer your  
19 question, so I did say I have no personal ambition, I just wanted  
11:15:19 20 to get rid of Doe, but I mean --

21 Q. That wasn't really true, was it, Mr Taylor?

22 A. It was true. It was true. Again now if we begin to get  
23 into the truth or falsity, it would begin to get into the essence  
24 of these discussions. These discussions are more than just what  
11:15:39 25 Herman Cohen writes in the book. He doesn't tell what we are  
26 talking about, okay. So I would answer only your question.

27 Q. You had personal ambitions at that time, isn't that right?  
28 You wanted to be President of Liberia.

29 A. I wanted to lead Liberia, but like I say, these are more

1 than that, and, I mean, if we're only going to stop to this  
2 little part, I would just answer because I have been warned about  
3 going outside of these things, but these are diplomatic  
4 discussions. They are very long. They are very tedious. And  
11:16:14 5 Herman Cohen decides here to paraphrase, but I - if I had an  
6 opportunity, I would get into what we meant there by personal  
7 ambitions, but that's not your question.

8 Q. Mr Taylor, you weren't really straightforward with Herman  
9 Cohen about your ambitions at that time, were you?

11:16:34 10 A. I was as straight as an arrow.

11 Q. Now, Mr Taylor, if we could next turn to page 146, please.  
12 Do you have that before you, Mr Taylor?

13 A. Yes, I do.

14 Q. And if you could look at the second paragraph there,  
11:17:23 15 please. And the time period, as I understand it, is still 1990.

16 A. That is correct.

17 Q. "As June gave way to July, the plight of the Monrovia  
18 population steadily worsened. Food, fuel, and water were in  
19 short supply, and displaced people kept arriving."

11:17:43 20 Were you aware of that, Mr Taylor, that displaced people  
21 were flowing into Monrovia?

22 A. There were some - well, by this - we are talking about  
23 June, July now.

24 Q. Of 1990.

11:17:57 25 A. Yes, we had not still come into the Monrovia area, and as  
26 the war is progressing, people, because of the fighting, yes, I  
27 am aware that people are moving into Monrovia.

28 Q. "We also received disturbing information about the NPFL.  
29 In April, after the AFL had won a rare combat victory over the

1 NPFL, Taylor insisted on summary justice against his commanders  
2 who had lost the battle and executed them."

3 Now, that's correct, isn't it, Mr Taylor?

4 A. That is totally incorrect. Lost what battle at this  
11:18:36 5 particular time? No, that is totally incorrect. What battle?

6 Q. This was the reality of your system of justice in the NPFL,  
7 wasn't it, Mr Taylor?

8 A. Definitely not, counsel. Definitely not.

9 Q. If people displeased you or threatened you, you ordered  
11:18:50 10 them executed and that was done?

11 A. That is totally, totally incorrect. Even your own people  
12 have told you here that there was a tribunal set up. But, again,  
13 Herman Cohen, we disagree with a lot of what Herman Cohen said  
14 here. What battle? He doesn't talk about which battle. There  
11:19:06 15 is no such thing that is going on at this particular time. In  
16 fact, the tribunals are up, but nobody is being tried or executed  
17 at this time June to July of 1990, no.

18 Q. Now, Mr Taylor, he goes on to talk about the summary  
19 justice and execution:

11:19:25 20 "This produced a split with a break-away group under the  
21 leadership of Lieutenant Prince Yeadu Johnson forming the  
22 Independent National Patriotic Front of Liberia (INPFL)."

23 That's what caused the split, isn't that correct,  
24 Mr Taylor?

11:19:42 25 A. Totally wrong and I will tell you why it is totally wrong.  
26 Mark Huband writes about this, he gives a different account.  
27 There is another - Williams has written a book on this thing.  
28 Herman Cohen has this wrong. Prince Johnson breaks away from the  
29 NPFL before I arrive in Liberia in April 1990. Prince Johnson

1 actually breaks away in about February-March 1990 and Prince  
2 Johnson has also written about it. The split between the INPFL  
3 and the NPFL was not caused because of any such thing. In fact,  
4 it occurred in February-March 1990, before I arrive in Liberia.

11:20:21 5 So Herman Cohen gets this totally wrong and there have been full  
6 accounts of this. Mark Huband's book gives the full account of  
7 this.

8 Q. So you have read Mark Huband's book?

9 A. Well, I mean, I have some comments about individuals that -  
11:20:35 10 I have not read the full book. In fact, I have not had an  
11 opportunity.

12 Q. Do you remember the name of that book?

13 A. No, I don't.

14 Q. The Liberian Conflict?

11:20:45 15 A. I don't know. In fact, I was informed of the Mark Huband  
16 book by my first legal Defence team, but I don't have a copy of  
17 it. I have never read it. In fact, Roger Sahota at that time  
18 was going through it, but I have not had an opportunity to read  
19 it.

11:21:08 20 Q. Now, Mr Taylor, Mr Cohen goes on:

21 "The emergence of the INPFL turned the war into a three way  
22 fight with each side battling the other two. In addition, we  
23 received horrible news from Buchanan where NPFL forces were  
24 killing any Krahn or Mandingo ethnic they captured, including  
11:21:29 25 women and children."

26 Now, that's correct, is it not, Mr Taylor?

27 A. Well, I wouldn't say totally correct. I have mentioned to  
28 this Court that there were some killings in Buchanan and I have  
29 told this Court that those that were responsible were arrested,

1     tried and executed. I think we talked about this a couple days  
2     ago.

3     Q.     That's not really true, is it, Mr Taylor?

4     A.     What is not true?

11:21:52 5     Q.     That those who carried out these killings were tried.

6     A.     Oh, yes, they were tried. They were definitely tried,  
7     counsel. Definitely, 100 per cent. And that's what kept  
8     Buchanan so peaceful, because even when Herman Cohen talks about  
9     the mineral, he is not talking about gold and diamond. He is

11:22:13 10    referring to iron ore. That's the Port of Buchanan. No, no, no,  
11    they were definitely dealt with.

12    Q.     Mr Taylor, terrorising the civilians of Buchanan is what  
13    kept them peaceful, isn't that correct?

14    A.     That it totally - let's remember - let me just maybe add to  
11:22:27 15    your question. That is incorrect. Tom Woveiyu, my Defence  
16    Minister, is from Buchanan and he stayed in Buchanan for most of  
17    the war, that would show you. Woveiyu, Grand Bassa. Daniel  
18    Chea, Grand Bassa - no, Daniel, Cape. So all these things that  
19    I'm hearing, counsel, they are totally unfounded. Woveiyu, the  
11:22:49 20    Defence Minister, during this war, upon the capture of Buchanan,  
21    moved in and stayed there throughout the war.

22    Q.     And he split from your NPFL, when, Mr Taylor?

23    A.     Woveiyu, that's when? I would say, what, '93, '94,  
24    somewhere there, and then came back again. He came back.

11:23:08 25    Q.     Now, Mr Taylor, let's go on with Mr Cohen's account. Next  
26    paragraph:

27            "As he tightened the noose on Monrovia, Taylor made  
28    additional errors of judgement beyond these. Thousands of  
29    citizens from neighbouring West African countries trapped behind

1 Taylor's lines depended for their safety on Taylor's protection.  
2 Most were English speakers from Nigeria, Ghana, and Sierra Leone.  
3 Taylor's main backers in the West African sub-region were  
4 Francophone Burkina Faso and Cote d'Ivoire, which facilitated the  
11:23:44 5 transit of arms to NPFL fighters. Taylor perceived that Doe  
6 enjoyed sympathy in Nigeria and Ghana, where younger military  
7 officers had also taken power through coups. He was particularly  
8 suspicious of General Ibrahim Babangida, President of Nigeria,  
9 who had been close to Doe during the 1980s. Taylor's decision to  
11:24:11 10 keep the West Africans hostage to dissuade Nigeria and others  
11 from intervening on Doe's behalf proved a serious lapse in  
12 judgement."

13 Mr Taylor, you took these people hostage before ECOMOG came  
14 to Liberia in August 1990, isn't that correct?

11:24:31 15 A. Total, total nonsense. Herman Cohen was also challenged on  
16 this. This is totally, totally false. I mean, Herman Cohen is  
17 writing this book. And, in fact, one of the queries that we put  
18 to Herman Cohen, he should have crosschecked a lot of this  
19 information. We would have given it to him. That is totally,  
11:24:56 20 totally, wrong. No. I have told this Court that we did arrest  
21 Nigerians, Sierra Leoneans, Ghanians and what not. Not all of  
22 them, but this was after the fighting starts, late 1990, so Cohen  
23 is wrong again. He is wrong.

24 Q. Now, Mr Taylor, he goes on:

11:25:15 25 "Needless to say, as soon as it became clear that at least  
26 3,000 Nigerians and thousands of other West Africans were being  
27 detained in Liberia, the neighbouring governments became alarmed.  
28 Concern for their nationals grew into concern for the stability  
29 of the entire sub-region, which faced arms proliferation and

1 floods of refugees. Liberia's neighbours, under the umbrella of  
2 the Economic Community of West African States, (ECOWAS), decided  
3 to take on the Liberian question in May-June 1990. That decision  
4 was the exact opposite of what Taylor had hoped for."

11:25:57 5 So, Mr Taylor, it's true, isn't this, that the motivations  
6 for ECOWAS to initially look at taking on the issue in Liberia  
7 included that you were holding so many ECOWAS nationals hostage  
8 in your country?

9 A. That is totally false. In fact, Herman Cohen has talked  
11:26:19 10 about this subsequently. That is totally false, counsel. But  
11 let me just, just for the sake of it, if 3,000 West Africans are  
12 being held in Liberia, the way to free them is to send in 1,000  
13 ECOMOG troops? No, that's not true. And Herman Cohen, I am  
14 sure, has spoken about this. That is totally wrong. Totally.

11:26:42 15 Q. Now, Mr Taylor, if we could look at page 148, please. Here  
16 Mr Cohen is talking about negotiating session in Freetown, and he  
17 is talking about, if we look at about the middle of the page, the  
18 second negotiating session in Freetown was scheduled for 12 July.  
19 You see that, Mr Taylor?

11:27:07 20 A. Yes, I do.

21 Q. "The mediating team for the Freetown talks was led by  
22 ECOWAS Secretary-General Dr Abbas Bundu ..." And I believe you  
23 have spoken about him, yes, Mr Taylor?

24 A. Yes, I have.

11:27:28 25 Q. "... a Sierra Leonean. His approach appeared eminently  
26 fair and reasonable. Doe should resign in favour of a coalition  
27 interim government that would take Liberia through a transition  
28 to an election. No Liberian should have a claim to power unless  
29 he had popular support as expressed in an election. Doe liked

1 the proposal because it would protect both himself and the Krahn  
2 ethnic group from reprisals. Taylor, however, thought it robbed  
3 him, unreasonably, of the fruits of victory. His NPFL movement  
4 controlled most of Liberia, and he refused to be deprived of  
11:28:06 5 power. His only concession was to accept an interim government,  
6 with a deadline for an election, provided he was named interim  
7 President. Under the ECOWAS proposal, the interim President  
8 would have been a neutral person, ineligible to run for  
9 reelection. Taylor was saying, in effect, 'I have won the war.  
11:28:31 10 I want power. Democracy will come, but under my control.'"

11 Now, that's an accurate representation of your position at  
12 that time, isn't this, Mr Taylor?

13 A. No, I would not say it's an accurate representation. There  
14 is more to this, and I think we are out of time now. But there  
11:28:49 15 is more to this than what Herman Cohen is saying. Why would we  
16 go to negotiations? We go to negotiate, and it goes back to the  
17 heart of your former question about 3,000 individuals being held  
18 hostage, which was not the case. What is the case here? The  
19 case is, the NPFL is accused by these military men in West  
11:29:13 20 Africa, okay, of wanting to remove another military friend and  
21 that Liberia, at that particular time, was a threat to security  
22 in West Africa. I would just -

23 THE WITNESS: Can I continue, your Honour? Okay.

24 PRESIDING JUDGE: We have still got two minutes.

11:29:30 25 THE WITNESS: Okay. And what they sought to do at that  
26 particular time, they said the NPFL was there to destabilise West  
27 Africa. Who were making these decisions? Military leaders  
28 across West Africa. Babangida was there, Rawlings was there, Doe  
29 a military leader. You had Conte, military leaders. You had



1 military leaders all around. The whole point was to deny the  
2 NPFL any avenue of leadership. So my decision was that, "Look,  
3 since you people are trying to do this, this is unacceptable. We  
4 want democracy. We want to go to elections, but we cannot trust  
11:30:10 5 you. Since you have now sent in your forces to prevent power,  
6 you cannot tell us now to submit to an interim government. No."  
7 This is the full story.

8 Q. Mr Taylor, these talks were in 12 July. There were no  
9 forces in your country at that time from ECOMOG?

11:30:28 10 A. But listen to the point --

11 Q. No, Mr Taylor.

12 A. -- they were not there --

13 Q. Mr Taylor, 12 July, there was no forces from ECOMOG in your  
14 country. Is that correct?

11:30:34 15 A. I agree. ECOMOG forces were being - when do they come in?  
16 ECOMOG forces come in in August. So the forces were prepared.  
17 The ECOMOG comes in Liberia when? August. Less than one month.  
18 Do you put a force together? ECOWAS has said, "You are there to  
19 destabilise West Africa. We are sending in a force to make sure  
11:30:55 20 you do not take power." We hold this meeting in Freetown and we  
21 say, fine. We had been told that ECOMOG was formed. How do all  
22 these countries put together a force in two weeks and send them  
23 to Liberia if it was not prepared? We knew. They had told us.  
24 So we said, "Well, we will not submit to that."

11:31:14 25 Q. Mr Taylor, your position in July --

26 PRESIDING JUDGE: I think before we go into his position in  
27 July, that could take some time and we are just about out of  
28 tape. So we will adjourn now and resume at 12 o'clock.

29 [Break taken at 12.00 p.m.]

1 [Upon resuming at 12.00 p.m.]

2 PRESIDING JUDGE: Yes, just have a seat for a moment,  
3 please, Ms Hollis. There has been an unexpected development.  
4 Judge Sebutinde has been taken ill. We don't know how serious it  
12:03:35 5 is at this stage, but she has gone to seek some treatment.

6 Now we don't want to delay the trial, but by the same token  
7 we don't want Justice Sebutinde to miss any of the evidence if  
8 it's just for the sake of half a day or so. So what we intend to  
9 do at this stage is adjourn until tomorrow morning, at which time  
12:04:07 10 we may have to reassess the situation so that the trial can  
11 continue. I don't know if any of the parties wish to say  
12 anything.

13 MS HOLLIS: We simply send our wishes for a speedy  
14 recovery.

12:04:26 15 MR ANYAH: Likewise we wish her all the best, Mr President.

16 PRESIDING JUDGE: Thank you. I'll make sure Justice  
17 Sebutinde receives those good wishes.

18 Now, Mr Taylor, it's an abrupt end to today's proceedings  
19 but hopefully we will be able to get underway tomorrow morning  
12:04:43 20 and I'll remind you that in the meantime you're not permitted to  
21 discuss your evidence with any other person. Thank you, we'll  
22 adjourn until tomorrow morning.

23 [Whereupon the hearing adjourned at 12.03 p.m.  
24 to be reconvened on Tuesday, 24 November 2009  
12:05:16 25 at 9.30 a.m.]

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27  
28  
29

I N D E X

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