



Case No. SCSL-2003-01-T

THE PROSECUTOR OF  
THE SPECIAL COURT  
V.  
CHARLES GHANKAY TAYLOR

THURSDAY, 4 MARCH 2010  
9.00 A.M.  
TRIAL

TRIAL CHAMBER II

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Before the Judges:

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

For Chambers:

Mr Artur Appazov

For the Registry:

Ms Rachel Irura  
Ms Zainab Fofanah

For the Prosecution:

Mr Nicholas Koumjian  
Ms Kathryn Howarth  
Ms Maja Dimitrova

For the accused Charles Ghankay  
Taylor:

Mr Courtenay Griffiths QC  
Mr Morris Anyah  
Mr Terry Munyard  
Ms Logan Hambri ck

1 Thursday, 4 March 2010

2 [Open session]

3 [The accused present]

4 [Upon commencing at 9.00 a.m.]

08:59:35 5 PRESIDING JUDGE: Good morning. We'll take appearances  
6 first, please.

7 MR KOUMJIAN: Good morning, Madam President. Good morning,  
8 your Honours. Good morning, counsel opposite. For the  
9 Prosecution this morning, Kathryn Howarth, Maja Dimitrova and  
09:04:15 10 we're joined by Geoff McCarrell.

11 PRESIDING JUDGE: Mr McCarrell is welcome to the Court.

12 MR GRIFFITHS: Good morning, Madam President, your Honours,  
13 counsel opposite. For the Defence today, myself Courtenay  
14 Griffiths, with me Mr Morris Anyah of counsel, Mr Terry Munyard  
09:04:41 15 of counsel and we're joined today by Ms Logan Hambri ck, who has  
16 been with us for many years but who has joined us now in The  
17 Hague.

18 PRESIDING JUDGE: Ms Logan is welcome to the Court.

19 MR GRIFFITHS: Madam President, can I raise a couple of  
09:04:56 20 administrative matters before we commence today. The first is  
21 this: I have been shown a schedule showing the hearing times  
22 next week. Can I confirm for the assistance of the accused and  
23 those who are responsible for his transport to Court that next  
24 week there is no hearing on the Monday but we will be sitting  
09:05:25 25 full days on Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday and Friday.

26 PRESIDING JUDGE: That is correct.

27 MR GRIFFITHS: I'm grateful. The second matter, Madam  
28 President, it might appear at first blush to be somewhat trivial  
29 but it does concerned the accused. During the many months of his

1 evidence he was allowed to have a plastic jug filled with water  
2 next to him. Now that he is sitting behind me, the jugs now  
3 available are made of glass and as a consequence for obvious  
4 security reasons those who are responsible for his security are  
09:06:03 5 concerned at him having a jug. Can I make this very simple  
6 request: That whoever is responsible for distributing jugs in  
7 the building could make available a plastic jug for him now that  
8 he is sitting behind me?

9 PRESIDING JUDGE: Mr Griffiths, I don't think that this is  
09:06:21 10 a matter for judges really. If the administration could do it  
11 for the accused before, surely they can do it now.

12 MR GRIFFITHS: Madam President, I raise it because we who  
13 have dealt with the bureaucracy in this building appreciate how  
14 difficult it can be to achieve even the most simplest of changes.  
09:06:42 15 That's why I raise it publicly.

16 PRESIDING JUDGE: This I think is a matter that the Court  
17 Manager can handle. Am I wrong, Ms Irura?

18 MS IRURA: Your Honour, we will attend to it.

19 PRESIDING JUDGE: Thank you.

09:06:55 20 MR GRIFFITHS: I'm most grateful.

21 PRESIDING JUDGE: Now I will handle a preliminary matter  
22 and that basically deals with a motion that was filed on Monday  
23 by the Defence and a motion in respect of which we're of the view  
24 that a timely decision would be in order, so I'm going to hand  
09:07:17 25 down an oral decision in Court. I believe we're in open session.

26 MS IRURA: Your Honour, we are in open session.

27 PRESIDING JUDGE: The following is the Court's ruling:

28 On Monday, 2 March this year the Defence filed a motion  
29 entitled "Public with confidential annex A and B Defence motion

1 for leave to include additional Defence exhibits in the list of  
2 anticipated exhibits for use during the testimony of witness  
3 DCT-125", that is motion 921, in which they sought leave to  
4 include two documents contained in the confidential annexes A and  
09:08:07 5 B and to include those documents in their list of anticipated  
6 exhibits in connection with the said witness.

7 Yesterday on 3 March the Prosecution indicated that they  
8 would not be responding to the said motion. The Trial Chamber  
9 has noted the grounds named in the Defence for - in support of  
09:08:32 10 the request of the motion and is satisfied that it is in the  
11 interest of justice to grant the leave sought. Leave is  
12 accordingly granted.

13 MR GRIFFITHS: I'm most grateful.

14 PRESIDING JUDGE: Before the witness continues with his  
09:08:54 15 testimony, I'm going to remind him in open session of his oath to  
16 tell the truth and then I'm going to request - do I understand,  
17 Mr Griffiths, that we should continue in private session?

18 MR GRIFFITHS: I'm hoping that we can keep it to no more  
19 than 10 to 15 minutes and then hopefully we can move into public  
09:09:20 20 session.

21 PRESIDING JUDGE: So for the members of the public  
22 listening out there, witness DCT-125 is testifying in chief, but  
23 there are matters in evidence that for his own protection and  
24 privacy have to be taken in private session and therefore we will  
09:09:43 25 return to private session for a brief period before opening up  
26 the proceedings again.

27 WITNESS: DCT-125 [On former oath]

28 EXAMINATION-IN-CHIEF BY MR GRIFFITHS: [Cont'd]

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1 [At this point in the proceedings, a portion of  
2 the transcript, pages 36666 to 36668, was  
3 extracted and sealed under separate cover, as  
4 the proceeding was heard in private  
5 sessi on. ]

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1 [Open session]

2 MS IRURA: Your Honour, we're in open session.

3 MR GRIFFITHS:

4 Q. When did you first go to Libya?

09:16:29 5 A. I first went to Libya in 1983.

6 Q. From where did you travel to go to Libya?

7 A. I travelled from a Latin American country to Libya.

8 Q. Why did you go to Libya?

9 A. I went to Libya to respond to an invitation given to me by  
09:17:03 10 the Libyan leader.

11 Q. Who was that?

12 A. Colonel Muammar al-Gaddafi.

13 Q. Why did he want to see you?

14 A. He wants to see me to discuss matters of common interests  
09:17:20 15 in the struggle for the liberation of Africa.

16 Q. Did you respond to that invitation?

17 A. I responded positively.

18 Q. For how long did you remain in Libya on that occasion?

19 A. On that occasion I stayed for a month and a half.

09:17:47 20 Q. During that time, what occurred?

21 A. We had various discussions on how to lay the solid  
22 foundation for the creation of what is known today as the  
23 Mathaba.

24 Q. Where did those discussions take place?

09:18:07 25 A. Those discussions took place in Benghazi and in Tripoli and  
26 also in Sebha.

27 Q. Mr Witness, can I mention this: If at any stage you feel  
28 that anything you say might identify you, could you alert us and  
29 we will go back into private session on the order of the Court.

1 Yes?

2 A. No problem.

3 PRESIDING JUDGE: Mr Griffiths, that last - the name of the  
4 last location --

09:18:38 5 THE WITNESS: Sebha.

6 PRESIDING JUDGE: -- needs to be spelt, I think.

7 MR GRIFFITHS:

8 Q. Could you spell it for us, please.

9 A. S-E-B-H-A.

09:18:49 10 Q. Having held those discussions with the Libyan leader, where  
11 did you go?

12 A. I went back to the same Latin American country.

13 Q. Is that the Latin American country to which you had  
14 travelled from Guinea Bissau?

09:19:13 15 A. Correct.

16 Q. When next did you, if you did, go to Libya?

17 A. Within a period of four months I was called back to Libya.

18 Q. For what reason?

19 A. There was a meeting, a preparatory committee meeting to  
09:19:38 20 oversee the organisation of the general Mathaba - the general  
21 congress of the Mathaba.

22 Q. Now, we will come to the actual structure of the Mathaba at  
23 - in a short while, but first of all, who created the mechanism  
24 for the Mathaba?

09:20:06 25 A. The technicalities of the mechanisms of the Mathaba was  
26 created by myself and Leopoldo in Cuba, and we handed over the  
27 document to the Libyan leader for discussions, which was  
28 presented to different liberation movements throughout the whole  
29 world that took the decision not only for the creation of the

1 Pan-African front to confront imperialism in the continent but to  
2 create the World Centre for Assistance Against Imperialism and  
3 its allies.

4 Q. Did there come a time when you moved to Libya?

09:20:47 5 A. Yes. I moved to Libya the later part of '84.

6 Q. Did you move to Libya by yourself?

7 A. No, I moved to Libya together with my colleagues.

8 Q. How many of your colleagues went to Libya?

9 A. Those who went to Libya were roughly 18, if I'm not  
09:21:20 10 mistaken.

11 Q. Why did your colleagues go to Libya?

12 A. They went to Libya for ideological orientation, to read and  
13 acquaint themselves with the ideals of the third universal theory  
14 and for military training.

09:21:46 15 Q. The ideals of the what?

16 A. The third universal theory.

17 Q. Theory?

18 A. Yes, the Green Book.

19 Q. And also for what?

09:21:57 20 A. For military training.

21 Q. With a view to doing what?

22 A. With a view to return home and liberate our country which  
23 was occupied by the aggressive Senegalese army.

24 Q. Where were your colleagues based when they went to Libya?

09:22:15 25 A. When they went to Libya, they were taken to a camp called  
26 Tinning March, which is 2nd March.

27 Q. Please spell for us slowly the Arabic name.

28 A. Tinning, T-I-N-N-I-N-G. Tinning Mars. Mars, M-A-R-S or  
29 M-A-R-H because it is March.



1 Q. That camp, Tinning March, could you help us: Was there  
2 only your colleagues there or were there other nationalities  
3 present at that camp?

09:23:14 4 A. [Inaudible] picture of Tinning March. Tinning March is a  
5 Libyan military camp, but the Mathaba had requested the Libyan  
6 authorities to accommodate liberation movements from all over the  
7 world for military training in Tinning March, who were provided  
8 the facilities in Tinning March for training and the Mathaba was  
9 responsible for their stay in Tinning March during that period  
09:23:42 10 and not the military authorities of Libya.

11 Q. What nationalities were present there?

12 A. You have the Niger liberation movement, you have Mali, the  
13 Tuareg.

14 Q. [Microphone not activated]?

09:24:12 15 A. You have Polisario.

16 Q. [Microphone not activated] spell Tuareg for us.

17 A. T-O-U-A-R-E-G.

18 Q. [Microphone not activated]?

19 A. Polisario, yes.

09:24:28 20 Q. Who are they?

21 A. Polisario is the liberation movement from western Sahara  
22 fighting for independence from Morocco.

23 Q. Who else was there?

09:24:52 24 A. You have the - the Somalis were there. Zairians were  
25 there. You have Central Africans were there and some Latin  
26 American countries also, their movements were there.

27 Q. Could you visit that camp?

28 A. I could only visit that camp through permission. I was not  
29 allowed to go because there are different nationalities of which,

1 according to the principles of the Mathaba, I cannot just go and  
2 meddle up with them. Because there is the principle of  
3 independence and secrecy that the Mathaba has established for  
4 noninterference by other movements into the affairs of another  
09:25:35 5 movement.

6 Q. So help us. First of all, did you visit that camp?

7 A. I visited that camp. Not frequently.

8 Q. When you visited that camp, were you able to see other  
9 groups apart from your own colleagues?

09:26:02 10 A. The visit of every leader of every group who were there is  
11 only strictly, strictly confidential. And if you happen to go  
12 there as a leader, you are only allowed to see your movement and  
13 no other movement within the camp. So your arrival is organised,  
14 your departure is organised.

09:26:26 15 Q. Organised by whom?

16 A. Organised by the Mathaba, and the Libyans are there to  
17 oversee the secrecy of the trip.

18 Q. Help us. Why was such an arrangement put in place?

19 A. Noninterference in the internal affairs of another  
09:26:49 20 movement.

21 Q. Did you receive -you personally - receive military  
22 training?

23 A. I have never, ever received any military training.

24 Q. So what were you doing during your time in Libya?

09:27:11 25 A. I was busy with the ideological side of the third universal  
26 theory. I was also busy organising my colleagues and citizens  
27 from my country who were there as immigrant workers and setting  
28 up my plans for contacts back at home.

29 Q. Did there come a time when your colleagues left Camp

1 Tinning March?

2 A. Yes. We left Camp Tinning March and we went to  
3 West Africa.

4 Q. To where in West Africa did you go?

09:27:56 5 A. I went to Ghana.

6 Q. Why did you go - and your colleagues go to Ghana?

7 A. We were pursuing our revolutionary programme. We were  
8 implementing our plan of action to return home, infiltrate our  
9 colleagues to go home for recruitment and for the preparation of  
09:28:21 10 our struggle to regain our power, which was lost and seized by  
11 the Senegalese invaders.

12 Q. When did you and your colleagues go to Ghana?

13 A. We went to Ghana in late '85, if I'm not mistaken, after  
14 the Mathaba congress.

09:28:46 15 Q. Was the Ghanaian government aware of your presence and  
16 purpose in their country?

17 A. The Ghanaians were aware that we were transiting in Ghana.

18 Q. Were they aware of your purpose?

19 A. They were aware of our purpose and they sympathised with  
09:29:15 20 us.

21 Q. Did they provide you with assistance?

22 A. They never provided any assistance to us, only solidarity  
23 because at that time Ghana's revolution was also facing hard  
24 times, the pressure from the imperialist forces to destabilise  
09:29:33 25 the Ghanaian revolution.

26 Q. And who had led that Ghanaian revolution?

27 A. Flight Lieutenant Jerry John Rawlings.

28 Q. For how long did you remain in Ghana with your colleagues?

29 A. We stayed in Ghana for a period of three months and then

1 Later returned back to Li bya.

2 Q. Why did you return back to Li bya?

3 A. There were a few problems and setbacks, we had to return  
4 back to Li bya and reorganise our movement.

09:30:08 5 Q. What happened when you went back to Li bya?

6 A. When we went back to Li bya, we had to continue on the same  
7 programme of organisation and training, but this time the group  
8 went to a camp called Tajura.

9 Q. Is that spelt T-A-J-U-R-A?

09:30:31 10 A. Yes, correct.

11 Q. Did you go to Tajura?

12 A. I myself, I went to Tajura to see the conditions of my  
13 colleagues who were there.

14 Q. Did you stay at Tajura?

09:30:49 15 A. I've never stayed at Tajura. Any time I go to Tajura is  
16 just a period of maybe one hour, two hours, or three hours the  
17 maximum, to have a discussion with them and then I leave back.

18 Q. Were you ever based at Tajura?

09:31:11 19 A. I was never based at Tajura. Let me clear this to you. No  
20 leader of any group could have stayed with the group in the  
21 military camp. It was against the principles of the Mathaba.  
22 You can visit your group to have a discussion with them and go  
23 back and allow them to continue the programme that was  
24 established by your group and hand it over to the Mathaba for  
09:31:33 25 execution.

26 Q. At that time on your return to Li bya when your colleagues  
27 were based at Tajura, what were your colleagues doing at Tajura?

28 A. They were undergoing another training and at the same time  
29 since they had acquired so much experience from {redacted} -

1 excuse me, from home - all the way to the first training they had  
2 and then the continuous training they were taking, they were  
3 qualified enough to give training to other colleagues who were  
4 there from different countries.

09:32:20 5 MR GRIFFITHS: Madam President, could I ask for that name  
6 to be redacted, please.

7 PRESIDING JUDGE: The name of the country mentioned by the  
8 witness in his immediately preceding paragraph of evidence should  
9 be redacted. And for the members of the public who have heard  
09:32:44 10 that name, you are not to repeat the name of that country.  
11 Please proceed.

12 MR GRIFFITHS:

13 Q. During that time were you and your colleagues recruiting  
14 other members in Libya?

09:33:24 15 A. Yes, we were recruiting other members, fellow citizens who  
16 were in Libya and also those who were in our country.

17 Q. And, help us, could you give us a few examples of  
18 individuals who were recruited by you and your colleagues in  
19 Libya?

09:33:49 20 A. Those who were recruited in Libya, a few of them - you have  
21 Fams Kamara. Fams Caul ey, sorry.

22 Q. Could you spell that for us, please?

23 A. F-A-M-S C-A-U-L-E-Y. This is how he spells his name. Fams  
24 Caul ey.

09:34:16 25 Q. Anybody else?

26 A. You have Yankuba Samateh.

27 Q. Anybody else?

28 A. You have Karamo Gibba and many more.

29 Q. Could you spell that last name for us, please?

1 A. K-A-R-A-M-O G-I-B-B-A.

2 Q. Anybody else that you can recall?

3 A. You have Abdoul aye Bal de - Abdoul aye Bah, not Bal de. It's  
4 the same Bal de and Bah is the same.

09:34:46 5 Q. How do you spell that, please?

6 A. A-B-D-O-U-L-A-Y-E B-A-H. You have Ibrahim Bah.

7 Q. You have who?

8 A. Ibrahim Bah.

9 Q. Could you spell that for us, please?

09:35:16 10 A. I-B-R-A-H-I-M B-A-H.

11 Q. Anybody else that you can recall?

12 A. Sherif Fba Jobe. S-H-E-R-I-F F-B-A J-O-B-E.

13 Q. You gave us a name earlier Karamo Gibba?

14 A. Karamo.

09:35:56 15 Q. That's the reason why I'm asking you. Is that first name  
16 spelled with a K or a J?

17 A. K.

18 Q. The reason I ask, Mr Witness, is this and it's not your  
19 fault. When you say the word K it sounds like a J for those of

09:36:39 20 us whose only language is English, unlike you who can happily  
21 speak more than one language and I'm saying it for the purposes  
22 of the record so that people can bear that in mind in future. So  
23 K you pronounce as a J. So you mean K-A-R-A-M-O?

24 A. Yes.

09:37:02 25 Q. Fine. Thank you very much. One individual you mentioned  
26 was one Ibrahim Bah. Did that individual go by any other name?

27 A. No, his only name is Ibrahim Bah.

28 Q. What was his nationality?

29 A. He's born in Senegal, in Fouta.

1 Q. I want to ask you now some more about that camp called  
2 Tajura. When you went to Libya, which nationalities were  
3 represented at Tajura?

4 A. The nationalities that were represented at Tajura, you have  
09:38:05 5 the Malians who were there, Niger, you have the Sierra Leoneans  
6 who were there, you have the Liberians, the Filipinos, the  
7 Bangsamoro from Philippines.

8 Q. Whom?

9 A. The Philippines, their movement is called the Bangsamoro  
09:38:27 10 Liberation Movement.

11 Q. Could you spell that name for us, please?

12 A. B-A-N-S-A-M-O-R-O.

13 Q. Thank you. Who else was there?

14 A. You have the Zairians were there, you have many Latin  
09:38:47 15 American countries their movements were there, and many, many  
16 others were there.

17 Q. Can I ask you a bit more about that. Were there any  
18 countries from eastern Africa represented there?

19 A. East Africa you have Somalia.

09:39:17 20 Q. Anywhere else?

21 A. Eritrea.

22 Q. Anywhere else?

23 A. Ethiopia.

24 Q. What about central Africa?

09:39:30 25 A. Central Africa, you have Central African Republic itself,  
26 you have Zaire, you have Ugandans.

27 Q. Who were they led by?

28 A. Ugandans was the NRA, the National Resistance Army of the  
29 present President Yoweri Museveni.

1 Q. Could you spell that for us, please?

2 A. Y-E-W-E-R-U-I M-U-S-E-W-N-I.

3 Q. What about from southern Africa?

4 A. From southern Africa you with SWAPO, the ANC who were  
09:40:36 5 there. SWAPO from Namibia, the ANC from South Africa, the ANC of  
6 Nelson Mandela.

7 Q. Apart from Africa and South America which you've mentioned  
8 and the Philippines, were any other continents represented at the  
9 Camp Tajura?

09:40:58 10 A. You have the movement from the Arab liberation movements.

11 Q. What about Europe?

12 A. Europe, those who were there were only training cadres.  
13 For instance, like the IRA were there, some of the cadres from  
14 Australia who used to give the Third Universal Theory - teachings  
09:41:19 15 of the Third Universal Theory. That is the Australian People's  
16 Congress led by the late Robert Pash.

17 Q. Whom?

18 A. Robert Pash. He is dead.

19 Q. How do you spell that?

09:41:32 20 A. R-O-B-E-R-T P-A-S-H.

21 Q. And you mentioned the IRA were there. Who were they?

22 A. Irish Republican Army from Ireland.

23 Q. And what were they doing there?

24 A. They were lending their expertise to the trainees.

09:41:58 25 Q. And this Australian group, what were they called again?

26 A. Australian People's Congress.

27 Q. I now want to ask you in a bit more detail about the  
28 structure of the Mathaba. Now you've already told us the full  
29 name is Mathaba Alimi a?



1 A. Yes.

2 Q. And you've told us that stands for us?

3 A. The world centre for assistance against imperialism,  
4 Zionism, apartheid, reaction, neocolonialism and all their  
09:42:44 5 allies.

6 Q. Where was the Mathaba Alimiya based?

7 A. The Mathaba Alimiya had its secretariat in the heart of  
8 Tripoli.

9 Q. You mentioned secretariat. What did the secretariat do?

09:43:07 10 A. The secretariat is to coordinate the activities of the  
11 member movements of the Mathaba.

12 Q. So what services did they provide?

13 A. They provided the coordination service of the liberation  
14 movements with the revolutionary committee - with the Libyan  
09:43:31 15 revolutionary committee led by Muammar al-Gaddafi and not the  
16 Libyan government.

17 Q. Now, was there any other part to the Mathaba apart from the  
18 secretariat?

19 A. Apart from the secretariat, within the same premises of the  
09:43:57 20 secretariat you have what was called the Mathaba institute where  
21 political cadres will come who doesn't go for the military  
22 training are sheltered and are giving lectures on the  
23 revolutionary theory of the Third Universal Theory.

24 Q. Apart from the secretariat and the body you've just  
09:44:21 25 described, were there any other organs of the Mathaba?

26 A. The Mathaba is structured as such: You have the general  
27 congress of the Mathaba which --

28 Q. Pause there. What was the function of the general congress  
29 of the Mathaba?

1 A. The general congress of the Mathaba has the function of  
2 acting like Parliament for all the liberation movements. All  
3 liberation movements are members of this general congress, and it  
4 is this general congress that debates on the policies that are  
09:44:58 5 supposed to be adopted by the executive committee of the Mathaba.

6 Q. What is the executive - what was or is the executive  
7 committee of the Mathaba?

8 A. The executive committee of the Mathaba is the organ that  
9 liaised with the revolutionary committee - the Libyan  
09:45:17 10 revolutionaries committees led by Muammar al-Gaddafi.

11 PRESIDING JUDGE: Witness, I will remind you to pause after  
12 the lawyer has asked you. You wait for him to finish and then  
13 you answer.

14 MR GRIFFITHS:

09:45:33 15 Q. Is there a distinction between the Libyan revolutionary  
16 committees and the Libyan government?

17 A. There is a big difference between the Libyan revolutionary  
18 committees and the Libyan government. The Libyan government is  
19 the Libyan people's authority that has its structures within its  
09:45:58 20 governmental institutions like any other normal government in the  
21 world. But the revolutionary committees are the militants that  
22 support the revolutionary Government of Libya.

23 Q. Were any facilities available to the Mathaba?

24 A. There were many facilities available at the Mathaba for  
09:46:34 25 both training and for both logistics to permit all liberation  
26 movements to organise with ease in their respective countries.

27 Q. What facilities were available for training?

28 A. Military camps and the weapons that were used to train the,  
29 how do you call it, the different - members of the different

1 Liberation movements.

2 Q. What were the camps available?

3 A. For military training.

4 Q. For military training. What were their names?

09:47:18 5 A. Tinning March and Camp Tajura.

6 Q. Apart from military training, was any other type of  
7 training provided by the Mathaba?

8 A. Ideological training.

9 Q. Where was that organised?

09:47:40 10 A. For the, how do you call it, for the militants who were

11 undergoing military training, the ideological training was  
12 conducted within the military camp, ideologues from the Green  
13 Book revolutionary theory would go and lecture them in the  
14 military camps and after they go back. But also within the

09:48:04 15 Mathaba premises there was the Mathaba institute that was  
16 responsible for training the cadres of different liberation  
17 movements in the Mathaba and not in the military camps.

18 Q. What is or was the relationship between the Mathaba Alimi a  
19 and the Libyan government?

09:48:33 20 A. There's no direct relation between the Mathaba Alimi a and  
21 the Libyan government. The only relations that exist in Libya is  
22 the Mathaba Alimi a, which is the general congress of all the  
23 liberation movements worldwide and the revolutionary committee -  
24 Libyan revolutionary committee led by Colonel Muammar al-Gaddafi.

09:48:55 25 Q. Now, you've mentioned two military training facilities,  
26 Camp Tinning March and Camp Tajura.

27 A. Exactly.

28 Q. What access did you or any other leader of a liberation  
29 movement have to either of those two training facilities?

1 A. In the case that a liberation movement has, how do you call  
2 it, militants undergoing military training in either of the two  
3 military camps, the leader of that movement has the right to  
4 request permission to go and visit his colleagues in that camp.

09:49:39 5 But apart from that, you can never - even if you are a member of  
6 the executive committee of the Mathaba, you cannot just walk into  
7 that camp freely.

8 Q. Who would supervise access to the military training  
9 facilities?

09:49:57 10 A. It was a joint committee. The, how do you call it, the  
11 Libyan military authorities running the camp and the liberation  
12 movements who are based in the camp, every liberation movement  
13 will select people who would cooperate with the Libyan  
14 authorities - military authorities in the camp.

09:50:18 15 Q. Now, would the leader of a liberation movement have access  
16 to trainees from another liberation movement at the camp?

17 A. It is not allowed.

18 Q. Why not?

19 A. It's a question of independence.

09:50:46 20 Q. How do you mean?

21 A. Every movement is independent and noninterference in the  
22 internal affairs of another movement, which was a principal  
23 secret to the, how do you call it, Mathaba.

24 Q. What then if the leader of one movement wanted to make a  
09:51:05 25 pact with another movement, how would that, if at all, come  
26 about?

27 A. It can never be through the military camps. Any pact that  
28 anybody will want to establish - any movement you want to  
29 establish with another movement would be outside of the Mathaba.

1 And to my knowledge, I haven't seen as a founding father of the  
2 Mathaba, I haven't seen where it has been stipulated that pacts  
3 are allowed within the framework of the Mathaba between two  
4 movements.

09:51:45 5 Q. You've never seen that?

6 A. I've never seen that and I've never, how do you call it,  
7 witnessed it. I've never experienced it, as a founding member of  
8 the Mathaba.

9 Q. How was military training organised at the camps?

09:51:59 10 A. I was never in the military camps, so I can't tell. I'm  
11 not a soldier. I can't tell you how they were - how do you call  
12 it - the training was conducted.

13 Q. On your return to Libya from Ghana, did your colleagues  
14 take on any particular functions in Libya?

09:52:18 15 A. The functions that they were occurring, they were  
16 undergoing military training again. And those who were  
17 experienced cadres were given military training and at the same  
18 --

19 Q. [Microphone not activated] doing that?

09:52:32 20 A. Military training.

21 Q. They were doing what?

22 A. They were training other liberation movements. They are  
23 militants. And at the same time they were, how do you call it,  
24 as bodyguards to Gaddafi and at the international Mathaba

09:52:46 25 conferences, they are there as bodyguards or as security  
26 officers.

27 PRESIDING JUDGE: Mr Griffiths, I think the witness said  
28 those who were experienced were giving military --

29 THE WITNESS: Were given, how do you call it --

1 PRESIDING JUDGE: Giving or given?

2 THE WITNESS: Given the role as training officers and  
3 security, how do you call it, personnel.

4 MR GRIFFITHS:

09:53:08 5 Q. So it was giving military training?

6 A. Yes, they were giving military training. They were given  
7 the role, but they were giving military training also.

8 Q. And help me. When you say they were acting as security to  
9 Gaddafi as bodyguards, what do you mean?

09:53:35 10 A. They were taking care of his security during, how do you  
11 call it, international conferences, and at any time Gaddafi  
12 visits the Mathaba, to give lectures on the Green Book.

13 Q. Now, within that context, I would like to move to another  
14 topic, please.

09:53:52 15 A. And - excuse me, please.

16 Q. I'm sorry.

17 A. It is not only our group that was assigned to this security  
18 and military training. All other liberation movements that were  
19 in Libya, they also had that same role, to train, and also to be

09:54:10 20 as security personnel to Gaddafi and during any international  
21 conference that takes place in Libya. For instance, like the  
22 Nigerians, the Malians, the Liberians and the Sierra Leoneans,  
23 the South Africans, the ANC, and SWAPO, Polisario, and the, how  
24 do you call it, Arab world, the Palestinians.

09:54:35 25 Q. Now, within the context we've now established, I would like  
26 to move on and deal with another topic, please, Charles Taylor.  
27 When did you first meet him?

28 A. I first met Charles Taylor in the Mathaba.

29 Q. Can you help us with a year? If you can't, say so.

1 A. I met Charles Taylor, if I'm not mistaken, in '85 after the  
2 general congress of the Mathaba.

3 Q. What view or impression did you have of him when you first  
4 met him?

09:55:19 5 A. I already had the impression and the view on Charles Taylor  
6 from back from Ghana, when I was informed that there was a  
7 certain Liberian who is in jail in Ghana who has escaped from an  
8 American prison in America and now he is in Ghana and he's  
9 arrested by the Ghanians authorities accused of being an agent of  
09:55:45 10 the CIA, at that time I myself I - I never knew him. I've never  
11 seen him. So I said to myself, "Oh, it's very wonderful. How  
12 can this chap, this gentleman escape from an American prison and  
13 come all the way up to, how do you call it, to Ghana, then he's  
14 arrested?" But later on that belief and that belief and, how do  
09:56:14 15 you call it, viewpoint on Charles Taylor, I had it until the time  
16 I met Captain Kojo Tshikata, the chief of the national security  
17 of Ghana.

18 Q. Pause. Captain who?

19 A. Captain Kojo Tshikata Kojo.

09:56:32 20 Q. We've heard this name before, Kojo Tshikata.

21 A. Yes. When I had the discussions with him, he was the one  
22 who was telling me, "Look, I had ordered an inquiry on the issue  
23 of Charles Taylor's arrest and he being accused as an agent of  
24 the CIA." And the person whom he has given the task of the  
09:56:56 25 investigation was colonel Assah Gymah.

26 Q. Spelling?

27 A. Assah, A-S-S-A-H. Assah Gymah, G-Y-M-A-H. So Assah Gymah  
28 made the investigation, but he came to realise that it has been a  
29 patch of lies against Charles Taylor. Because why? There was a

1 reason. And even that reason, I never knew what I knew the  
2 people - there were Liberian dissidents who were in Ghana at the  
3 time and who also were organising with the intention to overthrow  
4 Samuel Doe's regime. And these people were there. They had  
09:57:40 5 contacts with the authorities in Ghana, because most of them were  
6 socialists, most of them were revolutionaries and these people  
7 were so much jealous of Charles Taylor, because when he came to  
8 Ghana they realised that the guy Charles Taylor had the  
9 capabilities and the influence in Liberia and he was able to  
09:58:01 10 mobilise the people who were suffering under Samuel Doe's tyranny.

11 So these people were intellectual armchair revolutionaries in  
12 Ghana. They were just there for academic purposes and --

13 PRESIDING JUDGE: Sorry, you said intellectual what.

14 THE WITNESS: Armchair revolutionaries. And they were  
09:58:20 15 there only for theorising and nothing else. But when Charles  
16 Taylor came as a practitioner and somebody who knew the situation  
17 back in Liberia, he started recruiting Liberians from Liberia,  
18 not even in Ghana, and this was the fear that these people saw  
19 and then they started undermining him and they patched up a whole  
09:58:43 20 bunch of lies to incriminate Charles Taylor. This was the reason  
21 why Charles Taylor was arrested. This was the version that  
22 Colonel Assah Gymah and Kojo Tshikata gave me. And after my own  
23 assessment and investigation, I found out that it was true. It  
24 was from that moment that I never believed that Charles Taylor  
09:58:58 25 was a CIA agent.

26 Q. But help me --

27 PRESIDING JUDGE: No, Mr Griffiths, there's a lot of words  
28 he said in there that I don't know. He described someone as  
29 colonel somebody.



1 THE WITNESS: Colonel Assah Gymah.

2 MR GRIFFITHS: He spelt that name earlier, page 30 line 13.

3 PRESIDING JUDGE: Yes. Mr Witness, do you mind cutting  
4 down the speed at which you speak for the sake of the record.

09:59:39 5 THE WITNESS: I'll try.

6 PRESIDING JUDGE: And probably when you address the judges  
7 I think you will manage, but when you have a conversation with  
8 the lawyer you tend to run with your words. You are giving  
9 evidence, so your evidence is given to the judges.

09:59:56 10 MR GRIFFITHS:

11 Q. Mr Witness, could I ask you please remember I told you  
12 before, ignore me. I am not here apart from in voice. Speak to  
13 the judges and speak to them slowly, okay?

14 A. What I am speaking, I'm not speaking to you, I'm speaking  
10:00:11 15 to the people to know the truth that I've come to deliver.

16 PRESIDING JUDGE: You are speaking to the judges.

17 THE WITNESS: Yes.

18 MR GRIFFITHS:

19 Q. Now, Mr Witness, you've told us that initially you were  
10:00:23 20 somewhat suspicious of Charles Taylor and thought him a CIA  
21 agent. Were you the only person who held that view at the  
22 Mathaba?

23 A. At the Mathaba some of these Liberian dissidents who were  
24 living abroad, some in Europe, some in Ghana, in Ivory Coast, had  
10:00:50 25 wanted to tarnish the image of Charles Taylor and to some extent  
26 I was told as a member founder of the Mathaba that this was the  
27 idea that was introduced to the Mathaba that Charles Taylor was a  
28 CIA agent, knowing the contradiction between Libya and the  
29 American imperialism.

1 Q. Now, Mr Witness, you've told us that your view of Charles  
2 Taylor changed. Now help us with this. When you met him, what  
3 were Charles Taylor's politics?

4 A. Charles Taylor, according to how I understood Charles  
10:02:14 5 Taylor, he's a nationalist. He's a Liberian nationalist freedom  
6 fighter. He's a Pan-Africanist, but I would be very clear  
7 according to me, we differ, me and Charles Taylor. I'm from a  
8 Marxist background but a Pan-Africanist like Charles Taylor -  
9 Charles Taylor is a pure product of the capitalist system, but he  
10:02:38 10 is a real, real nationalist who was fighting for his people. He  
11 was fighting to liberate his people. He was fighting to bring  
12 genuine democracy in Liberia according to the discussions I had  
13 with him.

14 Q. Was Charles Taylor the only Pan-Africanist capitalist at  
10:03:05 15 the Mathaba?

16 A. Oh, no, you had a lot of them. From Togo, I can't remember  
17 their name. We had presently the President of the Republic of  
18 Senegal he was a member, he's a real liberal capitalist.

19 Q. Who is that?

10:03:22 20 A. President Abdoulaye Wade who was also a member of the  
21 executive committee of the Mathaba. You have, Bozize, the  
22 present President of Central African Republic.

23 Q. Spell the name, please?

24 A. General Bozize, I don't know how I can spell his name.

10:03:44 25 Q. I'll get someone to look it up.

26 A. Yes. You had General Nathaniel M'Bumba of Zaire who had  
27 most of his training - most of his military ex-pats who were  
28 there in Libya. We had another liberation movement from Ivory  
29 Coast which is dead, I can't even know where the leader is, I

1 can't even remember his name. We had from Mauritania, from Togo  
2 all our intellectuals based in Paris who were members of the  
3 Mathaba at the executive Mathaba. So it's not only the  
4 revolutionaries or Marxist inclined revolutionaries who were  
10:04:40 5 members of the Mathaba whom I met. There were also these  
6 bourgeois intellectuals who are there, who are members of the  
7 Mathaba who are leading their own liberation movement.

8 Q. So did you regard Charles Taylor as a bourgeois  
9 intellectual?

10:04:54 10 A. Sure.

11 Q. Francois Bozize, F-R-A-N-C-I-S B-O-Z-I-Z-E. Now help me,  
12 Mr Witness. How did the Mathaba accommodate such divergent  
13 ideological positions from Marxism, like yourself,  
14 Marxist-Leninism, right through to a bourgeois intellectual  
10:05:43 15 capitalist like Charles Taylor?

16 A. The concept of the Mathaba is to create the world centre  
17 for assistance against imperialism and its allies, so it has to  
18 accommodate different political currents within the Mathaba to  
19 facilitate the coordination of all the activities to confront  
10:06:07 20 imperialism, because according to the Mathaba philosophy the  
21 world was undergoing constant threat of annihilation by the  
22 imperialist forces so we had to mobilise as much as possible all  
23 the oppressed people worldwide to join in a world front to  
24 confront imperialism.

10:06:35 25 Q. Did you discuss strategy and tactics with Charles Taylor?

26 A. I discussed strategy and tactics with every leader who was  
27 a member of the Mathaba. Not particularly with Charles Taylor.

28 Q. What strategies and tactics did you discuss?

29 A. Organisational strategies and how liberation movements can

1 be able to cement their relations in the form of a solidarity,  
2 because the idea was that solidarity is not an act of charity but  
3 mutual aid to forces fighting for the same objectives.

10:07:33 4 Q. Did you discuss specifics such as the particular strategies  
5 to be adopted in, for example, invading Liberia?

6 A. It was impossible to have discussed those strategies with  
7 Charles Taylor. I think anybody who knows Charles Taylor would  
8 frankly tell you that here is a man who is very secretive.

9 Q. He is very what?

10:07:56 10 A. Very, very secretive and personal.

11 Q. Secretive?

12 A. Yes.

13 PRESIDING JUDGE: And you said what secretive and what?

10:08:13 14 THE WITNESS: Personal. He doesn't share his secrets with  
15 anybody.

16 PRESIDING JUDGE: Personal?

17 THE WITNESS: Yes.

18 MR GRIFFITHS:

10:08:27 19 Q. From your observation of him, Mr Witness, what drove  
20 Charles Taylor? What was his motivation?

21 A. Charles Taylor wanted power to control his people and to  
22 empower them with the authority to develop their country in  
23 Liberia.

10:08:59 24 Q. How much time did you spend with him in Libya? And I see  
25 my learned friend finds that very amusing and I'm glad that he  
26 does. How much time did you spend with Charles Taylor in Libya?

27 A. In Libya I will only meet Charles Taylor when he happens to  
28 come to Libya from Burkina Faso, because he was never permanent  
29 in Libya. He goes and comes, two weeks, three weeks to Libya and

1 then go back to Burkina Faso, but I was permanent and sometimes I  
2 travel out of Libya.

3 Q. So help us, can you give us an idea of how many times you  
4 saw him in Libya?

10:09:36 5 A. The times I saw him in Libya will not be more than even six  
6 times. We were never idle in Libya. Everybody was preoccupied  
7 with his own programme.

8 Q. At that time whilst you were in Libya where was Charles  
9 Taylor's primary base?

10:09:56 10 A. Charles Taylor was based - when he left to Ghana he was  
11 based in Burkina Faso.

12 Q. So far as Burkina Faso is concerned, at that time what was  
13 your attitude towards Burkina Faso?

14 A. I was a friend of Burkina Faso for a long time since the  
10:10:21 15 coming of power of the late Thomas Sankara.

16 Q. Were you a friend of Thomas Sankara?

17 A. I was a friend, a brother and a comrade to Thomas Sankara.

18 Q. What was your view of the coup which brought Blaise  
19 Compaore to power in that country?

10:10:49 20 A. Confusion brought Blaise Compaore to power, but there is an  
21 outside hand, outside imperialist hand, in the overthrowing and  
22 the killing of Thomas Sankara.

23 Q. After Blaise Compaore came to power, given that Sankara was  
24 your friend, what was your attitude towards Burkina Faso?

10:11:09 25 A. My attitude still remained because both Thomas Sankara and  
26 Blaise Compaore were comrades in the struggle and they were all  
27 revolutionaries, so I couldn't have abandoned Blaise Compaore, he  
28 would have fallen back in the enemy's camp, so we had to  
29 recuperate him.

1 JUDGE DOHERTY: Mr Witness, tell me what do you mean by the  
2 word "confusion"? "Confusion brought Blaise Compaore to power."

3 THE WITNESS: The confusion that brought Blaise Compaore to  
4 power was there was some - like a power struggle within the  
10:11:45 5 leadership structure in Burkina Faso.

6 PRESIDING JUDGE: Mr Witness, when you said, "I couldn't  
7 abandon Blaise Compaore, he would have fallen back in the enemy's  
8 camp," what is the enemy's camp?

9 THE WITNESS: The reactionary camp.

10 PRESIDING JUDGE: What is the reactionary --

11 THE WITNESS: The neocolonial structure established by  
12 colonialism and imperialism in Africa.

13 MR GRIFFITHS:

14 Q. I want us to be clear about something, so can I ask you  
10:12:30 15 this: Did you have any input in the workings or strategy of any  
16 other group based in Libya?

17 A. No, never. It is only on the level of the national  
18 secretariat of the Mataba. But on individual basis with  
19 liberation movements, no.

10:12:58 20 Q. Did there come a time when you left Libya?

21 A. Yes. I left Libya in '87 and went to Burkina Faso.

22 Q. Was Charles Taylor also in Burkina Faso at that time?

23 A. Charles Taylor was always in Burkina Faso since he left  
24 Ghana.

10:13:28 25 Q. Whilst you were in Burkina Faso, did you remain in contact  
26 with Charles Taylor?

27 A. As revolutionary Pan-Africanists, we were always in  
28 contact. We will sit and discuss on the politics on the African  
29 level and how to, how do you call it, struggle to liberate our

1 people and empower them.

2 Q. Now, help us with this: Whilst in Burkina Faso, can you  
3 give us an idea as to how often you would see Charles Taylor?

4 A. He was living not even more than a mile from my house, his  
10:14:12 5 house and his [sic] house, so we meet very frequently.

6 Q. Who provided the housing?

7 A. The Libya - how do you call it - the Burkinabe brothers  
8 provided housing for us.

9 Q. At that time where were your colleagues based?

10:14:27 10 A. My colleagues were there. They were occupying some of the  
11 houses that were provided for their, how do you call it,  
12 accommodati on.

13 PRESIDING JUDGE: Mr Griffiths, the witness said at page  
14 39, line 6, I think he said the Burkinabe authorities. The word  
10:14:44 15 appears - did you say the Burkina brothers?

16 MR GRIFFITHS: No, he said the Burkinabe authorities and  
17 it's come out as the Burkina brothers. Must be some Mafia  
18 organi sati on:

19 Q. Now, can we move on, please. Give us an idea. What were  
10:15:25 20 you di scussi ng wi th Char les Tayl or duri ng that ti me?

21 A. We were di scussi ng revol uti onary i deas put forward by, how  
22 do you call it, Afri can revol uti onari es l ike Nkrumah, Sekou  
23 Toure, Amil car Cabral , Patrice Lumumba. Thi s i s what we were  
24 di scussi ng i n general and how these i deas can be i mplemented  
10:15:51 25 wi thi n the di fferent --

26 PRESIDING JUDGE: Mr Witness, you are going to have to  
27 repeat what you just said. You said you were di scussi ng  
28 revol uti onary i deas put forward by Afri can revol uti onari es l ike  
29 who? Repeat slowl y.

1 THE WITNESS: Kwame Nkrumah, Julius Nyerere, Ahmed Sekou  
2 Toure, Amilcar Cabral, Muammar al-Gaddafi, and all other African  
3 revolutionary intellectuals who contributed in enriching the  
4 Pan-African ideology.

10:16:29 5 PRESIDING JUDGE: Mr Griffiths, you're going to have to  
6 assist the record on these names.

7 MR GRIFFITHS:

8 Q. Were you able to shift him from his capitalist leanings?

9 A. I understood him that his capitalist leaning and his drive  
10:16:53 10 for the liberation of Liberia and his drive for Pan-Africanism  
11 were two different things of which I never wanted to meddle up  
12 with.

13 Q. You will recall that yesterday when we began, I read to you  
14 a portion of transcript from June 2007. Do you recall that?

10:17:19 15 A. Very well.

16 Q. Now, Mr Witness, I will ask you bluntly: Were you in  
17 Burkina Faso or, indeed, in Libya fashioning a design or a  
18 conspiracy with Charles Taylor to carry out acts of terrorism in  
19 West Africa?

10:17:41 20 A. Well, I'm not annoyed, but I will tell you that since I am  
21 born, this is the first time an insult has been directed to me,  
22 because I was fighting for the downtrodden and I cannot see how I  
23 can be able to sit and conspire with other respective African  
24 leaders to establish a criminal enterprise to terrorise our own  
10:18:03 25 people we wanted to liberate and empower them. I cannot  
26 understand it.

27 Q. Insult it may be, Mr Witness, but that is what this  
28 allegation is.

29 A. This allegation is - it's a scheme of these sensible



1 criminals who wanted to, how do you call it, manufacture out of  
2 us as monsters of terrorism.

3 PRESIDING JUDGE: Excuse me? Did you say sensible  
4 criminals?

10:18:40 5 THE WITNESS: Yes.

6 PRESIDING JUDGE: What are those?

7 MR GRIFFITHS:

8 Q. Who are the sensible criminals?

9 A. These are the neocolonialists implanted in Africa by  
10 imperialism and who are there to serve imperialist interests and  
11 not the interests of the African people.

12 Q. I want to move on now, please, to another topic and that is  
13 the invasion of Liberia. Did you plan that invasion with Charles  
14 Taylor?

10:19:21 15 A. I would have planned the invasion with Charles Taylor if I  
16 knew what he was doing.

17 Q. Did Charles Taylor seek your involvement in the invasion of  
18 Liberia?

19 A. As I told you before, Charles - according to the way I  
10:19:44 20 understood Charles Taylor, he has never - even the Burkinabe  
21 authorities were not aware, who hosted him, were not aware that  
22 Charles Taylor was about to launch a revolution in Liberia.

23 Q. Did you know of his plan to invade Liberia?

24 A. Never. He has never told me that.

10:20:05 25 Q. Did you, prior to the invasion of Liberia, know of the name  
26 NPFL?

27 A. No. I only knew the name NPFL over BBC, when they  
28 announced that Liberia has been attacked by rebels through the  
29 Ivory Coast border and the movement that has launched the

1 revolution is called the NPFL. Even at that time, the NPFL, I  
2 never knew what it was. It was later on that I was told that it  
3 means the National Patriotic Front of Liberia.

10:20:43 4 Q. When did you - when and how did you first learn of the  
5 invasion of Liberia?

6 A. Over the radio, BBC.

7 Q. What did you think when you heard about it?

8 A. When I heard about it, I said, "Well, that's the beginning  
9 of another process for the liberation of African oppressed  
10:21:02 10 people."

11 Q. Where were you when you heard of the invasion of Liberia?

12 A. The invasion of Liberia, I just arrived from a trip from  
13 Algeria. I was even sleeping when I was woken up to be informed  
14 that there is a revolution in Liberia.

10:21:23 15 Q. And where were your colleagues when the invasion of Liberia  
16 took place?

17 A. My colleagues, some of them were in Burkina Faso, some were  
18 in Mali. Those who went for mobilisation were in Senegal and in  
19 The Gambia and some were in Libya who remained behind.

10:21:44 20 MR KOUMJIAN: Excuse me, your Honours. The previous  
21 question counsel asked the witness, where he was when he heard  
22 the invasion, and he said he was - had just arrived from Algeria,  
23 but he hasn't answered where he was.

24 THE WITNESS: I was in Burkina Faso in my house.

10:22:02 25 PRESIDING JUDGE: That answers it. Please proceed.

26 MR GRIFFITHS:

27 Q. Now, we will come back to Liberia in a moment, but I would  
28 like us to diverge for a little while to ask you about others.  
29 Did you know of the presence of Sierra Leoneans in Libya?

1 A. I knew about the presence of Sierra Leoneans in Libya back  
2 way from Ghana, when I met a certain comrade called Foday - Ali  
3 Kabbah. Ali Kabbah was a student at Fourah Bay College in Ghana  
4 - how do you call it - Cape Coast College in Ghana, and he goes  
10:22:55 5 in and out of Libya. He was also having his movement called  
6 Sierra Leone Pan-African Revolutionary Movement.

7 PRESIDING JUDGE: Was he a student in Fourah Bay College?

8 THE WITNESS: No, no, no. Cape Coast, Ghana.

9 MR GRIFFITHS:

10:23:14 10 Q. Now, when you were in Libya, how many Sierra Leoneans, to  
11 your knowledge, were training in Libya?

12 A. I can never know because this is, as I told you,  
13 noninterference in the internal affairs of another movement. I  
14 can never - no movement can reveal. I can never give the exact  
10:23:35 15 number of my people in Libya and no other leader can give the  
16 exact number of his people in Libya, even to the executive  
17 Mataba.

18 Q. When you were in Libya, who led the Sierra Leoneans who  
19 were present there?

10:24:07 20 A. The revolutionary brother who led the Sierra Leoneans who  
21 were in Libya is the brother I mentioned, Ali Kabbah.

22 PRESIDING JUDGE: Mr Griffiths, your microphone must be on.  
23 It's rustling through our ears.

24 MR GRIFFITHS: I'm sorry. Could I ask, please, that we  
10:24:44 25 look at a document which was dealt with by your Honour this  
26 morning. It is this document, DCT-388A. And I wonder if the  
27 witness could be shown the original of that document, please.  
28 Can I inquire whether we all have it?

29 PRESIDING JUDGE: You have to explain to us where in the

1 documents you've provided it is.

2 MR GRIFFITHS: It should be in a separate bundle, in a  
3 plastic folder, and there should be two documents in there, 388A  
4 and B. Can I inquire whether we all have it?

10:25:54 5 PRESIDING JUDGE: The document 388A we have looks like  
6 this.

7 MR GRIFFITHS: And behind it should be 388B, which is an  
8 English translation of that document which is in French. Now, I  
9 wonder if I could seek some assistance.

10:26:22 10 MR KOUMJIAN: Excuse me, I just want to make sure I have  
11 the right document. Is this the document entitled "La Mathaba  
12 Mondiale" on the cover?

13 MR GRIFFITHS: That is the one. And everyone should have  
14 an English translation of that document which is in French, yes,  
10:26:47 15 and I wonder if we could, to save time in future, have available  
16 the English translation at the same time, please.

17 Q. The first thing I would like us to do, using the original  
18 first of all, can you help us, please. Is there in that document  
19 a photograph of Ali Kabbah?

10:27:44 20 A. One moment.

21 Q. Take your time.

22 A. Page 41.

23 Q. Yes, page 41 in the original, yes?

24 A. The top picture.

10:28:15 25 Q. Now, what I'm going to ask, please, is that if you could  
26 take the original with you, move places and sit opposite this  
27 overhead, yes, so that you could indicate on that photograph who  
28 Ali Kabbah is. Do you follow me? Which one is Ali Kabbah?

29 A. The picture on the top - top of the page.

1 Q. Yes?

2 A. Under the Arabic writing.

3 Q. Yes?

4 A. The gentleman standing waving his hand up in the sky with  
10:29:28 5 the traditional dress - African traditional dress. That is Ali  
6 Kabbah.

7 Q. Thank you. I would like you to stay at that seat for a  
8 moment, please. Could we go back to the beginning of this  
9 document, please. [Microphone not activated] I just want you to

10:30:23 10 help us with one or two individuals. Who is that at page 3?

11 A. At page 3 this is Muammar al-Gaddafi, the Libyan leader.

12 Q. When we go over to the next page there is some handwriting  
13 in the top right-hand corner?

14 A. Yes.

10:30:47 15 Q. First of all, whose signature is that?

16 A. That's my signature.

17 Q. [Microphone not activated]?

18 A. I wrote, "I am less than what people say about me but more  
19 than what they think of me."

10:31:09 20 Q. [Microphone not activated]?

21 PRESIDING JUDGE: Mr Griffiths, you have to do something  
22 about your microphone. Your questions are not reflected.

23 MR GRIFFITHS:

24 Q. On the second page there is a photograph of a black man  
10:31:33 25 wearing a red beret. Who is he?

26 A. This is Thomas Sankara, the late President Thomas Sankara.

27 Q. Now, because the original of this document is in French,  
28 what I would like us to do is to go through the photographs in  
29 the original before we turn to the English translation. Do you

1 follow me? So that's Thomas Sankara.

2 PRESIDING JUDGE: May I inquire if this photograph is  
3 actually an integral part of the book.

4 MR GRIFFITHS: Yes.

10:32:17 5 THE WITNESS: It's a sticker.

6 MR GRIFFITHS:

7 Q. Who placed the sticker on this?

8 A. I placed it there.

9 Q. Is it a part of the original?

10:32:26 10 A. No.

11 Q. Why did you place it there?

12 A. It's my idol.

13 Q. Could we go to page 13, please. Could I have a look at the  
14 original for a moment, please. My fault. Please give that back  
10:34:08 15 to the witness. Could we please go now to pages 22 and 23.

16 PRESIDING JUDGE: Mr Griffiths, I have to remind you that  
17 the witness has not told the Court what this document is in its  
18 totality. We're going piecemeal, but you have not established  
19 any ground for him to speak to the document.

10:34:31 20 MR GRIFFITHS: Very well:

21 Q. What is this booklet?

22 A. This booklet is the publication of the Mathaba after the  
23 second congress.

24 Q. Were you present at that congress?

10:34:49 25 A. Yes, I was present at that congress. I even gave a lecture  
26 at that congress. I gave a speech.

27 Q. Where was that congress held?

28 A. It was held in Tripoli at the People's Congress, the Libyan  
29 People's Congress.

1 Q. In what year?

2 A. '85.

3 Q. Where did you get this booklet from?

4 A. I got it from the Mathaba institute.

10:35:19 5 Q. For how long have you had it?

6 A. I've had it since '85. I have a lot of them because these  
7 booklets were supplied to all members of the Mathaba.

8 Q. Looking at pages 22 and 23, do you recognise anyone in  
9 them?

10:35:44 10 A. Yes, there are people from Congo, from The Gambia, from the  
11 Philippines, from Senegal if I'm not mistaken. Yes, from  
12 Senegal. Libyans. It's nearly all members of the Mathaba  
13 included.

14 Q. Could we look at the next page, page 24, please. I am  
10:36:31 15 interested in the photographs, please. Do you recognise anyone  
16 in those photographs?

17 A. Captain Osman from Niger.

18 PRESIDING JUDGE: I don't know how you are going to do  
19 this, Mr Griffiths, if you want specific names pointed to. I  
10:37:00 20 don't know how I'm going to describe this because I have a very  
21 poor copy of the original.

22 MR GRIFFITHS: All right. Can I suggest this then: Can we  
23 have the original on the screen but can we provide to the witness  
24 the photocopy and on the photocopy request him to write in the  
10:37:22 25 names of the individuals he identifies, okay. So leave the  
26 original on the screen, please and can we backtrack somewhat:

27 Q. Mr Witness, could you have available to you at your right  
28 the photocopy. Do you follow me? Yes. Let's put the  
29 translation to one side, okay. Right. Let us start from the

1 beginning just to make sure we've got everything correct. Page 2  
2 first of all. The sticker with the man wearing the beret, who is  
3 that? Write the name next to it, please. Page 3, please?

4 A. Thomas Sankara.

10:38:40 5 Q. Yes. Go to the - page 3. Write the name next to it,  
6 please?

7 A. Muammar al-Gaddafi.

8 Q. I want us now to go straight to page 24, please, the colour  
9 copy of which is on the screen. Now, Mr Witness, who do you  
10:39:34 10 recognise in that photograph? What I would like you to do is  
11 point to the person on the colour copy, then draw an arrow and  
12 write in a name on the photocopy. Do you follow me?

13 A. Yes. This is Captain Osman from Niger.

14 PRESIDING JUDGE: Point on the photograph that is coloured.

10:40:07 15 THE WITNESS: Where the arrow is.

16 PRESIDING JUDGE: Please, we can't see that. What we see  
17 is the coloured part, taking care not to show your hand, just the  
18 pen. Thank you.

19 MR GRIFFITHS:

10:40:19 20 Q. Could you indicate again, please. Who are you talking  
21 about?

22 A. Captain Osman from Niger.

23 Q. Who is the gentleman in front of him with the beard?

24 A. He is from Palestine Liberation Organisation and next -  
10:40:42 25 above him is a Gambian.

26 Q. Above him, the black man whose face - could you indicate  
27 who you are talking about, please?

28 A. He is a Gambian.

29 Q. What's his name?



1 A. I can't remember his name.

2 Q. Who is the gentleman in the middle of the photograph who  
3 appears to be wearing a brown jacket?

4 A. He's an Australian.

10:41:16 5 Q. And the gentleman to his right?

6 A. He's from Central African Republic.

7 Q. Now, the photograph which is below, who is the gentleman  
8 with the moustache who features?

9 A. I think it belongs to the [indiscernible] and then you have  
10:41:39 10 the Untouchables from India.

11 Q. Now let's go again to page --

12 PRESIDING JUDGE: Please go through that again for the  
13 record. Could you touch the person?

14 THE WITNESS: He is from India. He is a member of the  
10:41:54 15 group of the Untouchables in India.

16 MR GRIFFITHS:

17 Q. Can we go to page 41 now, please. You've already pointed  
18 out Ali Kabbah in that photograph, yes?

19 A. Yes. That's Ali Kabbah here.

10:42:34 20 Q. Now could you, on the black and white photocopy, draw an  
21 arrow to that man and write in the name, please, "Ali Kabbah".

22 Is there anyone else in that photograph whom you recognise?

23 A. I recognise many of them, but I can't remember their names.

24 Q. Very well. Leave that.

10:43:08 25 A. He's from Central Africa Republic; this brother is from  
26 Zaire; this brother is from The Gambia; he is from Zaire; Central  
27 Africa Republic; these are Latin Americans; he is from the  
28 Caribbean; he is from Papua New Guinea.

29 Q. So in that photograph on that page we see representatives

1 from a number of parts of the world, do we not?

2 A. Yes.

3 Q. What about in the bottom photograph?

10:44:06 4 A. The same delegates from different, different movements  
5 worldwide.

6 Q. Can we now go to page 42, please, and 43. Who is the  
7 gentleman left top?

8 A. This gentleman is - he's from the Caribbean islands living  
9 in London.

10:44:39 10 Q. Top right?

11 A. Top right is Reverend Louis Farrakhan of the Nation of  
12 Islam.

13 Q. If you could just write that in on the black-and-white  
14 copy, please, Lewis Farrakhan. Who is in the bottom right  
10:45:09 15 photograph?

16 A. He is from the Red Indian Nation.

17 Q. The Red Indian Nation?

18 A. Yes.

19 Q. But do you know the name?

10:45:15 20 A. No, I can't remember.

21 Q. Very well. No matter. Can we go over to page 44-45,  
22 please. Yes? Top left, who is that?

23 A. Top left, he is from Caledonia.

24 Q. [Microphone not activated]?

10:45:52 25 A. He is from the Kanak.

26 Q. [Microphone not activated]?

27 A. Kanak.

28 Q. Could you spell that?

29 A. Kanak Liberation Movement.

1 Q. K-A-N-A-K?

2 A. Yes, Kanak Liberation movement.

3 Q. What part of the world are they from?

4 A. I think they are from the Caribbean Islands.

10:46:32 5 JUDGE DOHERTY: It's not the place to give evidence from  
6 the Bench; they are not from the Caribbean.

7 MR GRIFFITHS:

8 Q. But in any event, Mr Witness, you say he is a  
9 representative of what movement?

10:46:37 10 A. Kanak.

11 Q. K-A-N-A-K?

12 A. Yes.

13 Q. [Microphone not activated]?

14 A. Top right is Ouadragou. He's a minister from Thomas  
10:46:50 15 Sankara's government.

16 Q. [Microphone not activated]?

17 A. Minister Ouadragou O-U-A-D-R-A-G-O-U.

18 Q. [Microphone not activated]?

19 A. O-U-A-D-R-A-G-O-U.

10:47:01 20 Q. [Microphone not activated]?

21 A. Yeah, he is a minister in Thomas Sankara's government.

22 Q. [Microphone not activated]?

23 A. {Redacted}.

24 PRESIDING JUDGE: Mr Griffiths, without your questions  
10:47:13 25 being picked up, the answers are meaningless.

26 MR GRIFFITHS: We need to be careful about some redaction  
27 there as well.

28 Q. [Microphone not activated] --

29 MR KOUMJIAN: Excuse me, I think you do need to redact the

1 Last answer. This was public and the picture was on the display.

2 PRESIDING JUDGE: Fortunately, the question was not  
3 captured. But Madam Court Manager, I think you know what we're  
4 referring to. If you would have that line redacted.

10:48:14 5 MR GRIFFITHS:

6 Q. [Microphone not activated] --

7 PRESIDING JUDGE: Mr Griffiths, I'm very tempted to ask one  
8 of your team members to sit beside you and activate this  
9 microphone as and when required.

10:48:26 10 MR GRIFFITHS: I'm sorry, it's my fault.

11 Q. Can we go to page 46-47, please. [Microphone not  
12 activated]. Top left photograph, who is that?

13 A. He's from Latin America.

14 Q. Bottom left photograph?

10:48:54 15 A. Bottom left is Rosie Douglas.

16 Q. Who?

17 A. Rosie Douglas, the former Prime Minister of the Dominican  
18 Republic.

19 Q. Could you indicate who you mean, please?

10:49:07 20 A. Rosie Douglas.

21 Q. [Microphone not activated]. Could you spell his name?

22 A. R-O-S-I-E, D-O-U-G-L-A-S.

23 Q. And he's from the Dominican Republic, you say?

24 A. Yes. He is dead, yes.

10:49:35 25 Q. Top left photograph?

26 A. They are Zairians and central Africans.

27 PRESIDING JUDGE: Do you require the witness to be writing  
28 these names of these people? Because he is not writing.

29 MR GRIFFITHS:

- 1 Q. My fault. Can we go back, please. 46, top of the page,  
2 just write in "Latin America", please?
- 3 A. Go to 44-45 [i ndi scerni bl e].
- 4 Q. No, let' s stick wi th 46-47. Yes?
- 10:50:10 5 A. Yes.
- 6 Q. Top left, just write in "Latin America", please.
- 7 A. Latin America.
- 8 Q. Bottom left, write in "Rosie Douglas" please?
- 9 A. Rose Douglas, yes.
- 10:50:40 10 Q. Right, write in "Zaire and Central African Republic",  
11 please?
- 12 A. Zaire and Central African Republic, yes.
- 13 Q. Bottom right, who is that?
- 14 A. Reunion.
- 10:51:09 15 Q. Could you write that in, please?
- 16 A. Yes.
- 17 Q. Page 48, please. Top photograph, who is that?
- 18 A. The gentleman is from Philippines.
- 19 Q. Bottom?
- 10:52:01 20 A. PLO.
- 21 Q. So the bottom is the PLO?
- 22 A. Yes.
- 23 Q. Page 65, please. Simply, do you recognise anyone in  
24 particular in either of those two photographs?
- 10:52:37 25 A. Yes, but I can't remember their names.
- 26 Q. Well, don't worry about that.
- 27 A. I know they are from - they are Libyans and they are from  
28 Moro. Philippine Bangsamoro movement.
- 29 Q. Which photograph do we see the Bangsamoro movement?

1 A. The lady there; the two ladies up --

2 Q. Point, please.

3 A. She is a member of Bangsamoro, Bangsamoro.

4 Q. That's all I want to ask you about this. So they are  
10:53:13 5 Bangsamoro, yes?

6 A. Yes.

7 Q. Can we go over the page to page 66, please. The gentleman  
8 with the microphone in the top left-hand photograph, do you  
9 recognise him?

10:53:45 10 A. He is Lebanese.

11 Q. [Microphone not activated]?

12 A. Yes.

13 Q. Could you write that in on the photocopy, please, yes?  
14 Have you done it?

10:53:57 15 A. Yes.

16 Q. The gentleman bottom left, who is he with the dreadlocks?

17 A. He is from the Caribbean, but I think he is living in  
18 London, if I'm not mistaken.

19 PRESIDING JUDGE: Mr Witness, I'm going to remind you again  
10:54:13 20 nobody is running here. Let the lawyer ask a question and then  
21 you answer slowly.

22 MR GRIFFITHS:

23 Q. So can you write "Caribbean" in, please, yes? Top right,  
24 sir, who is that, the bearded gentleman?

10:54:36 25 A. He is one of the delegates. I can't remember which  
26 country.

27 Q. [Microphone not activated] the bottom photograph on the  
28 right, do you recognise anyone in that photograph?

29 A. No.

1 Q. Over the page, please. Is there anyone in the photographs  
2 on page 68 or 69 whom you recognise?

3 A. Yes, I can recognise the late Dia from Senegal.

4 Q. Point him out, please, on the overhead on the colour copy.  
10:55:26 5 What's his name?

6 A. Dia. Modou Dia.

7 Q. How do you spell that?

8 A. M-O-D-O-U.

9 Q. M-O-D-O-U. What's the other name?

10:55:37 10 A. D-I-A, Dia.

11 Q. And he is from where?

12 A. He is from Senegal.

13 Q. Anybody else in any of the other photographs that you  
14 recognise?

10:55:55 15 A. He is a Zairian.

16 Q. Just write that in, please, along with the previous name  
17 that you gave us on the photocopy, yeah?

18 A. He is a Sierra Leonean.

19 Q. Which one?

10:56:08 20 A. This one.

21 Q. So that one is a Sierra Leonean?

22 A. Uh-huh.

23 Q. What's his name?

24 A. I can't remember.

10:56:16 25 Q. What about the photograph below? The gentleman with the  
26 beard with fist raised, who is he?

27 A. He's from the Central African Republic, the group of the  
28 present President Francois Bozize.

29 Q. Mr Witness, are you doing some writing whilst we're doing

1 this?

2 A. Yes.

3 Q. Thank you. Are you writing on the photocopy as we go  
4 through?

10:56:52 5 A. Yes.

6 Q. Thank you. Let's just keep the same routine going, please.  
7 Top right photograph, who are we looking at; do you know?

8 A. They are the Moro elements. Moro. Members of Moro.  
9 Bangsamoro. M-O-R-O. We've already spelled it.

10:57:12 10 Q. Just remind us, where are they from?

11 A. They are from the Philippines, both up and down the two  
12 pictures. They are all from - there's a section of the movement  
13 Bangsamoro from the Philippines.

14 Q. So both pictures on page 69 depict members of the  
10:57:32 15 Bangsamoro movement from the Philippines?

16 A. Yes.

17 Q. Go over to page 70 and 71, please, and let's keep up the  
18 same practice, please. Yes. Now, I want to start in the  
19 photograph, top right. Who do we see in that photograph starting  
10:58:15 20 from the left?

21 A. We can see a lecturer from Ghana.

22 Q. [Microphone not activated] the photograph, top right, where  
23 we see a man wearing a black, red hat. Can we start from the  
24 left with the chap with the glasses.

10:58:38 25 A. He is the strategic adviser from Benin.

26 PRESIDING JUDGE: Mr Witness, this is very confusing for  
27 you, but we would like you to point on the coloured photograph.

28 THE WITNESS: I'm writing the name and pointing.

29 PRESIDING JUDGE: Yes, first point, because we want to



1 follow what you are saying.

2 THE WITNESS: He is from Beni n, Hamza.

3 Q. What's his name?

4 A. Hamza.

10:59:07 5 Q. H-A-M-Z-A?

6 A. Yes, Hamza, from Beni n. He is the strategic adviser to  
7 President Mathieu Abacha Kerekou.

8 Q. President who?

9 A. Mathieu Kerekou of Beni n.

10:59:21 10 Q. Is that Matthew as in the Book of the New Testament?

11 A. Yes, Mathieu Kerekou.

12 Q. And how do you spell his surname?

13 A. Kerekou, K-E-R-E-K-O-U.

14 Q. K?

10:59:34 15 A. E-R-E-K-O-U. Kerekou.

16 Q. Who is next to him with --

17 A. Muammar al -Gaddafi .

18 PRESIDING JUDGE: You will have to point because there are  
19 two people next to him.

10:59:58 20 THE WITNESS: This is Muammar al -Gaddafi .

21 MR GRIFFITHS:

22 Q. Who is the chap in the right-hand corner?

23 A. That is Ali Kabbah from Sierra Leone.

24 Q. Could you now move to the photocopy and write in those  
11:00:10 25 names that you've just given us.

26 PRESIDING JUDGE: And that should bring us to the  
27 midmorning break, after the witness has written.

28 MR GRIFFITHS:

29 Q. Have you written in the three names for me, Hamza,

1 Gaddafi --

2 A. And Ali Kabbah.

3 Q. Thank you very much.

4 PRESIDING JUDGE: Right. We are now going to have the  
11:00:35 5 midmorning break and we shall re-adjourn to 11.30.

6 [Break taken at 11.00 a.m.]

7 [Upon resuming at 11.30 a.m.]

8 MR GRIFFITHS:

9 Q. Mr Witness, can we go back to the same process, please. So  
11:31:58 10 could you change seats for me, please. Now, before the  
11 adjournment we were looking at the photograph, top right, on page  
12 71. Do you recall that?

13 A. Yes.

14 Q. And you had named the gentleman in the red kepi, yes?

11:32:38 15 A. Yes.

16 Q. You had named the --

17 A. Hamza.

18 Q. Hamza?

19 A. Yes.

11:32:47 20 Q. You had then named --

21 A. Muammar Gaddafi.

22 Q. And you had then named the person on the right, yes?

23 A. Ali Kabbah.

24 Q. Now, I want you to listen very carefully to my next  
11:33:04 25 question, okay?

26 A. Yes.

27 Q. The photograph, bottom right, the man on the left is  
28 Muammar al-Gaddafi, right?

29 A. Yes.

1 Q. Now listen carefully to this question: What is the name of  
2 the chap on the right?

3 A. This person?

4 Q. Yes, please.

11:33:28 5 A. {Redacted}.

6 PRESIDING JUDGE: Mr Witness, you were asked the names of  
7 the person.

8 THE WITNESS: The name of this person is Koukoi e Samba  
9 Sanyang.

11:33:42 10 MR GRIFFITHS: Could we redact that?

11 PRESIDING JUDGE: We are going to redact the words on line  
12 11, the first answer that the witness gave. Is that correct?

13 MR GRIFFITHS: Yes:

14 Q. Mr Witness, that's why I asked you specifically just to  
11:34:04 15 give me the name. Do you follow me?

16 A. Yes, I follow. And the man behind this one, the man behind  
17 Gaddafi is the Iranian ambassador. {Redacted}

18 is Musa Cosa.

19 PRESIDING JUDGE: I think you just have to stop your  
11:34:28 20 witness. You have to stop your witness, Mr Griffiths. Could you  
21 please redact the words {Redacted}.

22 MR GRIFFITHS: There is one person in the gallery,  
23 Madam President.

24 PRESIDING JUDGE: For the members of the public listening,  
11:35:04 25 you are not to repeat any of the names mentioned in the last five  
26 answers by the witness.

27 MR GRIFFITHS:

28 Q. [Microphone not activated]. Can we just go back briefly.  
29 Now, Mr Witness, listen very carefully. The person standing

1 behind the gentleman who is shaking hands with Muammar  
2 al-Gaddafi, who is that person? That person you're pointing -  
3 yes, who is that?

4 A. He is the secretary general of the executive committee of  
11:35:58 5 the Mathaba. He is Musa Cosa.

6 Q. Could you spell that for us, please.

7 A. Musa, M-U-S-A; Cosa, C-O-S-A.

8 Q. [Microphone not activated]?

9 A. Yes.

11:36:23 10 Q. Could you write those names in on the photocopy to your  
11 right, please?

12 A. I've written already.

13 Q. Have you written all of them?

14 A. Yes.

11:36:37 15 Q. Mr Witness, the two photographs on page 70, in general  
16 terms, is there any specific individual in either of those two  
17 photographs whom you recognise?

18 A. This person.

19 Q. Who is that?

11:36:57 20 A. He is Dr Khalifa Assabi.

21 Q. Doctor who?

22 A. Khalifa Assabi.

23 Q. Could you spell that for us, please.

24 A. Khalifa, K-H-A-L-I-F-A; Assabi, A-S-S-A-B-I.

11:37:24 25 Q. And who is he?

26 A. He's a lecturer at the university in Tripoli, and at the  
27 same time he is one of the translators always beside Gaddafi.

28 Q. Is there anybody else in either photograph who you want to  
29 point out to us?

1 A. No, I can't remember the names.

2 Q. Don't worry. If we go to page 72, we know who that is,  
3 don't we?

4 A. Yes.

11:38:09 5 Q. That's Gaddafi, yes?

6 A. Yes.

7 Q. Can we go to page 81 now, please. Top photograph, do you  
8 recognise anyone?

9 A. That individual - they are from Latin America. I can't  
11:38:52 10 remember the countries.

11 Q. Don't worry about that. So these are Latin Americans?

12 A. Yes.

13 Q. Bottom photograph, what are we looking at?

14 A. I'm writing the name.

11:39:24 15 Q. [Microphone not activated]. They are Latin Americans, you  
16 say?

17 A. Yes.

18 Q. Bottom photograph, who are they?

19 A. Libyan cultural committee.

11:39:53 20 Q. Over the page to pages 82 to 83, please. Hopefully dealing  
21 with these quickly, are we looking at on the left-hand page 82  
22 cultural events at that meeting?

23 A. Yes. The two pictures.

24 Q. And on the right, page 83, are they also cultural events?

11:40:32 25 A. Yes. These are the meals organised by the Mathaba for the  
26 delegation.

27 Q. Over the page, pages 84 and 85, again, are we looking at in  
28 the main cultural events?

29 A. Yes, sir.

1 Q. Bottom right photograph, page 85, do you recognise anyone  
2 there?

3 A. No.

4 Q. Very well. And, finally, can we go to page 86, please. Do  
11:41:31 5 you recognise anyone in either photograph?

6 A. It's a long time. I can't remember now.

7 Q. Don't worry. Very well.

8 Now, can I ask, please, Madam President, that the copy of  
9 the original upon which the witness has marked various names be  
11:41:54 10 marked for identification, please.

11 PRESIDING JUDGE: Court Officer, you have to remind me,  
12 what is the next MFI?

13 MS IRURA: Your Honour, it would be MFI-408.

14 PRESIDING JUDGE: So a copy of the original of the book  
11:42:27 15 entitled in French, "La Mathaba Mondiale" as marked by the  
16 witness is marked MFI-408.

17 MR KOUMJIAN: Your Honour, just while we are at this point,  
18 can I ask if the original will be marked? Because the photos are  
19 obviously much more visible, especially the faces in the  
11:43:03 20 original, and it might be - unless there's some reason that it  
21 can't be, it would be helpful to have that as an exhibit.

22 MR GRIFFITHS: In fact, Madam President, what I was going  
23 to suggest - because the quality of the photographs in the  
24 original is so much better than the quality in the photocopy, I  
11:43:21 25 would suggest that at this stage all parties be given an  
26 opportunity of just flicking through the original to confirm in  
27 particular those photographs where particular individuals have  
28 been named. I think it might be of assistance in due course.

29 PRESIDING JUDGE: Yes, but that doesn't answer the query

1 whether the original will be eventually marked and tendered in  
2 Court, or whether the witness desires to retain his book.

3 MR GRIFFITHS: I think the witness desires to retain the  
4 book, Madam President, so can I suggest this course: That we  
11:44:01 5 will endeavour to provide colour copies of this booklet, which  
6 will hopefully obviate the need for the witness to part from this  
7 document, which he has obviously kept for many years. I don't  
8 know if that satisfies all parties.

9 PRESIDING JUDGE: That would be helpful to your case and to  
11:44:24 10 the Court if we had copies that could be actually seen.

11 MR KOUMJIAN: Your Honour, that would be appreciated.  
12 Although I just noted that the witness - I understood his  
13 testimony to be that he had received many copies. So I'm not  
14 sure - it might be worth asking him whether he can part with one  
11:44:44 15 copy of this book.

16 MR GRIFFITHS: I'll ask him:

17 Q. Mr Witness, I can't see you. Would you mind moving back to  
18 your original seat, please. Do you have other copies of this  
19 booklet, Mr Witness?

11:45:15 20 A. Not with me.

21 Q. Do you have other copies available to you?

22 A. I don't have them with me, but - I had copies but I don't  
23 have them with me.

24 Q. Are you in a position to allow us to keep this copy?

11:45:32 25 A. I would need it for future reference for myself.

26 MR GRIFFITHS: Okay. In the circumstances, then, can I  
27 revert to my original suggestion, Madam President, that I will  
28 give instructions for colour copies to be made of this document  
29 and distributed.

1 PRESIDING JUDGE: Thank you, Mr Griffiths. That is noted.

2 MR GRIFFITHS:

3 Q. Now, what I'd like us to do now, please, Mr Witness, is  
4 this. I'd like the witness, please, to be given the English  
11:46:18 5 translation of this document. Mr Witness, have you seen this  
6 translation?

7 A. Yes.

8 Q. Have you had an opportunity of going through it, the  
9 translation?

11:46:56 10 A. Yes.

11 Q. It is an accurate representation of what is contained in  
12 the original?

13 A. Yes, sir.

14 Q. Now, can we go to the first page of that document, please,  
11:47:16 15 the title page. Now, you will see that it's entitled, "The World  
16 Mathaba for the resistance against Imperialism, Zionism, Racism,  
17 Reactionism and Fascism, Second World Congress." And if we look  
18 at the last line, we see that that congress was held on 4 to 7  
19 Rajab 1395 of the death of the Prophet, that is, from the 15 to  
11:48:00 20 18 March 1986, yes.

21 A. Yes.

22 Q. Were you present at this congress?

23 A. Yes, I was present at the congress.

24 Q. And we see that the topic for discussion was to consolidate  
11:48:20 25 revolutionary cohesion and to concretise the principle of  
26 collective combat, to face imperialist, Zionist, reactionary and  
27 fascist terrorism. What terrorism were you talking about there?

28 A. Imperialist terrorism and state-sponsored terrorism against  
29 the defenceless, oppressed people of the world.



1 Q. By "state-sponsored terrorism", what are you talking about?

2 A. Terrorism sponsored - organised and sponsored by  
3 neocolonial governments to oppress their people.

4 Q. Now, can I ask you at the outset: Do you agree with the  
11:49:05 5 sentiments expressed in this booklet?

6 A. I do.

7 Q. Are you prepared to defend them?

8 A. Yes, I'm prepared to defend the oppressed masses.

9 Q. Even now in the year 2010, many years after 1986, do you  
11:49:28 10 still uphold the sentiments expressed in this booklet?

11 A. As you know, that the imperialist forces changed their  
12 tactics and method of uprising the masses. The Mathaba also, and  
13 all revolutionaries worldwide, have also changed their tactics to  
14 respond to the present situation.

11:49:50 15 Q. Can we go now please to the second page - the next page of  
16 this document? Now, the first three lines reads as follows:

17 "In the implementation and the pursuit of the decision  
18 taken during the constitutive congress and the first general  
19 congress of the world Mathaba".

11:50:20 20 Pause there. When was that first congress?

21 A. The first congress was in 1980 in Benghazi.

22 Q. [Microphone not activated]?

23 A. Yes.

24 Q. So we can write in "1980" there, can we?

11:50:38 25 A. Yes.

26 Q. Now, it continues:

27 "In conformity and in accordance with the objectives set  
28 down to concretise the principle of the collective popular combat  
29 in order to face imperialist, Zionist, racist, reactionary and

1 fascist terrorism.

2 By affirming the legitimacy of the revolutionary combat  
3 that the revolutionary forces in the world carry out to face  
4 politically, economically and militarily the hostile forces.

11:51:14 5 While working to reinforce counter-offensive aiming at the  
6 bastions of the hostile forces in order to defeat them and to get  
7 to the final victory, to the emancipation and to the freedom of  
8 all humanity. This freedom can only be effective by the  
9 abolition of all forms of oppression, dictatorship, fascism and  
11:51:41 10 racism and by a continuing fight against the terrorism of  
11 American imperialism and its allies. This terrorism is carried  
12 out by a policy of anti-progressiveness according to plans which  
13 aim at: Getting hold of the wealth of the people, by bringing  
14 famine to them; destroying all revolutionary and progressive  
11:52:11 15 aspirations of the people by openly warped plots; breaching the  
16 security of the people in order to dominate the world; to impose  
17 on them the installation of military bases and nuclear rockets;  
18 to intimidate them by shows of power such as provocations with  
19 the warships, which is defying all the international customs and  
11:52:30 20 laws.

21 In addition, the aggression of American imperialism aims at  
22 the destruction of the specific cultural identity of the people.

23 These people are determined to achieve their aspirations,  
24 to preserve their unity and to carry out their political,  
11:52:51 25 economic and social freedom.

26 This reality requires an effective cohesion of the  
27 revolutionary forces on a global scale. It requires a collective  
28 fight to confront imperialism, Zionism, reaction, fascism and  
29 their allies. It is necessary to create a revolutionary force

1 able to eliminate all forms of political annexation of military  
2 hegemony and of economic monopoly. "

3 Let us pause there. Mr Witness, you will recall that when  
4 we began yesterday, I directed your attention to a passage of the  
11:53:42 5 opening of the Prosecution case. Do you recall that?

6 A. Yes.

7 Q. When in that last bullet point it speaks of a collective  
8 fight, did you plan or combine with anyone in Libya or Burkina  
9 Faso to carry out terrorist attacks against the civilian  
11:54:05 10 population of any West African country?

11 A. Never.

12 Q. So when in that bullet point it speaks of effective  
13 cohesion, what are we talking about?

14 A. Effective cohesion.

11:54:27 15 Q. [Microphone not activated]. "The reality requires an  
16 effective cohesion of the revolutionary forces on a global  
17 scale." What cohesion are you talking about?

18 A. Well, we are talking about the unity of the revolutionary  
19 forces in a solidarity manner to confront imperialism on all  
11:54:56 20 fronts, ideologically, politically, militarily and economically.  
21 Here we are not talking of the acquiring of nuclear weapons or  
22 any weapons to confront imperialism face to face. It would be  
23 ver realistic for anybody to imagine that.

24 Q. Now, just to get our bearings, if we go then to the last  
11:55:20 25 paragraph on that page we see this:

26 "Taking these elements into account, the world Mathaba,  
27 which is a force of resistance against Zionism, racism, reaction  
28 and fascism, calls upon you to take part in the second general  
29 congress which will be held in Tripoli from 4 to 7 Rajab 1395 of

1 the death of the prophet, that is, from 15 till 18 March 1986."

2 So is this the meeting we are talking about?

3 A. Yes, we are talking about this.

4 Q. Now going over the page, please. In trying to situate this  
11:56:14 5 meeting in 1986, the large paragraph in the middle of that page,  
6 yes? Do you have it? The second page. Do you see about  
7 two-thirds of the way down that paragraph these words:

8 "This solidarity of action has forced the imperialists to  
9 revise their plan and to give up their project to attack the Arab  
11:56:44 10 people of Libya."

11 Do you see that?

12 A. Yes.

13 Q. What event historically are we talking about here in 1986?

14 A. That's when the Reagan administration bombed Libya.

11:57:01 15 Q. Let's now go to the bottom paragraph, please:

16 "Unfortunately, the Yankees have engaged their aggressive  
17 forces against one of our small nations, a nation which lives in  
18 peace and security. They have devoured them ... this nation, it  
19 is the nation state of Grenada. The occupation of Grenada has  
11:57:34 20 served as a lesson to all nations who are struggling for  
21 freedom."

22 What event are we talking about there?

23 A. We are talking about the invasion of Grenada that sent a  
24 signal that the world we are living in is not safe for humanity.

11:57:50 25 PRESIDING JUDGE: Sorry, the invasion of Grenada by who?

26 THE WITNESS: By the Americans.

27 MR GRIFFITHS:

28 Q. Let's go over the page, please:

29 "Neither the United Nations nor the Security Council were

1 able to prevent the occupation of Grenada."

2 Help us, please, Mr Witness. Did the United Nations get  
3 the support of either the UN - no, sorry. Did the United States  
4 obtain either the support of the United Nations or the Security  
11:58:27 5 Council before it invaded that small island state of Grenada?

6 A. No.

7 Q. "This act of aggression doesn't have any justification. As  
8 soon as the imperialists feel that the people are weakened, they  
9 leap on it, devour it entirely and occupy its territory. We  
11:58:56 10 hardly anticipate any official resistance to the aggression from  
11 the government in place. Similarly, we do not expect any  
12 justification of this imperialist aggression, which cannot be  
13 legitimate in any way.

14 The occupation of Grenada, the collapse of the  
11:59:14 15 revolutionary regime which was based on the movement of the New  
16 Jewel, the assassination of our dear brother the martyr Maurice  
17 Bishop, all these acts of violence have brought fear in the heart  
18 of the people of the small nations which are now living in fear  
19 of official terrorism, which is the constant political line  
11:59:38 20 adopted by the United States of America, by the Zionists and the  
21 racists."

22 Do you agree with those sentiments?

23 A. Yes, I totally agree with those sentiments.

24 Q. "This event of unprecedented gravity could not be  
11:59:59 25 concealed. We cannot easily overlook it. The alarm bells inform  
26 us that everywhere in the world, freedom is in danger, that the  
27 safety and the peace of the people are threatened even within  
28 their own borders. Grenada which has not more than 100,000  
29 inhabitants cannot in any way constitute a danger to the American

1 imperialists who number more than 200 million individuals.

2 First of all, this aggression appears like a victory for  
3 imperialism. In fact it constitutes the premises of a new  
4 internationalist world movement gathering all the people from the  
12:00:49 5 small and weaker nations targeted by imperialism because these  
6 people feel the need to unite in a single international front to  
7 fight against imperialism.

8 Imperialism believes that it obtained a victory by this  
9 criminal act."

12:01:09 10 Mr Witness, did you consider the invasion of Grenada to be  
11 a criminal act by the United States of America?

12 A. It is against both Grenadian law and international law, so  
13 it's a criminal act.

14 Q. "In actual fact, it is given to the people who consider  
12:01:32 15 that their fate could be similar to Grenada's, the urgent desire  
16 and need to unite in a single international front to fight  
17 against imperialism."

18 Let's go over the page, please:

19 "This congress has given birth to this collective action.  
12:02:01 20 The preparatory committee met on 21 May 1981" - were you there?

21 A. I was there present.

22 Q. "... in order to develop the agenda for the day of this  
23 internationalist congress and to increase the collective fight  
24 against imperialism, fascism, racism, Zionism and reaction.

12:02:31 25 Hence the first inaugural meeting took place on 15 May of the  
26 same year."

27 Were you present at that?

28 A. Positive.

29 Q. "During this meeting the forces of the people fighting for

1 freedom and who are against imperialism, racism, Zionism, fascism  
2 and reaction were organised. Today, the second congress, joining  
3 together new forces in this collective fight, is being held.  
4 These forces did not participate in the first congress. We  
12:03:10 5 expect that the third, the fourth and the following congress will  
6 see the regrouping of other new forces. This way, the front  
7 which is fighting imperialism will become larger.

8 Today we receive the representatives of all the Kurdish  
9 sections in the world."

12:03:32 10 Now, can we pause here. This is the second congress, is it  
11 not, Mr Witness?

12 A. Yes.

13 Q. Were the Kurds present at the first congress?

14 A. The Kurds were invited. The decision to invite the Kurds  
12:03:51 15 was taken at the first congress.

16 Q. [Microphone not activated]?

17 A. No. A delegation only was present.

18 Q. Now, it goes on:

19 "The representatives of all the alternative green movements  
12:04:05 20 in the world" --

21 A. Especially from Europe.

22 Q. Now, were they present at the first congress in 1981?

23 A. No. In 1986 they were present, the second congress.

24 Q. They were at the second congress?

12:04:23 25 A. Yes.

26 Q. "The representatives of the Indians from North and South  
27 America and from the islands in the Atlantic, the representatives  
28 of the Afro Americans of the United States, Canada, South America  
29 and Great Britain; the representatives of the revolutionary

1 movements which fight in the French colonies that are scattered  
2 around the world, the leaders of the movement of the world  
3 revolutionary committees; the general secretaries of popular  
4 internationalist congress, which came from all parts of the  
5 world. "

12:04:59

6 Now, Mr Witness, that last paragraph we've just looked at,  
7 does that give us a flavour of the internationalist character of  
8 this meeting?

9 A. Yes. This is the internationalist character and structure  
10 of the Mathaba.

12:05:15

11 Q. Can we go to the last paragraph on the page, please:

12 "In any case, this will only confirm our determination to  
13 continue the collective fight and to double our efforts in the  
14 combat against the fascists in Latin America. These people are  
15 indeed the henchmen of imperialism; the henchmen of the United  
16 States of America who are the enemies of the people and the  
17 leaders of world fanaticism; the henchman of a barbaric and  
18 animalistic administration" - which administration are you  
19 talking about there?

12:05:40

20 A. We're talking about the American administration and it's  
21 allies in the western world.

12:06:02

22 Q. Who was the American President at the time?

23 A. Ronald Reagan.

24 Q. "... and animalistic administration who only know the law  
25 of terror and of the jungle; an administration infected by  
26 megalomania, scorning human rights; an administration which  
27 practices total discrimination between men and causes the blacks  
28 to be considered as less than human beings. "

12:06:22

29 Then if we skip the next two lines:



1 "As you can see, brothers, imperialism, fascism, Zionism,  
2 racism and reaction are enemies who will never willingly back off  
3 from the assassination of the leaders of the masses and from the  
4 occupation of the land of others. They will never abstain from  
12:07:13 5 making these breaches."

6 Now, when you talk there about the assassination of the  
7 leaders of the masses, who are you talking about?

8 A. We're talking about, for instance, the assassination of  
9 Patrice Lumumba, the assassination of Amilcar Cabral, the  
12:07:41 10 overthrow of Kwame Nkrumah, which led tragically to his death,  
11 the assassination of Maurice Bishop.

12 Q. Pause there. As far as you know, who was responsible for  
13 the assassination of Patrice Lumumba?

14 A. It's CIA plot.

12:08:14 15 Q. Can we go over the page, please. Second paragraph, second  
16 line:

17 "All people, in such of justice, in whatever part of the  
18 world they are, are effected by this evil, enemy of mankind  
19 against which it has declared war. The economic war has been  
12:08:43 20 declared by imperialism against the Arabic people of Libya. This  
21 same imperialism invests military in Nicaragua, invades Grenada,  
22 maintains its constant threats against the peoples of Latin  
23 America who fight for their freedom as well as against the  
24 Iranian revolution, murders and disperses the Palestinian people  
12:09:09 25 and the Lebanese people.

26 There is permanent threat against the safety of Syria,  
27 against the stability and the sovereignty of Angola, of  
28 Mozambique, of all the states located at the border of North  
29 Africa. American imperialism, Zionism and racism deny the

1 Nami bian people its right to independence and freedom in its own  
2 territory. They destroy the hopes for peace in the Medi terranean  
3 Sea where certain people who populate the Medi terranean islands  
4 have attempted to enjoy peace after the Second World War.

12:09:56 5 We reject an international rest made out of the detriment  
6 of the people. "

7 Can we go to the next page, please. Second line:

8 "We could not sacri fi ce thi rd world countries on the  
9 pretext that it guarantees non-confrontation between the two  
12:10:27 10 superpowers. There is no desire to end the Gulf War. The  
11 merchants of weapons provides weapons to the fascist regime of  
12 Baghdad" - who was the head of that fascist regime in Baghdad at  
13 the time?

14 A. Saddam Hussei n.

12:10:44 15 Q. And who are the merchants of weapons who were providing at  
16 that time Saddam Hussei n wi th weapons?

17 A. The Americans and the western world.

18 Q. "... this regime, which is the enemy of the Iraqi people,  
19 this regime which precipitated the Iraqi army into the blazing  
12:11:08 20 inferno of a war it did not want.

21 The Iraqi army is ready to engage in the fight against  
22 Zi oni sm and imperial ism. The danger of the war has not ceased  
23 weighing on the people of Latin America and the people of the  
24 Arab world, the people of Africa who are confronted by South  
12:11:29 25 Africa. We will never accept the guarantee of peace between the  
26 great powers and yet sacri fi ce, on the other hand, the small  
27 nations. The eli mi nati on of our revol uti onary leaders has become  
28 commonplace. The occupati on of our lands continues. The  
29 tracking of our people is a permanent fact. The Pal esti ni an

1 people are chased away with the assistance of American war  
2 planes. Lebanese people undergo the bombardments of the American  
3 naval and air force. The Kurdish people are torn apart,  
4 persecuted, their land is devastated and their villages are  
12:12:17 5 destroyed. The population of South Africa includes 20 million  
6 blacks. They are the authentic owners of the South African  
7 territory, however, they are denied the right to exist, to be  
8 independent, the right to enjoy their land, the most basic human  
9 rights. They are persecuted by a racist white clique which is  
12:12:44 10 supported by American imperialism. The United States of America  
11 uses its veto to block any condemnation of racism in South  
12 Africa. Why is that? That is because racism in South Africa is  
13 just a simple agent of the imperialist barbarian policy of  
14 America. This hostile policy which regards black people as  
12:13:16 15 inferior human beings.

16 Brothers, we must awake the collective forces to engage  
17 them in the fights on the side of our people in South Africa.  
18 These people are constantly submitted to death, assassinations by  
19 the hands of the white colonialists with an extravagant and  
12:13:39 20 perverse behaviour. This clique is supported by the United  
21 States of America. It is in conflict with the black people of  
22 Africa, which constitutes one of the pillars of the  
23 internationalist front which is the enemy of imperialism and  
24 racism. Regarding this fight, I have already sent a message to  
12:13:58 25 the African youth to invite them to prepare for the fight against  
26 racism in all South Africa. We will thus eliminate this racism  
27 and we will liberate South Africa. We, the people who fight for  
28 freedom and who constitute this internationalist front, let us  
29 not recognise any white presence in the south of the African

1 continent. South Africa belongs to the Africans. Africa for the  
2 Africans. It is necessary to end intervention in Africa".

3 How strongly did you hold those views?

4 A. I still hold them very strongly.

12:14:56 5 Q. Let's go to the next section:

6 "Collective fight; on all the ground, on all the  
7 continents.

8 We must reject any white presence on the African continent.

9 We must, after this meeting, decide to fight side by side with  
12:15:18 10 the people persecuted in South Africa. We must make the decision  
11 to fight side by side with the colonised people in Namibia. We  
12 must undertake a collective fight in order to liberate Grenada,  
13 to destroy the attributes which point out the presence of the  
14 American imperialism in this island and to restore the 'new  
12:15:45 15 jewel' movement in all its power.

16 The people of Grenada, however tiny the country is, have  
17 the right to choose the political system they desire and to live  
18 freely, proudly and peacefully on their island.

19 Brothers, we must all support the people of Nicaragua and  
12:16:08 20 help it to face the brutal threat of the US government. We must  
21 appreciate, in its right value, the determination of Cuba to  
22 fight against American imperialism and to proclaim that we are  
23 ready to lend a strong hand to our brothers and companions Castro  
24 and Ortega and their Cuban and Nicaraguan comrades.

12:16:38 25 We must also be determined to fight side by side with our  
26 companions, the revolutionaries of Central America and Latin  
27 America, against fascism and reaction which are supported by  
28 American imperialism. We must also prepare to fight side by side  
29 with the Palestinian people who are the victims of Zionism, an

1 agent of the United States of America and its base of extension  
2 in the Middle East. "

3 Pause there. Mr Witness, throughout the passages we've  
4 looked at we have seen constant references to the need to fight  
12:17:22 5 against those various isms, yes?

6 A. Yes.

7 Q. Did you consider the use of terror or terrorism as a  
8 legitimate tool in that fight?

9 A. We cannot face the American imperialism and its allies with  
12:17:45 10 the use of terror. We thought that the only effective means to  
11 combat them is by conscientising the oppressed masses of the  
12 world.

13 Q. That word we had yesterday - and you explained that it  
14 meant raising the level of consciousness, yes?

12:18:09 15 A. Yes.

16 Q. So when you say "conscientising", what is it that you mean?

17 A. To make them realise the reality of imperialism and its --

18 PRESIDING JUDGE: I think the witness said the "oppressed  
19 masses of the world", yes?

12:18:29 20 THE WITNESS: Yes.

21 MR GRIFFITHS:

22 Q. Now, Mr Witness, because of the allegations made, I want  
23 you to spell out for us quite clearly what was the view of the  
24 Mathaba towards the use of terrorism or terror?

12:18:53 25 A. The Mathaba is not, according to our aim and objectives, a  
26 terrorist organisation. The Mathaba is the combination of all  
27 revolutionary forces to devise strategies to face imperialism and  
28 its allies wherever they are worldwide: (1), by raising the  
29 level of consciousness of the people; by fighting imperialism in

1 every country; and by devising ways and means of how the  
2 oppressed people in every country will be able to seize power and  
3 occupy the government machinery. But not to engage - like  
4 setting up a war front like what is happening with NATO to be  
12:19:51 5 bombarding some [indiscernible] nations. That was not our aim.

6 PRESIDING JUDGE: Mr Witness, I don't think you've answered  
7 the question. The question was, "Because of the allegations  
8 made, I want you to spell out for us quite clearly what was the  
9 view of the Mathaba towards the use of terrorism or terror?"

12:20:13 10 THE WITNESS: The use of terrorism or terror was illegal  
11 for the Mathaba and is not acceptable.

12 MR GRIFFITHS:

13 Q. Now, I ask that question for this reason, Mr Witness: You  
14 appreciate that for many in the west, Libya in the 1980s was the  
12:20:37 15 birthplace of terrorist organisations. Do you understand that?

16 A. According to them. But Libya was the birthplace for a  
17 conscious, unified force to face imperialism, not a terrorist  
18 force.

19 Q. But you appreciate that description of Libya as being the  
12:20:59 20 breeding ground for worldwide terrorism, don't you?

21 A. According to them, this is what they think; but according  
22 to the Mathaba and Libya, no. We are resisting.

23 Q. Can we go back to this document, please. We're at page 9:  
24 "Zionism: New Nazism.

12:21:28 25 Our people living in occupied Palestine are at risk of  
26 total destruction within and outside of occupied Palestine. This  
27 genocide is organised by Zionism with the cynical help of the  
28 United States of America. All the means of destruction are  
29 employed: The American planes driven by pilots who enjoy dual

1 American-Israeli nationality hunt the Palestinian people who live  
2 outside of Palestine, in the refugee camps of Lebanon, Syria,  
3 Jordan and even Tunisia. In addition to these crimes, Zionism  
4 assassinates the Palestinian revolutionary leaders everywhere it  
12:22:17 5 finds them. There was no hesitation in its massacre in their  
6 homes in Beirut, in Europe and it is still chasing them  
7 everywhere in the world.

8 It is a strange paradox that the Nuremberg Tribunal, which  
9 has judged the Nazis for the crimes of genocide against the Jews  
12:22:42 10 established the definition of genocide as being a collective  
11 massacre of populations living in a kind of ghetto.

12 This is exactly what Zionism is doing to the Palestinian  
13 people. Historians affirm indeed that genocide consists of  
14 systematically killing the members of a group, or dispersing  
12:23:07 15 them, or seizing their goods, or attacking them physically and  
16 morally, forcing them to carry out an existence likely to destroy  
17 them completely, or to take away their children. All these  
18 definitions apply perfectly to what Zionism is doing to the  
19 Palestinian people in Palestine.

12:23:33 20 The world is right to sympathise with the Palestinian  
21 people. These people are the victims of genocide, of the policy  
22 of total destruction. At one time, the world sympathised with  
23 the fate of the Jews when they were exposed to the hostility of  
24 Nazism. How can one still have sympathy to Israelis who in  
12:24:00 25 their turn have become Nazis themselves? They apply against the  
26 Arabs the same precedents that Hitler employed against them. No  
27 one can admit similar behaviour unless he is full with mortuary,  
28 subject to megalomania, as in the case of the Government of the  
29 United States of America, of the other imperialist powers and the

1 agents on the payroll of the United States. But those who listen  
2 to these remarks, those to whom it is addressed, they are the  
3 small people whose fate will be the same as that of the  
4 Palestinian people, unless the collective fight is restored  
12:24:46 5 within the internationalist front like ours, with the aim of  
6 fighting against the common enemy. Those who also listen to  
7 these remarks are the members of the great force; they are  
8 present here and they are taking part of this second congress of  
9 the forces which fight against imperialism, Zionism, racism,  
12:25:08 10 fascism and reaction."

11 Now, that position with regard to Palestine, Mr Witness,  
12 was it a position you shared?

13 A. Yes, it is a position we shared, and we can still witness  
14 the barbarity of the American imperialism and the Zionist entity:  
12:25:31 15 Recently, the murder of the Palestinian in Dubai; the sacking of  
16 the Palestinians in their lands and occupied by the Israelis  
17 Zionism and the building of the wall of separation. These are  
18 all realities that we foresee that it would happen in the near  
19 future, which is now taking place.

12:25:53 20 Q. Back to the page, please:

21 "In addition to the Palestinian people, our people, there  
22 are the Lebanese people who are subject to the destruction  
23 carried out with the approval of the United States of America.  
24 The latter has given the order to its Zionist agent in Palestine  
12:26:16 25 to destroy the people of the Near East bordering Palestine. The  
26 goal of this operation is to create a demographic vacuum  
27 likely to allow the Zionists to drain 25 million Jews and to  
28 force them to expatriate to the Near East. One will establish a  
29 Zionist empire which will thus guarantee to the United States



1 total hegemony in the area. The latter has been established the  
2 plans to seize, in the next years, the oil wells of the area.  
3 The United States are ready to sacrifice those they believe are  
4 their Arab friends as soon as they have the opportunity to take  
12:27:04 5 over oil wells and to have the upper hand in all this area. In  
6 this way, American interests will be well preserved so much in  
7 the Near as well as the Middle East. We must thus decide, during  
8 this internationalist meeting, to conform to the principle of  
9 collective fight."

12:27:31 10 Yes?

11 A. In regards to what we have read, it can - we can give the  
12 proof of what we foresaw. The bringing to power of Saddam  
13 Hussein, strengthening him and using him as an instrument to  
14 destroy his neighbours and at the end Saddam Hussein was  
12:27:53 15 sacrificed also.

16 Q. "We already made this decision of principle and, in a  
17 theoretical way at the first congress. We must now indeed take  
18 the necessary measures to start our collective combat. No one  
19 will be able to prevent us from carrying out this combat on each  
12:28:18 20 plot of land which belongs to us. We are, in fact, people who  
21 are attached to peace and freedom, people who want to live in  
22 safety in their lands. No people, by its own, will be able to  
23 face the aggression of imperialism and of its allies.

24 Moreover, we are forced to choose the collective fight,  
12:28:41 25 according to collective methods, in order to be able to continue  
26 to exist, in order to defend ourselves and in order to win  
27 victory. If we engage in the collective fights in South Africa,  
28 with SWAPO in Namibia, the people of Angola, of Mozambique and  
29 from Botswana, with all the states threatened by racism like

1 those of South Africa, of Palestine, of Lebanon, of Syria and of  
2 Libya with Nicaragua and Cuba, with the people of Latin America,  
3 Central America and South America, with the people of Grenada, if  
4 we thus engage in the common fights, we would win victory and no  
12:29:32 5 one could protest against our manner of proceeding. We are only  
6 doing our duty and we are only defending our right. We fight for  
7 our existence. No one in the world will be able to prevent us  
8 from fighting against our common enemy. Whoever would like to  
9 protest against the adoption of the principle of the fight and  
12:29:52 10 combat against the alliance of our common enemies, can present  
11 himself and destroy this alliance on our behalf. Consequently,  
12 we will no longer be obliged to carry out the collective fight.

13 When one attacks and occupies Grenada and when nobody has  
14 the means of liberating Grenada, no one can protest against what  
12:30:25 15 we do or give advice on how to repossess Grenada.

16 When the Libyan Jamahiriya" - what does that word?

17 A. Jamahiriya, era of the masses.

18 Q. "... was subject to the threat of American fleets of war,  
19 in its own territory, no one replied to the threat, except for  
12:30:51 20 the force of our people. But we ask for the Libyan people to  
21 keep its coolness. There is aggression against Angola. On  
22 several occasions, this country has been devastated. Except for  
23 the Cuban forces, nobody joined the Angolan people to fight by  
24 its side."

12:31:10 25 What event are we talking about there?

26 A. We are talking about the fights in Angola, the fight in  
27 Angola where the American sponsored Jonas Savimbi who was  
28 destroying the achievements of the popular revolution in Angola.  
29 And only Cuba was the only country that sacrificed in an

1 internationalist character to join the combatting forces in  
2 Angola. None of the African forces joined Angola.

3 Q. "When the ports of Nicaragua are ruined and when an  
4 economic and military blockade is imposed on them, Nicaragua must  
12:32:02 5 nevertheless keep its coolness in order not to threaten the world  
6 peace. One asks Libya to keep its self-control and not to fight  
7 with the sixth American fleet so as to avoid a world war. As for  
8 Cuba, the United States is still occupying a piece of its  
9 territory. It is expected from the state of Cuba to keep its  
12:32:26 10 coolness and not to occupy this piece which belongs to him. The  
11 United States and France have jointly colonised Chad and joined  
12 forces against the collective fight in this country. They want  
13 to transform Chad into a base for the Franco-American  
14 imperialism."

12:32:48 15 What event are we talking about there?

16 A. We're talking about the war in Chad between the GUNT, the  
17 Government of National Unity, in Chad led by Hissene - Goukouni  
18 Oueddei and the renegade Hissene Habre who was supported by  
19 France and the Americans.

12:33:10 20 Q. [Microphone not activated]. Could you give us some  
21 spellings, the first name you mentioned, please.

22 A. Goukouni Oueddei, I don't think I can spell it. Goukouni,  
23 G-O-U-K-O-U-N-I. Oueddei, W-I-D-E.

24 Q. And the second name you mentioned was?

12:33:36 25 A. Hissene, H-I-S-S-E-N. H-A-B-R-A, Habre.

26 MR GRIFFITHS: Madam President, can I assist with a  
27 spelling. Mr Anyah has looked online and the spelling of that  
28 first name is G-O-U-K-O-U-N-I and the surname Oueddei is  
29 W-E-D-D-E-Y-E:

1 Q. Going back to the text:

2 "Friends of Chad and even the Chadian revolution require  
3 from Chad to keep its coolness. What does it mean to keep its  
4 coolness under these conditions? It means the capitulation, the  
12:34:47 5 submission to the enemy. It means giving up our grounds and our  
6 people while they trample our dignity. We do all that to  
7 preserve peace and stability, to avoid starting the war. What  
8 kind of peace is this, which can only be maintained at the  
9 expense of our dignity and our independence? This is out of  
10 question. Only we should decide our fate. It is up to our  
11 enemies to keep their coolness. As for us, we will no longer  
12 keep our coolness when it's about to defend our existence."

13 And then we see the next section:

14 "Destruction is not a failure.

12:35:29 15 Last January and February, during the military  
16 confrontation with the United States of America vis-a-vis the  
17 Gulf of Syrte, the United States mobilised more than 25 warships  
18 including three aircraft carriers. This concentration of force  
19 was against the Arab people of Libya. The whole world witnessed  
12:35:59 20 these events. No one in the world was able to oppose this  
21 immense fleet. The aircraft carriers made two intimidating  
22 operations during which there were more than 3,000 aerial  
23 demonstrations. More than 200 planes took part in this event."

24 Pause there. Were you in Libya at that time?

12:36:24 25 A. I was in Libya.

26 Q. Where in Libya?

27 A. I was in Tripoli.

28 Q. How did you feel as a consequence of these military  
29 manoeuvres?

1 A. Well, they were threats to the sovereignty of Libya, the  
2 Libyan people, and against their interest and survival.

3 Q. "The war fleet included two aircraft carriers, a helicopter  
4 carrier, frigates, destroyers, cruisers, boats of supply, of  
12:36:52 5 unloading, of information and ships for electronic shots. Libya  
6 faced this barbarian military invasion on its own. The Libyan  
7 air force has recorded more than 1,500 exits above the Gulf of  
8 Syrte so as to confront the United States Air Force. There were  
9 approximately 20 operations of direct interception. The battle  
12:37:22 10 was about to start between Libyan air forces and the forces of  
11 American imperialists.

12 Libya has taken a determined and clear attitude, with no  
13 ambiguity. It has take declared that the line of death is  
14 located at the entry of the Gulf of Syrte, on the parallels 32  
12:37:51 15 degrees, 30 minutes of latitude. To cross this line is to go to  
16 death. And in fact, during two months and in spite of all the  
17 air and naval attempts, the United States hardly succeeded to  
18 approach this line. They knew that this line is the line of  
19 death. I have already told you at the congress of solidarity  
12:38:11 20 held by the preparatory committee, what I have said at the  
21 beginning of this speech: The United States will not be able to  
22 defeat the Libyans. With its atomic weapons and its warships, it  
23 will be able to destroy them. But there is a difference between  
24 defeat and destruction.

12:38:33 25 Whereas the confrontation with the United States continues,  
26 explains the leader, the French troops take position in Chad" -  
27 now, can we pause again, please. In that previous paragraph we  
28 looked at where it says, "I have already told you at the  
29 congress", who is speaking?

1 A. Muammar al-Gaddafi is speaking at the congress of  
2 solidarity in Benghazi with the Libyan people.

3 Q. "Whereas the confrontation with the United States  
4 continues, explains the leader" - who is the leader?

12:39:11 5 A. Muammar al-Gaddafi.

6 PRESIDING JUDGE: Now, Mr Griffiths, you have asked the  
7 words "I have already told you at the congress of solidarity",  
8 now the question you're asking the witness is who is speaking -  
9 who is saying those words now --

12:39:26 10 THE WITNESS: Muammar al-Gaddafi.

11 PRESIDING JUDGE: -- or who said the words "at the congress  
12 of solidarity"? What is the question you're asking?

13 MR GRIFFITHS: Let me go over it carefully:

14 Q. Where we see the use of the first person singular there "I  
15 have already", who is the "I"?

16 A. The "I" is Muammar al-Gaddafi.

17 Q. Second question: The passage we're going through, who is  
18 the person speaking throughout these passages that we've been  
19 reading?

12:40:11 20 A. Muammar al-Gaddafi.

21 PRESIDING JUDGE: In other words, the entire document is a  
22 speech by Muammar Gaddafi?

23 THE WITNESS: Gaddafi at the opening of the second congress  
24 of the Mathaba.

12:40:37 25 MR GRIFFITHS: Can I take advantage of this hiatus to  
26 provide hopefully some assistance. Mr Anyah has conducted some  
27 further research and it would appear that that name should be  
28 spelt G-O-U-K-O-U-N-I and the surname should be spelt  
29 O-U-E-D-D-E-I, and also the other name Hissene Habre is

1 H-I-S-S-E-N-E, Habre, H-A-B-R-E, acute:

2 MR GRIFFITHS:

3 Q. "Whereas the" --

4 PRESIDING JUDGE: I saw the witness disagreeing with you.

12:41:35 5 THE WITNESS: The spelling.

6 MR GRIFFITHS:

7 Q. What did you say, Mr Witness?

8 A. I'm saying that the spelling of Goukouni Oueddei, I don't  
9 think is correct. I agree with Hissene Habre, but Goukouni, I  
10 don't think so.

12:41:56

11 MR GRIFFITHS: Well, given that it's the testimony of the  
12 witness, I think perhaps we should stay with his spelling:

13 Q. Going back to the document, please:

14 "Whereas the confrontation with the United States

12:42:14

15 continues, explains the leader, the French troops take position  
16 in Chad, in the southern border of Libya. The military supplies  
17 to the agents of the United States and of France has increased in  
18 N'Djamena. The reactionary alliance against the Iranian  
19 revolution is reinforced. The Zionist aggression against the  
20 Palestinian people, the Lebanese people and the Syrians continue  
21 just like the Yankees' threats against the people of the  
22 Democratic Republic of Korea, against the people of Nicaragua and  
23 against the people of Central and Latin America. How could one  
24 keep its phlegm and its coolness when facing such a situation.

12:42:36

25 Let us imagine that we cannot keep our phlegm and our  
26 coolness. What will happen then? There will be a war. The  
27 peace will collapse. The commerce will be threatened. The lines  
28 of communication will be threatened in the vital zones. What  
29 will happen afterwards? The attackers will be defeated. The

12:43:03

1 capitalists will be the losers. The capitalist companies will  
2 have huge losses, just like the multinationals which exploit the  
3 lines of communication and suck the blood of the people. In  
4 fact, the lines of communication and the planes belong to  
12:43:43 5 companies and to capitalist countries. The peace is thus their  
6 peace. It is established at the expense of our people. We do  
7 not enjoy peace not more in America, in Africa or in Asia. Our  
8 lot, they are the perpetual threats, death, the prisons. They  
9 are the collective assassinations in Sabra and Chatila."

12:44:14 10 Where are these two places, Sabra and Chatila?

11 A. They are in the Palestine occupied lands.

12 Q. "They are the collective prisons in Palestine. They are  
13 the collective massacres in South Africa. They are the constant  
14 threats against the sovereign states. It's the denial of the  
12:44:35 15 right to independence of the Namibian people. It is the denial  
16 by French imperialism of the right to independence of the  
17 Caledonian people. France wants to extend its borders as far as  
18 the Reunion Islands, as far as New Caledonia in the Pacific  
19 Ocean, as far as the island of Martinique in the Atlantic Ocean.

12:45:02 20 After all this, the imperialists speak about peace. They  
21 require, they believe to have the right to require a permanent  
22 seat in the Security Council. How we can give to the aggressor a  
23 permanent seat in the Security Council, with the right to veto  
24 when it is necessary to kick him out of the United Nations?

12:45:28 25 Your meeting has brought terror and fear to these despots.  
26 Indeed, as announced at this meeting, which must be confirmed as  
27 a result, decision, principle, the people must reconsider the  
28 structure of the United Nations, its organisation, its  
29 institutions. The United Nations are currently a community of



1 states allied against the people. The latter are here. They are  
2 joined together here on the Libyan ground to create a united  
3 front against the United States. They gather within this world  
4 Mathaba to question the charter of the United Nations, this  
12:46:17 5 charter which gives a state that has a permanent seat in the  
6 Security Council, the right to oppose the unanimous decisions of  
7 all the other states by its veto. We, the people who represent  
8 the majority of the inhabitants of this planet, refuse to accept  
9 this situation. We refuse this hegemony, this polarisation,  
12:46:50 10 these acts of piracy. We will fight this situation by all the  
11 means we have until we succeed".

12 Pause. Help me, did you share that view about the United  
13 Nations?

14 A. Yes.

12:47:03 15 Q. [Microphone not activated]?

16 A. Because of the unjust veto system that has been given to  
17 the five permanent members of the UN Security Council.

18 Q. "It would have been all right if we were to summarise the  
19 Security Council as the great powers which have a permanent seat  
12:47:25 20 there. We do not oppose the fact that the five great powers  
21 which sit permanently at the Security Council get their own  
22 council where they could veto one another and discuss their  
23 problems with each others. The United States could use its right  
24 to veto against the others; that would be its business. We won't  
12:47:48 25 be concerned by that. What we say is that the right to veto such  
26 as the one currently used should be abolished. We the people are  
27 paying the price of all wars. Our existence is now threatened.  
28 We are subjected to the wars of the others. We are already  
29 victims of the First and Second World Wars. The wildest battles

1 of the Second World War took place on these grounds where we are  
2 gathered here today. However, Libya was never a belligerent  
3 country concerned with the war. We fought on the Libyan grounds.  
4 Our homes were destroyed, we were murdered, our herds were  
12:48:35 5 destroyed. Mine fields were put in place. These mine fields  
6 exist to date and they have prevented us from building roads.  
7 They have paralysed our development. We have paid the full price  
8 for a war which was held between the Axis and the Allies.

9 The people of Poland were abruptly attacked by the Herman  
12:49:05 10 hordes without any justification, any notice, without having  
11 committed any crime. The great powers divided and shared Poland.  
12 They crushed Warsaw. Only the name of the city, registered on a  
13 marble plate, remains. The people of Poland were attacked by  
14 4,000 Nazi planes. The price they had to pay was enormous.

12:49:28 15 All our people have paid a huge price. And once more, they  
16 are threatened. The members of our people pay every day the  
17 price for the official terrorism which is imposed upon us by the  
18 imperialists, the fascists and the racists.

19 The Syrian people, the Lebanese people, the Jordanian  
12:49:54 20 people, all the Arab people are under a daily threat. They are  
21 under the threat of an official terrorism imposed by Zionism  
22 which is supported by America. The people of Africa live under  
23 the threat of official terrorism. They expect every day a  
24 barbarian attack started by South African racism against the  
12:50:26 25 African states. The Libyan people currently live under the  
26 constant threat of the 6th American Fleet. People of Latin  
27 America, Central America and South America undergo daily threats.  
28 Numerous men are killed every day. Now we pay the price because  
29 our safety, our stability, our nerves are severely strained.

1 During the war we pay the price with our blood.

2 I say that because I want to come to the following  
3 conclusion: People who pay the price of the Cold War and the Hot  
4 War have the right to establish themselves the guarantees for

12:51:12 5 world peace because they are the victims. We constitute now an  
6 international security council. We are the true United Nations.  
7 All the movements which are present here have the means to put  
8 pressure on all the states represented in the United Nations and  
9 the Security Council. If these states do not reach this goal, we

12:51:44 10 should put our threats and we would highly express our  
11 discontent. We will start to establish the bases for a new  
12 international organisation which will be a true representative of  
13 the people. It will represent the nations that like true peace.

14 It will hardly represent the imperialists or those who exercise  
12:52:10 15 the world police force, those who want to impose punishments on  
16 us.

17 The Security Council will have to face from now on a strong  
18 opposition due to the fact that it is an American Security  
19 Council. This council was neutralised. Just as in the past, it  
12:52:34 20 has not been able to take any initiative in favour of one of our  
21 small nations or in favour of a cause which is important to us  
22 without establishing preconditions. It will be the same in the  
23 future. America uses its right to veto and makes thus

24 inoperative any decision of the Security Council and the United  
12:52:59 25 Nations which are supposed to include all the nations. Nowadays  
26 they don't have any means to face the American administration.  
27 The representative of America at the Security Council cancels, by  
28 its veto, any resolution taken by the General Assembly of the  
29 United Nations. We the small nations who, we who fight for

1 freedom, we no longer trust the General Assembly of the United  
2 Nations. We think that the Security Council is not an  
3 international security council, but an American Security Council.  
4 It is neutralised by the American administration. It hinders our  
12:53:46 5 will, we, the people of all nations. We have thus the right to  
6 create a true international organisation of the nations able to  
7 protect the peace. We have the means of constituting troops and  
8 of sending them in all the countries of the world where peace is  
9 threatened or where the war prevails between two nations. They  
12:54:15 10 will restore peace and will prevent a war.

11 Now the forces of the United Nations are used to protect  
12 the Israelis. These forces are currently located between Egypt  
13 and the occupied Palestine so that the Egyptian people cannot  
14 fight to even recover the Gaza Strip, which is part of Egypt.

12:54:40 15 These forces are also between Lebanon and Palestine, so as  
16 to prevent the Palestinians and the Lebanese to fight against  
17 Zionism. They are finally in the Golan to dissuade Syria to  
18 recover the occupied part of its territory."

19 Now, can we pause there please and can I ask you another  
12:55:05 20 question. These liberation movements represented at this  
21 congress, Mr Witness, were they all puppets of the Libyan state  
22 and Colonel Gaddafi?

23 A. None of the liberation movements that participated in this  
24 congress is a puppet to the Libyan regime. These are independent  
12:55:42 25 liberation movements fighting for national liberation in their  
26 respective countries, to liberate their people who are denied  
27 their rights for freedom, genuine democracy, rule of law and  
28 administrative justice. They were not working under the  
29 framework of a Libyan conspiracy to cause chaos and terrorism

1 around the world.

2 Q. Let us go to the next section, please:

3 "The forces of the United Nations currently also exist in  
4 other areas of the world in order to consolidate the Zionist  
12:56:33 5 presence in the shade of these forces. Patrice Lumumba was  
6 physically eliminated in order to make of Congo/Zaire a zone of  
7 imperialist influence of the Americans and Israelis. We  
8 currently witness one form of colonialism which we could qualify  
9 as 'collective colonialism'. I remember that it is Khrushchev  
12:57:11 10 who used for the first time this expression in the Sixties. I am  
11 not the one who invented this expression. Since then the  
12 expression entered the political dictionary. The powers that are  
13 the enemy of peace, socialism and freedom had, at this time,  
14 created a 'collective colonialism' because it was impossible for  
12:57:34 15 them to keep their colonies. Today this collective colonialism  
16 reappears from its ashes. Chad is at the present time subject to  
17 a former Franco-American colonialism in N'Djamena, the type of  
18 colonialism supported by the reactionaries and fascist forces.  
19 We have created our organisation to fight these forces.

12:58:03 20 Palestine is currently subjected to a collective colonialism.  
21 Lebanon undergoes bombardments from the United States and Israeli  
22 air force. The country is constantly rammmed by the Israeli and  
23 American warships. Collective colonialism and racism is back in  
24 South Africa. It is supported by the United States of America.  
12:58:28 25 All the colonialist powers make alliances against us and organise  
26 a collective combat.

27 Thus, we must fight them in a collective way. If not, they  
28 will bring upon each one of us the fatal blow. That is the  
29 question of the utmost importance. The survival of our people on

1 the surface of the earth depends on it.

2 The collective fight must be in conformity with our pacts  
3 and with the principles that we proclaim. It must be a natural  
4 right which all the people and all the masses enjoy everywhere in  
12:59:11 5 the world. The collective fight is supposed to recognise" --

6 MR KOUMJIAN: Excuse me, your Honour, I just wanted to  
7 indicate that the Prosecution will not be objecting to the  
8 administration of this document and it might be in the interests  
9 of efficiency not necessary to read the document that we all have  
12:59:28 10 and can read. There are very few questions that have been asked.  
11 Of course, questions can be asked about specific portions of the  
12 document, but I'm just suggesting it's not necessary to read it.  
13 We will not object to its admission.

14 MR GRIFFITHS: I'm grateful for that indication, but it  
12:59:48 15 seems to us, given the nature of the allegation we face, that  
16 it's important that we look in detail at the politics of the  
17 Mathaba, which has been styled by this Prosecution as a terrorist  
18 organisation and we need to see what form of "terrorism" was  
19 being discussed by members of the Mathaba.

13:00:14 20 PRESIDING JUDGE: Mr Griffiths, my own view is that each  
21 party should lead their case as they see fit.

22 MR GRIFFITHS: I'm grateful:

23 Q. "The collective fight is supposed to recognise the right of  
24 the people to organise a collective front which will be fighting  
13:00:34 25 for freedom and which is against imperialism, Zionism, racism,  
26 reactionism and fascism in all parts of the world without  
27 distinction of border or race. This front will gather the  
28 Indians, the blacks, the yellows, the white, all those who fight  
29 for freedom, without reference to race, colour or place. Our

1 existence is indeed threatened the collective colonialism. On  
2 the other hand, we must proclaim the rights of the Jamahiriyan  
3 man, the man who must live in the times of the Jamahirs,  
4 precluded of all the pressures and chains."

13:01:19 5 Those two words - Jamahirs is what?

6 A. The era of the masses.

7 Q. And Jamahiriyan?

8 A. It is the state of the masses.

9 Q. "We must proclaim the right of any man to resist to all the  
13:01:49 10 instruments of power to which he was subjected, especially now  
11 that they do not represent by no means the people of western  
12 Europe. The apparatuses of government in western Europe hardly  
13 represent the people of western Europe. We can prove that we  
14 have here today, among us, the movements that are supposed to  
13:02:22 15 take over the regime that are currently in place in western  
16 Europe. These regimes are submissive to America. They have  
17 agreed with America to take extreme measures that are likely to  
18 threaten the safety of the people of western Europe. These  
19 regimes have in fact accepted to install American nuclear  
13:02:38 20 missiles on the western European territory."

21 Now, this next section we see, Mr Witness, is entitled "The  
22 alliance with the alternative and green movement", yes? Now, why  
23 was it thought necessary to create an alliance between the kind  
24 of liberation movements in Africa and elsewhere and the green  
13:02:59 25 movement? Why was that considered necessary?

26 A. The fight of the Mathaba is a global fight. We are  
27 fighting state terrorism, we are fighting also the criminality of  
28 the destruction being carried by the imperialists on our natural  
29 environment.

1 Q. Let's go over to page 18, please. And that section, "The  
2 revolution: Natural right and duty imposed on everyone". Do you  
3 see it?

4 A. Yes.

13:03:39 5 Q. "All men have the right to self-governance. No one can  
6 impose on you a council of regency, a representative assembly or  
7 a government. All men have the right to self-governance and to  
8 resist any doubt which can weaken its will. All men have the  
9 right to express themselves in any manner they want. All men  
13:04:06 10 have the right to choose the knowledge which is appropriate to  
11 him and to refuse those which are imposed on him by the  
12 governments, the apparatuses of government and imperialism. A  
13 dynasty which is in power wants to impose on the people the  
14 learning of the history of this dynasty. Such is dictatorship,  
13:04:40 15 such a tyranny. It is not at all necessary to learn the history  
16 of the Hachemite family. All men have the right to perform the  
17 work which is appropriate to him them."

18 Hachemite, who's that?

19 A. The Jordanian empire. And what he was expressing here was  
13:05:06 20 the fight for the establishment of genuine democracy worldwide.

21 Q. Can we go over the page, please. Now, was Louis Farrakhan,  
22 you told us, was present at this congress, yes?

23 A. Yes.

24 Q. Were there other representatives of African American  
13:05:55 25 society there, apart from here?

26 A. Yes, there were many other - many African American  
27 organizations which were invited.

28 Q. Now, when we go over to page 19 --

29 JUDGE DOHERTY: Excuse me, there's a difference between



1 being invited and being present. The question was to do with  
2 being present.

3 THE WITNESS: They were present. They were present.

4 MR GRIFFITHS:

13:06:23 5 Q. Now, let's go over the page, please, page 19, and I'd like  
6 us to commence, please, the second paragraph on that page, line  
7 2:

8 "Tens of thousands of Americans who are without a home,  
9 without a fixed residence, live in the streets. 60 per cent of  
13:06:44 10 the young black Americans are without employment, deprived of  
11 work. In comparison, only 15 per cent of white Americans are  
12 unemployed. More than 400,000 blacks are recruited in the Army  
13 of the United States of America. They represent 20 per cent of  
14 the manpower of the Army.

13:07:05 15 When the Islamic community had its congress in Chicago, I  
16 called upon these recruits by way of satellite communication. I  
17 addressed the 400,000 black Americans who are mobilised in the  
18 Army of the United States of America. I urged them to rebel. I  
19 requested that they withdrew from the military service. Black  
13:07:30 20 American recruits of the US Army and of the American police force  
21 must start to desert their imperialist institution, and in doing  
22 so take with them their military weapons. They must dismantle  
23 this barbarian machine of war and destroy it from the inside.

24 The black Americans must openly and constantly call upon their  
13:07:55 25 brothers who are in the military institution and in the American  
26 police force in order to engage them to desert these institutions  
27 and to sabotage it from the inside. They must take along their  
28 weapons with them. From now on, we will all continue to call  
29 upon our black American brothers of the United States of

1 Ameri ca. "

2 Yes?

3 A. Can I clarify the meaning of this message that you are  
4 reading - you've just read. This is the personal viewpoint of  
13:08:36 5 the leader of the Libyan revolutionary committee, not the view of  
6 the Mathaba. He is expressing what he said to the congress in  
7 Chicago as the leader of the Libyan revolutionary committees.

8 Q. So was this a view that you shared?

9 A. This was an information he was giving to the participants  
13:09:02 10 of the congress.

11 PRESIDING JUDGE: Mr Witness, was this a view that you  
12 shared?

13 THE WITNESS: It's not my political line.

14 PRESIDING JUDGE: You didn't share this view?

13:09:12 15 THE WITNESS: I didn't share it. But I'm independent also  
16 to whatever decisions we take within the Mathaba.

17 PRESIDING JUDGE: This is why they asked you did you share  
18 this view.

19 THE WITNESS: No.

13:09:30 20 MR GRIFFITHS:

21 Q. "The income of the American citizen is evaluated this way:  
22 For the white it is \$17,000 per annum, while the income of the  
23 black does not exceed \$9,000 per annum. However, both whites and  
24 blacks are American. But the national income of the United  
13:09:52 25 States of America is not equally distributed between the American  
26 citizens. Whites do not regard the blacks as citizens. The  
27 society in North America is inhuman. It is based on  
28 discrimination between blacks, which are not considered as  
29 humans, and whites, who consider themselves as the only human

1 beings. Moreover, when we look at the situation of the whites,  
2 we notice that the exploiters do also abuse the poor whites.

3 It is necessary, however, to stress that 15 per cent of the  
4 whites are without work, while 60 per cent of the blacks are  
13:10:36 5 unemployed.

6 There are approximately 5 million blacks living in Great  
7 Britain, said the leader. Since I went to Great Britain in 1966,  
8 I am interested in the situation of these blacks. I noticed that  
9 the dirtiest types of work are given to black Africans, but the  
13:10:57 10 wages are very low. They do not have Social Security. The  
11 blacks are carrying coal. They are the ones who fill the trains  
12 with coal. They are the ones who clean the coffee shops of the  
13 British. They are the ones who carry out the most disgusting  
14 jobs. However, these blacks constitute a terrible force, capable  
13:11:19 15 of shaking the United Kingdom. They are million blacks.

16 Fortunately they are members of our front.

17 Racial discrimination is a denial of the human rights, of  
18 fundamental freedoms and equality."

19 Pause there. Do you agree with that?

13:11:46 20 A. Yes. This is the basis of even our struggle.

21 Q. Do you believe in the African context of favouring one  
22 ethnic group over another?

23 A. No.

24 Q. We will come back to that:

13:12:03 25 "It is a crime against humanity, an obstacle to economic  
26 and social growth, an obstacle to international mutual aid and to  
27 peace. Consider this definition of racial discrimination, which  
28 is international accepted and look at what the United States of  
29 America is doing. They support the racist regime of South Africa

1 which is responsible for many crimes. They put a blockade  
2 against Nicaragua, Libya, the Democratic Republic of Korea. They  
3 fight against the Iranian revolution and that of Latin America.

4 Representatives of all the nations that fight for freedom  
13:12:55 5 are present in this congress. We have, for example, among us the  
6 representatives of the masses of the persecuted part of the  
7 Filipino people. This community is aggressed in its religious  
8 buildings while celebrating its religious offices. This is how  
9 the first persecutions began. Governmental forces attacked this

13:13:21 10 community in its religious buildings. The old Filipino  
11 government was already overthrown. Another government had  
12 replaced it. The new President of the Philippines has used an  
13 expression which might be perhaps by accident and does not mean  
14 anything. Nevertheless it was full of promises, since she said

13:13:42 15 that her government was a revolutionary government. If that is  
16 the case, we would be the first to applaud her, to receive her,  
17 to lend her our hand. If this government was really a  
18 revolutionary government it should start by dismantling the  
19 American bases that are on its territory and by getting rid of

13:14:07 20 the American influence. Otherwise Philippines will remain  
21 dependent on America and would be the ideal zone for the American  
22 bases. Secondly, if the Filipino government was truly a  
23 revolutionary movement it should cease persecution and grant its  
24 rights to the religious community whose representatives are

13:14:32 25 present here today, a community which suffered persecution and  
26 went through collective massacres by the previous government. If  
27 these rights are not recognised the fight will continue."

28 And you will see that in the next paragraph he goes on to  
29 deal with the Kurdish nation. Do you see that?

1 A. Yes.

2 Q. And in next paragraph Red Indians, yes?

3 A. Yes.

4 Q. So let's go over to the next page then, please. Page 22

13:15:11 5 now. That subheading we see there:

6 "This meeting; the cornerstone of the era of the mass

7 (Jamahirs)

8 Following the confrontation of the people of the great

9 Jamahiriya and the great barbarian Yankees, a newly constituted

13:15:39 10 force joined us. During this confrontation popular congresses

11 which gather all nationalities from the Arab land of Libya are

12 held. Popular congresses were created and have proclaimed the

13 creation of the international anti-imperialist front. This front

14 is taking part in this congress. Thus a new force has joined the

13:16:04 15 ones which have already participated in the first congress."

16 Skip the next paragraph and go to the final paragraph on

17 that page:

18 "The fight between the masses and those which control and

19 exploit them is already engaged. The masses should never get

13:16:27 20 tired of attacking the apparatuses of government and the powers

21 of exploitation and tyranny everywhere in the world until they

22 win victory. This meeting is at the stone of the era of the

23 Jamahirs. Other forces, other clandestine revolutionary

24 committees, other popular congresses exist. They are

13:16:53 25 disseminated in the four corners of the world. They announce the

26 era of the Jamahirs, the era of the people, era exempted from

27 governments, armies, police and any kind of tyranny and

28 exploitation.

29 In order to have peace in the world it is necessary to

1 found the authority of the masses everywhere in the world.

2 I wish you success at this great occasion where all the  
3 movements which fight for freedom and peace are organised;  
4 movements which want to create a new world, free from despotism,  
13:17:34 5 imperialism, fascism, racism and Zionism. They are the enemies  
6 of humanity. "

7 Then if we go to the next heading, "The Political  
8 Declaration":

9 "The people of Asia, of Africa, of Latin America, of the  
13:18:00 10 Oceanic islands which are participated in the second world  
11 Mathaba congress for the fight against imperialism, Zionism,  
12 racism, reaction, fascism, these people represented by their  
13 revolutionary movements, their revolutionary and world  
14 committees, their international congresses, their political  
13:18:14 15 organisations, their movements for peace, the Greens, the  
16 movements for the change in Europe and the in the world, the  
17 million blacks, the Red Indians, the Kurdish and all the  
18 minorities in the world that suffered from colonial oppression  
19 and that suffers now from the repression of imperialism, of  
13:18:35 20 Zionism and racism. They are going through one of the most  
21 terrible stages of their lives, paying with their blood and sweat  
22 the cost for liberation from the claws of tyranny, of  
23 exploitation, of oppression and progressing, in the name of  
24 millions of human beings, towards the era of the Jamahirs (the  
13:18:55 25 masses), the era where the masses will take over the power,  
26 wealth and weapons. All these forces that constitute the world  
27 Mathaba in its second congress, united in Tripoli, in the great,  
28 Libyan, popular, socialist Arab Jamahiriya, from the 15 to 18  
29 Al Marrikh 1986 with the ideology: To reinforce revolutionary

1 cohesion and to incarnate the principle of collective fight  
2 against imperialist, Zionist, racist, reactionary and fascist  
3 terrorism. All these forces consider the speech of the  
4 internationalist revolutionary brother Muammar al-Gaddafi in this  
13:19:46 5 congress as basis for the elaboration of the charter of the  
6 universal Jamahiriyan human rights for the adoption of the right  
7 of the people persecuted by the collective fight for the attitude  
8 to adopt vis-a-vis the United Nations, international terrorism,  
9 minorities. They also consider them as the starting point of  
13:20:11 10 their behaviour towards the questions, the problems and the  
11 challenges to which the revolutionary movement is confronted."

12 Now, the principles set out there, Mr Witness, in order to  
13 be a member of the Mathaba, did you have to subscribe to those  
14 principles?

13:20:32 15 A. No. It's not necessary.

16 Q. So let me put the question differently. If you were  
17 opposed to human rights and were a dictator, would you have been  
18 accepted at the Mathaba?

19 A. No, you would never be accepted.

13:20:54 20 Q. So my question, then, is this: Were there certain minimum  
21 standards to which one had to subscribe in order to become a  
22 member of the Mathaba?

23 A. You must be a freedom fighter, fighting oppression and  
24 tyranny wherever it exists. [Microphone not activated].

13:21:15 25 Q. [Microphone not activated] principles that you had  
26 subscribe to?

27 A. Respect for human rights, regaining our lost dignity and  
28 honour.

29 JUDGE LUSSICK: When you say "our", who are you referring

1 to?

2 THE WITNESS: Pardon?

3 JUDGE LUSSICK: When you say "regaini ng our lost di gni ty  
4 and honour" --

13:21:52 5 THE WITNESS: We, the oppressed masses of the world. We  
6 who are denied our ri ghts of exi stence and survi val .

7 MR GRI FFITHS:

8 Q. We see, Mr Wi tness, at the bottom of that page 24 the fi rst  
9 of several decl arations. Do you see that? Page 24?

13:22:22 10 A. Yes.

11 Q. You see fi rst, yes?

12 A. Yes.

13 Q. "... they declare: Fi rst: The weekend world congress of  
14 Mathaba for the fi ght agai nst i mperi al i sm, Zi oni sm, raci sm,  
13:22:37 15 reaction and fasci sm salutes the revol uti onary and courageous  
16 atti tude of the revol uti on of Al -Fateh/September and that of i ts  
17 i nternati onal i st revol uti onary leader Muammar al -Gaddafi  
18 vis-a-vis the savage aggressi on of the Ameri can i mperi al i sm and  
19 vis-a-vis the aggressi ve threats and provoki ng operati ons by the  
13:22:59 20 Li byan coasts. It al so confi rms that the Gul f of Syrte makes an  
21 i ntegral part of the Li byan land and i s subjected to Li byan  
22 soverei gnty. "

23 Over the page. Let' s go to the second one, yes?

24 "The congress expresses i ts appreci ati on towards the  
13:23:21 25 determi ned revol uti on of the Sandi ni sta i n i ts fi ghts agai nst the  
26 i mperi al i st Ameri can pl ots and procl ai ms hi s support to the  
27 revol uti on of the Ni caraguans. It al so supports the  
28 determi nati on of Cuba under the leadership of comrade Fi del  
29 Castro and supports hi s standpoi nt agai nst Ameri can arrogance.



1 Third: The congress which highly appreciates the  
2 intensification of the combat carried by the South African people  
3 and by its revolutionary forces which refuse the policy of racial  
4 discrimination used by the regime of Pretoria against Black  
13:24:03 5 Africans in South Africa confirms that the dismantling of the  
6 vestiges of this regime, supported by American imperialism and  
7 allies to the racist and Zionist entity which is based in  
8 occupied Arab Palestine, is a revolutionary duty for which the  
9 responsibility should not only fall on the Africans but should  
13:24:23 10 also be implemented in global revolutionary cohesion and a  
11 collective combat, in which all the liberating forces take part.  
12 The year 1986 must be considered like the year of confrontation  
13 with racial discrimination in Africa. This is why the congress  
14 invites all the revolutionaries in the world to mobilise for the  
13:24:48 15 fights against the racist regime in South Africa.

16 Four: The congress highly appreciates the heroic and  
17 courageous tenacity of the Arab masses in occupied Palestine  
18 against the terrorist and racist practices of Zionism; practices  
19 which aim at the extermination of the Palestinian people and at  
13:25:19 20 the annihilation of its historical right to live on its lands.  
21 It condemns all cruel acts - massacres and collective  
22 extermination of women, old people, children - implemented by  
23 racist Zionist groups. "

24 Over the page, please, to page 26. We see just the third  
13:25:50 25 paragraph:

26 "Fifthly: The wars of collective extermination run by the  
27 conquerors against the nation of the Red Indians are an  
28 historical testimony of the ferocity and brutality of these  
29 conquerors. The attempts which aim to falsify the history and to

1 alter the truth will not be able to change the historical fact  
2 which confirms the right of the Red Indians to create a Red  
3 Indian Nation on its historical territory.

13:26:36 4 Sixth, the torn nations have the right to feel connected to  
5 their national entity and to gather their children who are  
6 dispersed, without geographical nor historical refuge, rectifying  
7 this way the historical deviations. On the basis of this  
8 situation, the congress expresses its support to the combat of  
9 the Kurdish people.

13:26:57 10 Seven: The congress pays homage to the recrudescence  
11 combat of the heroic people of Iraq who fight to overthrow the  
12 fascistic and bloodthirsty regime imposed in Iraq by Saddam  
13 Hussein. It condemns the sanguinary war that his regime started  
14 against the Islamic revolution in Iran.

13:27:27 15 Eight: The popular rising of the black minorities and  
16 their refusal of the racial discrimination policy and apartheid  
17 in American and British societies proves the need for modelling  
18 these societies on the basis of justice and equality,  
19 materialised by the fact that these minorities have a total  
13:27:52 20 participation in the political, economic and social arena and  
21 enjoy all the guarantees given by the natural laws and the human  
22 values and principles to exert their rights in all their  
23 plenitude and without reserve."

24 Then we see nine below that, yes, Mr Witness?

13:28:06 25 A. Yes.

26 Q. "Nine: Congress pays homage to the liberating combat of  
27 the small nations and to their perseverance in facing the  
28 imperialist plots challenges which aim is to harm their freedom  
29 and independence and to push them down politically and

1 economi cal l y.

2 Ten: Pays homage to the extension of the opposition  
3 against the cascade of French colonialism.

4 Eleven: The congress puts emphasis on the importance of  
13:28:57 5 reinforcement of the common fight with the Socialist Bloc under  
6 the aegis of the Soviet Union in order to consolidate the cause  
7 for the freedom of the people."

8 I'm going to ask you again, was the Mathaba a tool of the  
9 Soviet Union, bearing in mind we're still in the Cold War years  
13:29:24 10 here?

11 A. The decision of the Mathaba to offer working relations with  
12 the Soviet Union was for practical reasons. It enabled the  
13 Mathaba to confront international imperialism and savagery.

14 PRESIDING JUDGE: I'm not sure that that answers the  
13:29:44 15 question, but if that's how you want it you can continue.  
16 Although I must say it is 1.30 and it's time for us to clear the  
17 Court for another Court to sit. We shall pick it up from here on  
18 Tuesday. That is next Tuesday, 9 March. We will adjourn to  
19 Tuesday, 9 March at 9.30.

13:30:53 20 Mr Witness, I remind you, as I did yesterday, you are not  
21 to discuss your evidence with anyone whilst you're testifying.

22 [Whereupon the hearing adjourned at 1.30 p.m.  
23 to be reconvened on Tuesday, 9 March 2010 at  
24 9.30 a.m.]

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I N D E X

WITNESSES FOR THE DEFENCE:

DCT-125	36665
EXAMINATION-IN-CHIEF BY MR GRIFFITHS	36665