



Case No. SCSL-2003-01-T

THE PROSECUTOR OF
THE SPECIAL COURT
V.
CHARLES GHANKAY TAYLOR

TUESDAY, 1 DECEMBER 2009
9.30 A.M.
TRIAL

TRIAL CHAMBER II

Before the Judges:

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

For Chambers:

Ms Sidney Thompson

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 Courtenay Griffiths QC
Mr Morris Anyah

1 Tuesday, 1 December 2009

2 [Open session]

3 [The accused present]

4 [Upon commencing at 9.30 a.m.]

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

7 MS HOLLIS: Good morning, Mr President, your Honours,
8 opposing counsel. This morning for the Prosecution, Brenda J
9 Hollis, Mohamed A Bangura, Christopher Santora and Maja
09:34:53 10 Dimitrova.

11 PRESIDING JUDGE: Thank you, Ms Hollis. Yes, Mr Griffiths.

12 MR GRIFFITHS: Good morning, Mr President, your Honours,
13 counsel opposite. For the Defence today, myself Courtenay
14 Griffiths, with me Mr Morris Anyah of counsel and Mr Michael
09:35:05 15 Herz.

16 PRESIDING JUDGE: Thank you, Mr Griffiths. Yes, Ms Hollis.

17 MS HOLLIS: Thank you, Mr President. Mr President, this
18 morning we received your decision on the legal standards
19 governing the use and admission of documents during
09:35:23 20 cross-examination and under that decision there is a duty imposed
21 on the Prosecution to disclose documents in category 2, probative
22 of guilt, to disclose such documents forthwith. We do need time
23 to determine which documents we would intend to use in such a way
24 so that we could comply with your directive in this regard and
09:35:53 25 provide the Defence with the most disclosure, the earliest
26 disclosure possible.

27 In light of that, Mr President, we would ask that we be
28 allowed to spend today engaged in that exercise and also in the
29 disclosure of these documents and so we would ask that we adjourn

1 for the day, noting of course that we did come to court prepared
2 to go forward but without the use of documents.

3 PRESIDING JUDGE: Yes. Thank you, Ms Hollis. What's your
4 attitude to that application, Mr Griffiths.

09:36:26 5 MR GRIFFITHS: Mr President, we oppose this application.
6 We oppose the application for this reason: Whereas we are
7 anxious to receive the material which your Honours has now
8 decided should properly be disclosed to the Defence, we do note
9 that our case closed, what, some three weeks ago and this
09:36:52 10 Prosecution began almost seven years ago. It seems to us,
11 bluntly, quite outrageous that three weeks into the
12 cross-examination - well, four weeks into the cross-examination
13 of this man, who has been in custody for over four years, that
14 the Prosecution are still seeking time to put their case in
09:37:14 15 order. In our view, that is totally unacceptable and the
16 Prosecution should be required today to proceed.

17 Now I have heard it said in the past that we made
18 application in August 2007 for time in which to put the Defence
19 case together, as if there is some justifiable parallel between
09:37:37 20 the two situations. When we came on board in the summer of 2007,
21 we came on board as a fresh team. This Prosecution have had
22 charge of this prosecution now for over six years and it seems
23 totally misplaced for my learned friend to be asking for more
24 time this morning. We are not talking about a Prosecution team
09:38:08 25 composed of one or two individuals. We are talking about a
26 Prosecution team composed of a large number of individuals and
27 they have been seized of the particular matters in issue for some
28 three weeks now.

29 And if, as my learned friend indicates, there are other

1 matters which she had prepared to cross-examine the defendant on
2 today, it seems to us that such cross-examination should continue
3 whilst other members of the team properly seek to provide us with
4 the material which frankly should have been provided to us as
09:38:47 5 part of the Prosecution case, we say. So consequently we
6 vehemently oppose this application.

7 PRESIDING JUDGE: Thank you, Mr Griffiths. Do you want to
8 reply to that, Ms Hollis?

9 MS HOLLIS: It is quite simply this, Mr President, and that
09:39:09 10 is one day to determine the disclosure obligations now imposed
11 pursuant to this decision we do not believe is unreasonable. We
12 do appreciate that this cross-examination has moved in, if you
13 will, fits and starts but we have been diligent in moving forward
14 to the extent of having Mr Koumjian appear when unfortunately I
09:39:34 15 was ill. We do want to do things efficiently and methodically
16 and appropriately and we believe that one day to digest this
17 decision and to prepare to go forward on the basis of it is not
18 inappropriate.

19 As to the other arguments about evidence that should have
09:39:58 20 been put in our case in chief, we believe the decision before us
21 deals with those matters, so we will not address those.

22 PRESIDING JUDGE: Thank you, Ms Hollis. I must say I am a
23 little surprised that Mr Koumjian's not here to finish off a
24 point he started last Friday afternoon. He was about to ask some
09:40:23 25 questions regarding witness summaries filed by the Defence and
26 ran out of time and I thought naturally that's going to continue
27 today. But, in any event, I will just consult with my
28 colleagues. Thank you, Ms Hollis.

29 [Trial Chamber conferred]

1 PRESIDING JUDGE: Ms Hollis, we refuse your application.
2 We note that you did come to court today to continue on another
3 track without documents, so we will ask you to continue in that
4 way.

09:41:24 5 MS HOLLIS: All right, Mr President. Thank you.

6 PRESIDING JUDGE: Mr Taylor, I remind you you are still
7 bound by your oath.

8 DANKPANNAH DR CHARLES GHANKAY TAYLOR:

9 [On former affirmation]

09:41:39 10 CROSS-EXAMINATION BY MS HOLLIS: [Continued]

11 Q. Mr Taylor, last Thursday you were being asked some
12 questions about your assets when you left Liberia in 2003. Do
13 you recall that?

14 A. Yes, I do.

09:41:48 15 Q. And you had talked about a property that you owned as of
16 the time that you left Liberia in 2003, correct?

17 A. That is correct.

18 Q. And you had earlier talked about a purchase of land in New
19 Hampshire and you had indicated that you bought that land while
09:42:09 20 you were in government in Liberia. Do you recall that?

21 A. That is correct.

22 Q. Now let's take a little bit closer look at the assets you
23 had at various times as you moved forward in your activities.

24 Mr Taylor, first of all, to be sure that we understand each
09:42:31 25 other, can you tell me what you mean by the word "corruption",
26 what you understand that word to mean?

27 A. Well, it depends. It depends on the circumstances. I
28 don't have any precise definition. It depends on the
29 circumstances.

1 Q. Mr Taylor, would you agree with the definition that is
2 contained in Transparency International that corruption is the
3 abuse of entrusted power for a private gain. In other words,
4 profiting from public positions beyond your legal salary. Would
09:43:13 5 you agree with that?

6 A. Yes, to an extent, but you can be corrupt not just
7 financially. You can be corrupt politically. You can be corrupt
8 in so many other ways, so - but I do agree if it comes to
9 financial situations, yes, but there are other forms of
09:43:35 10 corruption.

11 Q. Did you consider your position as the leader of the NPFL a
12 public position?

13 A. Yes, it was a public position, yes.

14 Q. And the so-called position you held as President of the
09:43:53 15 NPRAG, did you consider that a public position?

16 A. Definitely.

17 Q. As a member of the Council of State, did you consider that
18 also to be a public position?

19 A. Definitely.

09:44:05 20 Q. And, of course, as President of Liberia, that was a public
21 position?

22 A. That is correct.

23 Q. As leader of the NPFL, did you profit from that position
24 beyond your legal salary?

09:44:20 25 A. No, I didn't.

26 Q. And as President of the NPRAG, did you profit from that
27 position beyond your legal salary?

28 A. No, I didn't.

29 Q. When you were a member of the Council of State in the

1 transitional governments in Liberia, did you profit from those
2 positions beyond your legal salary?

3 A. Well, I would say no again, but I would have some little
4 question about what do you mean - I should have asked even at the
09:44:48 5 initial stage - by "profit"? What do you mean by "did you
6 profit", because in terms of those offices, if you took public
7 funds unlawfully, that's profiting. But in those positions the
8 acquiring of wealth did not necessarily come from government and
9 taxpayer sources, so "profit", I would have a question with, "Did
09:45:17 10 you profit?"

11 Q. Well, Mr Taylor, did you use those positions to gain
12 financial advantage?

13 A. No.

14 Q. And as President of Liberia --

09:45:27 15 A. No, I didn't.

16 Q. -- did you profit beyond your legal salary?

17 A. No, I did not.

18 Q. As a member of Doe government, did you profit beyond your
19 legal salary?

09:45:36 20 A. No, I didn't.

21 Q. And when you were the former President of Liberia, while in
22 exile you held no public office, but did you profit from your
23 prior offices when you were the former President of Liberia?

24 A. No.

09:45:55 25 Q. When you arrived in Liberia in 1980, just before the Doe
26 coup, the execution of Tolbert and his ministers and your joining
27 that military government, at that time when you returned to
28 Liberia, could you tell us what assets you owned?

29 A. In Liberia?

1 Q. In 1980 when you returned.

2 A. In Liberia or?

3 Q. Anywhere.

09:46:38 4 A. By that time, 1980, I had some land in my home town, about
5 five acres of land in my home town.

6 Q. And when you say home town, where do you mean?

7 A. Where I grew up, in Millsburg.

8 Q. And how had you acquired that land?

9 A. That was a land given to me by my grandmother.

09:47:01 10 Q. How long did you continue to own that land?

11 A. I can almost say throughout my presidency I owned it.

12 Q. Do you own it today?

13 A. Well, I can't even say because other brothers and family
14 members are operating it, so I would still say that in a way,
09:47:31 15 yes, but I don't know. I have been away for seven years now.
16 God knows what has happened.

17 Q. During your presidency, did you receive any revenues from
18 that property?

19 A. No, no.

09:47:44 20 Q. During the time --

21 A. Just basic land. I did farming on it.

22 Q. During the time you were leader of the NPFL, did you derive
23 any revenues from that property?

24 A. No.

09:47:56 25 Q. You ever derive any revenues from that property?

26 A. No. I would say really no.

27 Q. When you returned to Liberia in 1980 did you have any bank
28 accounts?

29 A. 1980? Not in Liberia. No, I don't think I had a bank

1 account by 1980, no. Not - I can't really recall, no, but I
2 don't think I had it because I had spent all my time in America.
3 It's possible I could have had a small bank account. I am not
4 too sure.

09:48:36 5 Q. In Liberia?

6 A. No, no, in the United States. I had been --

7 Q. In the United States?

8 A. Yeah.

9 Q. You don't recall how much you might have had in that
09:48:43 10 account?

11 A. If anything, it could not have exceeded \$400 or \$500
12 because I was a student.

13 Q. And do you recall in whose name that bank account was?

14 A. Well, if I had one, it had to be in my name.

09:49:00 15 Q. Did you have any financial interest in any business when
16 you returned to Liberia in 1980?

17 A. No.

18 Q. Did you have any interest in precious minerals of any sort?

19 A. No.

09:49:13 20 Q. Did you own precious minerals of any sort?

21 A. Well, yes. When you say "precious mineral", I would just -
22 gold. I had jewellery. Most Liberians have gold jewellery.
23 Precious minerals, yes.

24 Q. Did you own stock in any companies or other enterprises?

09:49:35 25 A. No.

26 Q. Any other assets other than the land and perhaps this small
27 bank account in the United States?

28 A. Oh, I would say - well, I would include - I had an old car
29 in the United States. That's an asset. I had a used Mercury

1 Cougar, yes. That's an asset; I had a car.

2 Q. When you returned to Liberia in 1980, were you being
3 provided assistance from any individuals or any groups?

4 A. No.

09:50:13 5 Q. Now, during the time that you were advising the leaders of
6 the coup in the barracks in the early days after the coup while
7 the killing of the Americo-Liberians was going on, were you being
8 paid for that advice that you were giving?

9 A. No.

09:50:41 10 Q. And you said, I believe, it was not until three months
11 after the coup that you took up the position as head of the
12 General Services Administration; is that correct?

13 A. Yes. Some three months or thereabouts, yes.

14 Q. And during that three-month period, were you receiving any
09:50:57 15 type of salary or other monies?

16 A. No, no salaries. I was still just living in a hotel, but
17 it was being - the bills were being paid for by the PRC, so I did
18 benefit to that extent.

19 Q. And help us again, the PRC stands for what?

09:51:18 20 A. The Peoples' Redemption Council.

21 Q. And that was the Doe government?

22 A. Yeah, the new coup leaders that came in.

23 Q. Now, it's correct, is it not, that you asked to be given
24 the position of General Services administrator?

09:51:38 25 A. Well, I wouldn't put it that way. In a way, yes, but if I
26 recall, what I have told this Court is that I worked in the
27 barracks for several months. All positions had been taken. That
28 was the only one available. So to ask, it's maybe another way of
29 putting it, but that was the only position available. When I

1 went along with General Quiwonkpa to see Doe, based on what I
2 told this Court, I remember Doe saying to me, "But all the
3 positions are gone." I said, "Well, there's - the GSA is
4 available. I don't have a problem taking that." So I am not
09:52:22 5 sure if that's asking for it. I would not agree that I went
6 specifically and requested that. That was all that was
7 available, and I accepted it.
8 Q. So you were aware that this post was still available, and
9 that's why you mentioned General Services Administration --
09:52:41 10 A. That is correct.
11 Q. -- post?
12 A. I would say that, yes.
13 Q. And how long did you hold that position with the Doe
14 government?
09:52:52 15 A. '80, '81, '82, as - close to two years.
16 Q. What was your salary as the director of the General
17 Services Administration?
18 A. At that time it was close to about 2 - it was Cabinet
19 salary. About \$2,000 US a month, if I recall properly.
09:53:14 20 Q. And in addition to the salary of around \$2,000 US a month,
21 did you receive any other benefits from that job?
22 A. Yes.
23 Q. And what were those?
24 A. A Government house - like most ministers' houses were
09:53:33 25 leased by government - a government car. Those I received.
26 House - a furnished house.
27 Q. Anything else other than those?
28 A. Besides the house and the car, those were the benefits. I
29 can't recall any other right now, but in terms of benefit, a car

1 house and a car were the two. Of course, while you travel the
2 government paid for your trips abroad on missions. That would be
3 a form of benefit if you are referring to that, yes.

09:54:13

4 Q. And in addition to your salary and the house and the car,
5 did you receive any sort of allowances from the government?

6 A. Let me think back. Well, I have just answered that; travel
7 allowances, yes. Allowances. When you travelled on local
8 travel, you received allowances. Foreign travel you received
9 allowances, so I would say yes.

09:54:44

10 Q. Other than travel allowances, any other allowances?

11 A. No. The government didn't give other allowances. No, not
12 that I recall.

09:55:06

13 Q. Now, you moved from being the director of the General
14 Services Administration to being Deputy Minister of Commerce; is
15 that correct?

16 A. That is correct.

17 Q. You said that during the time you were the director of the
18 General Services Administration, that Grace Minor worked in that
19 administration, yes?

09:55:17

20 A. That is correct.

21 Q. What was her position?

22 A. At the time she served as special assistant to me.

23 Q. And what did that job entail?

09:55:35

24 A. Coordinating affairs of the director - of the office of the
25 Director General. As a matter of fact, I met her in that
26 position and I retained her there. So I didn't originally hire
27 her, but coordinating the affairs of the office of the Director
28 General. She had worked there from the Tolbert time.

29 Q. As the director of the General Services Administration, you

1 had control overall of the government contracting; isn't that
2 correct?

3 A. That is not correct.

4 Q. What did you have control over?

09:56:08 5 A. I had control over - at least some control - not all,
6 because it took - we still had not accomplished it. We had some
7 control over the purchase and distribution of stationery and
8 office supplies for the Government of Liberia, just as the
9 General Services Administration, for example, like in the
09:56:32 10 United States. The purchase the vehicles, the purchase of office
11 equipment, supplies.

12 Q. Did you have any control over the purchase of items for the
13 ministers' homes?

14 A. Well, yes, in a way. Furnishing - we purchased furniture
09:57:00 15 for the Government of Liberia, and that furniture was used to
16 furnish ministers' and other officials' homes yes.

17 Q. And did you have any control over the hiring or the number
18 of staff employed by these ministers?

19 A. No, no, no.

09:57:18 20 Q. Staff in their homes?

21 A. No, no, no, no, none whatsoever, no.

22 Q. During the time that you worked as the director of this
23 agency, you were able to centralise control over a lot of this
24 contracting, were you not - pulling it back from the ministries?

09:57:37 25 A. Well, we were able to try to centralise, yes. We did not
26 succeed in every way, but to a great extent I would give it a
27 percentage of about maybe 50 per cent - 50, 60 per cent we were
28 able to centralise. Well, let me clarify this. The percentages,
29 I can say would vary, counsel. On the smaller items, like

1 stationery, office supplies, we were able to centralise it maybe
2 to about 70, 80 per cent. As we move up the chain of bigger
3 items, it was even more difficult. But bigger items I mean heavy
4 equipment for the government like bulldozers, Caterpillar, big
09:58:36 5 machines. Some of those we were not able to centralise. Some
6 areas of vehicles we were able to do some, and some we were not
7 able. So the percentages would vary, depending on the items.
8 Some items we had larger control, some items we had very minor
9 control, if you understand what I mean. I don't know if I made
09:59:03 10 myself clear.

11 Q. Now, in your position as the director of the General
12 Services Administration, you dealt with business entities and
13 business people, isn't that correct?

14 A. Well, yes, the agency - yeah the agency dealt with
09:59:20 15 businesses, local and abroad, yes.

16 Q. And you had personal involvement in some of that
17 interaction, correct?

18 A. Well, I would not say so. There was - I was the director
19 general of the General Services Administration, but we also had -
09:59:38 20 we had a director of procurement that was within the agency.

21 That's why my title was director general. I had a deputy
22 director general and about a half dozen directors. We had
23 procurement, warehousing, property and all these areas. But
24 procurement was a specialised area and there was a director, a
10:00:04 25 whole bureau with, I would say, almost a hundred individuals that
26 took care of procurement. So I was not directly involved in the
27 negotiations and all of that, no.

28 Q. And in the GSA at that time, these directors reported to
29 you?

1 A. Well, no. It depends. I had a deputy - I had two deputy
2 director generals; one for administration and one for operations.
3 Those directors reported to them directly. They --

4 Q. And - I'm sorry, go head.

10:00:40 5 A. No, no, I think I have answered you.

6 Q. Your deputy director for administration, who was that?

7 A. Now - the now present senator Blamoh Nelson.

8 Q. And your deputy director for operations, who was that?

9 A. The then Mrs Levetta Dicks. Levetta Mensah Diggs. I don't
10:01:04 10 know where she is right now.

11 Q. Levetta, can you spell that for us?

12 A. That could probably be L-E-V-E-T-T-A, I think. Levetta.

13 Q. And the rest of the name was what?

14 A. Mensah, M-E-N-S-A-H - Mensah Diggs, D-I-G-G-S, Diggs.

10:01:29 15 Q. Did either of these individuals hold positions in your
16 other organisations, the NPFL, NPRAG, or while you were
17 President?

18 A. I am afraid I don't understand your question, counsel.
19 Would you repeat that?

10:01:45 20 Q. The first person, your deputy director for administration
21 you say was Blamoh Nelson. Did Blamoh Nelson hold any positions
22 in the NPFL or NPRAG?

23 A. No. But I am director general before the NPFL.

24 Q. I know.

10:02:04 25 A. Okay, great. No, no, no. Well, he didn't - if you're
26 saying following that period did he hold a position, no.

27 Q. And when you were President did he hold any positions in
28 your administration?

29 A. Yes. Blamoh Nelson from - in fact I must add, because I

1 see where the question is going - was from another - he was from
2 an opposition political party. He served as director general of
3 the Cabinet - of my Cabinet.

10:02:41

4 Q. And Levetta Diggs, she hold any position in the NPFL or
5 NPRAG?

6 A. No. I haven't seen or heard from Levetta since, I would
7 say, about 1982. I haven't heard or seen - I don't even know - I
8 hope she is alive. I don't - which - but I haven't spoken,
9 heard, or talked to her since about '82, I would say.

10:02:59

10 Q. And do you recall any of the businesses that you dealt with
11 on these larger items?

12 A. Which larger items are you talking about?

10:03:16

13 Q. Where you talked about large items - I guess I would
14 include vehicles in that - but also you talked about
15 Caterpillars, things such as that?

16 A. There was a big - well, not I again, I keep saying the
17 procurement director. The Caterpillar individuals in Liberia at
18 the time was a group called Libtraco, L-I-B-T-R-A-C-O. They
19 represented Caterpillar in Liberia. That's about the only group
20 that I know down there.

10:03:49

21 Q. And your director for procurement, who was that?

22 A. He is Honourable Timothy Thomas. Timothy Thomas, he was a
23 trained procurement specialist. I think he has a master's degree
24 in procurement and business management I think from the
25 United States and he served as director of procurement.

10:04:17

26 Q. And did he hold any positions in your NPFL or NPRAG?

27 A. No. These are not - there are professionals, no. But he
28 held a position in my government after I became President.

29 Q. When you were President?

1 A. Yes.

2 Q. What was that?

3 A. He was made director general of the General Services
4 Administration during my administration because of his
10:04:42 5 experience.

6 Q. Now, when you moved to be the Deputy Minister of Commerce,
7 what was your salary in that capacity?

8 A. Deputy Minister of Commerce, I don't recall because I was
9 there very shortly. I don't even know if I got my first pay.

10:05:06 10 But deputy ministers made a little lower than ministers, because
11 I received ministerial salary as director general. I would put
12 it to about \$1,500 a month. That's the salary. I am not even
13 sure if I even - I left before I think even the first month could
14 expire.

10:05:23 15 Q. Did you keep the same house that you were in or did you
16 have to move from that house when you changed jobs?

17 A. I kept the same house.

18 Q. And did you have any other benefits other than the house?
19 Did you continue to be given a car in your capacity as Deputy
10:05:45 20 Minister of Commerce?

21 A. Yes.

22 Q. What were your duties as Deputy Minister of Commerce?

23 A. I was what you would call the media deputy for commerce.
24 Basically the Ministry of Commerce is really called - then it was
10:06:05 25 then Commerce, Industry and Transportation. It was basically
26 involved in arranging trade and commerce within and without the
27 Republic of Liberia. Getting businesses to - finding trading
28 partners, identifying commodities for trade, what comes in, what
29 goes out, pricing, looking at foreign prices, following up on the

1 consumer price index locally, all of that fell under that office.
2 But there were many other assistant ministers and directors in
3 there, but my bureau then took care of that whole consumer
4 pricing - you know, the indexing and what was happening in
10:07:01 5 foreign markets, getting prices, locations of commodities and all
6 of that.

7 Q. In your job as Deputy Minister of Commerce did you have
8 contact with heads of businesses or other business entities?

9 A. To an extent, but not directly. I must tell you, counsel,
10:07:21 10 that it was such a short stay there, so my answer is not dealing
11 with just mostly the functions because I am sure in that office
12 it would be the business of the deputy minister to contact
13 businesses even if it's done through his office. My stay was so
14 short, because this is the time of the crisis before I leave the
10:07:45 15 country, that I didn't really interact within that time and I am
16 saying to you and this Court that if I had stayed probably that
17 would have been one of the functions. I probably would have.

18 Q. And you did flee Liberia in 1983, correct?

19 A. That is correct.

10:08:02 20 Q. And do you recall when it was in 1983 that you fled
21 Liberia?

22 A. All I can put it to is about - I would put it to maybe
23 about the second half of the year. I don't recall the exact
24 month. Those were very trying times.

10:08:24 25 Q. And you fled Liberia out of fear?

26 A. That is correct.

27 Q. At the time that you fled Liberia had you acquired any
28 assets?

29 A. In Liberia, yes, I had acquired. I had bought and finished

1 a house. Yes, I had a house.

2 Q. And where was that house?

3 A. I bought the house on the Old Road in Monrovia. It's
4 called Old Road Sinkor in Monrovia.

10:09:11 5 Q. And did you keep that house after you fled?

6 A. Yes, I did.

7 Q. And do you recall what you paid for that house?

8 A. I am not sure. I am trying to - I think it was about, we
9 are talking about way back in the 80s. I think it was about 25,
10 \$30,000 if I am not wrong.

10:09:36

11 Q. After you fled Liberia did you --

12 PRESIDING JUDGE: Ms Hollis, I am assuming that's 25 or
13 30,000 US dollars.

14 THE WITNESS: That is correct, your Honour.

10:09:50

15 MS HOLLIS: Thank you, Mr President:

16 Q. After you fled Liberia did you derive any revenues from
17 that house?

18 A. No.

19 Q. Other than the house, and you had talked about also
20 purchasing that land in New Hampshire - other than those two
21 pieces of property, had you acquired any other assets?

10:10:01

22 A. Not that I can remember offhand, no. Not that I can
23 recall, no.

24 Q. Did you have any bank accounts at that time?

10:10:19

25 A. In Liberia, I don't think I had a bank account in Liberia,
26 no.

27 Q. Now when you fled Liberia, you were accused by the Doe
28 government of stealing about \$900,000. Is that correct?

29 A. That is correct.

1 Q. And that was related to what transaction?

2 A. That was related to the purchase of spare parts for heavy
3 duty equipment in the republic.

10:11:01

4 Q. And do you recall what business was involved in those spare
5 parts? What company was involved?

6 A. I don't recall the name of the company but I know the
7 individual that owned the company. I don't recall the name of
8 the company right now.

9 Q. Who was the individual that owned the company?

10:11:21

10 A. The company was owned by the Dhillon, D-H-I-L-L-O-N, the
11 Dhillon Brothers group.

12 Q. The Dhillon Brothers group, was this a Liberian group?

13 A. No. Well, a group based in Liberia but they were Indian
14 nationals.

10:11:44

15 Q. So they lived there but they were not nationals of Liberia?

16 A. No, they were not nationals. They had several other
17 businesses. They had one of the largest construction, what I
18 would call, material. Okay, building material companies. I
19 think they had about the largest building material company in the
20 country and they brought in building material, material for road
21 construction and other things like that.

10:12:07

22 Q. Now, you denied taking this \$900,000, correct?

23 A. Definitely.

24 Q. When you left, how much money did you have? You have
25 talked about land, but how much money did you have available to
26 you?

10:12:25

27 A. When I left Liberia I had maybe a few thousand dollars,
28 United States dollars.

29 Q. And this property that you bought in New Hampshire, you

1 were serving in what capacity when you bought that property?

2 A. Director general of the General Services Administration.

3 Q. And how much did that property cost you?

4 A. This was bushland. This was, in New Hampshire, I can't
10:13:13 5 recall, but it was a very - I would put it to about maybe 15,
6 \$17,000. This was forest land.

7 Q. And how did you pay for that property? Did you pay cash,
8 or did you pay through a bank, or how did you pay for it?

9 A. I am sure we paid through - it was done I'm sure through
10:13:37 10 the bank because you couldn't pay - you wouldn't pay cash in
11 America like that. So I am sure it was done probably through a
12 bank. Either bank or maybe money order or something like that.
13 But not with physical cash. That wouldn't happen in America.

14 Q. Now, at the time in 1983 when you fled Liberia, did you
10:14:02 15 have bank accounts in the United States or a bank account in the
16 United States?

17 A. No, I didn't have a bank account in the United States.

18 Q. And when you sold this property in order to try to finance
19 yourself after your escape from jail, how much did you get for
10:14:21 20 that property in New Hampshire?

21 A. I still don't know how much my ex-wife got for that place.
22 I really don't know, but when I got out of jail and she met me
23 she gave me I think about 5, about 5 or \$7,000. 5 to 7,000
24 United States dollars. I really don't know how much she sold it
10:14:49 25 for.

26 Q. Your wife at that time was Enid or Tupee. Is that correct?

27 A. That is correct.

28 Q. And she actually was arrested for her part in your escape,
29 was she not?

1 A. Briefly, yes.

2 Q. And when you left Liberia I think you said that you went
3 through Cote d'Ivoire to New York and you got to New York in late
4 1983. Is that correct?

10:15:22 5 A. That sounds about right, yeah.

6 Q. And then you were arrested in June 1984?

7 A. Yeah, that sounds about right, yeah.

8 Q. When you were arrested, what assets did you have?

9 A. When you say assets, in terms of, again I --

10:15:45 10 Q. Well, let's break it down. Did you have bank accounts?

11 A. Not that I recall, no. I don't recall that.

12 Q. Any bank accounts in your wife's name?

13 A. I doubt it. I doubt it. I don't recall, really.

14 Q. Did you have interest in any businesses of any type?

10:16:14 15 A. No, not that I recall, no.

16 Q. No stocks?

17 A. No. Stocks? No.

18 Q. Now after you got out of jail you said that you took some
19 time leaving the United States, correct?

10:16:34 20 A. That is correct.

21 Q. Tell us again where you went after you left jail?

22 A. New York. Spent some time in New York.

23 Q. How long did you stay there?

24 A. I could have been in New York for about, I would put it to
10:16:59 25 three weeks, to about three weeks, or three weeks to a month, I
26 would put it to.

27 Q. Then you were in Washington DC, is that correct? Spent
28 some time there with Eric Scott?

29 A. That is correct. Not a long time. Just not more than

1 about a day.

2 Q. And who was Eric Scott?

3 A. The late Eric Scott was a very good friend of mine. He is
4 late now. He was then- he is from my region, a young man that I
10:17:29 5 knew, a friend.

6 Q. And his status in the United States at that time was what?

7 A. I don't know really, counsel. I don't know. He could have
8 been a student. He could have been - I don't know. I really
9 don't.

10:17:44 10 Q. When you were staying with him, was he aware you had
11 escaped from jail?

12 A. Yes, I would say so. Now, again, you say when you were
13 staying with him, I said that that stay didn't take no more than
14 a day; overnight and out. So I didn't stay with Eric to say stay
10:18:03 15 like, what, a month or so, no. Not that - drove into Washington
16 DC, spent the day and then was on my way.

17 Q. Mr Taylor, in fact, you put your photograph into Eric
18 Scott's passport and that's what you used to travel onward; isn't
19 that correct?

10:18:23 20 A. No, that is totally, totally incorrect, no.

21 Q. Now, after you left Washington DC, where did you go?

22 A. I drove to Atlanta, Georgia, and took a flight into Texas.

23 Q. And when you took the flight to Texas, did you use your own
24 name for that flight?

10:18:50 25 A. Yes, I used my travel document - I am trying - you know
26 now, counsel, do you require identification to fly internally in
27 the United States? It was not really necessary.

28 Q. You sure you didn't use the Eric Scott passport?

29 A. No, counsel, never used Eric Scott's passport.

1 Q. In Texas who did you stay with?

2 A. Wow, do I know the people? There were some Liberians. I
3 don't - the only thing I can remember about the lady, her name, I
4 know one Mary, a Liberian, because I was, I had not known her
10:19:41 5 before, but somebody had recommended her and she was waiting for
6 me. I don't know her last name. She may be in Liberia right
7 now, I don't know, or still in Texas. But one Mary something. I
8 don't know her last name.

9 Q. And I believe you testified that you stayed in Texas for
10:19:59 10 about a month?

11 A. A month or more, yes.

12 Q. And from Texas then you went to Mexico?

13 A. That is correct.

14 Q. And then from there you went to West Africa, correct?

10:20:14 15 A. Well, before I reached to West Africa, I remember telling
16 this Court, I took - we flew through Belgium and then West
17 Africa.

18 Q. And when you flew back to West Africa, you flew using the
19 Eric Scott passport, did you not?

10:20:32 20 A. No, that is not correct. To the best of my knowledge, the
21 passport that I used was my own passport. It did not have
22 Charles Taylor. I think, if I am not mistaken, it could have had
23 Charles MacArthur Taylor. But to your question: I did not use
24 Eric Scott's passport for any reason, no.

10:21:01 25 Q. And once you are back to West Africa before launching the
26 invasion of Liberia, you spent some years raising money for your
27 endeavours, for your movement, correct?

28 A. Wow, is this some - yes, raising money. Well, yes. Okay.
29 Correct, yes.

1 Q. What year did you get back to West Africa?

2 A. Well, I would say what? Late '84, early '85, I would put
3 it to.

10:21:39

4 Q. And at that time that you began to raise money for your
5 movement, who were you getting your money from?

10:21:59

6 A. Well, different - I mean, this is what I say. I say well,
7 yes, when you say begin to raise money, because there was very
8 little to raise. But eventually for the movement we got
9 assistance from the Libyan - from the Mataba through the Libyan
10 embassy at the time, but that's about it. So generally I would
11 categorise that as raising money, yes.

12 Q. So you didn't get money from individual donors for your
13 movement?

10:22:17

14 A. No, not really. Here and there people would chip in. I
15 mean, we were all struggling at the time and nobody had - you
16 know, raising money, that's really western. People helped at
17 that time. Your friend needed a few dollars maybe to take a bus,
18 you help him. But that's not - I wouldn't call that really
19 raising money. No one had the money at the time. There was a
20 friend down there whenever he could help, the son-in-law of the
21 late President Tolbert, who - he didn't - you know, who from time
22 to time helped, but not in terms of the type of thing - when you
23 say raising money, Mr King - Tonia King, I think that's T-O-N-Y -
24 T-O-N-I-A. It's probably in the records. But I mean, he would
25 help from time to time, but not that type of raising money you
26 are talking about, no. Other than him, no.

10:23:19

27 Q. Did you use any of your own money --

28 A. No, I didn't.

29 Q. -- to organise and prepare this movement?

1 A. No, I really didn't have any money.

2 Q. From the time that you arrived back in West Africa until
3 the time that you actually launched the invasion of Liberia, what
4 sources of income did you have?

10:23:49 5 A. Very, very meagre sources. This is why we fought - we
6 fought immediately to try to get assistance because we had no
7 money. Very, very meagre problems. We were having serious
8 problems. In fact, I was being assisted even while I was living
9 in Ghana by a friend that gave me a place in his house to stay.

10:24:20 10 So it was very tough time. I didn't have any money.

11 Q. Who was that friend?

12 A. I lived with a family in Ghana. It's called the Appenteng
13 family - A-P-P-E-N-T-E-N-G - Appenteng family, who gave me a room
14 in his house to stay.

10:24:49 15 Q. And at this time, where was your wife Tupee?

16 A. Tupee was in the United States. We had at that time broken
17 up and we were estranged, so she did not come to me - with me in
18 West Africa.

19 Q. And Agnes was with you, was she?

10:25:11 20 A. Agnes came down to me to West Africa. When I say came down
21 with me, came down to me, because she followed. So not "with",
22 because she did not accompany me.

23 Q. Now, you remained with Agnes until after you had actually
24 launched the invasion of Liberia, correct?

10:25:27 25 A. That is correct.

26 Q. And during the time from your arrival - or her arrival back
27 in West Africa until you launched the invasion in 1989, did she
28 contribute to your sustenance?

29 A. No, not really. Agnes was depending on me. Agnes had no

1 money, no.

2 Q. During the time --

3 A. Excuse me, counsel. The two of us lived something like a
4 live-in in this room granted by this gentleman, this friend.

10:26:00 5 Q. During this time did you have any jobs?

6 A. No, I didn't have any job.

7 Q. Any salary of any sort?

8 A. No, no.

9 Q. Were you receiving funds from anyone?

10:26:14 10 A. Yes, we started receiving little assistance. From the time
11 we made contact with the ambassador from Burkina Faso, that name
12 Mamuna, from time to time we explained our plight and they began
13 assisting a little bit, and by the time I visit Ouagadougou and
14 meet with an official of the Libyan embassy, we begin to get some
10:26:54 15 assistance.

16 Q. The ambassador from Burkina Faso, how much assistance did
17 she provide to you?

18 A. I would put it to - it varied. I would put it to not more
19 than about - at that time I don't remember the - what they call
10:27:18 20 it? The exchange rate. But 70,000 CFA at the time. I wouldn't
21 be able to convert that to dollars now because I don't know what
22 the rate is any more. But sometimes 75,000 CFA at the time we
23 would get.

24 Q. So the total amount that she would have provided to you,
10:27:46 25 can you tell us that?

26 A. Over the many months?

27 Q. Yes.

28 A. Oh, up until we get to the Libyans, I would put it to about
29 six, seven months. I would say maybe 400,000, 500,000 CFA.

1 Q. And you said maybe over the course of six or seven months.
2 That was during what year or years?

3 A. I would put that - now we are talking about - that could be
4 about '85. Put that to around '85.

10:28:24 5 PRESIDING JUDGE: I don't know whether this is already on
6 the record, but what are CFA and how much are they to the US
7 dollar?

8 THE WITNESS: I really don't know what it is now. CFA is
9 the - it's the French - French CFA is the CFA that is used by the
10:28:41 10 Francophone block in West Africa. It is called the CFA. I
11 really don't know what the rate is now, but we could - but the
12 CFA zone is recognised, so it would be easy to get the exchange
13 rates and it has not varied too widely now, I don't think.

14 MS HOLLIS:

10:29:03 15 Q. And the CFA that were being provided to you by the
16 ambassador, was she getting that from the government of Burkina
17 Faso, or was she giving that to you individually?

18 A. Really, to tell you the truth, I don't know. She - it
19 could have been - because by the time we first make contact, the
10:29:22 20 Libyans are aware. We still haven't met them. It could have
21 been coming from the Libyan embassy to her. It could have been
22 coming from the Burkinabe government. I am not sure. We
23 received it from her, and that's it. I don't know where - what's
24 the source of the money.

10:29:43 25 Q. And the CFA, could that be Community Finance of Africa,
26 CFA - the Anglicised version of that?

27 A. You got me on that one. I really don't know. All I know
28 it's just called the - we just called it CFA - the French CFA of
29 West Africa. The acronym CFA, I really don't know what it stands

1 for. But it's still the currency used by Francophone West
2 Africa. The CFA is still used.

3 Q. And when you went to Burkina Faso, what sources of income
4 did you have there?

10:30:26 5 A. I was living there.

6 Q. Yes.

7 A. Oh, the government granted me assistance. The government
8 at that time of Blaise Compaore assisted me at that time.

9 Q. And how much assistance did you receive from the government
10:30:41 10 of Burkina Faso?

11 A. A house, a car, security. In terms of finances, it's been
12 so long, counsel, I don't know. But it could have been as much
13 as 100,000 CFA on a monthly basis.

14 Q. On a monthly basis?

10:31:08 15 A. Yes, it could have been as much as 100,000 CFA.

16 Q. And what were you doing for the government of Burkina Faso
17 in return for this assistance?

18 A. Oh, nothing really. As - you know, they knew my plight and
19 they were just granting assistance to an African brother, that's
10:31:31 20 all.

21 Q. But there must have been many African brothers there. Why
22 were they giving assistance to you?

23 A. I am sure they were giving it to others, because it was -
24 Deby, the present President of Chad, was there. I knew him
10:31:46 25 there. They granted assistance. People don't ask for things in
26 return. I was not the only person there. Like I say, the
27 present President of Chad, Idriss Deby, was there. That's how I
28 got to know him, and people granted assistance without strings
29 attached. Of course, I mean, you will meet and talk to them and

1 give maybe personal opinions about issues, but I was not
2 performing a service for the government. They knew my plight and
3 they knew that I needed assistance. I had a wife with me, and so
4 they assisted me.

10:32:28 5 Q. And what kind of personal opinions did you provide to them?

6 A. When I say personal opinion, you and your friends sit down
7 and talk and laugh and joke and you - personally. Blaise became
8 my friend, and that's when I started learning a little bit of
9 French, and we'd break up the French laughing and joking. And,

10:32:46 10 of course, in these conversations maybe things that are even
11 personal. Men - when men sit down they joke, just as you women
12 do. Men talk women business; women talk men business. That's
13 what - of course --

14 Q. Did you talk about your plans to attack Liberia?

10:33:03 15 A. Of course he was aware.

16 Q. And did he give you advice about those plans?

17 A. No, no. I didn't seek any advice. He didn't give me any
18 advice. I mean I was trying to get the Libyans to assist and I
19 was there and that assistance was ongoing. Let me remind you

10:33:26 20 now, counsel, just to help the Court, by the time I get to
21 Burkina Faso to actually live I have told this Court that the
22 first two groups of individuals are already gone to Libya. So
23 you know the government is aware that we are planning this and
24 they are aware of where I am getting the assistance. So I just
10:33:55 25 wanted to remind you that I have already established that here.

26 Q. And in terms of the Libyan assistance that you yourself
27 were receiving, what were you receiving from them while you were
28 in Burkina Faso?

29 A. It depends. Whenever I travel the Burkinabe government

1 gave me CFA. Whenever I travelled to Libya, spend, what, a week,
2 ten days, because of the men that were there, their families and
3 other assistance, on some trips the Libyans would give me 15,
4 20,000 United States dollars to help some of the families of the
10:34:44 5 men that were there to, you know - my personal sustenance and
6 whatever other assistance, you know, we could give to their
7 families, those that we could help, yes.

8 Q. The amounts that you got from the Libyan government, was
9 that only when you went to Libya or were you actually also given
10:35:09 10 amounts while you were in Burkina Faso?

11 A. No, when I went to Libya. When I went to Libya.

12 Q. The amounts that you received from the Burkina Faso
13 government, who gave you those amounts?

14 A. Well, there was a military officer that brought it to me.
10:35:25 15 It's from the government, I said. The government gave it to me.

16 Q. But who actually provided the sums to you?

17 A. Well, it depends. Different individuals brought the money.
18 I didn't have to go to a ministry or an agency. An officer
19 brought it and it would be different individuals at different
10:35:44 20 times.

21 Q. Do you remember the names of any of those individuals?

22 A. No, I don't.

23 Q. While you were in Burkina Faso, I believe you mentioned
24 that you did have at least one bank account there, is that
10:35:56 25 correct?

26 A. That is correct.

27 Q. How many bank accounts did you have there in total?

28 A. I know I remember one bank account. There could have been
29 two. I can remember one, but it could have been two, but I

1 remember one bank account so I will speak about the one.

2 Q. In what name was that bank account?

3 A. That bank account was in the name of Jean-Michel Some,
4 that's spelt S-O-M-E. While I was in exile and pursuing the

10:36:39 5 revolution I used an alias, Jean-Michel Some.

6 Q. And Jean, was that J-E-A-N?

7 A. That is correct.

8 Q. Michel, M-I-C-H-E-L?

9 A. That is correct and S-O-M-E, Some.

10:36:53 10 Q. Did you have documents that in that name of Jean-Michel
11 Some?

12 A. Yes.

13 Q. What kind of documents?

14 A. I had an identity card and a special pass that would enter
10:37:10 15 the what you call the Conseil de l'Entente. Where the presidency
16 is, it was a restricted area and they would give you - so those
17 of us that were there that were revolutionaries so to speak were
18 given a special pass that if we wanted to enter that restricted
19 area, we could enter.

10:37:31 20 Q. Now, in addition to yourself, were any other members of
21 your NPFL given such a pass?

22 A. No, not to - no. I was the only one given that pass. As
23 far as I remember I was the only one.

24 Q. And during what period of time did you have that special
10:37:52 25 pass?

26 A. Throughout my time in Burkina Faso, from the time I get
27 there I would say around '85 until I leave launching my
28 revolution all the way I would say until, we are talking about
29 what, '89, '90.

1 Q. Did you have a passport in this other name?

2 A. I think I had a passport in Jean-Michel Some. I think I
3 did.

10:38:33

4 Q. And how were you able to acquire these documents in a name
5 that was not your own?

6 A. Counsel, covert operations passports are done all the time.
7 It was a covert operation. I was being secured and it was
8 granted by the government, just as governments do all the time.
9 Once it's a covert operation, names are changed, identities are
10 changed, addresses are changed. It's normal. That's what we
11 did.

10:38:53

12 Q. So the identity card was also issued to you in this other
13 name by the government?

10:39:07

14 A. Jean-Michel Some, all the documents that I had issued under
15 Jean-Michel Some was issued by the government covertly to protect
16 me. Yes, all.

17 Q. Knowing that that was not your name?

10:39:29

18 A. But that's the whole thing, counsel. That's not unique to
19 my situation. Covert operations are that way, knowing it was not
20 my name of course. That's an alias.

21 Q. Now what were the covert operations you were involved in in
22 Burkina Faso?

10:39:45

23 A. By covert, I am preparing for my revolution. That's the
24 covert. My operation was covert, covered, undercover, and so I
25 was granted a document for that and also the Government of
26 Liberia was hunting me down because they had some wind of what
27 was going on and my life was at stake so it was important that I
28 travelled under an alias.

29 Q. Was there an international arrest warrant out for you

1 because of your escape from the United States?

2 A. Not to my knowledge. Not to my knowledge. When I escaped
3 from the United States to the best of my knowledge the Plymouth
4 County, the prison, I think, and maybe Massachusetts may have
10:40:33 5 had - I am not aware and there could have been - I am not aware
6 of an international arrest warrant. If this was so, I am sure
7 that for the many travels I have travelled around Africa I
8 probably would have been arrested. I am not aware of that.

9 Q. How long did you keep this bank account in Burkina Faso?

10:40:53 10 A. It was there even during the war. During the war it was
11 kept. I don't recall when we closed it, but it was kept there
12 for some time during the war. We kept it because I kept going in
13 and coming and transactions were conducted through that
14 particular account, yeah.

10:41:22 15 Q. That bank account in your name, your Some, in that name?

16 A. Yeah. You know, counsel, like I say, there was Some and I
17 am saying that I am not sure if after the revolution started if I
18 opened a second account in my real name, I don't recall, but I
19 can speak very clearly about one of the accounts that stayed into
10:41:48 20 place throughout the revolution, yes.

21 Q. How much money did you have in that account while that
22 account was open?

23 A. Counsel, it's a little difficult. You put money, you take
24 money. But the total amount of money, the highest amount that
10:42:12 25 could have ever entered that account at any time that I vaguely
26 recall, I would put it to maybe \$200,000 could have entered that
27 account.

28 Q. US dollars?

29 A. United States dollars, yes. But I don't - because I just

1 didn't manage it. As we got assistance during the war, sometimes
2 the Libyans would give assistance, we would put it in the
3 account. Depending on the amount that would be given, sometimes
4 50,000 or something to help. But I could say around 200,000
10:42:54 5 United States dollars, or it could be plus or minus.

6 Q. And you said that that would be - the highest amount that
7 could have ever entered that account would be \$200,000. Over the
8 time of that account how much money total would have gone into
9 that account?

10:43:09 10 A. Counsel, I swear, I am not going to lie to this Court, I
11 don't know. We are talking about almost 15 years. Because
12 money, you get money today, you deposit it, you have to move it
13 out next week. I really, really, really don't know how much
14 money went into that account over the years, but I can tell you
10:43:31 15 one thing I am sure of it's not a substantial amount of money in
16 the millions of dollars. I would even doubt if it was even a
17 million dollars in total. We are not talking about large amounts
18 of money here. Not at all. Not large amounts of money, no.

19 Q. The Burkina Faso military officers who would bring you
10:43:52 20 money, would they bring you cash --

21 A. CFA.

22 Q. -- or did they bring you money in other forms?

23 A. No, no, the money would be in an envelope, CFA, they would
24 put it in an envelope and bring it to you.

10:44:04 25 Q. And the money that you received from Libya, that would be
26 in what form?

27 A. That would be in United States dollars.

28 Q. Cash?

29 A. Cash, yes.

1 Q. So you would bring that back from Libya and put it into
2 your bank account?

3 A. That is correct.

10:44:19

4 Q. Were there times that you received money through your bank
5 account from Libya through other individuals? Let me make that
6 clear. While you were in Burkina Faso, were you ever given
7 amounts from Libya by Libyans who were in Burkina Faso?

8 A. Yes, at times, yes.

9 Q. And who would give you those monies?

10:44:40

10 A. Depending on - at the embassy, sometimes when things are
11 rough and you have an emergency you go there and talk to them,
12 they would raise a few thousand, 2 or \$3,000 for you to alleviate
13 the problem, because the monies were coming from Tripoli and
14 whatever monies they gave from their embassy in Burkina Faso were
15 their embassy funds and, you know, they were not authorised to do
16 that. So they would help out very small, but they would say you
17 have to wait until you go up to Tripoli and explain your problem.

10:45:03

18 Q. Did you use any other names in Burkina Faso other than
19 Jean-Michel Some and you said later you possibly had an account
20 in your own name? Any other names used?

10:45:30

21 A. No, no, I didn't. I only used Jean-Michel Some.

22 Q. Did your wife Agnes have any accounts in Burkina Faso?

23 A. No.

24 Q. By this time, was she your wife?

10:45:49

25 A. By this time, yes, she had - she was my wife, yes.

26 Q. So you married her when you were in Ghana or Burkina Faso
27 or where?

28 A. I married her in Burkina Faso.

29 Q. And you remained married to her until when?

1 A. We went into Liberia, I would say until about, I would put
2 it to about 80 - 80? I'm sorry. I would say about '92. Until
3 about '92. '91, '92.

4 Q. Was she a member of the NPFL?

10:46:42 5 A. Well, when you say a member, she was my wife and by that
6 status, yes. You didn't have an identification card in the NPFL.
7 She was my wife and wife and husband are one to that extent. I
8 would say yes.

9 Q. Independently was she a member of the NPFL?

10:46:57 10 A. No.

11 Q. Of the NPRAG?

12 A. No.

13 Q. Did she have any assets or income while you were in Burkina
14 Faso?

10:47:07 15 A. None. I took care of my family.

16 Q. Is she related in any way to the Burkina Faso ambassador in
17 Ghana, Mamuna Ouattara?

18 A. No. Agnes is Liberian, 100 per cent Liberian from Grand
19 Bassa County. Mamuna Ouattara is Jula from Burkina Faso,

10:47:31 20 Burkinabe. No relationship whatsoever.

21 Q. And she had no relationship, no family relationship with
22 Blaise Compaore?

23 A. No, no. Blaise is Mossi. Mossi from Burkina Faso.

24 Q. While you were in Ghana did you have any bank accounts in
10:47:48 25 Ghana?

26 A. No, didn't have any bank accounts in Ghana.

27 Q. And what name did you go by in Ghana?

28 A. I think I went by what was on my passport. I think it was
29 the C MacArthur Taylor, if I am not mistaken. I was now using

1 the Jean-Michel Some, no, in Ghana. I think it was C MacArthur
2 Taylor, if I am not mistaken.

3 Q. During those times that you visited Libya, did you
4 establish any bank accounts in Libya?

10:48:26 5 A. No, no, I needed money from Libya. I didn't establish any
6 bank account, no.

7 Q. While you were in Burkina Faso, did you have interest in
8 any businesses there?

9 A. None whatsoever. None. Nope.

10:48:37 10 Q. Any stocks?

11 A. No.

12 Q. Any other assets other than the monies you were given by
13 the Burkina Faso government or the Libyan government?

14 A. None whatsoever.

10:48:48 15 Q. So at the time that you then went into Ivory Coast and you
16 were ready to launch your invasion of Libya - excuse me, of
17 Liberia in December 1989, what assets did you have?

18 A. I would say only whatever little money that was in the bank
19 account in Burkina Faso. Other than that, I had no assets.

10:49:20 20 Q. Did you open any bank accounts in Ivory Coast?

21 A. No, none. None whatsoever.

22 Q. Did you have any business affiliations in Ivory Coast?

23 A. None whatsoever.

24 Q. And by what name did you go while you were in Ivory Coast?

10:49:37 25 A. Well, by the time I reached in Ivory Coast, my actual name
26 was out, Charles Taylor. The time I launched the revolution, the
27 name Charles Taylor is what I used, my real name.

28 Q. And while you were in the Cote d'Ivoire preparing for your
29 invasion, how did you draw money out of your account in Burkina

1 Faso? Did you yourself travel there? Did you send others? How
2 did you do that?

3 A. Whatever I needed I brought with me from there. I didn't
4 return to Burkina Faso until later on, I would say March/April -
10:50:19 5 about March. But whatever I needed I brought with me. I was in
6 hiding in La Cote d'Ivoire. Let me re-emphasise this. My stay
7 in La Cote d'Ivoire for that short time during the initial entry
8 into Liberia, I was in hiding around the border. It was not with
9 the knowledge and/or consent of the Ivorian government. So I was
10:50:45 10 being sought after by Ivorian authorities, but I was being hidden
11 by tribal individuals on the border that were connected with my
12 Special Forces. So - but I can tell you during that time if I
13 needed money, I would have had to send someone back and the most
14 probable individual would have been Musa Cisse. But what I
10:51:11 15 needed, I brought with me when I was coming from Ouagadougou.

16 Q. Did you send Musa Cisse back to Burkina Faso at any time to
17 get monies from your account there?

18 A. No, I cannot recall at that particular time. But at other
19 times - and I can't remember - at other times Musa did have
10:51:35 20 access to the account at other times.

21 Q. What were those other times?

22 A. I don't remember the exact time, but, I mean, while the war
23 was going on and for the many years, there were times that I
24 could not go, I would probably let Musa go and do something, and
10:51:52 25 this could have happened, I would say, between 1991 - I don't
26 remember the exact times. The point I am trying to make for the
27 Court here is that Musa did have access to that account.

28 Q. So he was a signatory on that account?

29 A. One of the - I think he could - I would sign a cheque, but

1 Musa would have to do a second something, if he was used at all.

2 Q. And at this time, let's say the time before your invasion,
3 Musa Cisse was with the NPFL at that time?

4 A. Oh, yes.

10:52:31 5 Q. In Ivory Coast?

6 A. Oh, yes. Musa Cisse went to Libya many times with me, yes.

7 Q. And what was his capacity at that time?

8 A. Just - I would say just one of the participants, you know.
9 He was considered one of the officials. He didn't do any

10:52:49 10 military training. Just one of the interested parties, I would
11 put it.

12 Q. And he was a businessman, isn't that correct?

13 A. By this time Musa Cisse was not a businessman. Musa Cisse
14 was a businessman in Liberia before the time he lost everything.

10:53:04 15 He was having problems himself. He was in exile by this time in
16 La Cote d'Ivoire.

17 Q. At the time that you were sending Musa Cisse back to
18 Burkina Faso to draw monies from that account, who was putting
19 money into the account?

10:53:21 20 A. This was money that was probably already there. Nobody put
21 money in the account but me. Because to put money into a bank
22 account, you need what? The account number. So this is what I
23 am saying, that over the couple of years I am saying that if
24 there was a need - and I can say, you know, it could be at least
10:53:44 25 once or twice. If there was a real urgent need that I couldn't
26 move, I would sign a cheque and send Musa. But this was not a
27 regular occurrence. But nobody put money in the account but me.

28 Q. Now, the times that you went back to Burkina Faso, who were
29 you receiving money from to put into that account?

1 A. The only source of money that I had at that particular time
2 I went back was whatever little assistance the Libyans, you know,
3 were giving. That's all.

10:54:16

4 Q. So you're saying that at that time Burkina Faso was not
5 assisting you financially?

6 A. No. No. No.

7 Q. Now, you talked about getting papers - getting official
8 documents under a different name through the Burkina Faso
9 government. Did the Libyan government ever assist you in getting
10 documents under a different name?

10:54:37

11 A. No.

12 Q. Did they ever assist you in getting documents of any type?

13 A. No.

10:55:03

14 Q. Mr Taylor, it's correct, is it not, that you declared
15 yourself President in 1990 after the death of Master Sergeant
16 Doe; isn't that correct?

17 A. That I declared myself President of what?

18 Q. Of Liberia.

10:55:28

19 A. I am not sure that is correct. What - I would have to see
20 the general - because we are talking about a political
21 environment now. How do you declare? I am still in the bush. I
22 could have said that now that Doe is dead, I have the country so
23 I should be entitled to the presidency. But to declare myself
24 President? I don't have any recollection of declaring myself
25 President in a way that I would think that should be done, no.

10:55:49

26 Q. In 1990 you also established your own government based in
27 Gbarnga; isn't that correct?

28 A. Well, in 1990, the thought - no, that is incorrect. Let me
29 just answer you. Incorrect. I established that government in

1 1991. That is incorrect.

2 Q. And by "that government" we are talking about the NPRAG; we
3 are in agreement on that?

10:56:25

4 A. Yes, that was accepted by the media and ECOWAS at the
5 time - the ECOWAS Committee of Five at the time, yes.

6 Q. Actually, your government wasn't recognised
7 internationally, was it?

8 A. What do you mean by "internationally"?

10:56:40

9 Q. Well, "internationally" means what it means. Outside of
10 Liberia; outside, in fact, of your own group.

11 A. But then I disagree.

12 Q. And it wasn't recognised by ECOWAS, was it?

13 A. I disagree.

10:56:55

14 Q. When do you say your government, this second government,
15 NPRAG, was recognised as an official government by ECOWAS?

16 A. Well, let me just whatchamacallit. I remember at a meeting
17 in Yamoussoukro in La Cote d'Ivoire chaired by President
18 Houphouet-Boigny, it was agreed that there would be the existence
19 of these two entities; the NPRAG and the Interim Government of
20 National Unity and that both of us were received and called
21 Presidents. I remember very well.

10:57:19

22 Q. Are you saying they officially recognised your government,
23 or they accepted the reality that you had created this entity?

10:57:35

24 A. I am not getting into my reading here. For me, they
25 accepted it. I was received at meetings as President of the
26 NPRAG and we were referred to as NPRAG, and I think there was a
27 document established here where we signed that document. Enoch
28 Dogolea signed even as Vice-President of the NPRAG and it was
29 accepted. If not, they would have said, "We do not want to see

1 NPRAG." I can remember going to meetings: Sawyer would be
2 received as President of the interim government; I would be
3 received as President of the NPRAG.

4 Q. In fact you weren't recognised as President, were you?

10:58:09 5 A. I have just told you I was recognised as President.

6 Q. Now, the NPFL existed prior to your creation of the NPRAG,
7 correct?

8 A. Definitely.

9 Q. Prior to the creation of the NPRAG, did the NPFL have bank
10:58:30 10 accounts?

11 A. No, the NPFL had no bank accounts.

12 Q. How did you pay for the functioning of the NPFL?

13 A. Well, I had a bank account. The monies that were given to
14 the organisation - I told you we received assistance from Libya,
10:58:54 15 and the monies that were coming into those accounts were not -
16 they were for two purposes: They granted some assistance to me
17 personally; but the bulk of that money was for operational works
18 of the NPFL. That's how it was.

19 Q. When you say "operational works", what do you mean? How
10:59:15 20 was that money spent?

21 A. Food, medicine, transportation.

22 Q. Arms and ammunition?

23 A. No. The Libyans did not give me money to buy arms and
24 ammunition. They wanted to give arms and ammunition that it
10:59:33 25 never got around to doing. But by the time we launched the
26 revolution in Liberia and started, we had all the arms and
27 ammunition that we needed to fight. That money was used for, for
28 example, like purchasing of vehicles, fuel supplies and gasoline,
29 repairs, and different things. But they never gave us money to

1 buy arms and ammunition.

2 Q. Well, they gave you arms and ammunition, didn't they?

3 A. Well, it depends on when you are talking about now, when
4 you say the Libyans - I told you that the Libyans did not get

11:00:12 5 around to granting us to getting those arms and ammunition to us
6 because of the situation involving the problem of Joseph Momoh.

7 Q. But it's correct, is it not, that after your invasion you
8 got about a third of your arms and ammunition from what you
9 captured in-country?

11:00:32 10 A. That is incorrect.

11 Q. And two-thirds you got from Libya?

12 A. That is totally, totally incorrect, no.

13 Q. That's the story you want this Court to believe?

14 A. That's the right story that I'm telling this Court.

11:00:42 15 Listen, there should be no reason why, if Libya gave me arms and
16 ammunition, I wouldn't tell you. I have told this Court that
17 Burkina Faso assisted during the very early time when I returned
18 there in about March 1990. Why wouldn't I say that Libya did? I
19 mean, what do I have to hide for Libya? Libya is a big boy.

11:01:02 20 They can answer for themselves. I am not going to lie. I said
21 that we - most of the arms that we fought with in Liberia, we
22 captured from the Armed Forces of Liberia.

23 Q. Your commanders would know how much you captured and how
24 much was given to you by Libya, wouldn't they?

11:01:17 25 A. When you say - of course the commanders would know what was
26 captured. If any material came from Libya they would know, yes.

27 Q. This money that you brought from Burkina Faso to pay for
28 food, for medicine, you brought that in cash?

29 A. Yes.

1 Q. And you brought that in what currency?

2 A. We brought it sometimes in dollars. Sometimes we brought
3 it - we changed it and brought it in CFA - CFA that I spoke
4 about. The CFA is used generally in, like I say, all the
11:01:56 5 Francophone countries: Burkina Faso; La Cote d'Ivoire; Togo;
6 Benin; Guinea - the Guinea CFA was a little different - Senegal.
7 That's the Francophone CFA zone, and you use it throughout those
8 zones.

9 Q. So you were buying this food and medicine, at least in
11:02:18 10 part, in La Cote d'Ivoire?

11 A. That is correct.

12 Q. And how did you pay for the lodging for your troops?

13 A. What do you mean "lodging"? Where? In La Cote --

14 Q. Where they lived; where they slept?

11:02:28 15 A. No, we didn't pay for that. These were our families, I
16 told you. The Gios from Liberia and La Cote d'Ivoire are the
17 same family. We didn't have to pay for houses to rent. People
18 just - their families live along the border. They just blended
19 in with their families, and it is not for a very long time. We
11:02:46 20 move in, we consolidate quickly, we did not want things to break
21 loose, and we get out of there. We were so desperate to get
22 out - remember I told this Court - we attacked Liberia with
23 hunting guns - with shotguns - what you call in America shotguns.

24 Q. And as you moved out to other areas, how did you pay for
11:03:03 25 the lodging in those areas?

26 A. What lodging? In Liberia?

27 Q. Yes.

28 A. You are in your county, you live with family and friends.
29 We are a little different. We are fighting - most of the boys, I

1 would say 60, 70 per cent, were from Nimba. It's a little
2 different on that side, counsel. People don't charge people like
3 that. We are not - we are different in our part of the world.
4 Lodging? Not every time, like even the other day, while asking
11:03:35 5 in fact about the Honourable Justice Sebutinde was concerned
6 about the \$4 an acre for land, we get land free. I had free land
7 - also free land in Liberia. It's a little different. The
8 people don't always charge you when you come to spend the night
9 or you've got to pay for everything. The extended family
11:03:54 10 approach in West Africa and most of Africa is the strength of the
11 African, the extended family. If a friend comes and you speak
12 the same language, you are considered a brother right away. You
13 can probably stay there for a week or two and don't have to pay
14 for food or nothing. So it didn't cost any money, counsel.

11:04:11 15 Q. When you moved out of Nimba County how did you pay for the
16 lodging?

17 A. As we move along, people gave the houses, depending on how
18 you entered a town, a village. The commanders and most of the
19 soldiers didn't move into houses. We did not take people's
11:04:28 20 houses. The soldiers were busy on duty. They were trained to be
21 out there. Those people that wanted to donate houses to stay.
22 There is a system that was used in Liberia in our case and I am
23 sure any African listening to this will whatchamacallit. When
24 you get to a village or town and you go to the town chief and you
11:04:55 25 tell the town chief that you are a stranger and you need help,
26 you need a place to stay, the town chief will gather his people
27 and they will find a place for you. They would find a place for
28 you, they will find food for you, everything. I mean, you are
29 there for a day or two, you don't have to do a thing. Once you

1 get to the chief and explain your problem to the chief, he will
2 call his people and they will solve your problem.

3 Q. What actually happened is you went to these chiefs and you
4 basically ordered them to do all these things and they had no
11:05:23 5 choice. That's really how it worked, isn't that correct?

6 A. That is totally, totally, totally false. No, it didn't
7 work that way.

8 Q. And you basically took what you wanted as you moved through
9 these areas?

11:05:35 10 A. We don't operate that way, Ms Hollis. That's not the way
11 we operated and that's why we were successful. I have explained
12 to you a basic African trait and nobody went to these chiefs - in
13 fact I have told this Court if you took as much as a chicken free
14 from any village, as a soldier, you were dealt with. And so we
11:05:57 15 didn't joke with that kind of stuff. We went, we did it right.

16 You go to the town chief, you say we are here, you identify the
17 commander and ask the chief for food. The chief, whatever they
18 wanted to give you, they would donate it to you. Nobody in the
19 NPFL took anything by force, no. That would not be acceptable by
11:06:17 20 me, no.

21 Q. Well, in fact it happened and it was accepted by you.
22 That's the truth, isn't it?

23 A. That is the untruth.

24 Q. Mr Taylor, you said that money would come back in the form
11:06:27 25 of cash to pay for all these various NPFL needs. Who actually
26 did the payment?

27 A. We had buying people, people who went out and bought. Musa
28 would buy, his brother Jebbah would buy. Because remember now I
29 am not running all over the place. We used mostly the Ivorian

1 family, people would go into the market and buy things and walk
2 through the bushes and bring it. It was an easy process.

3 Q. And this money that was brought back in, who kept that
4 money?

11:07:04 5 A. Well, it depends. I would - sometimes I would keep the
6 money. Sometimes Musa would keep the money and account for it.
7 If I had money, they would come to me that they needed something
8 done, I would provide money for them.

9 Q. And how much money did you bring into the country for the
11:07:24 10 use of the NPFL from Burkina Faso?

11 A. I don't remember quite frankly, counsel. As we needed
12 money, we would send out and get it. It could be sometimes you
13 bring in 15,000, 20,000, sometimes maybe a million CFA,
14 depending. We are talking about - I don't remember the exact
11:07:53 15 amount but it would be as the need arose.

16 Q. During the time you were drawing on those monies from
17 Burkina Faso, what was the total amount you brought into Liberia
18 from Burkina Faso?

19 A. I can't recall.

11:08:08 20 Q. From that account?

21 A. I cannot recall, counsel. I cannot recall. Like I say, we
22 brought money based - I mean if I knew I would be sitting in this
23 Court maybe I would have kept a record. I can't recall. I am
24 not going to lie to these judges. I can't recall.

11:08:24 25 Q. After you had established the NPRAG, what were your sources
26 of funding after that?

27 A. The NPRAG, after we established the NPRAG, we had one or
28 more sources. One of the sources was the timber. We sold timber
29 that had been left. We sold some timber and some of the timber

1 companies that were there sold timber and paid the taxes. We
2 sold rubber. Firestone was there. At some point the rubber was
3 sold. Firestone did not want to - because they did not want to
4 get involved in a violation of United States laws they did not
11:09:26 5 pay taxes to the NPFL. But we were able to get some of the
6 rubber to avoid them having any confusion and we sold the rubber
7 into La Cote d'Ivoire to get income. So rubber and timber were
8 the two principal sources of income.

9 Q. Now in terms of the rubber, how much money did you make off
11:09:53 10 your sales of the rubber from Firestone?

11 A. Over the period in question, I would talk about maybe two
12 years, we could have made I would say close to a million dollars
13 we could have made from the sale of rubber.

14 Q. And how much of that million dollars went to you
11:10:22 15 personally?

16 A. None. It came into the government revenues.

17 Q. So your story is that none of that came to you personally?

18 A. Well, I don't know what you mean by story. My statement is
19 that. It's not a story.

11:10:36 20 Q. And over what period of time were you receiving this rubber
21 from Firestone?

22 A. I say - well, about I would say one to two years. Between
23 '91, '92 to about '93. I will put it to a year, year and a half.

24 Q. And why did that stop?

11:11:00 25 A. By '94 we have problems. '95 I go to Monrovia and join the
26 - in fact beginning '94, once we joined the interim government in
27 '94 - in fact I think it's a little earlier than that - we then
28 stop because when the interim government comes into place, both
29 the Interim Government of National Unity and the NPRAG are

1 dissolved to create a transitional government. The two
2 governments are dissolved, Amos Sawyer as President and I as
3 President, and we resort then to the Council of State. This is
4 when General Musa goes and is headed by Professor David
11:12:01 5 Kpormakpor. So that is when it ends. It ends at the time that
6 the interim government - I mean, the transitional government
7 comes into place.

8 Q. And after that, the rubber from Firestone, how was that
9 handled?

11:12:15 10 A. Firestone handles her rubber and if there is any income
11 it's paid directly to the national government.

12 Q. To the transitional government?

13 A. That's correct.

14 Q. And to what?

11:12:31 15 A. The Finance Ministry in Monrovia.

16 Q. Now you said that you sold this rubber in Cote d'Ivoire.

17 A. Yes.

18 Q. To whom did you sell it in Cote d'Ivoire?

19 A. Well, again I'm not sure who they sold - when I am saying
11:12:45 20 "you", you know throughout this whole trial as President of

21 Liberia I have been called upon to account for even the minutest
22 of things that I don't know. I am accepting to this Court that
23 with my knowledge it was sold. To whom, based on your question,
24 I don't know. But it was sold in la Cote d'Ivoire to business
11:13:02 25 people that processed it and manufactured. I don't know the name
26 of the companies in there.

27 These minute things, instructions, I guess the only way I
28 can help this Court is to say I authorised it. How they did it,
29 I don't know the details.

1 Q. And how did they cultivate these connections with the
2 business entities in Cote d'Ivoire to whom the rubber was sold?

3 A. I don't know. We had ministries. We had a Minister of
4 Commerce. We had ministries in the NPRAG. They did their jobs.

11:13:33 5 I am saying to this Court that I was aware of it and I authorised
6 it. How it happened on that side, I don't know. I saw the
7 results, that monies came in. But how they did their little - I
8 don't have any idea.

9 Q. Did you use your connections in Ivory Coast to facilitate
11:13:51 10 these sales?

11 A. No, no, counsel. No, no.

12 Q. Was Musa Cisse involved in getting these connections for
13 these sales?

14 A. I don't know. He very well could have, but I am not aware.
11:14:07 15 Because he spoke French. He very well could have, but I have no
16 idea.

17 Q. And during this time that you were selling the rubber in
18 Cote d'Ivoire, was Musa Cisse travelling back and forth to Cote
19 d'Ivoire?

11:14:21 20 A. Well, again, counsel, during the time that you were doing
21 these transactions did Musa Cisse travel? Well, again I want to
22 tell this Court I did not involve myself in any transaction,
23 number one. I have said to this Court, so I am not involved in
24 transaction. Is Musa Cisse travelling in and out of Cote
11:14:41 25 d'Ivoire? Of course he is travelling in and out of Cote
26 d'Ivoire. Is he travelling in and out of Cote d'Ivoire at the
27 time of these transactions? I don't know. All I can verify, of
28 course Musa goes in and out. As to whether he is going in and
29 out doing the transactions I do not know. I do not know as a

1 fact whether he participated at all in any of the transactions.
2 I don't know.

3 Q. When he is going in and out of Cote d'Ivoire during this
4 period, what was the purpose of these trips?

11:15:08 5 A. Musa Cisse had a family. Remember now Musa Cisse is in
6 exile. He had his wife and children living in la Cote d'Ivoire
7 in Danane. So he sometimes went when he got excused to go and
8 visit his family. As far as I know. If he went any other times,
9 it could have been other times that he was not on duty. And
11:15:30 10 between Gbarnga and Danane we are talking about a few hours, so
11 Musa Cisse could still drive into Danane, see his family
12 overnight and come and I hardly would miss him. So it's a very
13 short distance we are talking about.

14 Q. And at this time after you are now in Liberia, '91, '92,
11:15:52 15 '93, what is Musa Cisse's role in your government or the NPFL?

16 A. Musa Cisse remains as something like what you would call an
17 adviser. He has an advisory role. He has a protocol role. But
18 he is a member - original member of the NPFL. So he does have an
19 advisory protocol role. But he is a senior person in the
11:16:21 20 organisation. Very senior.

21 Q. And he is also involved in business activities for the
22 organisation, yes?

23 A. No, not that I am aware. No, not that I am aware of, no.
24 Except that I told you that maybe once or twice he was sent to
11:16:36 25 Burkina Faso to transact with this bank account. He is not
26 involved in any business activities for the organisation that I
27 am aware of, no.

28 Q. Now during this time, '91, '92, '93, in fact I think you
29 have said now up to '94 that this rubber business was going on

1 with the NPFL, who did you trust to form those deals in the
2 Ivory Coast?

3 A. Well, let me just get the record straight now because we
4 have extended '92, '93, we are up to '94. Let me just clear the
11:17:13 5 record. By 1994, the transitional government is in place in
6 Monrovia. General Musa is in Monrovia. So I have to bring this
7 now for the sake of the record reflecting that government is put
8 together after I think it's Cotonou in '93. So I just want to
9 just nail it now and stop it at '93. It's expanding now too
11:17:38 10 much. Because '94 Gbarnga is attacked but General Musa is in
11 Monrovia. So I want to cut it in '93.

12 Now, during the particular time, according to your
13 question, you are saying now who is transacting business. Is
14 this your question?

11:17:54 15 Q. Who did you trust to transact these business deals
16 involving rubber?

17 A. Well, it's not a matter of who I trusted. I had a
18 government, and whoever was in charge had to be trusted. I
19 mean - so I didn't send any personal individual. The government
11:18:13 20 functioned as a government. There was an Assembly and it
21 functioned as a government.

22 Q. So who would have been involved in these deals in your
23 government?

24 A. I am not sure who was in charge of Commerce at that time.
11:18:28 25 I don't know. I remember Finance was controlled by a gentleman
26 called Dennis. I think William Dennis was the Finance Minister.
27 I don't remember who the Commerce Minister was. I don't recall
28 that.

29 Q. Which of those two ministers would have been involved in

1 actually transacting the deals for rubber in Ivory Coast?

2 A. Commerce. Commerce would have been.

3 Q. And this based on contract, or how is this done?

11:19:18

4 A. I hope I could help, counsel. I don't know, but I can take
5 a wild guess to help.

6 Q. That's all right. We don't want you to take wild guesses.

7 It's okay. You say that you authorised these deals. What do you
8 mean you authorised them?

11:19:35

9 A. What I mean is that as the President of the NPRAG or the
10 government, I was aware and - of the transactions. I mean that
11 such transaction of sale would occur in La Cote d'Ivoire. I was
12 told that the only source of sending the rubber - of selling the
13 rubber would be in La Cote d'Ivoire, and so I authorised that it
14 could happen.

11:19:56

15 Q. And the deal that you had with Firestone, who actually
16 worked that out with Firestone?

17 A. Well, gee, I don't - I don't remember. It could have been
18 the Commerce Minister that worked this out where Firestone would
19 not - in fact, Firestone said they could not because it would be
20 in violation, I think, of America laws. Even though they were
21 operating in Liberia, but they were subject to still American
22 laws, and so we just told them: Well, fine. If, you know, we
23 get the rubber, we'll do what we want to do with the rubber. So
24 that's what happened. But it would have been the Commerce
25 Minister.

11:20:41

26 Q. Now, at some point you would have talked with Firestone
27 about this arrangement, would you not?

28 A. No.

29 Q. So they would just have trusted whoever your Finance

1 Minister was?

2 A. Not the Finance Minister. I said the Commerce Minister.

3 Q. Commerce Minister.

4 A. Yes.

11:20:52 5 Q. So you're saying that you never spoke with Firestone about
6 this arrangement?

7 A. Never spoke to Firestone about that arrangement, no.

8 Q. You also said that you were receiving income through timber
9 and you indicated there was some timber that you actually sold.

11:21:06 10 What was this timber?

11 A. Timber.

12 Q. Where did you get this timber to sell it?

13 A. Oh. Some of the companies at the height of the war fled
14 the country and just left the - some of the timber was in the
11:21:23 15 port, and most of this timber we also sold into San Pedro. San
16 Pedro is a port town in La Cote d'Ivoire. So those companies,
17 individuals that wanted to buy timber, it's a short hop. Those
18 timbers that were left in the port, especially of Maryland and
19 other areas, we needed them for our sustenance, and so we sold
11:21:48 20 them to the buyers in San Pedro.

21 Q. And this timber, you're saying, was timber that was left
22 actually at the port?

23 A. Yes, timber left at the port. Some of the companies
24 negotiated that - you know, that we should let them remove the
11:22:06 25 timber and that they would pay certainly amounts. But this was
26 mostly timber in the port. There was no forestry activities
27 going on during the war.

28 Q. And why did these other companies flee and leave their
29 timber in the port?

1 A. The war. The war. Some people were afraid, and some of
2 them left. Some of them, their governments asked them to leave
3 in spite of the fact that there were assurances. But, you know,
4 some of the governments had asked them to leave, that they would
11:22:38 5 no longer be responsible for their activities if they remained in
6 the country, so some of them fled. Even though I don't think
7 there was any real threat to them, because this is one of the sad
8 things that happened. For example, ex patriots remained in NPFL
9 area mostly through the war, and this is what - the very sad
11:23:06 10 situation that you described sometime back about these nuns in
11 Monrovia. It's a very sad situation. But ex patriots stayed
12 there, but some countries were more rigid than others regarding
13 their understanding of the problem. So you would call your
14 ambassador and tell your ambassador, "Look, I'm safe." He said,
11:23:26 15 "No, we have instructions that you should leave," and some of
16 them left.

17 Q. Now these companies that left, they were doing logging in
18 parts of the country controlled by the NPFL, correct?

19 A. Yes. In fact, all parts were controlled, yes.

11:23:41 20 Q. And you said that some people left because they were
21 afraid? Did they explain what they were afraid of?

22 A. No, counsel. I mean, some people left. Fear - you know,
23 we always say there is no medicine - there is no cure for fear.
24 Some people were naturally afraid. Some people left because they
11:24:03 25 were not afraid. I didn't ask them why. They just said: Well,
26 you know, sometimes family pressure, you leave. You got your
27 wife and children somewhere here in Europe, and when the news is
28 out there, people are talking about how the war is intensifying,
29 your wife is calling you every day, "Come home, honey. Leave

1 everything, come", pressure, and so all of these things happened.

2 Q. And you also shut down some of these companies that refused
3 to pay tax to you; isn't that correct?

4 A. Well, no, I don't - I didn't have to shut anybody down, no.

11:24:37 5 I don't recall shutting anybody down that refused. It was very
6 simple: If you didn't pay tax to me - to the NPRAG, I mean, you
7 know, you would want to export, so I don't - we didn't shut
8 anybody, no.

9 Q. So you didn't tell the Court earlier that you shut down
11:24:52 10 some of those companies if they didn't pay taxes?

11 A. Well, the point I am trying to make here is that to say you
12 either pay to me or I close you down, they understood that they
13 had to pay taxes. If they did not pay the taxes --

14 Q. Let me repeat my question. So you didn't tell the Court
11:25:12 15 earlier that you shut down some of these companies because they
16 wouldn't pay taxes?

17 A. That's what - I am not saying that I did not mention that
18 some of these companies were shut down. If they didn't pay, how
19 did they expect to stay?

11:25:25 20 Q. And when you shut them down you took their assets, didn't
21 you?

22 A. Well, the timber - we exported the timber, yes.

23 Q. Now, was it your Commerce Minister who also arranged for
24 the sale of timber in Cote d'Ivoire?

11:25:38 25 A. Yes, it would be - it was done under that ministry, yes.

26 Q. And was it only timber at the ports, or was it also timber
27 that had been logged and not yet moved to the ports?

28 A. No, they were mostly timber at the port. The facilities to
29 move timber from the forest, most of those - those equipment had

1 been down or packed. No, mostly we dealt with timber at the
2 port.

3 Q. Now, moving the timber out of the logging areas, moving the
4 logs out, they used large trucks for that; isn't that correct?

11:26:13 5 A. Yes, they used - yes, they used large trucks and other
6 heavy duty equipment to move it, yes.

7 Q. And they had to build roads into those areas to be able to
8 move those trucks and other equipment in and out, correct?

9 A. Well, no. No, that's not the way it operated. What - the
11:26:33 10 trucks had certain spots. They used - if I understand this
11 properly, I think they have something called timber jacks. It's
12 a - they pick up the log and drive it to a point. No, they don't
13 just build roads. No, no, no, no. They had points and timber
14 jacks would carry it over long distances and through very rough

11:26:57 15 terrain. Sometimes they would float some timber down the river,
16 so there were different ways, and the trucks would pick it up at
17 a point. But they didn't have to build these type of roads for
18 these trucks, because these trucks are not four- or six-wheel
19 drive. These are what they call - these are long, long bed
11:27:16 20 trucks that cannot withstand very slippery or rough terrain.

21 They used timber jacks to do that.

22 Q. They actually built wide roads to accommodate those trucks,
23 didn't they?

24 A. No. They are regular roads --

11:27:29 25 Q. They had forestry roads, didn't they?

26 A. That's what I am saying, that there were some roads for
27 timber jacks, but the large roads, those were regular highways.
28 But your question was suggesting that wherever timber was in the
29 forest, these roads were built to get the trucks there to pick

1 them, and I'm saying no. That was your question.

2 Q. What's a timber jack?

3 A. It's a little piece of equipment that just lifts up a log.

4 How can I describe it as? It's not a truck. A timber jack is

11:28:04 5 not a truck. A timber jack is a - it's a piece of yellow machine

6 that will lift a log on an arm, it will take one log at a time

7 and drive it to a point and then go back where you would store

8 the log. They would store the logs at storage points, and then

9 those trucks would go to the storage points. But coming from in

11:28:30 10 the forest areas, the timber jacks will pull them out, not the

11 trucks.

12 Q. Is a timber jack a wheeled vehicle?

13 A. Yes, it's a wheeled vehicle. That's the best I can help.

14 Q. How many wheels?

11:28:45 15 A. Oh, I think - Jesus. A timber jack, I think two, four -

16 probably six tyres, two, two, and two in front. But it's a real

17 lifting thing. It's especially done in the timber industry. It

18 will only carry one log at a time, but it will get it to where it

19 has to go, and it's built to go through very rough terrain like

11:29:15 20 mud - deep mud. That's why they just - all I know is what I am

21 telling this Court. It's called a timber jack --

22 Q. And what distances would these timber jacks carry this

23 single log?

24 A. Oh, counsel, I don't know. But I would - they could

11:29:30 25 probably take them 4 or 5 miles or so, depending on the forest

26 range, to the assembly point.

27 Q. When the NPFL took these logs to Cote d'Ivoire and you said

28 that some of them were taken to San Pedro, with whom did the NPFL

29 do business for this timber?

1 A. I don't know who the Commerce Minister dealt with. In
2 fact, ships will come to the port - from San Pedro to the port of
3 Maryland, if we look at the map, it would be what? I would say
4 six, seven hours. Very short boat trip. So the ships would come
11:30:16 5 in to the port of Maryland, pick up the logs, and then ship it
6 down to San Pedro. They even came as far as Sinoe. We are
7 talking about not more than a day's trip. Very short distances.

8 Q. What companies did these ships belong to or were they
9 leased to?

11:30:34 10 A. I have no idea, counsel.

11 Q. Now, you mentioned that you also got money from the taxes
12 that were paid by timber companies - some of the timber
13 companies. Can you tell us who these timber companies were?

14 A. No, I don't - I don't know. Some of them went along.

11:30:52 15 That's the point I am making to this Court. I was not
16 specifically involved. I am aware that taxes were paid by some
17 companies. I don't know which ones. All I can help this Court
18 with is to say I am aware and it did happen.

19 PRESIDING JUDGE: I think we are just about out of tape
11:31:08 20 now, Ms Hollis, so we will take the short morning break and
21 resume at 12 o'clock.

22 [Break taken at 11.30 a.m.]

23 [Upon resuming at 12.00 p.m.]

24 PRESIDING JUDGE: Yes, please carry on, Ms Hollis.

12:03:56 25 MS HOLLIS: Thank you, Mr President:

26 Q. Mr Taylor, before the break we were talking about monies
27 that the NPFL received from timber and we had discussed the sale
28 of timber and you had indicated that ships would come to ports in
29 Liberia and take it back to San Pedro. Now, the sale of timber

1 during this time, how much money did you make in total from the
2 sale of timber?

3 A. Timber revenues could have amounted to maybe \$1 million,
4 \$1.5 million, most probably.

12:04:54 5 Q. Over what period of time?

6 A. We're talking about, what, we're talking about a year,
7 close to two years, by the end of '93. '91, '92 into '93, so
8 we're talking about two and a half years, I would say.

9 Q. And in what form did you receive these revenues?

12:05:17 10 A. Well, I did not receive any revenues in any form. The
11 NPRAG, these would be sold and the monies would be paid to the
12 Finance Ministry. I don't know how they received it, but I would
13 put it to around that amount.

14 Q. You don't know if it was cash or cheque or some other?

12:05:38 15 A. I really don't know. I really don't know.

16 Q. Did the NPRAG have a chequing account by this time?

17 A. I don't know how it worked. I don't know how the Finance
18 Minister operated it.

19 Q. So you don't know whether the NPRAG had chequing accounts?

12:05:55 20 A. No, I don't. In fact, even if they had, I wouldn't know
21 because the Finance Ministry would operate it. But I would
22 assume that they would have had one, probably not inside Liberia
23 because there were no banks, but I don't know how the Finance
24 Ministry operated. My guess is that they would probably bring in
12:06:17 25 most of the money in cash. That would be my guess.

26 Q. So your Minister of Finance wasn't reporting to you as to
27 how these monies were being paid?

28 A. He was reporting to the assembly. No, he was not reporting
29 to me.

1 Q. Not to you at all?

2 A. No.

3 Q. So you had no idea how all of this was going on?

12:06:35

4 A. No, he was reporting to the assembly. I mean, I know the
5 general amounts, but he didn't have to come and report to me. He
6 reported to the assembly.

7 Q. If there was a chequing account involved, who would have
8 been the signatory on that account?

9 A. Normally it would be the Finance Minister, if they were.

12:06:47

10 Q. But you didn't know?

11 A. No. The President doesn't sign Finance Ministry cheques,
12 no.

13 Q. Now, you said that you were receiving none of the money,
14 you personally receiving none of the money from these sales, but
15 that's not correct, is it? In fact, you were receiving your
16 percentages from this money, weren't you?

12:06:59

17 A. I would assume that you're making that based on some
18 evidence and I deny that.

19 Q. I'm asking you a question.

12:07:09

20 A. No, you're not asking me a question. You've made an
21 assumption.

22 MR PRESIDENT: No, no, no. Mr Taylor, that's a direct
23 question. Please answer.

24 THE WITNESS: I did not receive any money for any personal
25 thing, no.

12:07:16

26 MS HOLLIS:

27 Q. In terms of the taxes from the timber companies, how were
28 the taxes paid, in what form?

29 A. But I have told you. I have told you I'm not the Finance

1 Minister. I said there were taxes paid. I would hope they
2 either paid them in financial forms, maybe through probably
3 cheques or even cash, but I don't know how the taxes came in.
4 And I would say, those are the only two forms that you would pay
12:07:49 5 taxes, either in cash or in cheques, and the NPRAG was no
6 exception.

7 Q. And these timber companies, were they Liberian companies,
8 were they foreign companies?

9 A. No, the timber companies in Liberia are mostly - some of
12:08:05 10 them are Liberian, some of them are foreign.

11 Q. So the ones that were in Liberia, would they have been
12 writing cheques on Liberian bank accounts?

13 A. No, not necessarily. Don't forget now we had a war and
14 most of these companies are not - most of their bank accounts are
12:08:23 15 overseas, so they would not be writing cheques. And I doubt as
16 to whether the Finance Minister would receive a cheque. Where
17 would he cash it? I'm sure most of the operations at that time,
18 counsel, were being done on a cash basis. You're talking about -
19 there are no - there are hardly any banks in the NPFL area. We
12:08:44 20 begin to try to open a bank. So most of these transactions are
21 cash transactions, so I'm sure the Finance Minister would be
22 smart enough to tell anyone that owed taxes in government to pay
23 it in cash because there were no banks in the NPFL area at that
24 time.

12:09:00 25 Q. The taxes that were received from these companies for the
26 timber, what total amount did the NPRAG receive?

27 A. What is your question again?

28 Q. The taxes that were received from the timber companies,
29 what was the total amount that the NPRAG received?

1 A. I just told you, a million to a million and a half. I
2 would put it to about a million and a half that we received for
3 timber.

4 Q. I thought that was for the sales.

12:09:29 5 A. Yeah, but, I mean, we don't - no, no, no. You asked me
6 about taxes from the companies, right?

7 Q. I asked you about sales and what the total was, so let's
8 ask that again. From the sales of timber itself, what was the
9 total that the NPRAG received?

12:09:46 10 A. I'm looking at revenue from the timber industry, what I can
11 recall, recollect, of about a million to a million and a half.
12 Now, what portion came from companies paying taxes or what
13 portion came from actually NPRAG sale of timbers left at the
14 port, I don't know the percentage, but I'm saying the revenue is
12:10:09 15 about a million to a million and a half.

16 Q. And that's in what currency?

17 A. United States dollars.

18 Q. The use of the ports, when the ships came to Liberian ports
19 to pick up the timber, were there fees that were charged for
12:10:24 20 their use of the ports?

21 A. Well, I really - I doubt it though. I doubt it. There
22 should be fees paid at ports. I doubt - with those arrangements,
23 I doubt as to whether they would require, but they should have.
24 And, you know, thinking about it, I think they should have paid
12:10:47 25 some fees because that would come under a different agency of the
26 government, the Port Authorities in our area, I would say yes. I
27 would probably say yes.

28 Q. So it would be the Port Authorities that would have control
29 over the ports in the NPFL areas?

1 A. The NPRAG Port Authorities, yes. That's different from
2 Monrovia Port Authorities.

3 Q. And who was in charge of the NPRAG Port Authorities?

4 A. I don't even remember. I don't know. That could have - I
12:11:23 5 really don't want to guess. I don't know who was in charge of
6 the port. I don't recall.

7 Q. And what would have been the responsibilities of the Port
8 Authorities?

9 A. They would charge for the time that the port is docked
12:11:39 10 because there are workers that were still there operating cranes
11 to lift up the timber to load. They would be responsible to
12 charge fees for docking. And from those fees, they would be able
13 to take care of the employees. So mostly I think the docking
14 fees. I don't know how they do it, whether it's by hour or by
12:12:05 15 day, I don't know how it's done, but they would charge some fees
16 for docking.

17 Q. And for that they would pay their employees?

18 A. That is correct.

19 Q. You indicated that there was no forestry activity going on
12:12:25 20 during the war. You said that on my LiveNote at page 64, lines
21 12 to 13.

22 A. That is correct.

23 Q. Do you recall saying that?

24 A. Yes, I do.

12:12:33 25 Q. What do you mean there was no forestry activity going on?

26 A. I mean companies going into the bush, cutting down timber
27 and working as normal, no. That stopped I would say because it
28 was just too dangerous for people to be in the bush with the
29 different factions. Nobody wanted - for example, by the time

1 ULIMO got most of the Lofa forest, they exported logs by road to
2 Guinea, and so it was just too dangerous for people to be inside
3 those areas cutting down. That's what I mean.

4 Q. How did you know that ULIMO exported logs to Guinea?

12:13:19 5 A. Because we were told. We were told. We got the
6 information from some of the individuals that - you know, we knew
7 people on the Guinean side too, and so the Manos that are on the
8 Guinean side from the town of Ganta where there are Manos, the
9 Kpelles and even the Lomas told us that there were logs that were
12:13:47 10 being driven through Lofa into Guinea.

11 Q. And how would the people in Ganta know that?

12 A. From Ganta you get to the big town of Nzerekore. Nzerekore
13 is closer to Ganta on the Ganta side, so these are all - and we
14 have Mandingos that are with us too. People are still going from
12:14:08 15 Ganta into Guinea and the information is rife, and for this Court
16 it's hearsay, but we learned that ULIMO - whether it's true or
17 not I can't verify it, but my information is that ULIMO sold logs
18 across into Guinea.

19 Q. And did your information indicate that they were getting
12:14:27 20 these logs through logging activity, or logs that had already
21 been cut?

22 A. No, I didn't investigate that. I would say it had to be
23 logs that were maybe already cut. It was very difficult for
24 anybody during that particular time to actually engage in regular
12:14:49 25 logging. I would just say maybe logs that were already cut.

26 Q. So in the NPFL areas, your testimony is there was no
27 forestry activity going on during what period of time?

28 A. I would say from about - I would say '91, '92 and going on
29 '93 I would say no, there was no logging going on.

1 Q. From '91 to '93, through '93?

2 A. Through '93, '94. It all depends, because some of these
3 other areas - and you know, things changed. Based on testimony
4 here, you know --

12:15:43 5 Q. Mr Taylor, I'm asking about NPFL-controlled areas?

6 A. Yeah, but that's what I'm trying to say now. It depends on
7 the time. Then let me ask you about the time. Because some of
8 the NPFL-controlled areas that had timber fell to the LPC, so
9 what time are you talking about?

12:15:57 10 Q. Mr Taylor, I'm talking about areas your people had control
11 over?

12 A. When?

13 Q. Whenever you had control over it during this period '91
14 through '93?

12:16:07 15 A. That's what I'm trying to say.

16 Q. Mr Taylor - Mr Taylor --

17 A. I did not have control of certain areas by '93.

18 Q. Those are not the areas I'm asking you about, and you know
19 it.

12:16:17 20 A. Okay. Well --

21 Q. NPFL-controlled areas, did you have any logging going on --

22 A. I said no.

23 Q. '91 through '93?

24 A. No.

12:16:29 25 Q. And what about '94?

26 A. No.

27 Q. Not at all in '94?

28 A. No. In '94, if you remember --

29 Q. What about '95?

1 A. -- if you give me an opportunity, '94 there was a
2 government in Monrovia and there was no NPFL-controlled area any
3 more. That's what I'm trying to tell you, and you know what I'm
4 talking about.

12:16:43 5 Q. Mr Taylor, in reality that NPFL-controlled area continued
6 long after 1994 and that's correct, isn't it?

7 A. That is totally, totally incorrect. There was no logging
8 activities going on.

9 Q. Until when?

12:16:54 10 A. I have told you.

11 Q. Well, you've changed. '91 to '93? '94, when? When did it
12 begin --

13 A. You know, you interrupted me when I was trying to answer,
14 because I was trying to explain to these judges that between '91
12:17:10 15 and '93 some of the areas that we controlled, LPC captured them.
16 I was trying to - and you interrupted me.

17 Q. Mr Taylor, I'm only talking about areas under your control.

18 A. But then I have answered you. It's asked and answered.

19 Q. Until when?

20 A. I've told you.

21 Q. No, you haven't.

22 A. What's the question?

23 Q. You said it started in '91, so from '91 until when was
24 there no forestry activity going on in your areas?

12:17:35 25 A. Since '91.

26 Q. Until when?

27 A. Until '91. The end of '91.

28 Q. So from '92 onward there were forestry activities?

29 A. No. I have said to you. What are you trying to confuse

1 the thing for?

2 Q. You're confusing it, Mr Taylor.

3 A. I'm saying - you asked me NPFL --

4 Q. This is a very simple question, Mr Taylor --

5 A. I have answered you very simply.

6 Q. Let's try it again?

7 A. Well, I tried.

8 Q. From 1991 until when - until what year are you telling the
9 Court there were no forestry activities going on in your

12:18:03 10 controlled areas?

11 A. From 1991 up until I was elected President when the NPFL
12 existed through the NPFL time there were no logging going on in
13 NPFL areas - controlled areas. I have said that.

14 Q. So from 1991 until the election in July of 1997; that's
12:18:23 15 what you're saying?

16 A. That's what I'm saying exactly. NPFL-controlled area, no.

17 Q. Now, these logs that were going out of ports to the Cote
18 d'Ivoire, was your NPRAG collecting customs fees for those logs?

19 A. What customs again? From where? Who collects customs from
12:18:48 20 where?

21 Q. Mr Taylor, was your NPRAG collecting customs fees for those
22 logs?

23 A. How do you collect customs for your own logs?

24 Q. Mr Taylor, was your NPRAG collecting customs fees for those
12:19:00 25 logs?

26 A. Well, let me just say no, because maybe we don't know what
27 "custom" means.

28 Q. You don't know what customs fees are, Mr Taylor?

29 A. I know, but I've never heard of you export and pay custom.

1 Custom is paid on the other side. So I don't - so we didn't pay
2 custom to ourselves. That's what I'm telling you.

3 Q. Were you being paid custom fees, Mr Taylor?

4 A. No.

12:19:22 5 Q. So the other side wasn't paying you customs fees?

6 A. No. How do you pay custom to yourself?

7 Q. Are you just refusing to answer the question?

8 A. I have said no. What is --

9 Q. Mr Taylor, listen, let's try and make it very simple, okay?

10 A. It's very simple.

11 Q. You have said that businesses were coming to your port and
12 taking logs out of Liberia. Now, those businesses that were
13 coming to your ports and taking logs out of Liberia, were those
14 businesses paying NPRAG customs fees?

12:20:01 15 A. I never told you that businesses were coming to Liberia and
16 taking out logs.

17 Q. So who was coming and taking out the logs?

18 A. I told you. I told you that when you say businesses coming
19 and taking, I told you that the NPRAG exported logs and a couple
12:20:18 20 of - a few of the loggers that were there also took out their
21 logs, okay? The ships came in. I didn't say businesses came.

22 Q. Whose ships?

23 A. I don't know who the owners --

24 Q. Your ships?

12:20:32 25 A. My ships?

26 Q. Were they your ships?

27 A. No. How --

28 Q. Then the people who owned those ships and took those logs,
29 did they pay customs fees to your NPRAG?

1 A. No, they did not.

2 Q. And you have no idea of any of the companies or individuals
3 who were buying these logs; is that your testimony?

12:21:00

4 A. My testimony is exactly that. The logs were sold. I was
5 not involved in the transactions. They were authorised by my
6 government and NPRAG. I do not know the individuals, no.

7 Q. And you were never briefed on who these companies were, who
8 these individuals were?

9 A. No, I was never briefed about that.

12:21:14

10 Q. Not even the Liberian companies?

11 A. No, I was not briefed about that.

12 Q. Now, Mr Taylor, from the time that you invaded Liberia
13 until you moved to Monrovia as a member of the Council of State,
14 what was your salary as to the leader of the NPFL?

12:21:32

15 A. I was not paid a salary.

16 Q. Well, how were your needs taken care of?

17 A. We were running a revolution. We received - the President
18 was taken care of, just as other people. We didn't have a fixed
19 salary structure. It depends on the need. Most revolutions
20 operate that way.

12:21:53

21 Q. So how much money did you receive as leader of the NPFL?

22 A. Oh, it would depend on what the need was. Personally, I
23 did not - once I had a house provided by - the NPRAG government
24 would provide me with what we call a sustenance - some type of
25 subsistence during the time, but there was not a structured
26 salary for anybody.

12:22:19

27 Q. How much did you receive in subsistence during the time you
28 were the leader of the NPFL?

29 A. Over the years?

1 Q. Yes.

2 A. Oh, boy. I would say on an average on a monthly basis - if
3 we begin to attach figures to it, I would say on an average
4 monthly basis the leader of the NPFL could receive anywhere
12:22:47 5 between the value of about \$500 to \$1,000, but it was not in
6 cash. It would be in different, different things.

7 Q. What kind of things?

8 A. Food. We bought large amounts of rice for the NPFL, and
9 some would be assigned to the presidency. So it's very hard to
12:23:10 10 attach a figure, depending on what - we bought items in bulk from
11 across the border in La Cote d'Ivoire. When it comes, it would
12 be divided with the men in the field. Officials of government
13 would be sent food like rice, salt, sugar, oil for cooking. So
14 it's very hard to put an amount, but ministers would get it. It
12:23:38 15 was like a - you know, it's a revolution and so when things come,
16 people didn't just: Here is your salary; go and buy. So it's
17 very hard to attach a dollar figure. But the presidency, the
18 Vice-President all received supplies.

19 Q. And a vehicle?

12:23:54 20 A. Yes, I received vehicles.

21 Q. And you talked about having a particular kind of vehicle, I
22 think?

23 A. What particular kind are you talking about?

24 Q. An armoured vehicle of some sort?

12:24:07 25 A. Yes.

26 Q. Where did you get that?

27 A. That was a gift given to me by the Libyan government.

28 Q. When did they give you that?

29 A. That vehicle, I think, was given to me in - I would put it

1 to - gee, late '90 or '91.

2 Q. How many vehicles did they give you?

3 A. One. One armoured vehicle.

4 Q. How did you maintain that vehicle?

12:24:38 5 A. By "maintaining", what do you mean?

6 Q. Well, vehicles break down, they need parts. How did you
7 maintain it?

8 A. It was Mercedes. We brought the parts in La Cote d'Ivoire.

9 It was a Mercedes Benz armoured jeep, and so Mercedes had its
12:24:57 10 central post in Abidjan. So when there was a breakdown, we
11 bought the parts from Abidjan.

12 Q. And your house - your housing while you were the leader of
13 the NPFL, that was supplied by the NPRAG, according to you?

14 A. Yeah, that's the famous place we talk about, about
12:25:11 15 Executive Mansion in Gbarnga. That's the house, yeah.

16 Q. Mr Taylor, did you have two houses in Gbarnga; one that was
17 destroyed, and then you moved to another?

18 A. Well, yes. After that one got destroyed, we moved to
19 another house, yes.

12:25:31 20 Q. And the first Executive Mansion in Gbarnga was located
21 where?

22 A. Well, what section? I forgot the section. Around Boveh.
23 We call it Boveh, B-O-V-E-H. Around Boveh Hill, that was the old
24 superintendent quarter. We've shown pictures of that to this
12:26:01 25 Court.

26 Q. When was that destroyed?

27 A. During the attack on Gbarnga in 1994.

28 Q. And the second Executive Mansion, where was that located?

29 A. I'm not sure if we call it the second Executive Mansion.

1 It was just a building not too far from there. I would say about
2 maybe a good block away from there.

3 Q. Was it on the same level? Was it down the hill? Was it
4 higher up? Where was it located?

12:26:31 5 A. It was on another hill. On another hill not far from that
6 place.

7 Q. And did the NPRAG provide that building as well?

8 A. Yes, that is correct.

9 Q. That included all the furnishings in your Executive
12:26:50 10 Mansions, those were provided by the NPRAG?

11 A. That is correct.

12 Q. During this time did - other than this bank account in
13 Burkina Faso, during the time that you were the leader of the
14 NPFL did you have any other bank accounts in any other countries?

12:27:08 15 A. No, not that I know of, no.

16 Q. During the time that you were the leading of the NPFL, did
17 you have any business interests?

18 A. No.

19 Q. Inside Liberia?

12:27:16 20 A. No.

21 Q. Outside Liberia?

22 A. No.

23 Q. Did you use any business contacts in Cote d'Ivoire to
24 engage in business activities?

12:27:26 25 A. No.

26 Q. Did you have any kind of stock in any companies or
27 corporations at that time?

28 A. No.

29 Q. Now, these houses that were provided to you by the NPRAG

1 would have been what, the property of the NPRAG?

2 A. No.

3 Q. Your property?

4 A. No.

12:27:45 5 Q. Whose property?

6 A. They were the old properties of the Government of Liberia.

7 The building that we called the Executive Mansion was the

8 governance - well, we call it superintendent. That was the

9 superintendent's quarters where the head of the region - in other

12:28:02 10 places you call it governor. Those buildings were owned by the

11 Republic of Liberia.

12 Q. So you basically took those over?

13 A. What do you mean "took over"? No, I didn't basically take

14 them over. We were the government.

12:28:14 15 Q. During the time you were the leader of the NPFL, you were

16 the Government of Liberia?

17 A. The NPRAG was when we took those buildings in Gbarnga in

18 1991, Ms Hollis.

19 Q. So they took those buildings over and then moved you in?

12:28:27 20 A. Ms Hollis, the NPRAG government utilised those governments

21 [sic] because we were the government, and those properties

22 belonged to the people of Liberia, so we used those buildings as

23 the government.

24 Q. Were those refurbished while you lived in them?

12:28:44 25 A. Yes, they were refurbished.

26 Q. The money that you used to bribe the ECOMOG officers to

27 sell you weapons and ammunition, where did that money come from?

28 A. Well, you know, I have said to this Court that, you know,

29 we have a disagreement. I talked to your other colleague last

1 week about what you call a bribe. I said we purchased weapons
2 from - whether you want to call that a bribe is a different
3 thing. The monies that we used to buy the weapons were NPRAG
4 money.

12:29:28 5 Q. And what type of weapons did you purchase from ECOMOG
6 officers?

7 A. Mostly ammunition, I have said. Few arms, but mostly
8 ammunition. We've talked about that.

9 Q. Now, actually, it was mostly weapons that you purchased.

12:29:42 10 Isn't that correct?

11 A. No, Ms Hollis, mostly ammunition. Some weapons, but mostly
12 ammunition, I have said.

13 Q. If we could perhaps look at MFI-170, which is DCT-128.

14 This was tab 97 in binder 2 for week 33. And the cover is

12:30:15 15 Outgoing Code Cable, 18 October 2000. Do you have that before
16 you, Mr Taylor?

17 A. Yes, I do.

18 Q. And it is "Security Council Mission to Sierra Leone

19 (Liberia leg)". Now, Mr Taylor, before we move on to the

12:30:40 20 relevant parts of this document, on this first page it says
21 "please find attached our complete compte rendu". What's a
22 compte rendu?

23 A. You have to help me with that.

24 Q. Is that a summary of some type?

12:30:55 25 A. You have to help me with that.

26 Q. Your French doesn't extend to compte rendu?

27 A. No, it doesn't.

28 Q. Now, if we could please look at page 4 of this document and
29 they are paginated at the top, so it would be 4 of 8 at the top.

1 And if we could look at paragraph 9:

2 "With respect to the accusations against him providing arms
3 to the RUF, he warned that the peacekeepers need to be careful.
4 He declared that the NPFL had bought many of its weapons from the
12:31:45 5 peacekeepers during Liberia's civil conflict ..."

6 Now, Mr Taylor, you didn't say you bought ammunition, did
7 you? You said you bought weapons.

8 A. Ms Hollis, this Court has done a very good job in
9 distinguishing. When we out there are speaking about weapons, we
12:32:04 10 are talking about RPG ammunition, arms, bombs. Everything is
11 called weapons. This Court has done a very good job in being
12 specific in breaking it down into arms and ammunition. Anyone
13 talking out there, as we spoke about it - when I talk about
14 weapons, we're talking without the whole category, not just a
12:32:25 15 gun. So I want to make that very clear.

16 Q. That's your explanation?

17 A. That's my explanation, I think, and this Court is aware and
18 has always tried to distinguish between arms and ammunition, but
19 out there when - whether it was even during the presentation of
12:32:41 20 the Prosecution, before that distinction, these judges kept
21 saying what is the arms and ammunition? But when we talk weapons
22 out there, we're talking about the bulk of everything. That's
23 what I'm speaking about.

24 Q. That's your explanation for that?

12:32:55 25 A. That's it.

26 Q. Let's look at page 8, please, paragraph 20. If we look at
27 the three lines above paragraph 21:

28 "He again reminded Ambassador Chowdhury that the NPFL had
29 bought arms from the peacekeepers during the Liberian conflict."

1 You didn't say anything about ammunition, did you,
2 Mr Taylor?

3 A. Ms Hollis, look, you are a military person. I did not - we
4 say arms here. And, you know, but I can't let you get away with
12:33:43 5 this because, you know, and these judges have to be, and I know
6 they are fair about this, you know, when we use - in speaking in
7 the international arena about armaments or when we talk about the
8 arms control talk, what are we talking about? Are we talking
9 about guns? Arms control, the word as it's used in its pure -
12:34:05 10 when we talk about arms, it's a grouping of a variety of - look,
11 we can - if you want to get specific, then I have to explain when
12 we talk about - when I'm talking about the NPFL bought arms, I'm
13 speaking about it in the general sense. Just like you talk about
14 the arms control talk, are you talking about one gun or two guns?
12:34:23 15 We're talking about a series of weapons come under the
16 nomenclature of arms. So, of course, I'm talking about the
17 weaponry, that's what I'm speaking about here in this report.

18 Q. So that's your explanation?

19 A. Yes.

12:34:37 20 Q. That's your explanation?

21 A. Yes.

22 Q. Now, Mr Taylor, you've talked about the amounts you
23 received, small amounts each month, as leader of the NPFL. Did
24 you receive any additional amounts as the leader of the NPRAG?

12:34:55 25 A. Addition? No. Ms Hollis, it depends on how the things
26 are. Additional amounts, no, there was no, okay, now you are not
27 the leader of the NPFL, you're NPRAG, so we give him - no, not
28 like that. I could have received even sometimes large amounts as
29 NPFL leader depending on the situation than when I was NPRAG

1 President. So, no, I would say no to your question.

2 Q. So the amount would remain the same, \$500 to perhaps \$1,000
3 a month?

12:35:33

4 A. No, I wouldn't say necessarily remain the same. I'm not
5 explaining a constant. I say it depends. It would vary. But
6 there was not like a constant, okay, you move from stage 1 to
7 stage 2. None of that kind of stuff.

8 Q. So what was the total amount that you received when you
9 were leader of the NPFL and NPRAG?

12:35:47

10 A. I have no idea, Ms Hollis. I have told these judges that
11 the - what I received came in different forms, food. I mean, I
12 can't attach a dollar value to it right now. I would be lying to
13 everybody.

12:36:05

14 Q. During the time that you were married to Agnes, after you
15 had established the NPRAG, was she receiving any kind of
16 payments?

17 A. No.

18 Q. Of any sort?

19 A. No, no.

12:36:14

20 Q. Did she have any interest in businesses?

21 A. No.

22 Q. Did she have any bank accounts?

23 A. Not that I know of.

24 Q. And what was her job at that time?

12:36:21

25 A. She was a good wife. She was a wife and she went and
26 addressed civilian groups and, you know - but that was basically
27 her job.

28 Q. Mr Taylor, during the time that you were the leader of the
29 NPFL and the leader of the NPRAG, you did in fact benefit

1 financially from monies received through timber and rubber,
2 correct?

3 A. When you say benefit financially, what do you mean,
4 Ms Hollis?

12:36:58 5 Q. It's not that hard, Mr Taylor.

6 A. It's very hard.

7 Q. You personally benefitted, didn't you, financially?

8 A. Well, no, I have to say - the way the question is posed, I
9 would have to say no. I would have to say no. Everyone benefits

12:37:14 10 from being in government, but I don't know what you mean by -

11 again, if it's beyond that, I would have to say no. But, of
12 course, by food, I received. By as president, of course, there
13 are benefits. Everyone benefits in that sense, yes.

14 Q. Mr Taylor, it's true, is it not, that you shared some of

12:37:36 15 the monies you received from timber and rubber with close
16 commanders and associates?

17 A. What do you mean shared? No. How did I share? Shared it
18 like what? That's why I keep asking you, I don't understand your
19 question. Would you help me? What do you mean? Like I shared

12:37:54 20 with them, what do you mean?

21 Q. You gave them some of the money you received from timber
22 and rubber, didn't you?

23 A. No, I didn't give them. I didn't have any money to give
24 them. They benefitted from being officials in the organisation,
12:38:05 25 but that is totally misleading to say that I gave them money.

26 No, I didn't.

27 Q. And your business associates benefitted financially from
28 you as well, did they not?

29 A. I had no business associates, no.

1 Q. Now, in this NPRAG you have talked about having ministers,
2 correct?

3 A. That is correct.

4 Q. Did you also have a police force?

12:38:29 5 A. Yes, there was a police force.

6 Q. A civilian police force or a military police force?

7 A. There was a civilian police unit.

8 Q. Was there a military police as well?

9 A. Yes, there were military police.

12:38:41 10 Q. And what was paid to your civilian police force? What
11 salaries did they receive?

12 A. I'm not sure if - I have said to this Court, there was not
13 - this organisation didn't receive - have something like a salary
14 structure in the western sense of the word. People received

12:39:01 15 subsistence. They were given food. They were given medical
16 attention. We were running a revolution. We didn't have the
17 kind of money to sustain what you're talking about, no. They
18 were given - let's say each policeman would be given a bag of
19 rice every month, would be given subsistence, a certain amount to
12:39:22 20 upkeep him and the family and, you know, depending on the
21 situation, small amount. There was no salary structure. We were
22 struggling out there as a revolution and didn't have the type of
23 setup that you envision here, no.

24 Q. Did you have a director of this civilian police force?

12:39:38 25 A. We had a commander. The late Cecelia Lewis commanded the
26 police. We called them the police force.

27 Q. Could you spell his name for us, please?

28 A. No, her name. Cecilia, the late, C-E-C-E-L-I-A.

29 Q. And the last name Lewis?

1 A. Lewis, that is correct.

2 Q. L-E-W-I-S?

3 A. That is correct.

12:40:06

4 Q. During the time that you had the NPRAG, at some point you
5 created your own currency. Is that correct?

6 A. That is correct. We did - no, no, no. Let me correct
7 that. No, we did not correct our own currency, no.

8 Q. You had different currency than they had in the rest of
9 Liberia, correct?

12:40:23

10 A. That is correct.

11 Q. What was that currency you used?

12 A. What we did, Ms Hollis, the currency of the Republic of
13 Liberia that we met we used. The interim government in Monrovia
14 wanting to destabilise us reprinted a new set of currency, but we
15 used the Liberian currency that we met on the ground. That's
16 what we use.

12:40:40

17 Q. And what was that Liberian currency you met on the ground?

18 A. It was called the Liberian dollar. They used to call it -
19 the Liberian dollar. That was it. We kept it and they
20 reprinted.

12:40:59

21 Q. And what was the currency that was being used by the
22 interim government?

23 A. They used the dollar, but what they did was they, I think,
24 reprinted the face of it. It was still called the Liberian
25 dollar, but the face of it was different from the old currency.
26 That's what they did.

12:41:14

27 Q. Now, did you print any of your own currency?

28 A. No, no.

29 Q. NPRAG?

1 A. No, not at all. We didn't have the money to print. No.

2 Q. What amount of these - the regular currency, the Liberian
3 dollars, what amount did you have?

12:41:39

4 A. I know what you're talking about, like, you know, central
5 system. Whatever was there and we still did some transaction
6 through Monrovia, the Liberian currency was being used in parts
7 of La Cote d'Ivoire. I couldn't put a dollar amount on it,
8 Ms Hollis, quite frankly. I couldn't. Whatever was being held
9 by individuals in the territory and those on the borders, we just

12:42:08

10 used them for basic trade. That's what we did. Because I would
11 still say a bulk of the money was kept at the Central Bank in
12 Monrovia, but we just kept trading with what we had on our side.

13 Q. The currency that the interim government was using, do you
14 recall what the exchange rate was for that currency?

12:42:32

15 A. No. They were in Monrovia. I had no contacts with them.
16 I do not know that it became very weak because most Liberians did
17 not want to use their new money. And so what I got to realise is
18 that the old Liberian money that we were using remained very
19 strong, so I don't have a knowledge of what they were doing down
20 there, but it was a very weak money, very weak.

12:43:02

21 Q. Do you have any recollection as to the comparison between
22 the exchange rates of your money and the interim government
23 money?

12:43:15

24 A. I know that. I'm saying - I know you're looking for a
25 percentage. I'm not sure. I don't - it could have been, I don't
26 know, three to one, four to one. I don't know, Ms Hollis.
27 Because even - I don't know, because we were not in the Monrovia
28 area. I really don't know. The best I can say is that people
29 started avoiding their money. I don't know the exchange rate,

1 because they were trying their best to prevent their money from
2 coming on our side, and any of our monies that - the old Liberian
3 money that went into the area that business people were still
4 taking, they were trying to stop it and seize it in Monrovia.

12:43:58 5 Say, for example, if they got about 100,000 let's say the old
6 money, they would take it - in fact, they burned them and
7 replaced that 100,000 with their printed money. So it's a very
8 technical - but I don't know the actual rates of exchange, no.
9 In your answer to your question, no.

12:44:20 10 Q. Now, in your controlled territories you prohibited the use
11 of the interim government currency, didn't you?

12 A. That is correct.

13 Q. And you punished people who used it or had it?

14 A. No, we did not punish anybody. We prohibited. In fact,
12:44:32 15 people didn't really like it. Like I said, the Monrovians
16 themselves did not like their money, so we didn't have to - we
17 just discouraged it, but we did not punish.

18 Q. Did you seize the money that you found?

19 A. No, we did not seize it.

12:44:45 20 Q. What is meant by the term "Doe dollars"?

21 A. Doe dollars are the monies - the old monies I'm talking
22 about that were printed during the Doe government. They just
23 called them Doe dollars.

24 Q. So that was the currency you were using?

12:45:01 25 A. The same old currency, yes.

26 Q. Was there a name given to the currency that the interim
27 government was using?

28 A. Ms Hollis, yeah, there was a name, but I can't recall it.

29 I know it had some stamp on it. I don't recall the name,

1 Ms Hollis, I'm sorry. I don't recall the name, but it was called
2 something else. But I don't recall the name.

3 Q. Now, at the time you became a member of the Council of
4 State, what happened to the revenues that the NPRAG had?

12:45:34 5 A. The revenues that the NPRAG had? Not very much. But by
6 the time we go to the council, the NPRAG is dissolved and those
7 monies are used for transportation and resettlement of our people
8 in the Monrovia area.

9 Q. So there was no monies left over from the NPRAG coffers?

12:46:06 10 A. I saying there was money, but that money used to resettle
11 our people in Monrovia.

12 Q. After that was done, was there any money left from those
13 coffers?

14 A. No, there was nothing left.

12:46:19 15 Q. When you became a member of the Council of State, what was
16 your salary?

17 A. What was being paid? I don't even - Ms Hollis, I swear,
18 salary could have been maybe \$2,000, \$3,000 Liberian - I don't
19 know, Liberian. I would put it to around \$3,000, \$4,000

12:46:46 20 Liberian or so. I think maybe some US dollars. It's been so
21 long.

22 Q. That's a month, a year, what is that?

23 A. No, per month.

24 Q. Per month?

12:46:55 25 A. Yeah.

26 Q. At that time do you have any idea what that would have been
27 in US dollars?

28 A. No. Maybe 40 to 1. We're talking about if you - really, I
29 could be wrong about the 3,000 or 4,000 because, my God, it's

1 been so long. I don't quite remember, but it could have been
2 even more than that. But the equivalent was 40 to 1, so
3 depending on the amount. It was about 40 to 1.

12:47:40 4 Q. And in addition to this salary, did you receive any other
5 benefits as a member of the Council of State?

6 A. As member of the Council of State, yes, I receive - I've
7 told this Court already that by the time I get to Monrovia I do
8 receive from assistance from the Taiwanese government. I've told
9 this Court.

12:48:05 10 Q. I think you mentioned something in the neighbourhood of
11 \$1 million?

12 A. Over a two-year period, yes.

13 Q. Over a two-year period?

14 A. Yeah.

12:48:13 15 Q. Now, in terms of - from the interim government did you
16 receive any other benefits other than this salary?

17 A. Yes, they provided members of the Council of State housing
18 allowance, fuel for our automobiles, that kind of stuff. Yeah,
19 there was some benefits.

12:48:36 20 Q. How much housing allowance did you get?

21 A. Ms Hollis, some member of my staff - I swear, I mean,
22 that's one thing, I'm not going to lie. I don't know these
23 little details. I had a - I mean, I had staff members handling
24 that. I don't know what was available. Because when I get to
12:48:54 25 Monrovia I'm given a house. I'm given a house to use by the
26 Rasamany brothers, like I told this Court, opposite the US
27 embassy. So the allowance that was being given by the government
28 could not, and did not, pay for that house, but it was used to
29 help other members of my staff, but it was not a lot. And so in

1 terms of the amount it's very difficult, I mean, to - after all
2 these years with staff members, people handle those. I don't
3 really know the details.

12:49:41 4 Q. And you said that you were given by this house to use that
5 was opposite the US embassy by the Rasamany brothers?

6 A. Rasamany. That's on the record. I think it's
7 R-A-S-A-M-A-N-Y. That's on the record. The Rasamany brothers
8 offered me a house as a goodwill gesture opposite the embassy,
9 where I stayed for several months.

12:50:06 10 Q. So you paid nothing for that house?

11 A. I paid nothing.

12 Q. Except for your allowance?

13 A. Yeah. No, I have said to this Court the allowance did not
14 pay for that housing. It was a house offered me as a gift by the
12:50:21 15 brothers to use. It was not given to me, but I used it and I did
16 not have to pay for that house, no.

17 Q. So you used your allowance for other purposes?

18 A. To help other members of my staff.

19 Q. Were you also given a vehicle or vehicles as a member of
12:50:34 20 the Council of State?

21 A. No, the vehicles that I brought with me from Gbarnga were
22 the vehicles that I used. The government didn't really have the
23 money. No, the council did not give me a vehicle.

24 Q. How many vehicles did you bring with you? You've talked
12:50:56 25 about the armoured-plated one from Libya?

26 A. Oh, I brought at least - oh, I would say 15, 20 vehicles or
27 thereabout.

28 Q. What kind of vehicles were these?

29 A. These were mostly jeeps. By "jeeps", I don't know, it's a

1 little different now. They were what you would call trucks.
2 Toyota - I mean, Nissan Patrol trucks, okay? I call them jeep,
3 but for a better understanding they're called trucks too.
4 Four-wheel drive trucks, yeah.

12:51:46 5 Q. And where did the money come from to purchase these 15 to
6 20 other vehicles?

7 A. Now listen now - well, let's get this straight. I want
8 this Court to understand. How many did I bring? I'm saying 15
9 to 20. Over the years these are vehicles that have been with me
12:52:06 10 the NPRAG bought. And the NPFL/NPRAG bought those vehicles, they
11 were being used by me over the years.

12 Q. Where did they buy those vehicles?

13 A. Mostly in La Cote d'Ivoire.

14 Q. Was there one particular business person that you used to
12:52:23 15 purchase these vehicles?

16 A. No.

17 Q. Or more than one?

18 A. No. I mean, when we needed a vehicle we had the money, we
19 bought it. It would be more than one person that would purchase
12:52:33 20 the vehicle, depending on the need.

21 Q. Now, I think you told the Court that you stayed for a time
22 in this residence across from the American embassy and then you
23 moved to a residence that was near the German embassy, correct?

24 A. That is correct.

12:52:52 25 Q. How long did you stay in that residence that was near the
26 German embassy?

27 A. Throughout my election up until about January of 1999.

28 Q. How did you pay for that residence?

29 A. That residence was paid through - when you say "how", like,

1 in cash, or cheque, or what?

2 Q. In cash or cheque?

3 A. We paid - I paid over time in cash to the owners.

4 Q. Where did you get the money to pay for this residence?

12:53:38 5 A. Oh, goodwill. I told you I received some personal
6 assistance from the Taiwanese government.

7 Q. So part of the money from the Taiwanese government you used
8 to pay for this residents?

9 A. In fact, the money was given to me for whatever use I
12:53:51 10 wanted to use it for, it was given to me.

11 Q. While you were a member of the Council of State, did you
12 have any bank accounts other than this one we've talked about in
13 Burkina Faso?

14 A. No, no.

12:54:04 15 Q. No bank accounts in Liberia?

16 A. I don't know when I opened this account at Tradevco, but at
17 that time, no. Specifically the Council of State, no. I didn't
18 have a bank account in Liberia, no.

19 Q. When you moved a became a member of the Council of State,
12:54:26 20 were you married at that time or unmarried?

21 A. By this particular time I was unmarried when I moved to
22 Monrovia. I had a fiancée at the time, but I was unmarried at
23 the time.

24 Q. And your fiancée at the time was who?

12:54:47 25 A. The lady that was living with me at the time was a lady
26 called Wrweli, W-R-W-E-L-I, Nimley, N-I-M-L-E-Y.

27 Q. And were you the beneficiary in any bank accounts in this
28 person's name?

29 A. No.

1 Q. Were you the beneficiary of any bank accounts at this time?

2 A. No.

3 Q. Was the Burkina Faso account still open?

4 A. I want to believe so, because I don't even remember when we
12:55:32 5 closed it. But it's possible, because I don't think we closed it
6 totally by the time I moved to Monrovia. And I'm assuming you're
7 talking about while I'm on the Council of State, am I correct?

8 Q. Yes.

9 A. Yeah. Counsel, quite frankly, I think that account was
12:55:51 10 probably still open, yeah.

11 Q. Was this the account in the name of Some?

12 A. If - I'm not sure, council. It could be. I said to this
13 Court that I could have opened an account in my regular name. I
14 remember the Some. I don't know, but I know one account was
12:56:09 15 still operating. I don't know how much - maybe a little money
16 was in it, but the account remained open. But I don't recall
17 whether it was Some or whether I put it in my name, but I think
18 it was still open.

19 Q. Do you have any recollection as to how much money was in
12:56:25 20 that account when you were a member of the Council of State?

21 A. No. No, I'm sorry. I'm sorry, I can't tell. It could
22 have been maybe 100,000. I can't recall how much was in that
23 account.

24 Q. 100,000 in what currency?

12:56:53 25 A. It would be United States dollars, yeah. But I can't
26 recall how much was in the account because, like I say, Musa went
27 in and withdrew; I withdrew. But I don't recall the balance, no.

28 Q. Now, you've talked about the residences that you lived in -
29 the two residences you lived in when you were a member of the

1 Council of State. Is it correct that you didn't own either of
2 those residences? You did not own them?

3 A. I did not own the Rasamany brothers' house, no, I did not
4 own that. The residence next to the German embassy, I
12:57:34 5 subsequently owned it. You asked me about that already. I
6 subsequently owned it.

7 Q. When did you buy that residence?

8 A. I bought that - I completed the payment, I think, just - I
9 think around '97 I completed the payment of that residence.

12:58:02 10 Q. 1997. Was that before or after you assumed the office of
11 President?

12 A. Before.

13 Q. And how much did that residence cost?

14 A. I think that residence cost me about \$150,000.

12:58:21 15 Q. And you used money from the Taiwanese to purchase that
16 residence?

17 A. That is correct.

18 Q. How long did you own that residence?

19 A. I owned it for about two years and then I gave it to - then
12:58:47 20 I ceded it off and gave it to my daughter some two years after my
21 election. When I moved to my house in '99, I gave it to my
22 daughter.

23 Q. Mr Taylor, which daughter was that?

24 A. My oldest daughter, Zoe - Z-O-E - Taylor.

12:59:07 25 Q. And is that residence still in the family?

26 A. No, no, no, no. When you say "in the family", she owns it.
27 I gave it to our lock, stock and barrel. Deeded it off to her
28 in --

29 Q. Is she still in that residence?

1 A. I would hope so. I would hope so.

2 Q. Now, during the time that you were a member of the Council
3 of State, did you have any interest in any businesses?

4 A. Nothing.

12:59:33 5 Q. Any financial interests in any businesses?

6 A. No

7 Q. Any stocks?

8 A. No.

9 Q. Were you the beneficiary of any stocks or funds?

12:59:42 10 A. No.

11 Q. Did you have any interest in timber or rubber at the time
12 you were a member of the Council of State?

13 A. No.

14 Q. And the Council of State itself, what budget did it have?

12:59:56 15 A. The budget of the government at that time on the council,
16 let's see, I would put it - quite frankly, I think it would put
17 it to about 30 million a year.

18 Q. And that's in what currency?

19 A. United States dollars. I'm not too sure, but I think it
13:00:22 20 was around 30 million, because things were very, very, very
21 tough.

22 Q. And what was the source of that money?

23 A. Mostly from - I would say 80 per cent from the maritime
24 programme and then import duties for items brought into the
13:00:47 25 country. That was basically the source, because you had nothing
26 going on at the time. There was no timber business going. There
27 was nothing. Basically I would say maritime and import duties on
28 goods brought into the country. I would say that was basically,
29 to the best of my knowledge, the source of income at the time.

1 Q. So roughly 80 per cent of that was from maritime?

2 A. That's what I would say.

3 Q. And then the bulk of the rest of it was from these import
4 duties?

13:01:20 5 A. Yes.

6 Q. What types of goods were they charging import duties on?

7 A. Normal food items. Vehicles were still being brought.
8 Food items and things like that.

9 Q. Did that include the rice that was being brought into the
10 country?

11 A. Yes, rice had - yes, rice, that would be, yes.

12 Q. And what about petroleum products?

13 A. I would not say so because the LPRC, the petroleum product
14 area, is an autonomous government agency, so the government did
15 not interfere into that part. So even the petroleum products
16 that was used by government had to be bought, the government had
17 to be them from the LPRC, because the LPRC itself was not owned,
18 but - so I would say basically not a lot from petroleum products.

19 What would happen is that those that imported the petroleum
13:02:29 20 products I think had to pay. There was a government surtax that
21 was paid directly to the government, but on the taxes on the
22 products and different things were paid directly to the LPRC.

23 Q. Now, you have mentioned that you received money from both
24 Taiwan and Libya --

13:02:51 25 A. That is correct.

26 Q. -- during 1996 and 1997 before becoming President.

27 A. That is correct.

28 Q. And that over that time period, Taiwan gave you about
29 \$1 million US.

1 A. That is correct.

2 Q. And you've explained that you received that money in the
3 form of cheques and you received those cheques at the Taiwan
4 embassy in Abidjan, correct?

13:03:13 5 A. Yes, the cheques were given to them and they would issue
6 them, yes.

7 Q. And that the cheques were written on an account in the Cote
8 d'Ivoire?

9 A. Yes. These are embassy cheques, yes.

13:03:28 10 Q. Now, is it correct that the cheques were made out to you
11 personally?

12 A. No, I do not - I never went to Abidjan to receive the
13 cheques, but I don't - yes, they were made payable to me, yes.

14 Q. Who would actually go and collect the cheques?

13:03:45 15 A. Depends, sometimes Musa went to the embassy. Mostly I
16 would say Musa would go down and there and collect the funds.

17 Q. You're speaking of Musa Cisse?

18 A. That is correct.

19 Q. Then he would receive the cheque and actually cash it
13:04:06 20 there? Is that how that would work?

21 A. Yes, yes.

22 Q. How would he be able to cash a cheque that was in your
23 name?

24 A. All he had to do was to sign it and it would be verified by
13:04:16 25 the Taiwanese embassy or an official. It's countersigned at the
26 back of the cheque. The embassy would issue the cheque, sign it,
27 but they would sign the back of the cheque, and Musa was known as
28 authorised to cash those cheques.

29 Q. So then that \$1 million was brought back into Liberia in

1 the form of cash.

2 A. Yes. Over the period in question, yes. We're not talking
3 about in one tranche, no. Over the two year period, yes.

13:04:56

4 Q. The money that you received from Libya during this two year
5 period, how much did you receive from Libya?

6 A. Libya gave - depending on the circumstances, we would get
7 100,000, 50,000. I would say within that two year period, Libya
8 could have given as much as a half a million dollars.

9 Q. How did you receive these monies?

13:05:17

10 A. In cash.

11 Q. From where were these cash monies delivered?

12 A. Through the bureau in Burkina Faso. The Libyan embassy.

13 Q. So how was it done physically?

13:05:38

14 A. I would send Musa across to Burkina Faso when money was
15 available and they would bring me the money.

16 Q. And, again, was it a cheque issued that was then cashed?

17 A. No.

18 Q. Or was it always cash?

19 A. Always cash. We received the money in cash.

13:05:47

20 Q. When you received these cash monies, did you put them into
21 any kind of bank account?

22 A. No. The cash money was given to me, but it was given to me
23 for - to help me but to also help the organisation that I ran.

24 So when the monies came, what I needed, what was appropriate for
25 me, was used and the rest was put into organisational work. So,
26 no, we didn't open any bank accounts.

13:06:09

27 Q. Where was this cash actually kept?

28 A. The cash would be mostly kept - I would keep some of the
29 cash. Musa would keep the rest of the cash and disburse it as

1 needs be, Musa Cisse.

2 Q. So you would keep the cash where, in your residence?

3 A. Yes, I would keep it in my residence.

4 Q. And Musa Cisse would keep it where, in his residence?

13:06:42 5 A. I'm sure at his residence, yeah, because let's say if Musa
6 brought \$50,000, that within 48 hours, that money is really gone
7 because it is brought for a purpose and it is disbursed. People
8 didn't keep large amounts of money. Musa went and we got, say,
9 \$50,000 from - for our operation, it came and there was already a
13:07:03 10 budget of what it would be used for. As the money came, it was
11 disbursed.

12 Q. The money that you received from Libya, why were you given
13 that money?

14 A. To assist me and the organisation. Don't forget now, Libya
13:07:16 15 helps the NPFL. They train us and so they have an interest in
16 helping me in whatever way that I need.

17 Q. To your knowledge, did Libya give money to any of the other
18 political parties or candidates in Liberia at that time?

19 A. I don't know. I can't speak for them. I don't know. They
13:07:41 20 could have very well helped. I don't know, because they knew -
21 Libya knew me, they knew Alhaji Kromah, they knew Boima
22 Fahnbulleh, so - but I can't speak to that. I'm sorry, I don't
23 know.

24 Q. In addition to the money that you received from Taiwan, did
13:07:59 25 you receive any other type of assistance from them during this
26 two year period?

27 A. None.

28 Q. Did you receive any interest in any Taiwanese businesses?

29 A. None.

1 Q. In terms of Libyan support, in addition to this money that
2 you received, did you receive any other form of assistance from
3 Libya during this two year period?

4 A. None.

13:08:20 5 Q. When you were talking about the money that you got from
6 Taiwan, you said that the money was to assist you as the head of
7 your organisation and then you said what you would call PR for
8 them, meaning the Taiwanese. What did you mean when you said
9 what you would call PR for them?

13:08:47 10 A. Well, I mean they developed an interest in me. At that
11 particular time it was very clear that an election was coming up
12 and at that time Taiwan had a diplomatic relationship with
13 Liberia, and so there was this concern that after the elections
14 in Liberia that the mainland Chinese might pose a threat to that
13:09:28 15 particular aspect of Taiwanese foreign policy. And so they
16 spotted people, and I don't know who else they assisted, but I
17 would say as a PR, to keep them in mind, they assisted me
18 personally. And I can remember them telling me they could not
19 assist my party because it would be in violation of Taiwanese
13:09:55 20 law, but they would give me personally money. How I used it is
21 my business. But I think it was just - I call it a form of PR
22 because I think they were concerned that that diplomatic
23 relationship would continue if I were elected and I do not rule
24 out they probably helped some other candidates. I don't rule
13:10:20 25 that out. I don't know as a fact, but I don't rule it out.

26 Q. So that money was to try to buy your support for continuing
27 to recognise Taiwan?

28 A. No. I mean, Ms Hollis, no, I'm not going to draw that
29 conclusion. I have described it to these judges as a form of PR

1 and I'm explaining to you what I think - this was not a statement
2 made to me. I would not put it there. I think it makes good
3 political sense that you assist an individual and hoping that you
4 can call - you can call on them in the future. It's a part of
13:10:58 5 the diplomacy and I think it was just good diplomacy for them.

6 Q. And it related to continued recognition of Taiwan by
7 Liberia, correct?

8 A. Ms Hollis, that's not my statement to this Court. I have
9 given a proposition to these judges of what I think this is all
13:11:13 10 about, and I'm saying emphatically that was not a statement made
11 to me. But my good sense, I'm saying that that in my opinion is
12 the good sense that - it makes good diplomatic move to try to -
13 people court leaders all the time. I think they were trying to
14 court a prospective leader and I'm saying, because they were

13:11:41 15 trying to court me, I don't rule out that they could have been
16 trying to court other individuals too, but I have no proof of
17 that.

18 Q. What danger did they see coming from mainland China?

19 A. No. There are a few - as you very well know, Taiwan in
13:11:58 20 trying to support its external policies have established
21 relationship with many countries on the continent of Africa,
22 South Africa, The Gambia, Liberia, many other countries. In
23 fact, recently South Africa I think changed that, but for a very
24 long time - and it was a part of their diplomatic move to try to
13:12:23 25 court countries and prospective leaders.

26 Q. You mentioned that either you thought or you were told that
27 Taiwan was concerned about possible danger from mainland China.
28 What was the danger?

29 A. Yeah, it's the danger I'm talking about. By removing - by

1 cancelling that diplomatic relationship with Taiwan and
2 establishing relationships with mainland China.

3 Q. So withdrawing recognition from Taiwan?

4 A. That is the danger, yes.

13:12:55 5 Q. Now, you said that you were good friends over the years
6 with an official of the Taiwanese government who had been
7 stationed in Ivory Coast. Who was that person?

8 A. I think - if I remember his name I think it's Chang.
9 Ambassador, I think, Chang I think it was.

13:13:18 10 Q. Was this person involved in any business transactions in
11 Liberia?

12 A. No. None. None whatsoever.

13 Q. None on behalf of the Taiwanese government?

14 A. None. None. Taiwan was not doing any business, no.

13:13:31 15 Q. Now, according to the agreement that was in effect when the
16 time came for election campaigning, those who wished to run for
17 office had to resign from the Council of State, correct?

18 A. That is correct.

19 Q. When was it that you resigned from the Council of State?

13:13:47 20 A. That would be in - I would put it to around January 1997.
21 That was a set time, and even if I got that wrong, it was a set
22 time and all of us had to resign. I would put it to around
23 January 1997.

24 Q. When did you begin campaigning activities?

13:14:11 25 A. In line with the election laws. I would say - active
26 campaigning, I would put it to around, what? May/June. I think
27 it was about either two or three month before elections where you
28 had actual campaigning, but there was a lot of work being done
29 between January and that time.

1 Q. What was the work being done?

2 A. Organisational work, putting the party together. We had to
3 register the party, put the party together, and you had to be
4 registered in every region of the country. Oh, there was a lot
13:14:52 5 of work being done there. I travelled. In fact, I travelled in
6 and out of the country during that time.

7 Q. When was the NPP actually established as a political party?

8 A. At the shutting down - at the closing down of the NPFL,
9 basically the law - the rule agreed upon under the agreement
13:15:19 10 following - I think it's disarmament, demobilisation - where the
11 NPFL and all other parties ceased to exist as military forces, at
12 that particular time we - all of the groups converted to
13 political parties. I don't remember the exact date, but I would
14 put that around December/January. December '96, January '97 or
13:15:42 15 thereabouts. Within that possible window.

16 Q. And when did you begin to register it as a political party?

17 A. Almost immediately. Almost immediately.

18 Q. You said that actual campaigning began in June, but you
19 were organising prior to that?

13:15:59 20 A. No, I didn't say actual campaigning began in June. I think
21 the records will reflect that I said that some two to three
22 months before the election, actual campaigning starting.

23 Q. Okay, my mistake. You said, "In line with the election
24 laws I would say active campaigning - I would put it around what?
13:16:24 25 May/June."

26 A. I said two to three months, I said. You go further down,
27 you see two to three months.

28 Q. From the time that you left the Council of State, what was
29 your income?

1 A. Oh, I was - the only income that I had at that particular
2 time was a very - two sources: The Taiwanese and the Libyans
3 were helping here and there. The amounts that I have given, over
4 the two years I've said the Taiwanese could have given about a
13:16:56 5 million dollars and the Libyans about a half a million, so I
6 would put my income over the two years to about that.

7 Q. And were you drawing on the account in Burkina Faso after
8 you left the Council of State?

9 A. If there were any monies left in that account, of course we
13:17:20 10 would pull it out from time to time. I would say - and I can't
11 be sure as to whether by this time we have closed it. You know,
12 I don't want to mislead you. I don't know if we have closed it,
13 but if there is money in the account we continued to draw off it.
14 I would send there and whatchamacallit. I don't quite recall

13:17:45 15 when - and I want to be clear about this. When we closed the
16 account I don't recall, but as long as that account is open with
17 some money in there, we draw on it. I don't recollect right now
18 when it was closed.

19 Q. How did you finance your active campaigning?

13:18:00 20 A. I financed it - it was not very expensive in Liberia.
21 Personally - most of the monies for the campaign came from me
22 personally from the income that I had been putting together over
23 the two years. Other officials that joined donated money. What
24 we did was because of - the donations ran across the board. So
13:18:27 25 by financing, not like in the sense you would see in modern
26 countries. Somebody would give their house as an office;
27 somebody would make their pick-up or truck available; some people
28 brought fuel oil and gasoline to be used. So it's very, very
29 hard to put it, but I would say the bulk of the financing fell -

1 if we used that word "financing" - fell on me personally.

2 Q. You said that most of the monies for the campaign came from
3 me personally from the income I had been putting together over
4 the two years. Are you including in that income the monies that
13:19:11 5 you received from Taiwan and Libya?

6 A. I'm not including. Those are the only two.

7 Q. You had income from your position as a member of the
8 Council of State, yes?

9 A. No - yes, but, I mean, that's not - I told you, very small
13:19:28 10 amounts of money, so that's not - I'm not going to lie to these
11 judges and tell them that I financed my presidential campaign
12 from there, no. I personally financed it, and it was mostly as a
13 result of money that I had gotten from these two sources over the
14 years.

13:19:44 15 Q. Who were some of the people who donated money to you?

16 A. Nobody donated money to me.

17 Q. You received no donations from individuals?

18 A. No, the donations were made to the party.

19 Q. Who were those persons who gave donations to the party?

13:20:02 20 A. Local Liberians. I don't know. People donated \$5, \$10. I
21 don't know all of them, but the party did rallies. I don't know,
22 rallies where they would - we would hold rallies and buckets -
23 let me say buckets - baskets would be passed around. That's the
24 way how they did a lot. Some of the more affluent individuals
13:20:31 25 that joined would probably give some money. But mostly it was
26 just local donations from individuals, but I said the bulk of it
27 came from me.

28 Q. Did Cyril Allen donate to the party?

29 A. Yes, Cyril donated, but Cyril didn't have any big - he

1 didn't have any companies with him. Cyril was having problems.
2 Whatever he had, he donated vehicles, his house. Cyril Allen,
3 especially in the Monrovia area, helped substantially with
4 housing. Cyril Allen is married to a lady who has massive
13:21:13 5 properties in Monrovia. Her father was a late major businessman,
6 and they gave us some of their houses to use. For example,
7 something that may be interesting for you, they - in fact, where
8 the NPP used for its rallies were given by them. They had
9 several houses in Monrovia. They used them for offices. So that
13:21:36 10 kind of donation, yes.

11 Q. Did Benoni Urey contribute to the NPP?

12 A. Oh, yes. His wife, yes. Urey did contribute to the NPP,
13 yes.

14 Q. At that point in time what businesses did he have?

13:21:54 15 A. Ben - I told you, Ben married into a multimillion dollar
16 family, and that's all they've been doing. At that time they
17 were still doing - if I'm not mistaken, they were doing a little
18 bit of chicken business, but I think his wife was - that family
19 was one of the first to bring in satellite and internet
13:22:18 20 connections in Liberia. He married into a very rich family.

21 Q. Do you know what company that was that brought in the
22 satellite or internet connections?

23 A. I don't know what they call the company, but at that time
24 they used to bring in these huge dishes and then you - you know,
13:22:38 25 and then give out wireless connections. I don't know the name of
26 her company, but she was one of the first to bring them to
27 Liberia.

28 Q. Did you have one of those dishes?

29 A. No, no, no, no, no. Oh, individuals did not buy them. No,

1 I didn't have one. No.

2 Q. Now, when you did your campaigning, you talked about
3 travelling outside the country. What parts of Liberia did you
4 travel to?

13:23:04 5 A. Oh, I travelled to most parts of the country. Almost every
6 possible area you can think about, I travelled.

7 Q. How did you travel to these areas?

8 A. By road. I drove. I drove all the way.

9 Q. Using your vehicles?

13:23:25 10 A. Yes.

11 Q. When you travelled outside the country, how did you travel?

12 A. I flew. Took an aircraft.

13 Q. Where did you go?

14 A. During the process when I left office I travelled to Ivory
13:23:45 15 Coast, I travelled to Burkina Faso. In fact, during that time I
16 travelled to Taiwan. Before my election I travelled to Taiwan to
17 raise - to help to raise some money for the electoral process.

18 Q. Did you raise additional money from Taiwan on that trip?

19 A. Not for me now. I said I went to raise money. At one
13:24:12 20 point the - some members of the international community refused
21 to support the electoral process, and so I went to Taiwan to seek
22 direct assistance to the Government of Liberia to help to pay for
23 the electoral process, and Taiwan donated to ECOWAS \$1 million to
24 help to pay for the elections in Liberia.

13:24:42 25 Q. Do you remember when that was?

26 A. Oh, I would say in 1997. In 1997. That money was given
27 directly to ECOWAS.

28 Q. What was the purpose of your trip to Ivory Coast?

29 A. See probably the President, to visit with him.

1 Q. Who would that have been at that time?

2 A. I think the old man was still alive. It could have been
3 Houphouet-Boigny by '97. Houphouet was still there, if I'm not
4 mistaken, and then Konan Bedie took over.

13:25:22 5 Q. And your visit to Burkina Faso, what was the purpose of
6 that?

7 A. To visit an old friend, chitchat, talk, relax a little bit.

8 Q. Did you receive monies from individuals or governments of
9 these two countries when you travelled there?

13:25:36 10 A. No, no, they did not - they did not contribute to the
11 election, no.

12 Q. How did you pay for your air travel to these two countries?

13 A. First of all, the normal transport, normal air traffic
14 between Liberia and Cote d'Ivoire. In the case of Burkina Faso,
13:25:59 15 we would - the President would send a plane for me.

16 Q. So commercial aircraft to Ivory Coast, and President
17 Compaore sent a plane for you to go to Burkina Faso?

18 A. And a commercial plane to Burkina Faso also, not a
19 presidential plane. There was a commercial plane that flew
13:26:20 20 between Ouagadougou and Abidjan, Air Burkina, and during that
21 particular period on their off day - I would only travel there on
22 their off day - he would arrange for them to pick me up in
23 Monrovia and take me to Burkina Faso.

24 Q. And who would pay for that flight?

13:26:41 25 A. He would pay for that.

26 Q. Meaning President Compaore?

27 A. That is correct.

28 Q. Now, addition to you making these trips inside Liberia
29 yourself, did you also have workers going out to these different

1 areas campaigning on your behalf?

2 A. Yes, the party. We're talking about a party process here,
3 just like you find in any other place. There were workers for
4 the party. Most of them volunteer workers for the party, yes.

13:27:11 5 Q. How did they travel to these locations?

6 A. We provide transportation. Like I said, people donated
7 transportation, fuel and other things. So remember now, the
8 elections in Liberia were not just presidential elections; they
9 were presidential and legislative elections. So - for the
10 senatorial and members of the Houses. So what happened at that
11 particular time, people that were running for the Senate for
12 their regions and the House of Representatives, there was a
13 combined effort to work together, so it was easy. People donated
14 vehicles. Sometimes we would rent vehicles. But most of it was
15 either donation or your personal vehicle you used.

13:27:54

16 Q. What type of vehicles were used to go out to the
17 countryside?

18 A. Those that had pick-up trucks used them, those that had
19 jeeps used them, depending on what you had. The party - the NPP
20 at that particular time leased a helicopter from South Africa and
21 for the party business. I never rode it. I hate helicopters.
22 But, you know, to get to some places workers would use that. So
23 we used vehicles, but there was also a leased helicopter that was
24 returned after the elections.

13:28:10

25 Q. Now, you recall you have been asked questions before about
26 a gentleman called Nico Shefer?

27 A. That is correct.

28 Q. Did he assist you in any way while you were campaigning?

29 A. Well, in a way - me personally, yes. I would say the

1 party. He assisted the party, yes. He assisted the party,
2 because it was through his contacts that we leased the
3 helicopter. We did a lot of our printing material for the
4 campaign in South Africa, he identified sources even though we
13:29:16 5 paid for them. To that extent he helped, yes.

6 Q. Did he contribute financially to the campaigning?

7 A. I doubt - well, in a way I could say yes. The elections
8 law were very tough. My late Minister of Lands and Mines,

9 Jenkins Dunbar, was very, very close to Nico Shefer. He helped

13:29:50 10 Jenkins significantly - well, let me withdraw that word. He

11 helped Jenkins. Because the election laws of Liberia provided

12 that no foreigner could contribute, so he helped Jenkins and I

13 guess through that Jenkins was able to strengthen himself. So in

14 that way I would say he helped.

13:30:03 15 Q. The election laws said no foreigner to contribute to the --

16 A. To the campaign. You could give monies. It's similar to

17 the United States. You cannot give money to the political party

18 that is - you can give money to an individual and the individual

19 may use the money as he wishes, but foreigners cannot contribute

13:30:24 20 directly into campaign process, no.

21 Q. But they can do it indirectly by giving it to you and then

22 you use it for the campaign?

23 A. It happens even in the States, yes. It happens in the

24 States. You can give money to individuals but not to the party

13:30:39 25 and how the individual uses it. Yes, yes.

26 Q. Nico Shefer, we had talked about some problems that he had

27 connected with a business in the United States. He also had

28 problems in South Africa, didn't he?

29 A. I don't know. I know Nico had some problems during the

1 apartheid years from my understanding. He was imprisoned because
2 he worked with the ANC and after the ANC took over he was
3 released from the best of my knowledge.

4 PRESIDING JUDGE: I think we'll take the lunch break now.

13:31:15 5 We'll resume at 2.30.

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

7 [Upon resuming at 2.30 p.m.]

8 PRESIDING JUDGE: Yes, Mr Griffiths.

9 MR GRIFFITHS: Mr President, I rise because I've now had an
14:32:42 10 opportunity of looking at the decision handed down this morning,
11 and for matters of trial efficiency, we seek clarification on one
12 particular matter, and it's this: One consequence of the
13 decision we've received today adverted to in our response and
14 which we feel requires urgent consideration, is this: The effect
14:33:18 15 of the decision is to divide the material sought to be admitted
16 by the Prosecution into two categories; that being fresh evidence
17 so-called, which goes to the impeachment of the defendant; and
18 secondly, fresh evidence that is probative of the guilt of the
19 accused.

14:33:44 20 Now, the question is this: Who decides into which
21 particular category such evidence should fall? It seems to us
22 that that is a judicial decision, not one to be made by the party
23 who seeks to take advantage of the admission of the document.
24 Consequently, a practical concern arises, which is this: If
14:34:15 25 matters are left as they are at present and the Prosecution seek
26 tomorrow to rely upon material which they feel in their own
27 assessment falls into category 1 and then lo and behold an issue
28 arises as to whether or not it does in fact fall into category 2,
29 it raises an issue which your Honours will have to decide, and it

1 seems to us that such a decision should be made a priori not
2 after the event so that we know precisely where we stand in
3 relation to the evidence.

4 So it seems to us, before we can go any further, the
14:34:58 5 Prosecution need to provide a schedule of all the documents they
6 intend to introduce attaching to that their categorisation of
7 which category the evidence falls into, along with written
8 reasons as to why they say a particular document falls into that
9 category, and thereafter your Honours can then take judicial
14:35:29 10 decision whether or not a particular document falls into one
11 category or the other.

12 In our submission, this is not a matter which should be
13 left to chance or, indeed, to a decision made by a party which
14 has an interest in the matter. It should be an independently
14:35:48 15 arrived at decision, because it seems to us, in order to give
16 dutiful effect to your Honours' decision, there is a two-stage
17 process which needs to be embarked upon: Firstly, the
18 appropriateness of the categorisation; secondly, the use to which
19 the document can be put. That would also ensure, in our
14:36:16 20 submission, judicial supervision of what materials must be
21 disclosed, and it seems to us imperative that there should be
22 such judicial supervision of what could be a very sensitive and
23 tendentious procedure.

24 PRESIDING JUDGE: Mr Griffiths, if there's something
14:36:41 25 deficient in the decision that you're not happy with, then you
26 know you have other means available for recourse, but we've
27 considered all the options. You have to bear in mind that we
28 didn't have any documents before us.

29 MR GRIFFITHS: Precisely.

1 PRESIDING JUDGE: Now, this decision takes into account
2 this: That it's up to the Prosecution to disclose all such
3 documents that are probative of the guilt of the accused. Now,
4 quite obviously, whether a document falls into that category or
14:37:25 5 not, if the Prosecution is going to use a document in
6 cross-examination, you well know, Mr Griffiths, that you have a
7 right to inspect that document and if you see that, all right, it
8 may be impeaching the credit of the accused but at the same time
9 the document contains material that's probative or potentially
14:37:45 10 probative of the guilt of the accused, you're going to object and
11 we are going to say, well, that document has obviously not - the
12 Prosecution has obviously not complied with our order in relation
13 to that document, and we'll make appropriate orders. So nothing
14 is going to slip through the net. You're going to see everything
14:38:04 15 that goes before the Court. In the meantime, we don't have the
16 document, so we're relying on the Prosecution to follow the order
17 we've made.

18 MR GRIFFITHS: Mr President, I fully understand that, but
19 the difficulty from our point of view is this: The only category
14:38:25 20 of documents which currently requires the Prosecution to disclose
21 the materials to us beforehand is category 2, where the wording
22 is "must disclose all such documents forthwith".

23 PRESIDING JUDGE: That's deliberate. That's quite right.
24 When they use the other category of documents in
14:38:47 25 cross-examination, you can inspect it. But we're not saying they
26 have to disclose that to you. If you inspect it and find that
27 that document really falls within category 2, not category 1,
28 then you can make appropriate application and we'll make
29 appropriate orders.

1 MR GRIFFITHS: Very well. Mr President, the consequence of
2 that then is, before any such document is put to the witness, I
3 will ask for time to consider the document before any questions
4 can be asked.

14:39:21 5 PRESIDING JUDGE: We'll deal with that when we come to it.
6 We're going to look at this on a case-by-case basis and it will
7 depend on a lot of things, the type of questions asked, for one
8 thing. So if it comes to that, we'll deal with it then.

9 MR GRIFFITHS: Very well.

14:39:38 10 PRESIDING JUDGE: Go ahead, Ms Hollis.

11 MS HOLLIS: Thank you, Mr President. I should note
12 Mr Bangura is no longer at the Prosecution table:

13 Q. Mr Taylor, when you were a member of the Council of State,
14 did the Council of State have control over the use of the monies
14:40:01 15 that the interim government had? Did you have to authorise or
16 approve expenditures, the members of the Council of State?

17 A. There was - yes. Yes.

18 Q. And what number of members of the Council of State had to
19 approve or authorise expenditures before those expenditures could
14:40:29 20 be made?

21 A. The chairman.

22 Q. Only the chairman?

23 A. Only the chairman.

24 Q. When you were campaigning, did you receive any donations
14:40:43 25 from members of the Lebanese business community?

26 A. No. Not to me, no.

27 Q. Did the NPP receive any donations from members of the
28 Lebanese business community?

29 A. No, not to my knowledge.

1 Q. During your campaign, you used the media as part of your
2 campaign, correct?

3 A. Yes.

4 Q. And what media did you use?

14:41:12 5 A. All of the available media at the time.

6 Q. And that included the media owned by the NPFL or the NPP?

7 A. Yes.

8 Q. What media was that?

9 A. Kiss FM.

14:41:27 10 Q. And at this time, other than Kiss FM, the other media
11 stations and outlets were still hampered because of the damage
12 done to them during the April 1996 fighting, yes?

13 A. No.

14 Q. The use of the media during your campaign, how much did
14:41:48 15 that cost?

16 A. I don't know. That was the campaign - the campaign
17 committee and the media people dealt with that. I don't know.

18 Q. And to what areas of the country did the media broadcast
19 your campaign messages?

14:42:06 20 A. Oh, to all - in fact, most parts of the country. Don't
21 forget now, as far as media is concerned, there were other media
22 operating including a radio that had been brought in by the
23 United States government. So it was all over the country. All
24 over. My radio could reach certain parts because FM broadcasting
14:42:37 25 is restricted to a particular distance. FM broadcast doesn't
26 really cover - so the FM station covered the Monrovia area and
27 the short wave, like the national short wave station, covered the
28 rest of the country.

29 Q. The national short wave station, did that include

1 advertisements or campaign material from all the parties?

2 A. All the parties, there was a level - so-called level
3 playing field, yes.

4 Q. Outside of Monrovia were media stations used outside
14:43:17 5 Monrovia to broadcast campaign material?

6 A. I don't understand your question. Did the waves reach
7 there or are you saying were there stations constructed outside
8 of Monrovia? I don't understand your question.

9 Q. Stations outside of Monrovia. Were stations outside of
14:43:37 10 Monrovia used to relay campaign material?

11 A. No, the short - no. Not to my knowledge, counsel. I'm not
12 -short waves would reach almost anywhere. In fact short wave
13 reached all over Liberia and beyond and did not need relay. FM
14 was mostly in Monrovia and covered - I would say the most
14:44:07 15 powerful FM stations covered I would say about a 30, 35 or
16 probably even more. I would say, okay, maybe about a 40 mile
17 radius. Other than that the short wave did not need a relay but
18 they reached all around the country and outside.

19 Q. Were there FM stations outside of Monrovia that the NPP
14:44:29 20 used to broadcast its media or its campaign messages?

21 A. No. We used short wave. No.

22 Q. Who paid for the use of the media for the NPP?

23 A. The NPP.

24 Q. And for your particular campaigning was that also covered
14:44:44 25 by the NPP?

26 A. Yes, the NPP, the national party, whatever monies it got in
27 paid and I helped to pay for my own campaign.

28 Q. You've talked about having monies from Libya and Taiwan.
29 Did you contribute any of those monies to the NPP?

1 A. Personally, yes, I contributed money to the party overall
2 organisation personally myself, yes.

3 Q. While were you campaigning for President part of your
4 campaign activities was to distribute rice, T-shirts with your
14:45:23 5 name on it and such things, yes?

6 A. That is correct.

7 Q. Where did you get the money for those materials?

8 A. I just told you. I got the money - personal money was
9 given to me by the Libyans and Taiwanese and I kept some of that
14:45:38 10 money over the years for this process.

11 Q. Did the NPP contribute any money for those materials?

12 A. Generally yes, from what the NPP - what the central - the
13 National Patriotic Party, like I said to the Court, was not just
14 running a presidential campaign. There was also the senatorial
14:46:01 15 and the representatives. So what the party did, there was a
16 party organisation supporting candidates around the country. As
17 President I also had my own campaign party - don't let me say
18 party. My own campaign committee with a campaign manager. But
19 like is done all around the world, the central party supported
14:46:29 20 this and they donated - whatever monies that went in they would
21 find a means to distribute it depending on which area was weaker
22 and how they wanted to help. So the national campaign coffers,
23 they had their own thing and I had my own campaign committee.

24 Whatever monies I had for the party for me personally I donated
14:46:50 25 it to the national campaign coffers and how they distributed it
26 was based on their assessment of the party needs around the
27 country.

28 Q. These other people of the NPP who were running for office,
29 how were they selected?

1 A. Well, at that particular time what we did was the elections
2 in Liberia was done on a process called proportional
3 representation. So individuals, while their names were not
4 directly on the ballot, from the party perspective we internally
14:47:34 5 selected individuals who had the clout in their regions and those
6 were the people that were sent out to campaign and were being
7 looked at as prospective senators and representatives because
8 proportional representation called for appointing those
9 individuals after the process.

14:47:55 10 Q. When you say they had clout in the regions, how did you
11 determine that?

12 A. Oh, in every county in every region you know those
13 individuals that are considered prominent people in the society,
14 yes. It's very clear. They set out, they show out and we knew
14:48:17 15 from around the country who these people were.

16 Q. And that included individuals with solid financial means,
17 yes?

18 A. Not necessarily, no. There's so many people that we sent
19 to the Senate that had no - in our neck of the woods it's not
14:48:32 20 just financial means that make someone to be a prominent in
21 society, no. It's got nothing to do with that.

22 Q. My question was that included people that had sound
23 financial means. Is that right?

24 A. No.

14:48:45 25 Q. So it didn't include any people who had sound financial
26 means?

27 A. That is correct.

28 Q. At your rallies you also had music, dance, games, things
29 such as that, yes?

1 A. That is correct.

2 Q. And you paid for that from the Libyan and Taiwanese money?

3 A. Not necessarily, no.

4 Q. What other sources?

14:49:08 5 A. Some of them we didn't pay for. People just make dance,
6 our traditional people love dancing. They dance and make - we
7 didn't have to pay for those. You go areas and people make
8 music.

9 Q. Just days before the election you paid to send the Liberian
14:49:29 10 football team to the African Cup qualifying game against Togo.
11 Isn't that correct?

12 A. I'm not sure if I paid or I contributed to the process. I
13 would say I contributed to the process.

14 Q. How much did you contribute to the process?

14:49:40 15 A. I really don't remember. I really don't remember.

16 Q. Do you know who else contributed to that process?

17 A. I don't know, but I'm sure the government did. The
18 government contributed to the process and maybe other
19 presidential candidates that love football, I'm sure they did,
14:50:00 20 but I did contribute.

21 Q. You're assuming that?

22 A. Yes, because I didn't put up the full amount so my
23 assumption - my proposition is that someone else had to do it and
24 these are the categories of people that would do it.

14:50:11 25 Q. Do you remember how much it cost to send them?

26 A. No, I don't remember.

27 Q. And you don't remember how much you paid?

28 A. No, I really don't. I really don't remember.

29 Q. Before the election you also donated ambulances to the JFK

1 Hospital in Monrovia, correct?

2 A. Yes, I think I did.

3 Q. Do you remember how many ambulances you donated?

4 A. I would say two. Maybe two or so, I would think.

14:50:38 5 Q. Where did you get those ambulances?

6 A. In fact those were - those ambulances were actually gifts
7 that were given. I think those ambulances were paid for by - I
8 think the Taiwanese government donated those but they could not
9 donate it to the government at the time. It was donated to me
14:51:03 10 and we gave them to the government.

11 Q. Was that in addition to the million dollars that the
12 Taiwanese government gave you?

13 A. Yes. Over two years, yes.

14 Q. You also established the Charles Ghankay Taylor Educational
14:51:18 15 and Humanitarian Relief Foundation before the election, correct?

16 A. That is correct.

17 Q. And this was supposedly for the purpose of rehabilitating
18 war victims, correct?

19 A. Not - no, no. We were catering to not just - to old,
14:51:38 20 young. I wouldn't just put - well, okay. That and others.
21 Yeah, war victims, yes, and others.

22 Q. How much money did you contribute to establishing this
23 foundation?

24 A. Maybe a few thousand dollars. It was mostly giving rice,
14:51:56 25 giving food to people. That was it.

26 Q. And that began functioning before the election?

27 A. Yes, to the best of my recollection, yes.

28 Q. When you first created the foundation did you have a
29 director for the foundation?

1 A. Yes.

2 Q. And who was that?

3 A. The honourable the late D Musuleng-Cooper.

14:52:20 4 Q. Other than yourself, did anyone else contribute money to
5 the start-up of this foundation?

6 A. No, no. You know we're using a big word "foundation",
7 counsellor, but if you are thinking foundation as your side, no.
8 That was just something to provide rice and other condiments to
9 help people hungry on the streets and different things. Not that
14:52:48 10 big thing like foundation, raising money. Not like that.

11 Q. Mr Taylor, you named it, correct?

12 A. Yes.

13 Q. And you named it the Charles Ghankay Taylor Educational and
14 Humanitarian Relief Foundation. Is that correct?

14:52:59 15 A. That's it, yes.

16 Q. You also established the Charles Taylor Relief Agency
17 before the election. Is that correct?

18 A. I'm not sure if it's relief - I think they were all the
19 same if I'm not mistaken. It's not different. It may have
14:53:14 20 started off as relief and became the educational foundation. I
21 don't - I think it was just the Charles Ghankay Taylor
22 Educational Foundation. Some relief assistance were being done
23 before but it was not a structured organisation.

24 Q. So you're saying it wasn't separate from the foundation?

14:53:31 25 A. No. No, I'm saying it was not separate. It was something
26 that evolved into the foundation. But it was not a separate
27 situation. Maybe for a short time, but it evolved into the
28 foundation.

29 Q. And that agency delivered rice and milk and food and other

1 things to needy Liberians, correct?

2 A. That is correct.

3 Q. And that began operation before the election?

4 A. I think we have just about agreed on that. There were a
14:54:06 5 lot of things going on at that particular time. Yeah, I think it
6 did start before the election.

7 Q. And the money for these either the same or two separate
8 entities, the foundation and the agency, when you told us how
9 much money you put into the foundation did you include in that
14:54:24 10 money the agency as well or did you have a separate amount for
11 the agency?

12 A. Well again, I don't want to mislead these judges. I'm a
13 little not too sure - I know that these two - we start something
14 like a relief and then evolved into a structured foundation. But
14:54:51 15 the monies - and I have forgotten how far apart they were. I
16 think it was just a short time of starting something and somebody
17 saying, "Well, look, structure it and put it into something like
18 a foundation," then it gets structured. But these are not two
19 organisations that are running simultaneous to each other, no. I
14:55:12 20 don't remember it being that way, no.

21 Q. So we're still talking about a few thousand dollars as
22 start-up money?

23 A. Yeah, just finding a place, you know, for offices that were
24 way down. In fact the place that we found was way down in an
14:55:29 25 area in Liberia we called the Waterside which is around the
26 general market areas. It cost a few thousand dollars to just get
27 it set up, there were a few people working there. Not more than
28 four or five individuals. Mrs Cooper, the late Mrs Dokie and a
29 few other people, but it didn't take a lot of money to set it up.

1 Q. How long did this agency which evolved into a foundation,
2 how long did that remain in existence?

3 A. Which one now? The foundation or the agency.

14:56:06 4 Q. You said the agency evolved into the foundation or some
5 such process?

6 A. I don't recall, counsel, quite frankly.

7 Q. Was the foundation still in existence when you left Liberia
8 in 2003?

9 A. Yes.

14:56:15 10 Q. How had you funded the foundation after those initial
11 start-up funds?

12 A. Just through - once the foundation was established people
13 donated to it. Mostly the big work that our foundation did was
14 to give out food and companies in Monrovia, knowing the need of
15 the old and sick and the children, donated food. They continued

14:56:37 16 that. The rice producing companies contributed rice. Some of --

17 Q. Do you recall those companies?

18 A. Yes. The Bridgeway company donated to this need. I
19 remember Bridgeway, one of the largest rice importers,
20 contributed rice that we used to share out to people.

14:57:08 21 Q. Was Bridgeway a Liberian company?

22 A. Do you mean Liberian owned or Liberian operator? The owner
23 is not Liberian. It's a Liberian registered, but the owner is
24 not Liberian.

14:57:30 25 Q. The owner was what nationality?

26 A. Lebanese.

27 Q. Do you recall the name of the owner?

28 A. Yes. The owner name is George. The last name is Haddad.

29 Q. In addition to the Bridgeway company and perhaps others

1 donating food, did the foundation receive monetary contributions
2 as well?

3 A. No. No.

4 Q. No monetary contributions?

14:57:59 5 A. Nobody gave any money.

6 Q. So as the foundation may have needed money throughout its
7 existence, did you contribute that money?

8 A. Whatever I could help, it was mostly salaries, yes. I
9 contributed from whatever assistance I could give, just for
14:58:15 10 salaries, and they were in fact paid - they were paid from some
11 of the contributions - through the contributions, say, for
12 example, some of the employees received rice as payment for their
13 jobs. So it did not take any real serious monetary operations
14 for it.

14:58:36 15 Q. Was it common in Liberia to use rice as a form of payment?

16 A. Yes.

17 Q. So a person, perhaps a commander, would get 100 bags of
18 rice or something as payment over a certain period of time?

19 A. Well, not 100, but, yes, you would get a bag of rice as
14:58:51 20 payment, yes. People used rice to barter as a form of payment,
21 yes.

22 Q. And commanders would be paid more than for their personal
23 needs and they would use that as a form of payment themselves.
24 Is that how it would work?

14:59:05 25 A. No, no, no, no. If a commander was given - he would be
26 bartered that amount that will cover what was supposed to be his
27 entitlement. Now, if he got any more, it simply meant it was
28 meant for distribution down the line, but he would only get that
29 which he was entitled to.

1 Q. And how was the entitlement determined? Was it based on
2 your position, your rank, or how was it determined?

3 A. Oh, rank. Rank would help to tell how much you would get.
4 For example, you know, a general would get more than a major or
14:59:47 5 colonel or something like that. So that's how it was done.

6 Q. And did that continue in your presidency where rice was
7 used as a form of payment?

8 A. Well, rice was used to help, yes. I would say to it
9 extent, yes. Because even while I was President, we bought - we
15:00:11 10 bulk purchased rice and we gave it to our personnel as a means of
11 - I wouldn't say direct payment but assistance, as a means of
12 assistance to the process, yes.

13 Q. And these bulk purchases - first of all, you said "we bulk
14 purchased". Who bulk purchased?

15:00:29 15 A. The government.

16 Q. And that would be - what office would do that?

17 A. We used - for example, the presidency used that. We also
18 had arrangements made through commerce to do that. Finance
19 would, you know, ask for donations too, but mostly the
15:00:57 20 presidency, with some of these special operations, would buy
21 large quantities of rice.

22 Q. From whom would you buy these bulk quantities of rice?

23 A. The rice companies in Monrovia. Bridgeway had rice. There
24 was another company down there. I don't know the name again.

15:01:14 25 But there were about two or three rice companies. Depending on
26 who gave the best price for whatever amount, we would buy.

27 Q. During the time that you were campaigning for the
28 presidency, did you receive any monies from - you yourself
29 personally receive any money from business interests that you

1 had?

2 A. I had no business interests, no. I had no business
3 interests, no.

4 Q. Other than the monies that we have talked about already,
15:01:48 5 did you receive any monies from business individuals in Liberia
6 or outside during the time you were campaigning?

7 A. No businessman contributed to my campaign, no.

8 Q. Did you receive any money during this time from the
9 exploitation of resources in Liberia?

15:02:04 10 A. None, no.

11 Q. Now, when you assumed office in August 1997, Liberia was in
12 debt for several billion dollars. Is that correct?

13 A. That is correct.

14 Q. About \$5 billion?

15:02:23 15 A. I know 4, but - I know about 4 billion.

16 Q. And, basically, in debt to whom?

17 A. Nations, multinational banks, the World Bank, IMF and other
18 multinational banks and governments.

19 Q. The monies from the transitional government budget, were
15:02:54 20 any of those money rolled over into the Government of Liberia
21 Ministry of Finance or Central Bank as a result of the election?

22 A. Rolled over? No, there was nothing left there. When I
23 took office, there was nothing in the coffers.

24 Q. So there was absolutely nothing left of that budget that
15:03:16 25 the transitional government had?

26 A. Absolutely nothing. In fact, I took office at a time - the
27 budgetary period in Liberia is not from January to December. It
28 is from June - it's from July 1 to June 30. So by the time I
29 take office in August, that's the end of the fiscal period, so

1 there is nothing absolutely left in the coffers. I reported in
2 my first address, there is nothing left there. And why that is
3 significant is because, this was also an unfortunate period
4 because the maritime payments begin to come in around July/August
15:04:02 5 and I think in December there are two high payment periods. And
6 so by the time I take office, the government budget has already
7 been exhausted by June 30. July 1, it's supposed to be the new
8 coming in President. I meet zero. Nothing. What did I meet?
9 If I'm not right, I reported some, what, \$12,000, \$15,000 in the
15:04:25 10 coffers of the Liberian government. That's reported.

11 Q. Now, when you took over as President, I think you've told
12 the Court that your salary was something like \$2000 a month. Is
13 that correct?

14 A. Or thereabout, yes.

15:04:37 15 Q. That's US dollars?

16 A. That is correct.

17 Q. And in addition to that, of course, you had the use as a
18 residence of the Executive Mansion. Is that correct?

19 A. That is correct.

15:04:48 20 Q. And the use of the Executive Mansion as a residence, that
21 was paid for by the Government of Liberia?

22 A. The Executive Mansion is not paid for. The Executive
23 Mansion is the official residence of the President, just like the
24 White House. I don't know if the federal government pays for the
15:05:09 25 White House, but we didn't pay for our Executive Mansion. I
26 don't think it's done that way, counsel. That's built, owned and
27 operated by the Government of Liberia.

28 Q. So the operation of the residential part of it is by the
29 Government of Liberia?

1 A. Yes. Yes. Yes.

2 Q. And in addition to the Executive Mansion, as President,
3 were you provided with vehicles?

4 A. Oh, yes. Oh, yes.

15:05:32 5 Q. What kind of vehicles?

6 A. They provided jeeps. I talked about Nissan Patrol and
7 other jeeps. They provided cars for - that would be used by the
8 presidency for guest purposes. They provided all of that.

9 Q. How many vehicles for the use of the presidency?

15:06:00 10 A. I don't know, counsel. The Minister of State would know.

11 I don't really know.

12 Q. What kind of vehicles? You said jeeps. What kind of cars?

13 A. The cars that were available, really, were mostly for guest
14 cars. I remember we had I think a few Hyundai. We bought some

15:06:30 15 Hyundai cars for the mansion.

16 Q. Did you receive any vehicles as personal gifts to you?

17 A. No.

18 Q. Nothing like a Jaguar or anything like that as a personal
19 gift to you?

15:06:44 20 A. Well, we are talking about what was provided to me as

21 President. I received a gift in - we're talking about a
22 different year now.

23 Q. During the presidency.

24 A. During my entire presidency?

15:06:56 25 Q. Yes.

26 A. Yes. I received a birthday gift of a Jaguar.

27 Q. Who did you receive that from?

28 A. From Mrs Urey, the wife of Benoni Urey.

29 Q. Other than that Jaguar, any other gifts of the vehicles?

1 A. Yes. As a birthday gift, the Liberian petroleum company,
2 LPRC, gave me a Range Rover as a birthday gift.

3 Q. Any others?

4 A. Yes. Let me see. Yes. I'm not sure which year, but I
15:07:42 5 received I think a Mercedes Benz 230 from someone as a gift also.

6 Q. Do you remember who that was from?

7 A. No, I don't remember. It could have come from the Mercedes
8 dealership. Okay. I think it came from the Mercedes dealership
9 in Liberia, I think.

15:08:05 10 Q. Why did they give you that vehicle?

11 A. I don't know why they - the President's birthday, everybody
12 bring gifts. I received many other gifts. Gold jewellery from
13 individuals. In our neck of the woods, during those particular
14 times, company gave gifts. For example, some send champagne,
15:08:29 15 some send different liquor. Different, different gifts. I mean,
16 it's all recorded by the presidency. The big ones, I get to
17 know, but the small ones, I don't know. But a lot of things come
18 as an appreciation during the President's birthday.

19 Q. You mentioned that when you were the leader of the NPFL,
15:08:47 20 you at some point at least you had an armoured vehicle that had
21 been provided by Libya?

22 A. That is correct.

23 Q. When you were President, did you have an armoured vehicle?

24 A. Yes.

15:08:55 25 Q. And who provided that?

26 A. I used the one from Libya. The government bought a second
27 one while I was in office, but I basically - the one from Libya
28 was a better quality and I used mostly the one from Libya.

29 Q. So you received a salary. You occasionally received gifts

1 I like for your birthday. You had the use of the residential part
2 of the Executive Mansion. Any other financial benefits coming to
3 you from the Government of Liberia as a result of your
4 presidency?

15:09:33 5 A. They paid for my travels.

6 Q. Internal and external travels?

7 A. Yes.

8 Q. If they had no money in the coffers, where did that money
9 for travel come from?

15:09:46 10 A. Well, don't forget, what time are we talking about now,
11 counsel? You asked me beginning - if you talk - I tried to
12 explain to you when I took over. Now, of course, I don't take
13 over today and start running all over the world. And the
14 budgetary period comes into place beginning July 1. So by the
15:10:00 15 time I take office within a few months, I just told these judges,
16 the maritime revenues begin to come in. So I don't take any real
17 - so any trips that are being made, there's money now coming in
18 and I can travel.

19 Q. So the trip that you took towards the end of September 1997
15:10:17 20 where you went to South Africa and other countries, was that paid
21 for by the Government of Liberia?

22 A. The government paid for the transport of that, but I was
23 also aided by the Libyan government in providing an aircraft and
24 other things.

15:10:38 25 Q. So the aircraft for that trip was provided by the Libyan
26 government?

27 A. Yes.

28 Q. During your presidency, on how many occasions were your
29 trips - the aircraft provided for by governments outside of

1 Liberia?

2 A. I would say about two-thirds of the time. The Libyan
3 government provided two-thirds of African leaders with aircraft
4 on some of these things. Not Charles Taylor. Every one of them.
15:11:08 5 I dare one person come and say Libya never did. It's normal.
6 You ask. You don't have it. You ask and the brother provides
7 the aircraft. I did.

8 Q. So for about two-thirds of your trips, Libya would have
9 provided the aircraft?

15:11:20 10 A. Just the aircraft and the crew and everything, yes. They
11 would lease the aircraft for you from - I remember they leased
12 aircraft from British companies in London, but we didn't have the
13 means. A lot of us, until today, we are still asking Libya for
14 help, aircrafts and everything. I did too.

15:11:38 15 Q. Did other governments also assist you and provide aircraft
16 for particular trips?

17 A. No. I said only Libya.

18 Q. Only Libya?

19 A. Only Libya. No, no, no, I'm sorry. On one or two
15:11:49 20 occasions La Cote d'Ivoire helped me with a plane. On my trip to
21 France in 1998 that aircraft was provided by the Government of
22 Burkina Faso. So there are about three countries. Ivory Coast
23 assisted me on one or two short trips around. In fact, no. Let
24 me just - I think it's even more. Because I'm sure I'm going to
15:12:21 25 be confronted with this. Togo. For me to go in 1999 to the
26 meeting for the Sierra Leonean peace conference Togo sent me an
27 aircraft. So Togo, Burkina Faso, Ivory Coast and Libya are the
28 four areas that assisted with aircraft, even though it was a
29 short trip, but they provided the means.

1 Q. In addition to providing you with aircraft for these trips
2 did the Libyan government provide you with any other resources or
3 assistance for these trips you took outside of Liberia?

15:13:00

4 A. Not all of them. The trip to South Africa they assisted me
5 while I was down there. I went down there for a medical that the
6 Government of Liberia could not afford and I asked them for some
7 financial assistance while I was down there to pay for my medical
8 and some of the prolonged expenses while I was there.

9 Q. That was in South Africa?

15:13:17

10 A. That is correct.

11 Q. How much did they provide for that?

12 A. If I'm not mistaken I think it was about a half a million
13 dollars that the Libyans assisted me with while I was in South
14 Africa on this - I had a large delegation. I think about a half
15 a million dollars.

15:13:34

16 Q. Again just so we're clear, that's what currency?

17 A. United States dollars.

18 Q. In addition to that assistance were there other occasions
19 when Libya provided you with assistance during these trips
20 outside of Liberia?

15:13:47

21 A. No, not to my recollection right now, no.

22 Q. Did any other governments provide you with additional
23 assistance for any of these trips outside of Liberia?

24 A. No.

15:14:02

25 Q. Other than planes that we've talked about?

26 A. No.

27 Q. Did the Taiwanese government ever provide you with
28 assistance for any trips?

29 A. Well, on my visit to Taiwan, I visited Taiwan, they

1 assisted with tickets. We took regular commercial plane, they
2 paid for the tickets. And of when you talk about assistance now,
3 counsel, just so we don't get hit again, most of these trips that
4 are taken to these countries - for example like when I visited
15:14:35 5 Togo and other places - you don't pay. Just like if Presidents
6 came to visit me. You don't pay for your lodging, okay. So to
7 that extent you can call that a form of assistance, okay. But to
8 say financial, no. Presidents came to visit me; they didn't have
9 to pay. So when you travel you don't pay when you live in other
15:15:00 10 presidential guesthouses or hotels the government of the day
11 picks up that bill. So to that extent I don't want to be told
12 later on, "Well, you said you got no assistance but you live in a
13 hotel." But it's a normal practice that the host will cover the
14 bill. To that extent I can say I got assistance.

15:15:17 15 Q. Mr Taylor, I think you testified that when you left Liberia
16 in 2003 you had a bank account Tradevco?

17 A. That is correct.

18 Q. And Tradevco was located where in Monrovia, do you recall?

19 A. What I last remember of Tradevco, Tradevco was located on
15:15:50 20 Ashmun Street in Monrovia.

21 Q. What street is that?

22 A. Ashmun, A-S-H-M-U-N, Ashmun Street, to the best of my
23 recollection.

24 Q. Other than Tradevco in Ashmun Street in Monrovia did you
15:16:04 25 have any other bank accounts while you were President of Liberia?

26 A. Where, in Liberia?

27 Q. Anywhere.

28 A. Personally no. Were there operational accounts that
29 operated for certain covert things? I knew of the accounts. I

1 do not know how they were labelled. But personally as a personal
2 bank account, only Tradevco.

3 Q. Tradevco. And nothing outside of Liberia?

4 A. No, I had no accounts --

15:16:43 5 Q. At that time was the Burkina Faso account closed, or do you
6 recall?

7 A. Counsel, I told you a million times I don't recall and you
8 keep bringing that. I'm not going to lie. I don't recall when
9 that account was closed. I'm sure we can get the information if
10 you don't already have it. I don't recall when it was closed.

15:16:55 11 I'm not going to lie to these judges, so you can ask me a million
12 times, I'm still not going to tell you because I don't know.

13 Q. In addition to the account in your name at Tradevco were
14 you the beneficiary of any other accounts during your presidency?

15:17:13 15 A. When you say beneficiary of any, counsel will you please
16 help me, what do you mean?

17 Q. That you were entitled to withdraw funds from those
18 accounts or to be paid from those accounts?

19 A. The presidency could withdraw from those accounts but, you
15:17:27 20 know, so I'm - I couldn't personally withdraw, but the
21 presidency, depending on the operation, could withdraw from
22 accounts like that, yes.

23 Q. When it was the presidency withdrawing from those accounts
24 who would actually do the withdrawal?

15:17:42 25 A. Oh, you know already. The presidency - there was an
26 account- most of these covert accounts my special assistant
27 managed - Kadiatu Diarra that you know dealt with certain covert
28 accounts for the government.

29 Q. At the time that you became President you had married your

1 third wife, correct?

2 A. Yes.

3 Q. You married her in January 1997?

4 A. About there.

15:18:20 5 Q. Was that Jewel Howard-Taylor?

6 A. That is correct.

7 Q. Did she have any accounts in her name while you were
8 President of Liberia?

9 A. I don't know. I never asked her. I really don't know. I
15:18:35 10 never asked her.

11 Q. Were there any joint accounts with you and her?

12 A. No, none.

13 Q. Did she bring any assets to the marriage?

14 A. Not that - no. Jewel? No, Jewel did - no, not that I know
15:18:49 15 of. By assets do you mean like did she bring money or properties
16 or different things into the marriage?

17 Q. Anything.

18 A. No.

19 Q. Mr Taylor, you remained married to Jewel Howard-Taylor for
15:19:03 20 how long?

21 A. Until I'd say from '97 through - I would say about 2006. I
22 was out of the country. I was in Nigeria when she divorced me.
23 I would say 2005, 2006 or thereabouts.

24 Q. And during that entire time did she have any accounts that
15:19:36 25 you would have been the beneficiary of?

26 A. No.

27 Q. You were married to her - actually married her how many
28 times? Twice?

29 A. How many times did I marry her?

1 Q. Yes. Twice?

2 A. Once. Once, I said.

3 Q. One time?

4 A. Yes.

15:19:56 5 Q. Never divorced and remarried?

6 A. No.

7 Q. Renew any vows with her at any time publicly?

8 A. No.

9 Q. As far as your assets were concerned, while you were
15:20:09 10 President did you have any interest in any businesses or business
11 enterprises?

12 A. No.

13 Q. Did you have any interest in gold or other precious
14 minerals?

15:20:19 15 A. No.

16 Q. Did you yourself own any gold or other precious minerals
17 other than jewellery?

18 A. No.

19 Q. Did you have any stock in any companies?

15:20:29 20 A. No.

21 Q. Any other assets other than those we've already discussed
22 while you were President?

23 A. Not that I recollect of.

24 Q. Were you receiving any monies from concessions within the
15:20:43 25 country while you were President?

26 A. No. Not personally, no.

27 Q. Mr Taylor, you had mentioned that at some point you owned a
28 house in Gbarnga. Were you referring to the two houses that you
29 had there during the NPFL times or a different house?

1 A. But I don't remember saying that I had two houses in
2 Gbarnga during the NPFL time because I said to this Court I
3 didn't own them, so I didn't have them. So your question is -
4 the other house you asked me about on my farm I owned but those
15:21:34 5 houses, I remember telling this Court today that those were
6 properties of the Government of Liberia so I didn't have them.

7 Q. So the house in Gbarnga referred to the house on your farm?

8 A. That is correct.

9 Q. And that house itself that was on your farm, you built that
15:21:54 10 house?

11 A. Yes, my cousin started building the house and then I - then
12 she gave it to me, yes.

13 Q. We've seen some pictures of an unfinished structure on your
14 farm. Is that the house you are referring to or is this a
15:22:15 15 different house?

16 A. I don't know what you are referring to, counsel. I would
17 like to look at it before I answer yes or no. What are you
18 referring to?

19 Q. The house that you are referring to, is it a completed
15:22:24 20 house?

21 A. No, counsel, please. Would you please show me what you are
22 referring to.

23 Q. Mr Taylor, the house that you are referring to on your
24 farm, was it a completed house, one you could live in?

15:22:33 25 A. The house I'm referring to on my farm was destroyed during
26 the war so there's nothing there, it's burnt down. That's why
27 I'm saying to you if you show me because I don't want to mislead
28 the judges when I say yes or no to a house because there are two
29 houses on my farm. That's why I'm trying to make sure we're

1 talking about the right one. I don't want to mislead this Court.

2 Q. The house that was burned down, when was that burned down?

3 A. During the fighting in Gbarnga.

4 Q. This is the house on the farm that was burned down during

15:23:00 5 the fighting in Gbarnga in what year?

6 A. Which house now? The house on the farm that was burned
7 down, I don't know which one you are referring to. I keep asking
8 you. You have referred to a picture and it may be helpful to me
9 if you were to show it to me because the picture that was shown

15:23:15 10 to this Court was not the house that was burned. So if you
11 referred to a house that was burned maybe if we brought it here
12 I'll be able to properly tell these judges because the house that
13 was burned was never shown in this Court.

14 Q. So the house that was burned, and you said it was a house

15:23:32 15 on the farm - on your farm?

16 A. That is correct.

17 Q. And it was burned in what year?

18 A. During the LURD fighting in Gbarnga. That would be about -
19 I will put it to about 2001. 2001, 2002 the house on my farm got
15:24:00 20 burned.

21 Q. And this house on your farm that was burned in about 2001,
22 2002, was this house given to you or did you purchase this house?

23 A. The house was given to me. It was - she just started it
24 and I completed it.

15:24:15 25 Q. After it was burned was it ever rebuilt?

26 A. No. You go to my farm right now it's almost a forest. No.

27 Q. Did you have property in Arthington while you were
28 President?

29 A. Yes.

1 Q. What did you have there?

2 A. I had some land in Arthington but that's about all. My
3 mother had a house up there. That's where I used to stay when I
4 went there. But just land.

15:24:49 5 Q. So you stayed at your mother's house but this is separate
6 from the land or is it the same?

7 A. It's separate.

8 Q. And how much land did you have in Arthington?

9 A. I have about 25 acres of land that was never developed in
15:25:05 10 Arthington.

11 Q. And do you receive revenues from that land?

12 A. It was never developed. No, it's all bush. It's bush.
13 There's nothing there.

14 Q. Now during your direct examination you talked about a
15:25:19 15 presidential boat. That boat, was it the property of Liberia,
16 the Government of Liberia, or was it your property?

17 A. It was not the property of the Government of Liberia. It
18 was my property.

19 Q. How did you acquire that property?

15:25:35 20 A. That boat was a birthday gift that was given to me by a
21 Greek shipping magnate - Lord, his name - as a birthday gift.

22 Q. How long did you keep that boat?

23 A. I kept it up until I left Liberia.

24 Q. Did you sell it at that time?

15:26:01 25 A. No.

26 Q. What did you do with it?

27 A. Quite frankly, counsel, I can't even - I don't know what
28 happened. The boat was taken by me to Nigeria and it never
29 really got to me in Calabar because it was brought to Nigeria.

1 And if I'm not mistaken, it's still parked in the Lagos harbour
2 and the individuals that brought it down, I think they have been
3 - the parking fees or something have exceeded the cost or
4 something. I don't know. But I never got my - if I tell you the
15:26:41 5 - I don't know what is the real situation with that boat today.
6 I still can claim it. It's my boat. But from the time I was in
7 Nigeria, there was a problem in trying to get it from in port and
8 it is still, to the best of my knowledge, still down there. But
9 nobody has been able to obtain it, but I would still claim. It's
15:27:04 10 my boat. But I have no knowledge of what's the real situation
11 with it.

12 Q. And who brought it to Nigeria for you?

13 A. It was put on a ship. It was put on a ship and brought.

14 Q. Do you know who arranged for that to happen?

15:27:21 15 A. Who was that? I think it may have been one of my cousins I
16 think arranged for it to come down. I was in Nigeria when it
17 went. I don't know the details, really. But it was sent to me
18 on a ship.

19 Q. During your presidency, did the forestry activities
15:27:43 20 recommence in Liberia?

21 A. During my presidency?

22 Q. Yes.

23 A. Yes.

24 Q. And were concessions given out to companies for logging
15:27:53 25 purposes?

26 A. Yes. Concessions were renewed. What we did, yes, we gave
27 out - we renewed concessions. There were a few new ones, but I
28 would say 80 per cent of the concessions were concessions that
29 had been in place for the last 30 years before my presidency, so

1 we followed the laws. All concessions that were granted during
2 the legitimate presidency of Master Sergeant Samuel Doe were
3 reinstated. Unfortunately, that's not the case right now. But
4 we did not tamper with any agreement that was put into place
15:28:34 5 during the Government of Liberia under Doe, we accepted.

6 Q. And did you have new concessions as well?

7 A. Yes.

8 Q. How many new concessions?

9 A. I don't know, but the main one that I can remember that was
15:28:50 10 the biggest was the OTC concession. That was the \$250 million
11 programme that we brought in to try to control forestry in
12 Liberia. So --

13 Q. That began when? Began operation when?

14 A. I would say OTC probably started about '98 or '99.

15:29:19 15 Somewhere there. I would put it towards the end, maybe end of
16 '98, '99.

17 Q. Who was responsible for representing the Government of
18 Liberia in this contracting process with OTC?

19 A. You say responsible. The process in Liberia, there will be
15:29:42 20 three agencies: The Ministry of Finance, the Justice Department
21 and the Forestry Development Authorities. These are the three
22 agencies - and there's a fourth one, the National Investment
23 Commission. There are four agencies that would - that was
24 responsible for bringing that into being.

15:30:00 25 Q. Now, you received personal benefit from these concessions
26 that were given during your time as President. Isn't that
27 correct?

28 A. Well, I don't know what you mean - no. What kind of
29 personal benefits? No.

1 Q. Monetary benefit.

2 A. No.

3 Q. And, in fact, these concession agreements, some of them at
4 least, were constructed to allocate a portion of the revenue to
15:30:25 5 the President of Liberia. Isn't that correct?

6 A. No. I know the specific thing that you are talking about.

7 No. That's the - that's where we talk about the covert part of
8 it. There was a group that was managed by the very

9 Guus Kouwenhoven and there was a covert budget set up that monies
15:30:58 10 that were appropriated but not sent through the Finance Ministry
11 were paid into that account under the title the President of
12 Liberia, that is correct.

13 Q. Not the presidency but the President?

14 A. Yes. It says payable to the President of Liberia, yes.

15:31:12 15 Q. During the time that you were President, was the Government
16 of Liberia receiving revenues from rubber?

17 A. Oh, I - I would think so. Firestone did start up a little
18 bit, but not too much. It was still - in fact, we're still
19 negotiating. But there had to be some little revenue from rubber
15:31:46 20 I would want to believe. Yes, there had, because they were in
21 operation. I would say yes.

22 Q. Were you personally receiving revenues from rubber during
23 your presidency?

24 A. No. Definitely no.

15:32:00 25 Q. During your presidency, were you receiving stolen goods
26 from Sierra Leone?

27 A. No.

28 Q. During the time that you were President, what mobile phone
29 businesses were located in Liberia?

1 A. To the best of my recollection, I think there were two.
2 There were two mobile phone companies. One was - one is
3 Lonestar. The other, I've forgotten the name, but it was partly
4 owned by an American. I think, if I'm not mistaken, Herman Cohen
15:32:49 5 had interests in that phone company. It was an American-Lebanese
6 outfit. I don't know the name, but I remember Cohen had
7 something to do with that.

8 Q. You don't remember any of the other owners other than a
9 Mr Cohen?

15:33:05 10 A. I know Cohen was involved. I know Mr Allen, Cyril Allen,
11 was involved with Cohen on this. Those are the only two I know.

12 Q. In terms of Lonestar, who owned Lonestar?

13 A. I don't know all the details, but I know it is a Lebanese,
14 at the time, telecommunications because they went through - I
15:33:30 15 think there was a Lebanese group that owned telecommunications in
16 Ghana and I think Guinea and Sierra Leone. In fact, the company
17 that owned Lonestar at the time owned a telephone in those three
18 countries.

19 Q. That was during your presidency?

15:33:49 20 A. That was during my presidency.

21 Q. You don't remember the name of that company?

22 A. I don't know the mother company, but I know they owned the
23 telephone company in Ghana and Guinea. I don't know the mother
24 company, because the question will be asked, when these people
15:34:09 25 come with their big business deals, who - I'm asked as to whether
26 they are capable of doing what they say they would do. Some of
27 them come, "We can do this, do that." So you want to get some
28 background. And the National Investment Commission had to do a
29 due diligence on their background, and what I remember from my

1 briefing was that they were operating in Ghana, Guinea and Sierra
2 Leone.

3 Q. Were any Liberians partners or have other beneficial
4 interests in Lonestar?

15:34:45 5 A. I have no idea.

6 Q. Do you know if Benoni Urey had an interest in that company?

7 A. I have no idea.

8 Q. In terms of the mobile phone business in Liberia, what
9 portion of the market did Lonestar have, if you know?

15:34:58 10 A. I don't know.

11 Q. These mobile phone businesses that were operating in
12 Liberia, did they have to have licences from the government?

13 A. Yes. All of them had.

14 Q. Who gave those licences?

15:35:08 15 A. The Ministry of Posts and Telecommunications.

16 Q. Who was that at the time you were President?

17 A. We had several of them.

18 Q. First one was?

15:35:25 19 A. It's been so long. What's the lady's name? There was a
20 lady. I forgot. Who was the minister? I know the last minister

21 - okay. One of them was Barbara - I think Barbara Gonkartea,
22 G-O-N-K-A-R-T-E-A, and also the last minister that was in office
23 was Melvin Sogbandi. He was Minister of Posts and

24 Telecommunications. But at the time of the Lonestar company and
15:36:08 25 the other companies, I think it was Barbara. If I'm not wrong, I
26 think - I know the first name. I think it's Gonkartea.

27 Q. Do you recall when Melvin Sogbandi took over?

28 A. I don't recall the year, but it's after Barbara Gonkartea.

29 That had to be - I would put it to about a year and a half to

1 two, coming towards the end of my presidency. So I would put
2 that to about maybe 2002 into 2003, I'll put it.

3 Q. He held that position until you left?

4 A. That is correct.

15:36:41 5 Q. And this office, was it a ministry or a department or what
6 was it?

7 A. It's a ministry.

8 Q. So the person in charge of the ministry reported to whom?

9 A. All ministers report to the President.

15:37:04 10 Q. Do you know how much the Government of Liberia would have
11 made from the licensing of these mobile phone companies?

12 A. No, I don't. As a matter of fact, not very much. Mobile
13 phone licences abroad are very expensive, very, very expensive.

14 In trying to attract that technology to Liberia at the time,

15:37:26 15 people were encouraged. The two mobile companies were

16 encouraged. I doubt if they paid very much. If they had to do
17 that today, it would probably cost them millions of dollars, but
18 at the time, in trying to encourage that investment in Liberia,
19 most times for new things like those, the investment laws of

15:37:49 20 Liberia would really cause us to let a lot go at the front to get
21 a lot at the rear end. So they did not pay a lot. I don't know
22 how much, but they did not pay a lot. Because I'm fully aware
23 today of what those licences will cost.

24 Q. The decision that they wouldn't pay a lot, was that

15:38:08 25 something that the executive was involved in?

26 A. No, that's a national investment code. The encouragement
27 of investors in the country have several, several layers
28 depending on your investment. For example, let's say plant and
29 equipment being brought into the country, you have total duty

1 free. You will bring all the plant and equipment into the
2 country duty free. Now, just on the duty, if you had to pay -
3 for example, take the case of OTC, they brought some \$30 million,
4 \$40 million worth of heavy equipment to the country and paid no
15:38:48 5 duty. And that's an investment code to encourage investors in,
6 you give duty free. Sometimes you have tax holidays for so many
7 years. Small countries do that to encourage investors.

8 Q. And the Government of Liberia had no discretion in that
9 matter?

15:39:03 10 A. Of course the Government of Liberia. The National
11 Investment Commission is a commission set up. It's an autonomous
12 commission of the Government of Liberia. But in making those
13 decisions, Finance, Justice and all of those agencies would be
14 involved because the legal issues under our laws are controlled
15:39:23 15 by the Justice Department. The financial issues are controlled
16 by Finance. So while you have a National Investment Commission
17 that is pursuing these goals out there, once these items come on
18 line, all of these agencies come in to secure the laws and
19 statutes of Liberia. So Finance comes in because of the
15:39:45 20 statutes. Justice, all the lawyers are Justice, so they come in
21 to see what is supposed to be done in line with the laws. So
22 that's the Government of Liberia taking these decisions. But it
23 is being processed through a particular agency that would do all
24 of the due diligence, get involved in all of the little - you
15:40:09 25 know, the basic administrative work.

26 Q. And during your presidency, how much money did the
27 Government of Liberia make from the forestry activities?

28 A. Forestry, again, I would have to - I would have to - I
29 don't want you to go astray with number of years because forestry

1 didn't start until a few years after my election. So we're not
2 talking about my entire presidency, because everything was
3 destroyed totally. That's why I say I would put OTC maybe in '99
4 or thereabout, because for the first two years there was nothing.
15:40:48 5 I would say, on an annual basis, by the time I left office,
6 forestry would have been making about 8 to 10 million a year, I
7 would say. That would be on the high side. But that would not
8 be a correct answer to your question.

9 During my presidency - I'm looking at statistics from old -
15:41:18 10 I would say about 5 to 7 million, I would say, annually that
11 could be obtained.

12 Q. Now, you said earlier that forestry activities began again
13 in 1997. So that we're clear, are you saying now that forestry
14 activities did not begin until a few years after you became
15:41:38 15 President?

16 A. What happened, 1997 we started to begin to talk to
17 companies about - until coming, but it's not until about '98, '99
18 before these companies because everything was destroyed. So
19 these companies had to begin first of all to get the confidence
15:42:01 20 so there was nothing doing in 1997. They started getting the
21 confidence in 1998 and beginning to bring in the equipment -
22 first of all raising the finances to recommence in Liberia and
23 getting the equipment in Liberia took most of 1998. So I would
24 begin to look at the development, the actual working of forest
15:42:24 25 activities in Liberia, to be late '98 or beginning '99 before we
26 actually begin to see some movement. By the time OTC comes in I
27 would say about '99 or thereabout we begin to see an increase in
28 timber activities. But the first two years was really getting
29 mobilised, mobilising finances and mobilising equipment.

1 Q. The timber companies that came in and became active while
2 were you President, did they have to pay fees for the use of your
3 ports to ship their product out?

4 A. Oh, yes. By that time the National Port Authority, an
15:43:07 5 autonomous agency of government, was operating the ports of
6 Liberia.

7 Q. How much would they have had to pay during your presidency
8 for these uses?

9 A. I have no idea, counsel, what the port fees are and what -
15:43:16 10 I have no idea. It's an autonomous agency. They have their own
11 employees and work. Like the LPRC and some of these other things
12 we talked about, the National Port Authority is autonomous and it
13 is not a direct agency of the Liberian government. They collect
14 their monies, they keep their monies, they pay their employees,
15:43:38 15 the government has nothing to do with it. The only thing that
16 comes from those ports from the government is that, for example,
17 import duties and different things. But the fees for the use of
18 the ports in their operations, that is strictly NPA. I have no
19 idea.

15:43:56 20 Q. Did they have to pay any export duties or fees separate
21 from the port fees to take the timber out of your country?

22 A. No, the only thing the Liberian government did was to get
23 their - the charges that the Government of Liberia charged for
24 what they call board foot of timber, there's a - I don't know how
15:44:17 25 it works. But I think there's a particular charge on certain
26 species and board foot. There's a whole combination that at my
27 level I don't know.

28 Q. Who actually would have granted these concessions during
29 your presidency?

1 A. Like I told you, counsel, they go through a series of
2 ministries. The Forestry Development Authority is the area of
3 first concern but the Justice Department is involved because the
4 laws of Liberia are dealt with through our Justice Department.

15:44:50 5 All of the lawyers are there to make sure that the agreements are
6 in line with the statutes and laws. Then there's the Ministry of
7 Finance to make sure that certain income that's supposed to be
8 paid to the government are put into proper place. Then you have
9 the National Investment Commission. So there are always at least
15:45:12 10 three or four agencies that are dealing with these concession
11 agreements before they are put, they are promulgated.

12 Q. As President would you be briefed on these different
13 concession agreements?

14 A. Oh, yes. Not while the negotiation was going on. The laws
15:45:25 15 are laid down and once a concession agreement is - the concession
16 agreement is finally approved by the President, the act of the
17 legislature that is set up is set up in a way that once these
18 agencies have certified that all the laws have been met then it
19 is then approved by the President.

15:45:51 20 Q. But you would have been briefed that there were companies
21 interested in making such a large investment in your country,
22 would you not?

23 A. I have said that, yes.

24 Q. Even before the agreement was final?

15:46:01 25 A. Oh, yes. Oh, yes.

26 Q. Who would have briefed you on these matters?

27 A. All of the, you know, the FDA people, the man, the Finance
28 Minister would - the National Investment Commission chairman. I
29 mean like a big investment like OTC, there were every agency and

1 their grandmother involved in that because that was the first big
2 break that we saw that these people were coming in to invest so
3 much money, \$250 million, that would have provided jobs so there
4 were a lot of agencies that were involved in that. Commerce got
15:46:41 5 involved, it's Commerce and Trade. So a lot of people were
6 involved.

7 Q. Did you require persons to pay for doing business in
8 Liberia --

9 A. No.

15:46:55 10 Q. -- over and above the legal requirements?

11 A. No.

12 Q. Did you accept gifts from those who were seeking to do
13 business in Liberia while you were President?

14 A. No. No. I received gifts from people that were doing
15:47:07 15 business in Liberia but not before they got business, no.

16 Q. People who were doing business in Liberia who gave you
17 gifts, who were these people?

18 A. I have talked about it. I have told you that for example
19 that Bridgeway donated rice as a gift to me. They donated rice
15:47:29 20 to the humanitarian and relief agencies. So Bridgeway donated
21 rice. There was in fact private companies that brought in drugs,
22 donated drugs from time to time towards their causes.

23 In our area, counsel, people come to these causes. Once
24 the President speaks people come voluntarily and help. And
15:48:00 25 sometimes, you know, it's like the President has asked and so
26 they take it to the President but it's for these worthy causes
27 out there.

28 Q. Were you given money as gifts --

29 A. No.

1 Q. -- from any of these business people?

2 A. No, I did not receive money as gifts, no.

3 Q. You've talked about the property that you had at the time
4 that you left Liberia and you said that you had about 1.5 million
15:48:27 5 US dollars in property in Liberia when you left office. Yes?

6 A. That is correct.

7 Q. And you said that all the property that you had was in fact
8 in Liberia?

9 A. That is correct.

15:48:38 10 Q. And you mentioned White Flower. You mentioned farmland in
11 Gbarnga. You said that you had about 5,000 acres of farmland in
12 Gbarnga, correct?

13 A. That is correct.

14 Q. Who did you buy that land from?

15:48:53 15 A. Many individuals.

16 Q. And were they private citizens of Gbarnga or businesses or
17 what?

18 A. Private citizens of Gbarnga.

19 Q. And did these people have any choice in selling the land to
15:49:07 20 you?

21 A. Yes, they did.

22 Q. You had a home there that was not completed, correct? And
23 I'm talking about the structure other than the one that burned
24 down.

15:49:19 25 A. That is correct.

26 Q. Why was that not completed?

27 A. I didn't have the means to complete it.

28 Q. So your testimony is that your failure to complete it had
29 nothing to do with resentment in the local community?

1 A. No. Definitely not. The people of Gbarnga, the people of
2 Bong County - in fact the land that we're talking about, I keep
3 referring to it because the Honourable Justice was surprised the
4 other day. People gave those - they gave - in fact I bought a
15:49:54 5 lot of that land. I have 5,000 acres of land. Some part of it
6 was a tribal situation. The people of Gbarnga loved me. The
7 people of Bong County loved me. I received 99 per cent of the
8 votes during elections in Bong County. The records are here. 99
9 per cent. The people of Bong County, 99 of all the votes cast
15:50:17 10 during the presidential election. Those are not people that
11 resented me, no.

12 Q. So they just gave you this land at a good price or what are
13 you saying?

14 A. Farmland in Liberia is cheap. Some it is free. In fact
15:50:30 15 there were other regions of the country that just knowing that
16 the President wants to make a farm people give you free land
17 because it brings development to the area. There were areas in
18 Nimba that gave me land that I never took. There were other
19 parts of the country. So there was a competition like for - it
15:50:47 20 was important for the President to start his farm somewhere and
21 people felt that they would benefit from it. So this is the
22 situation. And they had a choice but they wanted - it was more
23 like an encouragement to me to open this farm in Gbarnga because
24 it would have brought hundreds if not thousands of jobs.

15:51:07 25 Q. Did it bring hundreds of thousands of jobs to Gbarnga?

26 A. No, I did not say hundreds of thousands. I said --

27 Q. Hundred or thousands?

28 A. No, if not thousands. I prefer "if not".

29 Q. Did it bring those jobs?

1 A. It brought hundreds of jobs, yes.

2 Q. What kind of jobs did it bring to Gbarnga?

3 A. Well, the first thing I got involved in just even clearing
4 out the place. In order to preserve the soil one of the things

15:51:33 5 that we did was we did use some equipment but not very much
6 because we didn't want to move the topsoil. So what we did was
7 we hired a lot of the local people to really what we call to
8 brush the area. So we did a lot of manual labour. We gave
9 contracts to different sections of the community. This 50 or 60
15:51:56 10 men would come in say we'll take a contract to brush several
11 acres and we'll pay you, so that provided income for them.

12 Q. Did you pay them or did you take free work from them?

13 A. That insults me, counsel. I would never do that. I would
14 never, ever do that to my people ever. They were paid.

15:52:13 15 Q. You said that you had 3,000 acres planted in coffee. Was
16 that at your farm in Gbarnga or elsewhere?

17 A. No, Gbarnga. The farm in Gbarnga.

18 Q. And the 5,000 acres, that's your farm in Gbarnga, 5,000?

19 A. That's the same 5,000, most of it was already planted in
15:52:31 20 coffee.

21 Q. It was already planted when you got the land?

22 A. No, counsel. I'm saying of the 5,000 that I'm talking
23 about I had - I planted 3,000 in coffee.

24 Q. After you acquired the land you planted it in coffee?

15:52:45 25 A. That is correct.

26 Q. So you received revenue from that land?

27 A. No. The coffee we never even exported. The first amount,
28 the coffee - the war, by 2002, activities in Gbarnga had ceased.

29 The coffee, I never export one coffee bean. By the time the

1 coffee was getting to the level, that's when the crisis came and
2 until today in fact I'm told that some of the trees have grown,
3 now you can cut it for firewood.

15:53:28

4 Q. Do you receive any revenues from that property, those 5,000
5 acres?

6 A. None. That's what I'm saying. I'm saying the coffee - the
7 whole farm is into forest now. Some of the coffee trees, you can
8 cut it as firewood. Nothing happened on that farm from 2002.
9 The farm has grown up right now into a near forest.

15:53:45

10 Q. You mentioned that you had another 1,000 acres that was
11 near Monrovia and you said it was at Mount Barclay?

12 A. That is correct.

13 Q. And that you had purchased it for development?

14 A. Yes.

15:53:55

15 Q. From whom did you purchase that property?

16 A. The local - the tribal people in the area. There was
17 several of them we bought - I bought there, about two or three
18 tribes that I bought 1,000 acres from.

19 Q. Did you buy that all at once or did you buy that over time?

15:54:16

20 A. Oh, no, I think it was bought I think in about two times -
21 over time.

22 Q. Did you receive any revenues from that property?

23 A. No, no, no, no, no. This is just barren land. I did not
24 even build one house on it. In fact my understanding now is that
15:54:37 25 I have lost most of it because people are just building on it and
26 I have tried to get court cases going. But it was not like a
27 development, I had not even put a house on it yet, on any part of
28 it, and now people - I'm not there so people just are building.
29 In fact one of the biggest things in Liberia, people just go and

1 some people sell land two or three times. They sell it to you,
2 sell it to another person and it's a bunch of confusion. In fact
3 some people claim that some other person had owned a part of it.
4 So it's just too much headache, so I don't even know what's going
15:55:14 5 on with it right now.

6 Q. Mr Taylor, I think you also testified that you had already
7 purchased and started work on the White Flower in Congo Town
8 before you became President, correct?

9 A. Well, I got that - I purchased that place around '97 and,
15:55:35 10 yes, I did buy and start some little work on it.

11 Q. And that property is still owned by you?

12 A. Definitely, yes.

13 Q. And I believe you indicated that it is currently inhabited
14 by your wife Victoria?

15:55:47 15 A. That is correct.

16 Q. What is her nationality?

17 A. Liberian.

18 Q. And when did you marry Victoria?

19 A. I married Victoria in - I married her in 2000.

15:56:13 20 Q. And how long has she lived in your White Flower property
21 in Congo Town?

22 A. For about - this is the second year.

23 Q. And who lived there before she lived there?

24 A. Nobody. The house was not - no one lived in the house. In
15:56:31 25 fact when you people searched it the only person you found there
26 was the governor. Kai was the only person, the governor there.
27 Nobody was physically living in the house.

28 Q. Did Jewel Howard-Taylor live there for any period of time
29 after you left Liberia?

1 A. No, she didn't.

2 Q. Victoria, what is her nationality?

3 A. Liberian. I just said.

4 Q. And you are currently paying for the upkeep of the White
15:56:55 5 Flower property in Congo Town?

6 A. When you say paying for the upkeep, my family lives there,
7 yes.

8 Q. Where is that money coming from to pay for that upkeep?

9 A. To pay for the upkeep? Oh, I have individuals that from
15:57:14 10 time to time help at least. It's not very difficult to upkeep
11 the place.

12 Q. And who assists you with that?

13 A. Well, I still have friends that, you know, help me in need,
14 at least to put food on the table.

15:57:31 15 Q. Who is that?

16 A. I get a little bit of assistance through Mrs Urey. I get
17 assistance from - a little bit of assistance from Mr Richardson.

18 Q. Any others?

19 A. No.

15:57:55 20 Q. Now, in addition to these properties in Liberia, I think
21 you said you owned no property outside of Liberia. Is that
22 correct?

23 A. None whatsoever. None.

24 Q. Did you at any time own property in Europe?

15:58:06 25 A. No.

26 Q. Never owned property in France?

27 A. Never owned property in France. Never. Ever.

28 Q. Your wife Victoria, does she have any assets to which you
29 would be the beneficiary?

1 A. No.

2 Q. Since you left office in 2003, you indicated that at least
3 while you were in Nigeria you had no bank accounts, correct?

4 A. That is correct.

15:58:37 5 Q. Since you left office in 2003, have you engaged in any
6 businesses?

7 A. None whatsoever.

8 Q. Have you worked in any capacity?

9 A. Not at all.

15:58:49 10 Q. Have you received monies from people with whom you did
11 business previously?

12 A. Not at all.

13 Q. What income have you had since you left Liberia in 2003?

14 A. While I was in - when I left Liberia, I was fully supported
15:59:07 15 by the Nigerian government. Every month the Nigerian government
16 gave me subsistence.

17 Q. Now, you have mentioned that. If we could look at MFI-297,
18 please. This was DCT-119, tab 32 in binder 3 of 4 for week 33.

19 There is a cover letter dated 11 August 2003 from the Minister of
16:00:02 20 Foreign Affairs, Nigeria. Do you see that, Mr Taylor?

21 A. Yes, I do.

22 Q. And then if we look at the third page of the document, it
23 has page 2 at the top of it. And if we look at "responsibility"
24 at the bottom.

16:00:36 25 A. Yes.

26 Q. "The government of Nigeria agrees to provide security for
27 the residential compound of former President Taylor in Calabar
28 and to provide routine security for his movements."

29 Then if we turn the page, number 2:

1 "Former President Taylor will be responsible for his own
2 communication and living costs during his residency in Calabar.

3 3. Resettlement of members of the household in terms of
4 occupation, living costs and education would be the
16:01:18 5 responsibility of former President Taylor."

6 Now, Mr Taylor, based on this, there is nothing in there to
7 indicate the Government of Nigeria is paying you anything during
8 your stay in Nigeria, correct?

9 A. That is correct. But, Ms Hollis, it's very simple. The
16:01:43 10 Government of Nigeria spends millions of dollars supporting the
11 Special Court of Sierra Leone. This, as asserted here, it's very
12 simple for you as Prosecutor to find out. The Nigerian
13 government every month gave me money. I don't care what is said
14 here, and you have a way to find out. They gave me money.

16:01:59 15 Q. Now, was it the Government of Nigeria --

16 A. The government --

17 Q. -- despite this agreement?

18 A. The Government of Nigeria provided me and you can find out.

19 Q. Was it your friend, President Obasanjo, who provided you
16:02:12 20 with that money?

21 A. I said the Government of Nigeria. Obasanjo had personal
22 money? The Government of Nigeria provided the money to me.

23 Q. Mr Taylor, why didn't they include that in these conditions
24 of asylum, if they were going to give you this money?

16:02:27 25 A. Very good question, Ms Hollis. But like I just told you,
26 the Special Court receives benefits from the Government of
27 Nigeria and can find out. Now, I'm not going to lie about it
28 because you can find out. I say the Government of Nigeria
29 provided me assistance every month while I was in Nigeria, and

1 they pay this Court, so you can find out.

2 Q. In fact, Mr Taylor, while you were in Nigeria, you were
3 receiving money from Liberia, weren't you?

4 A. Nonsense. Total nonsense.

16:02:55 5 Q. And also while were you in Nigeria, you were receiving
6 money from Libya.

7 A. Total, total utter nonsense.

8 Q. Indeed, Mr Taylor, you were receiving millions of dollars
9 from Libya while you were in Nigeria. Isn't that correct?

16:03:08 10 A. I hope I had. I would have been really happy. Libya never
11 ever - during my time in Nigeria, the Government of Libya never
12 gave me any money because they knew that the Nigerian government
13 was giving me money and it is as simple as that. And I don't see
14 why it would be an issue if Libya gave me money while I was in -

16:03:35 15 I am in exile. Why would I have to lie about that? I would be
16 nuts. It did not happen. They knew - in fact, they knew that
17 Nigeria was assisting me.

18 Q. So that's your testimony, that Libya never gave you money
19 while you were in Nigeria?

16:03:53 20 A. That's my full factual testimony. Never.

21 Q. They certainly never gave you millions of dollars while you
22 were in Nigeria?

23 A. I said never gave me any money, any whatsoever. Never gave
24 me any money while I was in Nigeria. No, Libya did not.

16:04:21 25 Q. While you were in Nigeria, did you receive any gifts other
26 than money from anyone?

27 A. No.

28 Q. Did you have cash with you when you were arrested in
29 Nigeria?

1 A. Yes.

2 Q. How much money did you have?

3 A. I could have been - I was travelling with about 50, 75, or
4 so thousand dollars, if I'm not mistaken.

16:04:47 5 Q. In what currency?

6 A. United States dollars.

7 Q. And that had come from whom?

8 A. The Government of Nigeria.

9 Q. And the Government of Nigeria gave you that money why?

16:04:55 10 A. Obasanjo, I had - I was having serious financial problems.
11 I have told this Court. And he had suggested opening a poultry
12 business in Calabar to help me and he had given me some money to
13 begin to open that poultry business because he had experience in
14 the poultry business and he wanted to help me.

16:05:24 15 Q. So you were taking that money with you as you went to the
16 border, the money that you were to use to open a poultry
17 business?

18 A. Well, you haven't asked me how much he gave. You asked me
19 how much I was travelling with, and I was travelling with that
16:05:36 20 amount. Like I said, it could have been about \$50,000 because I
21 was on my way to Chad for at least two or three weeks and I had a
22 whole delegation with me. So that's what I was travelling with.

23 Q. So \$50,000 US for two or three weeks in Chad?

24 A. Oh, yes. With the number of people - I was travelling with
16:05:56 25 three vehicles. Three vehicles, with security personnel, taking
26 care of everything, it's a long drive, yes, I had about that
27 amount.

28 Q. Mr Taylor, why didn't you just fly to Chad?

29 A. From where? From Calabar?

1 Q. You can leave from Calabar and go to an airport and fly,
2 couldn't you?

3 A. No.

4 Q. You couldn't?

16:06:15 5 A. It's not as easy as you think, no. I was provided the
6 security by the government, Secret Service people, and we were
7 driving to the border with Chad. It was easier to just drive.

8 Q. What was the nearest airport to you in Calabar?

9 A. Lagos.

16:06:32 10 Q. How far away was that?

11 A. Lagos is a long way from Calabar.

12 Q. How far?

13 A. I don't know, but it's a good distance. Calabar is on the
14 far end near Cameroon. Lagos is, what, I would say, what,
16:06:50 15 eastward or something to Nigeria. I was going to travel with my
16 whole delegation on the way to Chad from there when the vehicles
17 were available.

18 Q. You took the \$50,000 and how much had you been given total?

19 A. The total amount that was given for the poultry business
16:07:12 20 was a half a million dollars.

21 Q. What did you do with the rest of that money?

22 A. The rest of the money was left in Calabar during the - when
23 they went to my house, people in the process, I guess, took back
24 what was theirs.

16:07:31 25 Q. So you were given half a million dollars in cash?

26 A. Total cash.

27 Q. But you left that in Calabar?

28 A. I did not leave the half a million in Calabar. I left less
29 than the half a million. I told you. I had about 50,000 or

1 75,000 with me, but the balance --

2 Q. So you left \$450,000 in cash in Calabar?

3 A. That is correct.

4 Q. And that's the testimony you want this Court to believe?

16:07:57 5 A. They better - because that's the correct testimony. If I
6 was not given the money, if I was not given that money, two ways
7 of finding out. If I had the money with me, then somebody must
8 have it. I was arrested and brought to the Court. So who's got
9 the money? I got it? I don't have it. The money was left at
16:08:15 10 the house. And after the news broke out and different things, I
11 don't know, people acted as though they did not know that I was
12 going. They went to the house and put my family out and most of
13 the money - they took the money.

14 Q. How many of your family were travelling with you on this
16:08:33 15 trip?

16 A. Oh, I had no members of my family. My wife and children
17 were all in Calabar. I was only travelling with some securities
18 to go and see my friend. There was not one member of my family
19 in that three-car convoy. My wife, my children were all at the
16:08:52 20 house in Calabar.

21 Q. And how many children were there at the house in Calabar?

22 A. Many. I had 20 some odd children in Calabar. In fact,
23 about 25 or more. What happened is that the Government of
24 Nigeria gave me something like a compound. I was living in a
16:09:11 25 small villa and then it had a big fence in the compound with
26 several apartments where - I went to Nigeria with 20 some odd -
27 not my personal children. Some - I lost two brothers during the
28 conflict in Liberia, my nieces, my nephews, some adopted
29 children. I went with a whole host of children. They were all

1 there. Nobody left. My wife - everybody was there. I was
2 driving to go and come back.

3 Q. Mr Taylor, since your arrest, have you received money from
4 any businesses with which you were associated prior to your
16:09:46 5 arrest?

6 A. None.

7 Q. Have you received any gifts from individuals with whom you
8 did business prior to your arrest?

9 A. None.

16:09:56 10 Q. Have you received any gifts from close associates, business
11 associates of yours from Liberia?

12 A. Again, you are assuming. Now we will get into close
13 business - I have told you I have no business associates. So if
14 you say did you receive money from any close business associates

16:10:11 15 and I say no, you have left into place the existence of business
16 associates. I had no business associates in Liberia.

17 Q. Mr Taylor, I believe you claimed partial indigency. Is
18 that correct?

19 A. That is fully correct.

16:10:29 20 Q. What assets were you using on which to base your claim of
21 partial indigency?

22 A. The very assets. My house, White Flower. In fact, I
23 mentioned in that an armoured vehicle. In fact, my vehicles were
24 part of the assets that I declared to the Court. White Flower
16:10:49 25 was one of the assets that I declared.

26 Q. Of those assets that you were relying on, how many of those
27 have you sold?

28 A. I own White Flower. I have the cars. None. White Flower
29 is mine. I haven't sold it.

1 Q. Mr Taylor, during your position as leader of the NPFL, both
2 before and during the civil war, you used that position to
3 benefit yourself financially. Isn't that correct?

4 A. That is incorrect.

16:11:20 5 Q. And you used that position also to benefit close commanders
6 and close associates. Isn't that correct?

7 A. That is incorrect.

8 Q. And during the time you were on the Council of State, you
9 also used that position to benefit yourself financially, did you
16:11:36 10 not?

11 A. Incorrect.

12 Q. And to share proceeds of those benefits with your close
13 commanders and associates?

14 A. Incorrect.

16:11:44 15 Q. Also, Mr Taylor, during your presidency you used your
16 position to benefit yourself financially. Isn't that correct?

17 A. Incorrect. If that was so I would have money and you guys
18 are still trying to prove that I have money and I have no money,
19 so it's all been a lie from the start to the beginning. From the
16:12:04 20 beginning to the end. I have no money. Yesterday, today, to
21 eternity I have no money and so it's all a lie. No.

22 Q. And the profits that you took to yourself during your
23 presidency, you also shared some those with close associates and
24 close commanders. Isn't that correct?

16:12:22 25 A. Nonsense. Totally incorrect.

26 Q. And indeed even today, Mr Taylor, you continue to profit
27 thanks to colleagues and associates managing your assets. Isn't
28 that correct?

29 A. You see again now that is so incorrect. And you know at

1 this particular point in this game, counsel, at this point we
2 have to move beyond accusations, these lies that you people have
3 through all the years. Isn't it time to bring before these
4 judges some of these? So that's not just a question. And you
16:12:53 5 know President has warned before - this is not just a question.
6 We've passed the time to make accusations. Come out with the
7 facts. It's a blatant lie. That's incorrect.

8 Q. What warning are you giving, Mr Taylor?

9 A. No, I said the President warned me earlier when I said it
16:13:10 10 was not a question, he said, "No, it's a question, Mr Taylor."

11 That's what I'm - I'm not warning anybody. I hope you understand
12 me. I'm just trying to say we have passed the stage of
13 accusations. You have got me before this Court four years in
14 jail, you're supposed to be able and I'm waiting for this
16:13:26 15 impeachment. We have to stop the and you did this, and did this
16 and did that. Come on. We are before these judges, bring the
17 proof to this Court.

18 Q. Are you finished, Mr Taylor?

19 A. I am through now.

16:13:39 20 Q. Let's look at some of the documents that have been marked
21 for identification. If we could look at MFI-192, that is
22 DCT-265. That is the Cohen chapter on Liberia. You recall,
23 Mr Taylor, we had begun to look at this chapter?

24 A. I don't know, didn't Nick Koumjian deal with this same
16:14:12 25 Cohen thing again? You're just dancing me. You come, Nick
26 comes.

27 Q. Mr Taylor, let's discuss something for a moment. You
28 understand this is a very formal proceeding, do you not?

29 A. Yes, but if you have asked me questions before by one

1 counsel I can still argue that it's asked and answered.

2 Q. Mr Taylor, your counsel will make objections on your
3 behalf. This is a formal proceeding, is it not, Mr Taylor?

4 A. Go ahead, counsel. Don't ask me questions.

16:14:37 5 Q. And it deserves the dignity of a formal proceeding, does it
6 not, Mr Taylor, and the use of first names detracts from that
7 dignity, does it not, Mr Taylor?

8 Now if we could look at MFI-192. When we had looked at
9 this exhibit before we had gotten to the point that we were
16:15:16 10 discussing the 12 July negotiating session and the plan that had
11 evolved from that and we were looking at pages 148 and 149. Do
12 you recall that, Mr Taylor?

13 A. Well, let's see it. I don't recall the pages. I recall
14 the document. I don't recall the pages you are referring to.

16:15:42 15 MS HOLLIS: If Mr Taylor could be provided, please - first
16 of all let him look at page 148 and 149:

17 Q. Mr Taylor, would you like to look at both those pages --

18 A. No, counsel.

19 Q. -- other than on the screen?

16:15:56 20 A. It's okay, counsel. We can go ahead. It's okay.

21 Q. Do you recall on 12 July Mr Cohen was talking about a
22 negotiating session in Freetown on 12 July and a proposal that
23 had been advanced by the mediating team and we had begun to
24 discuss that proposal. We're still on page 148, Mr Taylor. If
16:16:21 25 you look at the bottom --

26 A. I don't see the 12, counsel, I'm sorry. I'm looking at
27 148. 12 July?

28 Q. Mr Taylor, look at the third paragraph down beginning, "The
29 second negotiating session was scheduled for 12 July."

1 A. Just one minute.

2 Q. It's about midway on the page?

3 A. Just a minute, counsel. I'm trying to find it. Yeah,
4 okay.

16:16:56 5 Q. It's about midway down. It said it was scheduled for 12
6 July. Do you see that?

7 A. Yes, I do.

8 Q. Then it talks about the outcome or the proposal that was
9 set forward, and we had discussed this before, but just so we
16:17:10 10 recall this:

11 "The mediating team was led by Secretary-General Dr Abbas
12 Bundu, a Sierra Leonean. His approach, Doe should resign in
13 favour of a coalition interim government that would take Liberia
14 through a transition to an election. No Liberian should have a
16:17:32 15 claim to power unless he had popular support as expressed in an
16 election. Doe liked the proposal because it would protect both
17 himself and the Krahn ethnic group from reprisals. Taylor,
18 however, thought it robbed him unreasonably of the fruits of
19 victory. His NPFL movement controlled most of Liberia and he
16:17:55 20 refused to be deprived of power. His only concession was to
21 accept an interim government with a deadline for an election
22 provided he was named interim President. Under the ECOWAS
23 proposal, the interim President would have been a neutral person,
24 ineligible to run for re-election. Taylor was saying in effect,
16:18:18 25 'I have won the war. I want power. Democracy will come but
26 under my control.'"

27 You recall, Mr Taylor, that when we were looking at this
28 document that was where we had concluded our discussion, with
29 that language, yes?

1 A. Yes.

2 Q. And then we had talked about the different things that you
3 had said to various individuals about yourself and about
4 elections?

16:18:44 5 A. Yes.

6 Q. And you recall that earlier in this chapter Mr Cohen had
7 indicated that you told him you had no personal ambition, you
8 simply wanted to remove Doe?

9 A. Yes.

16:18:58 10 Q. Then we discussed about the evidence you had given that
11 even before the attack on Liberia there had been a decision made
12 among the NPFL that you would become President and someone from
13 Nimba County would become Vice-President?

14 A. That is correct.

16:19:21 15 Q. Do you recall that?

16 A. Yes.

17 Q. And also that you had conducted a press interview early in
18 the war, in 1990, April or May, with a group of reporters
19 including Mark Huband and that at that press interview you had
20 indicated that the NPFL would basically rule by decree for five
21 years and then elections would follow. Do you recall that?

16:19:40

22 A. Yes.

23 Q. Now, Mr Taylor, if your true desire was simply to remove
24 the Doe government, this proposal made at this 12 July session
25 would have been very reasonable, would it not?

16:20:00 26 A. No, not for us. It was not reasonable, no.

27 Q. But Doe would have been removed, so your objective would
28 have been achieved, yes?

29 A. But that was not the only objective. No, that's why I'm

1 saying no. That was not the only objective because there are
2 other peripheral issues that led to this objection. So I would
3 say no.

16:20:28 4 Q. Actually the true objective was to make you the President
5 of Liberia. Isn't that correct?

6 A. For the interim period, yeah, we made that very clear, yes.
7 I made that very clear. I take no bones about that. We made
8 that very clear because of the surrounding circumstances that we
9 were not going to be taken for a ride and that democracy will
16:20:44 10 come, just like I said, but it will come under and through the
11 NPFL. I make no apologies for that.

12 Q. But it would only come when you were confident you would be
13 President, correct?

14 A. I made that - yes, we made it very clear because of certain
16:20:57 15 issues, you haven't asked me so I'm not getting into it, of why
16 we took this position. It's very clear. Yes, I would say yes.

17 Q. But you didn't make it very clear to everyone, did you,
18 because to some people you said your only objective was to remove
19 Doe?

16:21:15 20 A. Ms Hollis, that is - when we're talking politics and law
21 they're two different things. Politicians make a lot of
22 statements. If I'm guilty - if that is to say that I lied before
23 this Court these judges will decide. We're talking in a
24 political environment here, but we're in a legal court. So if we
16:21:30 25 go back through politicians' statements from A to Z you will find
26 different different statements politicians make. "Do you want to
27 run for office?" "No, I have no intentions of running." Before
28 you look he's running. So I'm talking politics.

29 Q. So you lied because it was to your political advantage to

1 do so?

2 A. I did not - well, if you want to put it that way,
3 Ms Hollis. I'm saying to you I was making political statements
4 and that's my testimony.

16:21:57 5 Q. Now, Mr Taylor, on page 149, if we go to the next
6 paragraph, the last sentence of that paragraph, "After one week
7 the talks broke up in deadlock on 19 July." Mr Taylor, you were
8 personally present at those talks, correct?

9 A. In Freetown?

16:22:24 10 Q. This 12 July talks?

11 A. No, no, in Sierra Leone, no, I was not.

12 Q. You were not?

13 A. No.

14 Q. Who was your representative there?

16:22:30 15 A. If I remember I sent Enoch Dogolea there. Tom Woweiyu was
16 there. But I think it was headed by Enoch Dogolea.

17 Q. And he was carrying out your instructions?

18 A. Oh, definitely.

16:22:51 19 Q. It goes on to say that after one week the talks broke up in
20 deadlock on 19 July and do you recall that, that roughly after a
21 week the talks broke up?

22 A. Yes, vaguely I recall, yes.

23 Q. "Accordingly, Taylor kept the Nigerian citizens trapped
24 behind his lines as hostages to deter a Nigerian intervention."

16:23:07 25 And that's correct, is it not, Mr Taylor?

26 A. That's a lie that Herman Cohen told and I told him after I
27 read this book years ago that that was a misstatement, okay,
28 because at that particular time - the only time the NPFL involved
29 in any arrest of any foreigners was after ECOMOG arrived in

1 Liberia later on that year which they arrived in August 1990, not
2 before that. I told Herman Cohen that that was totally wrong.

3 Q. Mr Taylor, in the next paragraph he goes on to talk about
4 the fighting inside Monrovia becoming particularly intense during
16:23:54 5 July. This is July 1990?

6 A. That is correct.

7 Q. Yes?

8 A. Yes.

9 Q. And he does say:

16:23:59 10 "Much of the combat was between Prince Johnson's INPFL and
11 the AFL, with the NPFL waiting outside Monrovia for the two enemy
12 groups to tear each other apart."

13 And that's correct, isn't it; in July a lot of that
14 fighting in Monrovia was between the INPFL and the AFL, yes?

16:24:20 15 A. That's basically correct, yes.

16 Q. "Increased tension incited the AFL to attack a Lutheran
17 church sheltering hundreds of the displaced from Nimba County.
18 About 200 were massacred."

19 And then he says, "If Taylor captured the city we knew that
16:24:39 20 retribution would be horrific." And that is correct is it not,
21 Mr Taylor?

22 A. That is not correct.

23 Q. Because it was your policy to take retribution against
24 Krahn in particular and Mandingos, was it not, Mr Taylor?

16:24:54 25 A. That is totally wrong. Incorrect. If that was the case,
26 when Herman Cohen asked me not to attack Monrovia I would have
27 told him to go to hell. But that was not the case. He asked me
28 not to attack Monrovia and it was not the policy of the NPFL to
29 just wantonly kill people. He asked me, the United States

1 government, not to move into Monrovia and I accepted and we
2 stayed outside.

3 Q. In fact you did attack Monrovia according Mr Cohen, isn't
4 that right?

16:25:20 5 A. That is not correct. Except you are talking about Octopus.

6 Q. Mr Cohen says you did.

7 A. That is totally incorrect. Totally incorrect and Herman
8 Cohen knows that, just like some of the other books that have
9 been published that are incorrect. No, I did not attack Monrovia

16:25:34 10 until Operation Octopus which is before this time - after this
11 time, I mean.

12 Q. Mr Taylor, in the next paragraph Mr Cohen goes on to talk
13 about the church massacre increased fighting and that as a result
14 of this they began to evacuate people from Monrovia, they began

16:25:57 15 to evacuate Americans, yes?

16 A. Yes. Yes.

17 Q. Then in the next paragraph:

18 "America's successful military evacuation did not relieve
19 the tension for the West African governments whose nationals
16:26:12 20 remain trapped, especially the Nigerians whose citizens were
21 deliberately detained."

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

23 A. That is incorrect. That is totally incorrect. I told you
24 Herman Cohen has been told this. There were no individuals
16:26:28 25 trapped by the NPFL behind the lines because even in NPFL areas
26 there were Americans that still had not been evacuated because
27 they were safe. No, that's not true.

28 Q. Mr Taylor, he goes on to say:

29 "The flow of refugees into Guinea, Cote d'Ivoire and beyond

1 to Ghana and Sierra Leone continued. The ECOWAS mediation
2 committee went back to the drawing board, meeting at the Head of
3 State level in Banjul on 6 and 7 August, agreeing that an
4 external military force was needed to rescue West African
16:27:05 5 citizens, restore stability, and assure a democratic transition
6 they decided to send a force of 2500 troops taken from the armies
7 of Nigeria, Ghana, Guinea, Sierra Leone and The Gambia."

8 And that is correct, is it not, Mr Taylor? That's why
9 there was a decision taken to send ECOMOG into Liberia; isn't
16:27:29 10 that right?

11 A. But that is not correct. If you look at what Herman Cohen
12 is saying here, they meet what? In August. And they send a
13 force in August? Can anyone put a military force together so
14 quickly? That is total nonsense, and Herman Cohen has been told
16:27:43 15 that. How - to put together these forces from all these
16 countries. They meet in August and in August the troops in
17 Liberia; does that make sense?

18 Q. Mr Taylor, they go into your country to rescue West African
19 citizens, restore stability, and assure a democratic transition.
16:28:00 20 That's the basis on which they went into Liberia; isn't that
21 correct?

22 A. That is totally incorrect. Totally incorrect. Totally.
23 And with your experience you would know if people are trapped and
24 so-called hostages in the country, 2,500 West African troops will
16:28:18 25 go into a war zone to release them? Wouldn't that be silly, that
26 there's an ongoing civil war in the country and you say some
27 people are trapped, and you send 2,500 West African troops to go
28 - even an advanced army like the United States would not do -
29 that is capable would not do something stupid like this. So

1 Herman Cohen is dead wrong. He's been told that he is dead
2 wrong. It would be silly to do this, Ms Hollis, don't you think?
3 Totally silly. That was not the reason.

4 Q. Mr Taylor, on page 150, the first full paragraph:

16:28:50 5 "To establish an interim regime, a national conference of
6 Liberian political parties and civil society would select the
7 government and its interim leader, who would be ineligible to run
8 for President."

9 So they were basically adopting the solution that had been
16:29:06 10 set forth in that 12 July negotiating session, yes?

11 A. I would say yes. Based on this, I would say yes. But they
12 missed the boat on that, because they were extraneous
13 circumstances involving these negotiations that had not been
14 touched. So they missed the boat.

16:29:25 15 Q. "His exclusion as head of the interim government and
16 ECOMOG's domination by Nigerians convinced Taylor he would be the
17 loser. He therefore objected strongly and noisily, warning the
18 Nigerians not to come in. Taylor's detention of their citizens
19 and protests against their alleged support for Doe convinced the
16:29:46 20 Nigerians they had no option but to intervene."

21 So again, Mr Taylor, it is your detention of their
22 nationals which played a significant role in this decision to
23 intervene, yes?

24 A. Totally no. Totally no. Herman Cohen knows that, and any
16:30:06 25 trained military person would know, and the political situation
26 in West Africa at the time would point to no. Because anybody
27 that believes that citizens are in your country, only a powerful
28 country like the United States would be able to do that. And
29 even people would be concerned how you move into a country to

1 rescue people in a war situation. You would just send troops in
2 to go and say, "We're going to rescue people"? It doesn't make
3 sense, Ms Hollis. That's not the reason. It's not. Honestly,
4 it's not.

16:30:35 5 The problem in West Africa was that it had been said that
6 Charles Taylor and the NPFL had come to destabilise West Africa.
7 All the military leaders in West Africa got together and said,
8 "This is a threat to us, so we have to stop it." Nigeria had
9 been supporting Doe throughout the war. So to send Nigeria in -
16:30:54 10 the whole Armed Forces of Liberia was supplied by Nigeria.

11 Nigeria had taken sides. So to then send troops in, we felt that
12 those troops were not coming in to secure the situation, but to
13 ensure - ensure - the presence of Doe in power. That's the fact;
14 you understand me? If you - I told - in fact, I told the

16:31:15 15 Americans one day: If you send one Marine here and say -
16 [indiscernible] in the centre of Liberia and blow, say "Stop,
17 peace" there would be - we wanted somebody neutral. Nigeria was
18 not neutral at the time; neither any of the other countries, so
19 I'm through.

16:31:30 20 Q. Mr Taylor, this is the same you that said, "If you send the
21 Senegalese in, I'll disarm to them", correct? And instead you
22 killed them.

23 A. Well, you know, I don't know as to whether you want me to
24 respond to that, but I will just say no because --

16:31:43 25 PRESIDING JUDGE: We had better leave it there. We're just
26 without of tape, Ms Hollis.

27 Mr Taylor, the usual order: Don't discuss your evidence
28 with any other person, and we'll adjourn until 9.30 tomorrow.

29 [Whereupon the hearing adjourned at 4.30 p.m.]

1 to be reconvened on Wednesday, 2 December 2009
2 at 9.30 a.m.]
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I N D E X

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