UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT FOR THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

SUHAIL ABDU ANAM, ET AL . DOCKET NUMBER: CA 04-1194

Petitioner,

vs. . Washington, D.C.

. December 14, 2009

BARACK OBAMA, ET AL . 10:00 P.M.

Respondent.

TRANSCRIPT OF HEARING
BEFORE THE HONORABLE THOMAS F. HOGAN
A UNITED STATES DISTRICT JUDGE

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Computer aided transcript prepared with the aid of SpeechCAT.

PROCEEDINGS 1 THE COURTROOM DEPUTY: Civil action number 04-2 3 1194, Suhail Abdu Anan, et al versus Barack Obama, et al. Counsel, would you please state your names and who 4 you represent for the record? 5 MR. KILLMER: Good morning, Your Honor. For the 6 petitioner, Mr. Al-Madhwani, Darold Killmer and Mari Newman 7 of Killer, Lane and Newman in Denver. Pat Bronte of Stowell 8 and Friedman who is from Chicago, and on the line with Mr. 9 10 Al-Madhwani on the telephonic line into the court is Sapna 11 Lalmalani of Jenner and Block in Chicago. 12 THE COURT: Thank you. MS. MASON: Good morning, Your Honor. Catherine 13 Mason from the Department of Justice for respondents, and 14 with me at counsel table, also from the Department of 15 Justice, is David Avila and March Bell, and from the 16 Department of Defense, Office of General Counsel, John 17 Eckleson and Bravid Manley. 18 Thank you very much. THE COURT: 19 Can the detainee's hear as well, and can the 20 detainee hear? 21 MS. LALMALANI: Yes, we can hear. Thank you, Your 22 23 Honor. THE COURT: If you have any problems hearing, 24 please let me know. 25

MS. LALMALNI: We will do that. Thank you.

THE COURT: Thank you.

All right, we are gathered here again this morning after some delay because of the complexities that I found as I went through the evidence for our bench opinion, an unclassified opinion that I will give first, which will necessarily be somewhat restricted because of the evidence in the classified version of the opinion that I will highlight as well after we close the courtroom.

But first I thought that it was important in these cases to have a public ruling as much as possible, both not only for the petitioner but also for counsel, and for the respondents, and the public to understand these proceedings.

As the Judge overseeing the organization of these cases for the last year and a half, it was difficult when I had to apply the theories we had developed over the last year and a half as to how to handle these cases when you come face-to-face with some of the evidence and the challenges that we face in these matters.

I think the case highlights, actually, the difficulties inherent in these rather unique proceedings which go to the heart of our justice system, and that we have been opearting under procedures drawn up by the court, and principally myself, and the judges who have adopted much

of these procedures that we have drafted in a new venue that has been untested, basically, in this circuit until very rather recently, perhaps, there will be some cases argued and heard.

It is rather, I think, an unfair process for the detainees in this sense that the law moves at a glacier pace, and since this is all new law in many areas, it has to be litigated through the circuit, which the circuit moves in very due deliberate speed.

I think our court, the District Court, has tried very hard to move these cases, but we are operating, as I said, with the procedures, new rules of evidence that will need clarification.

It is unfortunate, in my view, that the Legislative Branch of our government, and the Executive Branch have not moved more strongly to provide uniform, clear rules and laws for handling these cases.

We have, for instance, in this court now a difference in substantive law that will be applied among the District Court judges. That needs to be somehow resolved, and I think that would have been best for the Legislature to have passed new rules and procedures and rules of evidence to handle these cases.

We have different rules and procedures being used by the judges. Different rules of evidence being used by

the judges, all who are working very hard and in good faith, but it shows to me -- it highlights the need for a national legislative solution with the assistance of the Executive so that these matters are handled promptly and uniformly and fairly for all concerned, and at another time and place would be appropriate, I think, to talk about a new court to handle these, perhaps based upon the FISA model, with special rotating judges and clear defense counsel who are experts in the area as well as government counsel who are expert in the area.

As to this case for Mr. Al-Madhwani, who is before me and who has been detained here by the United States at the Naval Base at Guantánamo Bay, Cuba, since October, 2002 — so he has been here under the auspices of this government for seven plus years.

We tried the case over four days after it had been pending filed back in 2004, and finally after the Supreme Court cleared these cases to proceed, this matter came before the court in a non-jury hearing.

The detainee testified for over a day, voluntarily, to give his side of the story, and the government relied principally -- almost solely upon affidavits -- solely upon affidavits and documents with one expert filing an affidavit, the doctor involved, as well as other experts in the matters.

The detainee called -- not only testified himself, but his decision to do so that we discussed with him, as well as an expert witness who also testified as to his situation regarding his statements.

What I intend to do today is to -- I'm going to give a brief summary, very briefly, of my bottom line holding so that the detainee understands, and his counsel understands, and the government understands the ruling, and then I will explain it in some detail in the public record so that we can have a good understanding of why I'm making this decision.

I have submitted 260 exhibits, as I said a four-day hearing this past month and a half ago or so, and we had Doctor Xenakis, the expert in psychiatry, testify in Mr. Al-Madhwani's behalf, and obviously briefs submitted for the court to review by both sides.

The issue before the court is whether the government's maintaining that Mr. Al-Madhwani's detention was justified under the authorization of the use of military force law, which authorized the President to use force against members of certain terrorist organizations, including Al Qaeda.

Particularly, the government alleges that Mr. Al-Madhwani traveled knowingly to Afghanistan to receive weapons training, receive firearms training at an Al Qaeda

training camp, and he traveled and associated with members of Al Qaeda for over a year, and engaged in a two and a half hour firefight with Pakistani authorities.

Mr. Al-Madhwani denied each of those allegations and filed the petition here, as I said, several years ago, but had to wait Supreme Court action. So he filed originally in July of 2004.

The government relies upon primarily 26 documents containing statements from petitioner that he provided at Guantánamo Bay. In other words he was interviewed -- interrogated multiple, multiple times.

I am going to find that a majority of those statements are tainted by coercive interrogation techniques to which Mr. Al-Madhwani was subjected, and for the court, therefore, they lack a sufficient indicia of reliability.

However, I am going to consider Mr. Al-Madhwani's statements, the live testimony he gave before this court voluntarily, with the advice of counsel. As well I am going to, over his objection -- counsel's objection, consider his statements of the Combatant Status Review Tribunal and Administrative Review Board, since they were also voluntarily given by him with personal representatives present at the time in which he voluntarily made statements, challenged facts that he considered were not accurate, and

agreed to other facts he considered apparently were accurate.

I don't find those tainted as I do the other statements given at Guantánamo, and there will be more detailed reasons given shortly for that as well as in the discussion of the classified part of the opinion.

But I believe accepting his live testimony and judging his credibility on that basis, as well as reviewing the Combatant Status Review Tribunal and the Administrative Review Board statements by the detainee, along with the corroborating evidence I find, and it will be more fully discussed in the classified return.

I am holding that the government has proven by a preponderance of the evidence that Mr. Al-Madhwani was and became part of or a member of Al Qaeda or related terrorist group.

So considering the pretrial statements, the legal briefing, the 260 exhibits, the arguments and the credibility findings I made at the hearing, now assessing Mr. Al-Madhwani's credibility, I am going to find that the petition for habeas corpus will be denied.

I want to put a caveat to that to say, however, that I don't find, and I will make a note of this in the record and my legal opinions that I issue in writing, that I do not accept the rationale then that find the government

had shown a basis for his detention that means that he should not be released.

I see nothing in the record that the petitioner poses any greater threat than the dozens of detainees similarly situated who have been transferred or cleared for transfer.

In fact his record is a lot less threatening, including the government's own records that they know of, that do not give any basis for his continued detention, although I have found that he was originally, and he has been detained legally by the government.

Now how did I reach this conclusion? It was not easy. I think it's a very close case, because if you want to put this in the most common vernacular, this case is one of travel and training with some association to alleged Al Qaeda operatives.

We don't have any credible evidence of operations undertaken by this individual, of planning to do any attacks by this individual, of actively fighting on behalf of Al Qaeda or the Taliban.

So the standard of the detention that I looked at, the scope of the detention, the authority that I referenced briefly at the beginning of this oral opinion was, I adopted Judge Bates' decision in Hamlily, H-a-m-l-i-l-y, at 16 Fed. Supp. 763, and I concluded that the President has the

authority to detain persons who are part of the Taliban, or Al Qaeda force, or associated forces.

Now that required some knowledge or intent, and whether the individual functions or participates within or under the command structure of the organization, or whether he executes orders, or directions, or receive such orders.

Now absent from this framework as I just referred to earlier in my comments about the detainee's present status is the mention of the threat the individual poses to the national security of the United States.

I recognize it is normally an appeal, but I declined to adopt in this case Judge Ellen Huvelle's conclusion in <u>Basarda</u> at 612 Fed. Sup, 2nd 30 page, 34, that the AUMF that I referred to earlier -- for the record the Authorization for Use of Military Force, Judge Huvelle held:

"Does not authorize the detention of individuals beyond that which is necessary to prevent those individuals from rejoining battle."

Judge Robertson in Awad, A-w-a-d, versus Obama, 646 Fed. Supp 2nd 20 at 24, declined to follow Basarda, acknowledging, however, and I agree with him, the power of Judge Huvelle's argument.

But under the AUMF as it is presently written, 1 2 defendant -- it is clear that the President possesses, 3 quote: 4 "The authority to detain for 5 the duration of the relevant 6 conflict based on long-standing 7 law of war principles." 8 And that is referencing Hamdi, Supreme Court, 542 U.S. 507 9 at 521. 10 The conflict has not ended, and thus authorizing 11 the government to detain an individual who became a member of Al Qaeda, even if that individual does not presently pose 12 a threat to the security of the United States. 13 14 As I have said, I believe that the defendant does 15 not presently pose a threat to the United States, but I believe the way the law is presently written that I have no 16 17 choice but to follow the law as written. 18 Now what was the government's burden of proof to 19 meet these standard that I articulated? And I've already 20 indicated judges use different standards, unfortunately, in 21 these matters. 22 The burden of proof under my management order, the 23 amended case management order adopted, is the government 24 bears the burden of proving by a preponderance of the 25

evidence that register the petitioner's detention is lawful,

which is different than the average and every day habeas

In any event, we are operating under that premise. Preponderance of the evidence means that it is more likely than not true.

Here the government has to show that it is more likely that Mr. Al-Madhwani was a part of Al Qaeda in some fashion. So they have to have reliable evidence to demonstrate his membership was more likely than not.

Otherwise -- and if so, then I have to deny his habeas, and I found such.

Now about the evidence and the public evidence that is unclassified and I can discuss. With this new paradigm we have under Boumedien, the issues have been left to the expertise and competence of the District Court to address in the first interest, quoting Justice Kennedy.

So I indicated -- I have determined the accuracy, and the reliability and the weight of each piece of evidence, after I considered as a whole, and the arguments presented during the merits hearing, including the reliability of hearsay evidence, and that is in my merits hearing procedure order.

Parties submitted 260 exhibits which the court has now reviewed. I'm going to go -- not only because of judicial economy, but also because of the classifications,

refrain from detailing reliability decisions as to each of the documents.

But based upon my review of those documents and the record, the arguments presented and the testimony, I have identified certain exhibits which I feel are material and reliable.

The majority of the material exhibits are documents containing petitioner's statements, and despite my opinion I have issued today, in my judgment I find that a majority of the statements are unreliable.

Most of the record in this case is petitioner's own statements. The government relies primarily upon 26 documents containing statements the petitioner made at Guantánamo, 23 of which are classified interrogation reports or summaries.

The remaining three documents detailed petitioner's statement to the Combatant Status Review Tribunal, and the Administrative Review Board, and his own testimony.

As I have indicated, I can find only those two documents that he gave at the Review Board and the Tribunal are reliable along with his testimony here in court. Some of the testimony, of course, when I say is reliable does not mean I accept it as credible. I just mean that it was not given under coerced conditions. It was freely and

voluntarily given with the advice of counsel.

One of the factors in this case that concerns the court in the oversight generally of these matters that I hope the government will address in further cases that come before myself or other judges, is that shortly before the case went to trial, after years that it has been pending and a year and a half of active litigation, the court was produced -- it was produced to the court for the defendants -- for the detainee and for the court 15 statements not previously produced, and that was a few days before the trial basically.

If that had happened in any other kind of case, they would have been automatically disallowed. You cannot have discovery where the principal litigant's own statements are hidden from him until shortly before trial.

Secondly, perhaps a day, a business day or so before trial there was new, exculpatory evidence then produced by the court order to the detainee. Fortunately, it had actually encompassed some evidence that had already been produced otherwise and the detainee had.

But it again reiterates to the court the failure of the government to adequately staff and process these cases that we are going to address in other terms, not in this case, with the Justice Department.

Now of the reports that the government wishes to

rely upon, the interrogation of petitioner, they occurred
between March 3, 2003 and September 27, 2004. Prior
statements given by the detainee the government has
indicated they would not rely upon.

That is somewhat disingenuous, because the prior statements were given under coerced conditions and would never be allowed into a court of law for, I think, any purposes, and I will document that a little bit more.

The government says, however, these 23 documents are reliable, because the interrogations occurred almost 6 months after petitioner alleged he was tortured, and they profess sufficient indicia of reliability. But I find those claims to be without merit.

First, it is clear that the petitioner was subjected to harsh interrogation techniques before he was transferred to Guantánamo. At the merits hearing the petitioner provided extensive testimony concerning this harsh treatment he endured, which the court finds to be credible.

Now it is uncontested that petitioner was captured on September 11, 2002 by Pakistani officers or officials in a Karachi apartment. At that time he was 22 years old with a high school education; that after five days in a Pakistani prison, he testified that he was handed over to United States forces and flown to a pitch black prison he believes

in Afghanistan.

There are cites to each of the exhibits that I am referring to that I am not going to cite here, but they will be in the written opinion, so people can track from the exhibits that are public.

In what he called a prison of darkness, aptly named, I believe, petitioner claimed he was subject to a variety of harsh interrogation techniques, such as being suspended in his cell by his left hand where he could not sit or stand fully for many, many days. To this day he suffers from pain in his left arm.

He alleges the guards blasted his cell with music 24 hours a day in extremely high decibels. His sole respite from the deafening noise was the screams from the other prisoners when it was quiet.

Under these harsh conditions the petitioner contends he confessed to whatever allegations interrogators made of him. Approximately 30 days later he was transferred to another prison in Afghanistan, where he says the threats and harassment continued.

The government has made no attempt to refute the allegations or the statements of the petitioner regarding the treatment that he says he endured. There is no evidence in the record that his description of what he experienced in his confinement is inaccurate. To the contrary, his

testimony is corroborated.

Petitioner submitted uncontested government medical records describing his debilitating physical and mental condition during the approximately 40 days in Pakistan and Afghanistan, confirming his claims of these coercive conditions.

The medical report dated October 22nd, 2002, six days before he was transferred to Guantánamo, indicates petitioner then weighed 104 pounds. For comparison, the petitioner is five eight five, weighing close to 150 pounds when he left Yemen the year earlier.

The report also lists his diastolic blood pressure as 36, a sigh of severe dehydration which would require hospitalization normally in the United States -- the testimony from his doctor who reviewed these records.

Incredulously, the medical report indicates that the petitioner appears well, although it is indicated he could be transferred by stretcher.

The records also convey when he arrived at Guantánamo that he was suffering from severe mental illness and was in a psychotic state. A psychological evaluation dated October 30, 2002, states petitioner reported a month and half period of increasing sleep disturbance. When he attempts to sleep he experiences recurring thoughts of his family, and during the night he frequently awakens while

hearing screaming voices. He feels jittery, occasionally dizziness. Has a heavy head.

According to both experts witnesses, the doctors for the government as well as for the detainee, petitioner was likely suffering from posttraumatic stress disorder.

So it is clear from the records that any statements the petitioner provided in Afghanistan or Pakistan were coerced and should not be admitted against the petitioner in any fashion in any court. The government, as I said, however, is saying they will not rely upon those confessions he made. They only want to use the ones he made in Guantánamo.

Now, there may be merit to the government's position in the sense that previously coerced confessions do not automatically render all subsequent confessions unreliable. The Supreme Court held many years ago under a case called Bayer, B-a-y-e-r, that:

"A conference obtained under circumstances which preclude its use does not perpetually disable the confessor from making a usable one after those conditions had been removed."

In other words, attenuation is such that it would be fair to allow subsequent confessions to be used.

The courts usually look at the totality of the circumstances to consider whether there is a break in the stream of events sufficient to insulate these statements from the ones -- from the effect of the ones that went on before. That is from a State of Texas versus Clewis, C-1-e-w-i-s, Supreme Court case.

So we have to look at the time that passed between the confessions, the change and place of interrogations, the change of identity of the interrogators, among other factors.

The case called <u>Oregon versus Elstat</u>, a Supreme Court case. And the military commissions, also, consider identical factors to determine whether a military prisoner's coerced confessions are admissible.

So if I apply those factors in this case, I'm finding the government is unable to prove the petitioner's statements are untainted. They have not met their burden of satisfying the court that they are such.

Although the names in Afghanistan and Guantánamo changed, the use of threats, that is coercion, did not. As described in petitioner's classified testimony about his conditions of confinement, which I find to be credible, the United States was involved in the prisons where he was held, and believed to have orchestrated the interrogation techniques, the harsh ones to which he was subject.

So then when his first Guantánamo interrogation occurred, which was conducted by United States officials on the day he arrived in Guantánamo with serious physical and mental conditions, it is not a surprise that he was gripped by the same fear that infected his Afghanistan confessions.

The Guantánamo interrogators did little to assuage that fear. Reliable, classified evidence does not disprove the multiple Guantánamo interrogations on multiple occasions threatened him when his alleged attempts to extract what he said were false statements that he had made under duress.

Although disputing the petitioner was threatened by any Guantánamo interrogators, the government did not choose to call those interrogators as witnesses, and even moved to quash petitioner's subpoena to call one of the principal interrogators as a witness who was present and reliable -- who was present and available in this area to be called as a witness.

So the inference that the court could make from that, obviously, is that the government's decision not to put the interrogator under oath as to what they actually said and did to the petitioner.

So from the petitioner's perspective, the interrogators and the custodians did not change in any

1 | material way.

The concern of the court that I raised during the hearing is that the interrogators at Guantánamo, starting with the day that he arrived, and then three or four months later they resumed when he was feeling better, had access to apparently his coerced confessions and materials that he had given, statements he had given from Afghanistan.

So the logical inference is they then reviewed with him and had him discuss the same incriminating allegations to which he was forced to confess to in Afghanistan. So not being insulated then from his coerced confessions, the confessions at Guantánamo are derived from the original coerced.

The government says that I cannot assume that they had notes from the prior interrogations they used, but that claim is no basis of substitute for real evidence as to what they had, and that was never offered by the government.

Nor can I assume the six-month break in time -four or six-month break in time is sufficient for the
petitioner to have recovered from his prior abuse. The
government highlights the earlier statement they want to
rely upon is not until March of 2003, almost 6 months after
he arrived at Guantánamo.

So even if he had been tortured in Afghanistan, or wherever he was, the effects of that torture were cleared by the passage of time.

"The critical question is not the length of time between the previous coerced confession and the present convention. It is the length of time between the removal of the coercive circumstances and the present confession."

2.4

That is quoting <u>United States versus Karake</u>, K-a-r-a-k-e, 443 Fed. Supp. 2nd, 887, a D.C. District Court case here referring to the earlier plea in this case The Supreme Court.

The record does not reveal the coercive circumstances removed during those six months. Petitioner testified that the conditions at Guantánamo were less coercive than Afghanistan, but the government failed to describe with any specificity his condition and treatment during and before his Guantánamo interrogations.

The government's reticence in this is problematic, because the petitioner's credible allegations that he was threatened by the interrogators during his first year of detention at Guantánamo, among other claims of

coercion.

Obviously, his confinement at Guantánamo did not occur in a vacuum. Before Guantánamo he endured 40 days of solitary confinement, severe physical and mental abuse, malnourishment, sensory deprivation, anxiety and insomnia, and arrived, as I said, in an extremely debilitated conditioned at Guantánamo.

The government has failed to establish that months of less coercive circumstances, but still coercive, provides sufficient insulation from the 40 days of extreme coercive conditions.

The post traumatic stress disorder that both doctors have diagnosed seem to have exasperated the taint from harsh treatment. His Doctor, Doctor Xenakis, testified -- who is a psychiatrist, a former military doctor -- that he still suffers from posttraumatic stress disorder, and that time does not necessarily purify the taint from the harsh treatment for an individual suffering from this condition.

He feels -- his opinion was that his statements then are all unreliable -- rebuttable -- excuse me. In rebuttal the government submitted the declaration of Doctor Malone, a forensic psychiatrist and expert as well who the court accepted as an expert in this field.

He testified he had clinical -- that Mr. Al-

1 | Madhwani had clinically significant anxiety symptoms.

2 During the first few weeks after his arrival at Guantánamo,

3 they did not appear to be severe enough to inherently impair

4 his liability as an informant.

2.3

Those conclusions I find are incomplete. He focused in the first three or four weeks of detention instead of the period beginning six months following. It is unclear whether he was aware of the extent of mental and physical abuse the petitioner had endured prior to his detention in Guantánamo, but he does diagnose that the plaintiff suffered significant anxiety symptoms during his initial time at Guantánamo.

Somewhat skeptical, I am, that subjecting petitioner's to what mirrors the cause of his severe anxiety disorder, such as solitary confinement, facilitated his recovery at Guantánamo. But his significant anxiety order does suggest to the court that he continued to suffer the effects of mistreatment -- harsh treatment he had had during some if not all of the interrogations on which they government relies.

So not only am I concerned about they're being tainted by coercion, I think the government failed to establish that interrogation reports have a sufficient indicia of reliability. They said that they were reliable because they were recorded for intelligence purposes.

One of the -- to step back from this opinion for just a minute, one of the concerns the court has and why I think we need a Legislative and Executive corroboration in assisting the courts to design a new platform to handle these cases is that the evidence in these cases is mainly intelligence reports.

They are not investigative reports done by the FBI for use of court. They are a totally different matter, and it is very different to make them fit into the traditional rules of evidence that the Federal Courts have always used.

It is no one's fault. It is just the circumstances we find ourselves with. When these people were originally picked up there was no, I'm sure, plan of using the statements that they gave in court against them eventually. They were done for intelligence reasons, which is totally different than using them in court as reliable evidence.

The government's argument that, well, they are intelligence reports, and they are recorded for intelligence purposes, and military people rely upon them, and intelligence officers do rely upon them for their own uses, should make them admissible and reliable for the court.

I don't accept that line of reasoning. It was

1	soundly rejected by the D.C. Circuit in Parhat as quote:
2	"It comes perilously close to
3	suggesting that whatever the
4	government says must be treated
5	as true is true."
6	Directly undermining the deference to these
7	interrogation reports the government relies upon, the record
8	shows however the interrogators taking these reports from
9	the detainee threatened him. The documents themselves are
10	no more suggestive of reliability. Reliability is
11	repeatedly described as having not been determined in the
12	documents.
13	What amazes the court is that petitioner was
14	administered a polygraph test that he agreed to take after
15	much discussion. The government did not offer as evidence
16	or even was able to locate the results of the polygraph. So
17	the government also touts the consistency of petitioner's
18	past statements, and because of repeated certain inculpatory
19	statements they must be true.
20	Again, I'm not persuaded. Again, quoting Parhat:
21	"The fact that petitioner has said
22	it thrice does not make an allegation
23	true."
24	That is quoting Lewis Carroll's, "The Hunting of
25	the Snark".

So it is noted, and it is clear to the court, that the Guantánamo interrogators had access to and relied upon his coerced confessions from Afghanistan, and the government continued to drink from the same poison well does not make the water clean.

So I'm finding that the 23 interrogation reports and summaries of the statements submitted by the government are not reliable, do not establish that the taint has been removed from the prior coerced confinement, nor do the documents contain in themselves sufficient hallmarks of reliability.

But there are certain documents that I am relying upon to make my conclusions in ruling against petitioner, despite my concerns about the government's case.

Although I find a majority of the statements are not reliable, there are two exceptions which I can identify as a sufficient break from the past coercive conditions.

The circumstances surrounding his statements to the Combatant Status Review Tribunal -- we call that CSRT.

On September 23, 2004, an Administrative Review Board, known as ARB, in December of 2005 are fundamentally different from those affecting the interrogation which the government wants to rely that I do not accept.

By the fall of 2004, and certainly by 2005, the medical and physical condition had drastically improved. At

1 the time of the CSRT proceedings, two years had elapsed since the harsh techniques were used against the petitioner, 3 and three years when the ARB proceeding commenced.

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But what makes it important for the court, the difference of not accepting even the later statements he gave to the government is not only are the attenuation of time, because he gave some later statements, but that these were not interrogations by interrogators that had been previously interrogating him.

These are not the people who first faced him the day he arrived at Guantánamo in such a terrible condition and scared him, and he continued to be scared thereafter when he saw and talked to them.

These are formal proceedings where he was represented by a personal representative. These are proceedings that are not interrogations. Not threatened by someone sitting across the table from him saying, I will revoke your privileges, or whatever they claimed, if he did not give them what they wanted.

So as opposed to being forced into an interrogation room, brought in shackles, et cetera, he was given the option of participating in both proceedings. did not have to participate. He agreed to.

Both times he agreed to answer questions. not have to. He agreed to. As opposed to fending for himself against an interrogator, or several interrogators
facing him, yelling at him, et cetera, during these
proceedings he was assisted by his personal representative.

They were done in a more formal setting, a recorded setting. That is it was put on the record what he said. He was given an opportunity to speak if he wished to. He was not forced to speak. He was not forced to answer any questions if he did not want to.

There was no evidence of any coercive techniques employed in any of these proceedings. There was -- under the record that I could review, I saw no individual who may previously have threatened petitioner that were present at these proceedings.

Petitioner claims he was, nonetheless, still feared if he changed anything, if he did not make false confessions at these proceedings he again would be tortured.

Belying those representations, though, petitioner repeatedly denied and clarified many of his earlier incriminating statements. In other words, he felt free to attack his prior statements, although he is alleging that he never did, but he actually did. I find that key in judging his credibility.

He specifically stated that he participated in the ARB proceedings because he was not afraid at that time of the Americans.

Therefore, I have to find his statements at the CSRT and to the ARB are reliable. The coercive conditions he would have been subjected to did not affect those proceedings -- the statements in those proceedings.

Now the third piece of evidence that I am basing my opinion upon is his own live testimony in court here before me. His live testimony differs in some respects from the earlier statements on which the government relies, particularly with respect to the association of members of Al Qaeda.

Now I would just note in the footnote as a matter of record, petitioner submitted several statements to the court, or before the court, that I am relying on as live testimony.

He gave a statement in February from counsel to the ARB. He gave a declaration in July 1, 2008, another one in February of 2009, and he gave -- sent a letter to Judge Kennedy, to who the case was originally assigned to in February of 2009, which are consistent with his live sworn testimony before me in open court.

So as a personal opinion, because there is no reason to doubt he gave all the statements that he wanted to give before me, he gave a complete version of his relevant events in his two days of testimony, so I am going to refer to his comprehensive testimony in court. Petitioner notes,

also, some of the documents that he submitted before the trial were drafts by counsel.

I am going to find the petitioner's testimony in part is credible, especially with respect to his conditions of confinement. But listening to petitioner, watching his demeanor, and looking the other reliable evidence in the record, there are portions of his testimony that I cannot find carry much weight, and I cannot accept his explanations in justifying certain actions that he took.

So while his narrative in court here is inconsistent with the CSRT statements he gave and the ARB statements, I am accepting those statements.

We have to, in any case obviously, judge the statements of a person who is interested in the case, and weigh those statements in accordance with the standards to determine the credibility.

What direct evidence is there of the detainee's participation with and becoming part of Al Qaeda or other terrorist organizations?

There is a dearth of third-party witnesses and direct evidence in this record. Only a small subset is actually material. Based on the government's own standards to assess the credibility and reliability of intelligence sources, I can find few material documents that are not reliable.

The evidence is classified, and I can only give now a summation of some of my determinations. I will give a classified ruling with more detail.

First, I cannot find the petitioner's detention is justified based upon reports he alleged he was trained to use explosives. Those reports contain triple hearsay and do not indicate the circumstances in which the report's source obtained the information.

A second point the government has is a report that they rely upon as describing a two and a half hour firefight at the Karachi apartment where petitioner was arrested.

They are likewise unreliable.

The source of those reports are unknown. The report does not provide any underlying reporting upon which the document's bottom line assertions are founded, nor any assessment of the reliability of that reporting, referring to the language in Parhat.

The government also may not rely upon, and I am not relying upon, a document -- a report concerning a document that is directly linked to the petitioner. That is exhibit 68. The report lacks any indicia of reliability and will be discussed further in the classified version of this opinion.

So without exception to some circumstantial evidence and background information, reliable evidence in

the record consists of the petitioner's live testimony in part, the statements before the review board and the tribunal, and that basically is what the evidence is.

So I have to make a decision based on this truncated body of evidence because of the nature of the evidence produced in this hearing. And as I indicated I believe at the beginning of this case, this was not a clear-cut decision.

So the government has four primary allegations, and these will be my findings in this case.

One, the petitioner traveled to Afghanistan with the intention of receiving weapons training. That is to join Al Qaeda, or the Taliban, or other organization and to fight.

Two, that he trained to use firearms at an Al Qaeda training camp.

Three, that he traveled and associated with Al Qaeda members for one year.

And four, engaged in a two and half hour firefight with Pakistani authorities in which two individuals with him were killed.

Based on reliable evidence in the record, the court finds that the government failed to prove the first allegation, that he traveled with the intention of receiving weapons training and joining the military forces in

Afghanistan at the time he left Yemen; and the last allegation, that he was engaged in a two and a half hour firefight in Pakistan -- Karachi.

So the government has failed by a preponderance of the evidence to show that.

The allegations that the plaintiff trained, traveled and associated with Al Qaeda, petitioner's incriminating words proved sufficient to this court. The government has shown by a preponderance of the evidence that those allegations are true, along with the other evidence in the case, as I referred to, not much, but other evidence of his travels and association with Al Oaeda.

The first allegation is his travel to Afghanistan. The government saw it as his recruitment period. The first allegation is entirely based on circumstantial evidence that he traveled with the intent to receive weapons training, that is go up there and joint the military.

The government posited he received military training because he did get such training eventually, so he must have known about it ahead of time, because the offer by the recruiters to send him to Afghanistan for free was otherwise too good to be true.

But if you look at the record, you do not have a picture of a militaristic youth. You don't have a picture of an extreme religious individual who wished to join in a

jihad. He is described as a hapless individual. Basically, he didn't realize what he was signing up for, at least he described himself as that.

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He stated -- he said he traveled to Afghanistan with no intention of training or fighting. The two hit men who reportedly recruited him never mentioned military training and offered to train for his flight so he could see how the Muslims were doing under the Taliban and learn about the Taliban rule.

He indicates that lacking employment or any education he had nothing to lose, so he left Yemen in early August of 2001. He did admit that he lied to his family about why he was leaving, where he gave other reasons for his trip.

It was clear then once he got to Pakistan he was shepherded by strangers to Afghanistan. His group was transported to the Al Nibras guesthouse, where his passport and plane tickets were confiscated or collected.

At Al Nibras is where petitioner claims that he first learned he would receive weapons training. One week later he was taken to an Al Qaeda training camp.

Petitioner says he does not know the name of the guesthouse, but his description is consistent with the description of the Al Nibras guesthouse provided by others in the government declaration.

Petitioner never challenged in the prior hearings in the Tribunal or the Review Board that Al Nibras was not the proper name of the guesthouse. It seems to me it's more likely not that is true.

Al Nibras was a guesthouse used to transport people to -- as a stopping place for people to be transported to training camps for Al Qaeda training.

Both parties' narratives unfortunately are lacking, because there is no reliable direct evidence supporting the government's claim about the petitioner's intent. There is no evidence submitted by the government about his family, his schooling, his religious education, his religious beliefs that suggest he possessed militant or fanatical view before he left Afghanistan in August of 2001.

Many of these cases you find writings, postings, et cetera, where these people have so dedicated themselves to fight jihad.

However, the court is equally skeptical about the petitioner's own description of what he was doing. He must have figured out once he got into Pakistan before he got to Al Nibras that he was not going on a fact-finding mission or tourist trip to tour areas in Afghanistan or to teach the Koran.

Yet whenever he realized actually what he was

doing, he never left the group he was traveling with, although he had opportunities to do so. He denied that he could leave and he was scared.

But in any event, the burden of proof rests on the government as to the first allegation that he traveled with the intent to receive weapons training and to join this military force.

I cannot find on the record that the government has shown that by his leaving. Although the court is skeptical as to his real reasons for leaving, I do not think that the government has yet met their burden of proof on that matter.

The second allegation is that he trained in an Al Qaeda training camp for military purposes. That is to take up arms and learn how to use arms against others.

The government alleges that he received training in firearms and other military matters at Al Farouq, it is called, an Al Qaeda basic training camp, one of the most well known ones. This evidence the government relies upon comes directly from petitioner.

He concedes in his own testimony -- live testimony, as well as his prior testimony that I have referred to, he attended Al Farouq for 25 days during which he received basic firearms training.

He testified he filed a Kalashnikov rifle. He

fired a pistol, among other firearms; that he received training. He calls it theoretical instruction, but it was training, on how to use rocket propelled grenade weapons.

As I have mentioned, the government alleged that he also received explosives training, but there is no reliable evidence, and I don't accept that part of the evidence.

His training was cut short by 9/11. According to the petitioner on that day the trainees were told the camp was closing because the instructors feared it would be bombed after the events of 9/11.

The petitioner instead argues not that he didn't receive firearms training, he wasn't trained in military warfare in essence, but that he did not intend to ever train at the Al Qaeda military camp. He said he was forced to attend the camp.

He said four times he tried to leave, including at Al Nibras, but was rebuffed. He suggested that the camp may not have been Al Farouq, but at the merits hearing he claimed he had never heard of the name, Al Farouq, until an interrogator told him that name. Thus, he does not even know if it was actually Al Farouq or a camp associated with Al Qaeda.

The court cannot find that this area of testimony about his attempts to leave Al Farouq is credible. The

petitioner was not conscripted. He testified that it was not impossible to leave the camp. Others had done it. He knew petitioners -- detainees who had e successfully dropped out.

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Additionally, he has been previously silent about this matter. Not until recently did he testify about any attempt to leave. Had he tried to leave he would have had every incentive to discuss his attempts at the ARB or the CSRT. Yet when he is asked at the CSRT proceeding whether he was forced to take training, he made no remark or mention of ever trying to guit or leave.

Before the ARB when directly asked why he didn't leave the camp, he again did not discuss any attempts to prematurely leave the camp at all. As for the name of the camp, the court finds that it is more likely than not that it was Al Farouq.

Petitioner's silence on this is somewhat telling during the proceedings before the Tribunal and the Board. He did not dispute the camp was named Al Farouq. The February 23 submission of the ARB that the petitioner referred to the camp as Al Farouq, and that was in 2007.

His description of the camp is consistent with the description of Al Farouq provided by other detainees in the government declaration, and as perhaps ultimate corroboration, the petitioner admitted at the prior two

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proceedings that I referred to, and I find his testimony to be reliable, that he saw Osama bin Laden at the camp. He now denies that in his live testimony before the court.

At the merits hearing petitioner unconvincingly refuted his earlier statements about Osama bin Laden. He testified during those prior proceedings that he feared he would be tortured if he tried to change his prior confession about seeing Osama bin Laden that he had given years earlier.

The record suggests otherwise, because it discussed the Tribunal and the Board review proceedings that occurred years after he was subject to harsh treatment and techniques. He was comfortable enough during those proceedings to deny certain allegations that he had previously admitted, including those with respect to Osama bin Laden.

When confronted with his earlier tribunal testimony about seeing bin Laden of various training facilities, petitioner clarified that, well, I only saw bin Laden once at that training camp.

Therefore, the court finds by a preponderance of the evidence the government has proved that the plaintiff voluntarily trained at Al Farouq for 25 days in military weaponry and related areas.

The third allegations is that according to the

government after Al Farouq closed the petitioner traveled and associated with Al Qaeda members until he was arrested one year later.

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Once again, the government relies upon petitioner's own words. Petitioner stated he was transported with a group of approximately 20 other detainees from Al Farouq to various guesthouses in Afghanistan.

He testified that two trainers from Al Farouq were initially part of the group. The trainers slept apart from the group and did not socialize with them. And this is his own testimony that I am relying upon here in open court.

At one point the trainers told petitioners to grab a Kalashnikov rifles, and he complied. He was afraid to get rid of the rifle, he testified, because he thought that he would get in trouble.

The group traveled to various towns in Afghanistan. He was entirely dependent upon the others he was with for food, shelter, transportation, protection and quidance.

After months of wandering, the petitioner somehow reconnected with his passport and made his way to Pakistan. He then stayed in the multiple Pakistani cities, including Karachi. In Karachi the petitioner was told that the safest route to Yemen was through Iran.

It proved to be unhelpful, and he was detained in Iran, and he was sent back. Now he had his passport all of this time. He did not get his plane ticket back. But he returned to Karachi and set up an apartment with a multiple roommates.

According to reliable classified evidence in the record, a neighbor from across the hall who frequently visited the apartment was a member of Al Qaeda. The government also alleges that petitioner interacted with high-level members of Al Qaeda through his year-long journey.

According to petitioner's statements to the Tribunal and the Review Board, while he was in Khost, K-h-o-s-t, Afghanistan, he again saw bin Laden. At the merits hearing he originally denied seeing bin Laden here, but I accept his statements that he saw him when he talked to the Tribunal and the Review Board otherwise.

There is no other direct evidence in the record that the petitioner associated with high-level Al Qaeda members, although he admitted to meeting with such high-place operatives in the past such as having actually met Khalid Shaik Mahamed.

The statements that the government relies upon are not reliable, and I am not accepting that evidence.

Petitioner gives us various explanations for his

continued association with Al Qaeda members during this oneyear period. You have to realize his one year, when he did not get back to Yemen after 9/11, and months after he'd gotten his passport.

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Initially he said that he had no choice but to travel with members from Al Qaeda because he needed his passport. But once he located his passport and made his way to Pakistan, he could not sever his ties with Al Qaeda members because he feared being arrested by Pakistani authorities and bounty hunters.

For this reason he told the CSRT he could not make it to the Yemen embassy in Pakistan. But those explanations are simply not credible to the court. The missing passport certainly could not tie -- could not be the tie that bound petitioner to Al Qaeda, since his association with its member did not abate when he crossed into Pakistan.

As to the threat posed by the Pakistani authorities, that fear did not inhibit petitioner from travel all over Pakistan for many months. If you look at the root of his travel, it looks like somebody took a tour of Pakistan for months and months, including from Karachi to Iran and back to Karachi.

The court cannot see how petitioner was able to journey from Karachi to Iran and back that he could not have reached the Yemeni Embassy during his multiple stays in

1 | Karachi just down the road.

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The petitioner acknowledged even calling his family while in Afghanistan, he did not call for assistance when he was supposedly trapped in Pakistan and could not get out.

Accordingly, the court finds that the petitioner voluntarily traveled and associate with Al Qaeda members in Afghanistan and Pakistan that the government has shown by a preponderance of the evidence is true.

Finally, the firefight in Karachi is the last claim against the petitioner. The government's final and most inflammatory allegation is that petitioner engaged in a two and a half hour firefight with Pakistani authorities.

The only direct evidence of the petitioner's participation is a classified report, but I am not finding that report is reliable as detailed in the classified ruling that I will make.

The allegation has no leg to stand on. Petitioner told the CSRT and the ARB that he did not fire any weapons. He did not resist arrest, and that he was arrested before the firing began.

That statement has been consistent. His testimony is entirely consistent with those representations. Even the newspaper article the government submitted for background information is not consistent with petitioner's story.

The article states that three Yemenis from the apartment were arrested before the firefight began. The government has thus failed to establish that petitioner participated in that firefight.

Now although he may not have actually been in the battle where two people were killed, two others in the apartment were killed, the statements revealed that he associated with members of Al Qaeda at that apartment.

It is not disputed that a firefight occurred between Pakistani authorities and individuals with whom petitioner had been living. The petitioner concedes one of his roommates resisted arrest and was killed by the Pakistanis in the battle. An individual who lived across the hall from petitioner also participated in the gun battle and was killed.

I recall the petitioner indicating that he never saw weapons in the apartment, and yet a two and a half hour gun battle ensued with grenades and automatic weaponry being used by the people in the apartment. So his credibility suffers in that regard.

So according to reliable classified evidence in the record, the neighbor who was killed in the apartment, as well as who came over during the battle, was a member of Al Oaeda.

Petitioner testified that Al Qaeda members would

often drop by the apartment. It is therefore more likely than not that the petitioner associated with and lived with Al Qaeda members in Karachi, some of whom fought to their death to avoid capture.

So the final analysis is that the government has met its burden of proof with respect to the allegations. Petitioner voluntarily trained with Al Qaeda for 25 days, and then traveled, associated and lived with members of Al Qaeda for an entire year.

Those facts are sufficient to prove by a preponderance of the evidence that petitioner was part of Al Qaeda as I have indicated in the definitions of the substantive law that applies in this case.

His actions demonstrate a clear intent to be associated with Al Qaeda. Though his motives arriving originally in Al Farouq are murky, once in Afghanistan he demonstrated an unrelenting desire to be with these people from Al Qaeda.

Petitioner had to know that Al Qaeda -- I am sorry, that Al Farouq was an Al Qaeda training camp. He was not trained to fight there with weapons. He learned to use multiple firearms. He received what he called theoretical instruction, that is training, in RPGs.

He realized he was not there to do charitable work, obviously, and yet he stayed. By the end of his

training when the camp was being closed he heard from bin Laden, the founding leader of Al Qaeda. Yet he stayed with the people there and traveled with them.

He finally got what he said he wanted, his ticket out of camp, because they were closing it. He followed Al Qaeda trainers around Afghanistan. He traveled with the group that again brought him back before bin Laden.

He moved into an apartment eventually in Karachi where members of Al Qaeda lived and visited, and yet petitioner stayed. He could have walked out and gone to the embassy at any time. He said he was scared to do that, he could be captured. I cannot accept that explanation.

The evidence is strong in this point at least that petitioner knew -- had to know that he was associated with Al Qaeda. During the course of the year he had trained with Al Oaeda members.

He learned that United States forces were at war with them and would bomb his camp. He heard bin Laden speak twice. He followed the Al Qaeda trainers out of the camp and traveled with them. He traveled with other expected Al Qaeda and lived with Al Qaeda members.

At some point over the course of the year it is inconceivable that the plaintiff did not hear or learn something to alert him about the people with whom he was associating with were Al Qaeda, and yet petitioner stayed.

Now as to what did the petitioner ever do to participate with Al Qaeda within or under the command structure of the organization?

He attended a basic training camp for the organization for 25 days. When the camp ended he followed the camp instructors around Afghanistan. The instructors gave him orders, and he obeyed those orders. When told to grab a rifle, he picked one up out of fear that if he disobeyed he would get into trouble.

He was simply not following orders. It amounts to semantics that he claims that he never got orders. He testified that when he picked up the rifle that he was following the suggestion of someone who was providing assistance.

But petitioner's characterization does not account for the fear that he would get into trouble if he did not follow the trainer's instruction of someone who was providing assistance.

The trainers obviously held a special status in the group. They slept in separate quarters and did not socialize with the group. The most reasonable interpretation of the incident is the superior issued an order, and petitioner obeyed.

The fact that petitioner is able to navigate successfully through Afghanistan and Pakistan, having never

visited either country, and did not speak the languages, and had no money, the evidence is he followed the direction of Al Qaeda members -- of an organization that could help support him.

The reunion with his passports weeks after he left Al Farouq, for example, cannot be explained by mere happenstance. He gave it up at Al Nibras, an Al Qaeda questhouse, and then suddenly it comes back to him.

He is telling -- it is also telling how Al Qaeda considers petitioner to be a member. He was admitted to the training camp. He participate in the training camp. He was trusted enough to be in the presence of bin Laden twice. In the presence I do not mean that he had a one-on-one bin Laden. I do not want to misstate the record. It is alleged he was in a very large group of people when he came to give a talk.

He was assigned to the charge of two Al Qaeda instructors when the camp closed. He was fed, sheltered and protected by Al Qaeda. He was sent to live in an apartment in Karachi frequented by Al Qaeda members.

There can be no doubt in my mind that petitioner had to be accepted by these people as reliable and as a member to be able to do all of that, to travel with them for a year; to be in this last place of reference -- of refuge he was in in the safehouse in Karachi that ended up in this

battle with diehard Al Qaeda members who fought to the death and not believe that he was somehow not a member, that he was some stranger who was just there because they took him in, simply defies credibility.

In the papers today we have read in the last week the five American Muslims who went over to Pakistan, allegedly to join a terrorist group and were turned down because they did not have the credentials. If that is true, I think that is telling.

If you use common sense here, this petitioner traveled for a year, all through Afghanistan and Pakistan, alleging he was attempting to leave and did not have anything to do with Al Qaeda, but always supported, and moved around, and taken care of, and ending up with Al Qaeda members from the time of his capture.

So it seems to me that there is sufficient evidence in the record and conclusions that can be validly drawn from that to show by a preponderance of the evidence that the government has met its burden by a preponderance of the evidence that petitioner was part of Al Qaeda.

I am not convinced it is more likely than not, however, that he is a continued threat to the security of the United States.

Petitioner was a young, unemployed, uneducated -- under educated Yemeni, particularly vulnerable to the

demagoguery of the religious fanatics, and the record
reflects at best he was a low level -- the lowest level Al
Qaeda member.

It does not appear he even finished training.

There is no evidence he fired a gun in battle or was on the front lines, or participated, planned, or knew of terrorist plots.

Classified records confirmed the court's assessment.

The fact that he appears to have been a model prisoner during the seven years of the detention. So while I concluded that the government has sufficient evidence to prove by a preponderance of the evidence that I find to be credible and reliable that two of their allegations are sufficient to meet the burden that he is part of Al Qaeda and has lawfully been detained by the United States, but I fail to see on the record now that he poses any greater threat than most of the detainees who have already been released or are now eligible for release by the government.

So that is the unclassified ruling by the court denying petitioner's petition for habeas corpus.

I have another matter I believe. I'm going to ask the parties before me to take about a 10 minute recess while I take up the other matter, and then we will close the courtroom, and I will go back to a brief classified ruling

for the record as well.

So if counsel for the detainees would take a break. And since the detainee will not be able to hear this classified ruling, he does not have to stay on.

We will take very short break -- I don't even need a break. If we could just get everyone to step back for a few minutes, I will take up the other matter. I have a very short matter to consider, but the detainee will be released at this time.

(Recess.)

THE COURT: This is the case entitled Suhail Abdu Anan, et al versus Barack Obama, et al, CA 04-1194.

I had meant to say something, and I apologize to counsel. It should have been -- well, the court is still opened, but it should have been when the detainee was on the line, and my attempts to get through this rather lengthy opinion, I did not do what I intended to do, and that was to thank counsel for their work in this case.

I don't know how possibly a firm in Colorado, and a smaller group, can afford to do the work that they have done, and the other firm that is also helping out, where you have taken on more than one of these cases, where you have spent hundreds if not thousands of hours of your time and travel to Guantánamo and back in a very difficult, as I indicated at the beginning, new area of the law that is

still developing with different rules and procedures and 1 different substantive rules of law from various judges, 2 making it very difficult. 3 In connection with the evidence being classified 5 and you cannot share with your client, it is an extremely 6 trying and challenging situation, and I have seen nothing 7 but the best in the traditions of the Bar and the work that 8 has been done by volunteer counsel in this case, and in most 9 of the other cases, and I want to make sure that not only 10 Mr. Al-Madhwani but the public understands the work and 11 dedication that has been done by the Killmer law firm as 12 well as by Stowell and Freeman on these matters. 13 And you have the thanks of the court, and the 14 public should be indebted to you for your services. (Whereupon, the proceedings were adjourned.) 15 16 17 CERTIFICATE OF COURT REPORTER I certify that the foregoing is a correct transcript of 18 19 the proceedings in the above-captioned case. 20 21 SUSAN PAGE TYNER, CVR-CM 22 23 OFFICIAL COURT REPORTER 24

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