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1 [The R.M.C. 803 session was called to order at 1030, 1 June
2 2016.]

3 MJ [COL POHL]: Commission is called to order. All
4 parties are again present. The detainees remain absent.

5 Mr. Connell, just to let you know, is I think today
6 or yesterday we put out the proposed CY '17 schedule.

7 LDC [MR. CONNELL]: I saw it, sir. Thank you very much.

8 MJ [COL POHL]: And I think we do have some July dates on
9 it.

10 LDC [MR. CONNELL]: I'm working on my brief.

11 MJ [COL POHL]: Okay. That brings us to 390.

12 Mr. Ryan.

13 TC [MR. RYAN]: Good morning, Your Honor.

14 MJ [COL POHL]: Good morning.

15 TC [MR. RYAN]: Your Honor, there's something called a
16 cockpit voice recorder, which is, I believe, required on every
17 certainly commercial airliner in America, probably across the
18 world. On September 11, the different planes that crashed had
19 them, of course, on while they were traveling, that is
20 United -- I'm sorry, American 111, United 175, American 77,
21 and United 93. Following the crashes, the only one that was
22 recovered and usable was United 93. It was fortuitous to some
23 extent that that was the one that survived just because it

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1 probably picked up a larger range of activities. The recorder
2 covers what seems to be in a loop, where it covers about
3 30 minutes worth of time back from the last moment of
4 recording.

5 In the case of 93, it begins the -- the loop begins
6 at the point where the hijacking is actually taking place and
7 then goes through the period of time that the plane is being
8 flown by the hijackers and then ends -- towards the end
9 contains sounds of the struggle as the passengers rush the
10 cockpit in an attempt to take back the plane.

11 So the full 30 minutes has significant events for
12 purposes of the government's case in chief; that is, that it
13 proves hijacking in the first place. It proves -- will tend
14 to prove the initial murders of the crew in the cockpit,
15 sounds of which can be heard. And at the end, it contains the
16 sounds, as I explained, of the attempts to retake the
17 airliner, which is relevant in explaining why it is that this
18 particular plane did not crash into something as the other
19 three did but, in fact, crashed into an open field in
20 Pennsylvania. So it fits the government's theories about the
21 case very well.

22 The sounds on the recording are very raw, as you can
23 imagine. There's a good deal of voices being heard, many of

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1 them the hijackers, because a good chunk of the recording is
2 just the hijackers while flying the plane. But as I said,
3 there's enough of it where other voices can be heard. And
4 that's relevant to this discussion because protection of those
5 other -- of that data, those other voices, of it being
6 disseminated and used for not respectful purposes I think is
7 the purpose of the statute that we've cited. And for that
8 reason, Congress enacted the statute that is contained in the
9 government's brief 49 U.S.C. Section 1154.

10 The government wants to produce the voice recording
11 in discovery, and ultimately use it in the course of the case
12 itself. Because we want to do that, we first have to request
13 of the military commission the protective order as spelled out
14 specifically in the statute. We -- it's a -- it's a laid-out
15 process. We can't turn it over until we have the protective
16 order in place, and the protective order in place will keep it
17 in a safeguarded position through the course of using it in
18 the courtroom and purposes at trial.

19 MJ [COL POHL]: So you're just requesting that I issue
20 that protective order that would permit that you say it's
21 required by statute to permit you to give it to the defense?

22 TC [MR. RYAN]: The protective order has to be in place
23 first and then it can be provided to the defense.

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1 MJ [COL POHL]: Got it.

2 TC [MR. RYAN]: This recording, I should note, was used in
3 the Moussaoui case and there was a protective order in place
4 in regard to that as well.

5 So, Judge, it's a fairly straightforward matter.
6 Unless you have any questions, that's all I have.

7 MJ [COL POHL]: I don't. Thank you.

8 Mr. Connell.

9 LDC [MR. CONNELL]: Thank you, Your Honor. Clearly we're
10 not debating admissibility at this time and we don't have any
11 problem with the protective order as we laid out in our brief.

12 The one place that we do differ with the government
13 is whether it has to be a new protective order or not. The
14 government has many times railed against my attempts to modify
15 protective orders to bring them more in line with executive
16 orders and controlling law, but seems to not want to rely on
17 Protective Order No. 2, AE 014H, which already has a procedure
18 in place to deal with this type of sensitive evidence, which
19 is that evidence can be determined to be -- to fall under the
20 special discovery category which is outlined in AE 014H and
21 then it would give all of the protections which would satisfy
22 the statute if the statute needs to be satisfied, but would
23 also prevent any further disclosure except according to the

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1 terms of that.

2 MJ [COL POHL]: So you would say the government proposed
3 protective order is redundant with something already in place?

4 LDC [MR. CONNELL]: No, sir. Unfortunately, it's not
5 redundant, it's overbroad in that the military commission's
6 question earlier was are you just saying to the government
7 that the -- you should put in a protective order over the
8 discovery process.

9 The government's proposed protective order, it's not
10 mentioned in their brief but it's in the wording of their
11 order, goes ahead and reaches into closure of the trial
12 process, which I think requires an 806 and Press Enterprise
13 analysis, which is the reason why we didn't just consent to
14 this. I think that the proposed protective order from the
15 government is overbroad. It should protect the discovery
16 process, but the question of how this would be handled at
17 trial should be left for appropriate analysis under the
18 constitutional and military commissions authorities.

19 MJ [COL POHL]: Okay. Got it. Thank you.

20 TC [MR. RYAN]: Just to say -- I'm sorry, Your Honor.
21 Just to say that if the commission wishes to reword the
22 protective order just to protect it for purposes of discovery
23 at this point, we get to other issues later, we have no

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1 objection to that. Okay.

2 MJ [COL POHL]: Okay. Thank you.

3 TC [MR. RYAN]: Thank you, sir.

4 MJ [COL POHL]: Thank you.

5 LDC [MS. BORMANN]: Judge, we have argument on this.

6 MJ [COL POHL]: Okay. I'm sorry. We got a little ----

7 DDC [MAJ SEEGER]: Good morning, Your Honor.

8 MJ [COL POHL]: Good morning.

9 DDC [MAJ SEEGER]: Your Honor, Mr. Bin'Attash joins
10 Mr. al Baluchi's response, AE 390A. And with him we would not
11 object to designating cockpit voice recorder recordings as
12 sensitive discovery. Furthermore, we ask that the commission
13 remain at all times cognizant of the extensive and often
14 excessive levels of secrecy that exist already in this case,
15 the level of public interest and the historical value of all
16 materials relevant to these proceedings.

17 To that we would add two observations: First, that
18 the Flight 93 cockpit voice recorder and recording have thus
19 far been subjected to very little forensic and judicial
20 scrutiny. And secondly, that with respect to the cockpit
21 voice recorder transcript, the cat is already, to a very large
22 extent, out of the bag. There may be very little written
23 material left to protect and a blanket protective order as to

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1 the transcript may serve little purpose.

2 First, we would observe that the Moussaoui case, to
3 which much reference has been made this week, subjected the
4 Flight 93 CVR, its chain of custody, and its post-recovery
5 processing to very little scrutiny, inasmuch as both the audio
6 and the transcript were ultimately admitted pursuant to a
7 stipulation. See Moussaoui trial transcript April 11, 2006,
8 Volume 17A, at pages 3455 through 3457.

9 As counsel for Mr. al Baluchi noted in AE 390A at
10 page 3, footnote 9, quote, it is worth noting that the legal
11 implications of the sealing order in the Moussaoui case may
12 not have been fully explored due to the fact that
13 Mr. Moussaoui was representing himself, unquote.

14 This is perhaps a small point to be noted only in
15 passing, but it is notable that no government record thus far
16 released, at least to my knowledge, contains the unique serial
17 number pertaining to the Flight 93 CVR. This is contrary to
18 the otherwise nearly invariable practice of the United States
19 Government in air disaster cases involving recovered CVRs.

20 MJ [COL POHL]: Are you arguing admissibility now or are
21 you arguing just simply -- I mean, all we're talking about
22 here is a protective order for discovery.

23 DC [MAJ SEEGER]: Your Honor, I'm suggesting that a

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1 protective order of the kind originally requested, at any
2 rate, would be premature because it would be limit our ability
3 to assess the ultimate admissibility, but I'm not arguing
4 against admissibility at this point.

5 MJ [COL POHL]: Okay. Go ahead.

6 DC [MAJ SEEGER]: Why the government has not released this
7 serial number in this case is a mystery, a mystery that is
8 inappropriate in a case of such historic and civic interest
9 and, of course, for many people watching today, intense
10 personal interest. Secondly, we would observe that various
11 versions of the CVR transcript have been publicly available
12 for years. And we're about to have these available for
13 marking and distribution to all parties. I apologize that
14 they're not quite yet.

15 According to news reports, and probably according to
16 the memories of many persons now in this building, Judge
17 Brinkema in the Moussaoui case permitted the CVR audio to be
18 played in court on April 12, 2006. The actual recording was
19 protected from further release out of respect for the families
20 of the victims. At about that same time, she authorized the
21 public release of the transcript, marked government Exhibit
22 P200056T for identification, which was then posted on the
23 websites of major news outlets where it remains to this day.

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1 That nine-page transcript contains no marked redactions.

2 There is at least one other version of the transcript
3 available in the public domain, a 9/11 copy that appears to
4 have been released pursuant to a FOIA request. It is
5 available on the digital library website, Scribd spelled
6 S-C-R-I-B-D, for anyone who wishes to view it.

7 This transcript is also of nine pages, plus a
8 prefatory page added to the front explaining how it was put
9 together and giving a key to audio channel sources and
10 typeface conventions. The additional prefatory page makes it
11 a ten-page document, with the transcript itself starting on a
12 page marked 2 of 10. A note at the bottom of each page
13 indicates that it is based on an original dated 1 March 2002,
14 and that it went through a major review on 4 December 2003.
15 In addition to English-language translations of non-English
16 portions, it has Arabic letters representing the words that
17 were translated.

18 Unlike the version released at the Moussaoui trial,
19 this transcript has some few redactions. There are four short
20 redactions at the bottom of the second page marked 3 of 10,
21 and there are two short redactions at the top of the third
22 page marked 4 of 10. The 9/11 commission copy to which I
23 refer appears to contain no other redacted passages.

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1 The existence of these transcripts in the public
2 domain, Your Honor, raises a number of questions about the
3 protective order the government now proposes, questions which
4 should be considered and answered before you rule. One, was
5 the transcript released in the Moussaoui trial which contains
6 no marked redactions fully accurate? Two, is there now a new
7 version of the transcript that is more complete or accurate
8 than any that has been released before? Three, are there
9 other unreleased versions of the transcript?

10 MJ [COL POHL]: And how would I explore unreleased
11 versions of a transcript?

12 DC [MAJ SEEGER]: By asking the government whether they
13 exist, Your Honor.

14 MJ [COL POHL]: Okay. Go ahead.

15 DC [MAJ SEEGER]: Four, in sealing the transcript now, is
16 the government seeking to restrict defense use of any
17 information to which we already have access? Five, is the
18 protection of the National Transportation Safety Board against
19 premature public speculation regarding the cause of any
20 airline crash so that it may conduct a full and fair
21 investigation really implicated in this proceeding? Six, in
22 the Moussaoui case, the government made certain
23 representations about the CVR and its transcript. One was in

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1 a document entitled government's Submission Regarding
2 Relevance of Cockpit Voice Recorders, dated September 24,
3 2002, at the bottom of the first page.

4 In that submission, the government in the Moussaoui
5 case stated as follows, quote, although the government --
6 pardon me. Quote, Also, the government wishes to make clear
7 that it filed its motion for protective order solely to ensure
8 compliance with the statute. There are no national security
9 concerns or other policy reasons why the tapes and transcripts
10 should be sealed. Indeed, if 49 U.S.C. Section 1154 did not
11 exist, the government would have no qualms about complete
12 public dissemination, unquote.

13 MJ [COL POHL]: So I don't understand. What are you
14 saying?

15 DC [MAJ SEEGER]: I'm seeking to establish, Your Honor,
16 whether the government in this case now stands by that
17 averment made ----

18 MJ [COL POHL]: No, what I'm saying is ----

19 DC [MAJ SEEGER]: ---- in 2002.

20 MJ [COL POHL]: Are you saying there should be no
21 protective order?

22 DC [MAJ SEEGER]: Your Honor, as I said, we have no
23 objection, as I understand Mr. al Baluchi has no objection to

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1 treating this as sensitive discovery and protecting it
2 appropriately ----

3 MJ [COL POHL]: Okay.

4 DC [MAJ SEEGER]: ---- but protecting it in the way that
5 Mr. Connell suggested.

6 MJ [COL POHL]: Okay. I just didn't quite follow the idea
7 that -- it seemed like you were also arguing that there's no
8 need for a protective order altogether because it's already
9 out there.

10 DC [MAJ SEEGER]: In this section, Your Honor, I'm
11 addressing the transcript only ----

12 MJ [COL POHL]: Okay. Got it.

13 DC [MAJ SEEGER]: ---- and not the audio.

14 So this averment by the government in 2002 raises
15 these questions. Does the government now seek the protective
16 order solely to ensure compliance with the statute? Is it now
17 the case that there are no national security concerns or other
18 policy reasons why the tapes and transcripts should be sealed?
19 And is it now the case that if 49 U.S.C. Section 1154 did not
20 exist, the government would have no qualms about complete
21 public dissemination?

22 MJ [COL POHL]: Would you have qualms about complete
23 public dissemination of the transcript?

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1 DC [MAJ SEEGER]: Your Honor, I don't know. I haven't
2 seen those four or eight small portions that are redacted in
3 the version of the transcript released by the 9/11 commission.

4 MJ [COL POHL]: No, I mean, isn't one of the -- there's
5 two concerns here. There's a statutory concern, I got that.
6 There's also the idea of evidence appearing in public before
7 the trial itself begins and the possible impact it could have
8 on potential members.

9 DC [MAJ SEEGER]: Yes, Your Honor.

10 MJ [COL POHL]: We've mentioned that earlier on some other
11 occasions and on this also. So would that be a concern for
12 you from a defense perspective if this were publicly
13 disseminated?

14 DC [MAJ SEEGER]: Your Honor, I don't believe the -- any
15 of the defense teams would intend to make a public
16 dissemination of ----

17 MJ [COL POHL]: I didn't say that. What I'm saying is you
18 seem to be saying that if the government didn't have to do
19 this by statute, they'd put it out and they wouldn't have any
20 qualms about putting it out. My question is, would you have
21 qualms about -- in the form of objecting to them, putting it
22 out for the potential impact on the potential members when the
23 case is tried?

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1 DC [MAJ SEEGER]: Based on what I've seen so far, sir, no.
2 And the government itself has said that it would have no such
3 qualms.

4 MJ [COL POHL]: Okay.

5 DC [MAJ SEEGER]: At least in the Moussaoui case.

6 MJ [COL POHL]: Got it.

7 DC [MAJ SEEGER]: And so ----

8 MJ [COL POHL]: Go ahead.

9 DC [MAJ SEEGER]: And so, Your Honor, to conclude, I would
10 say that any ruling on the issuance of the requested
11 protective order should be informed by a consideration of
12 these questions and their answers and such a ruling is
13 therefore premature.

14 Finally, Your Honor, if the government would now
15 release the serial number of the cockpit voice recorder in
16 question, we would welcome that information.

17 MJ [COL POHL]: Okay. Thank you.

18 I'll note for the record that the defense introduced
19 a 390C (WBA) and 390D (WBA) which are the two transcripts that
20 Major Seeger referred to.

21 LDC [MS. BORMANN]: And, Judge, we've we've distributed
22 them to the parties.

23 MJ [COL POHL]: And I also put it on the record.

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1 LDC [MR. CONNELL]: Excuse me, Your Honor. Which one is C
2 and which one is D?

3 MJ [COL POHL]: D is the ten-page version with the extra
4 cover sheet and C would be the nine-page version of the
5 transcript.

6 Any other defense counsel want to be heard on this?

7 Mr. Ryan, you've already had your two shots.

8 TC [MR. RYAN]: Yes, sir.

9 MJ [COL POHL]: That brings us to, since we've already
10 talked about this earlier, 399. Mr. Connell.

11 LDC [MR. CONNELL]: 321 is intimately related. Basically
12 my comments will apply to both 321 and 399. They're
13 almost ----

14 MJ [COL POHL]: Okay.

15 LDC [MR. CONNELL]: Where there is a difference, I will
16 discuss them.

17 MJ [COL POHL]: Okay. Go ahead.

18 LDC [MR. CONNELL]: Thank you, sir. Just one moment.

19 Sir, I need to begin by noting that there is a 505(f)
20 notice related to 321. With that 505 notice is 321A. About
21 95 percent of the argument is unclassified and I'm perfectly
22 happy to proceed, but I would like to add 321A to our list
23 of -- our ever-growing list of 505 considerations for our

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1 505(h) hearing.

2 MJ [COL POHL]: Okay.

3 LDC [MR. CONNELL]: So 321 and 399 raise a lot of
4 fundamental questions that this military commission has
5 touched on, sometimes correctly, sometimes I think with a lack
6 of nuance, but are squarely presented here.

7 So I want to begin with the proposition that we are
8 in a law of war tribunal. The definition of war crimes, no
9 matter how al Bahlul comes out on its many possible outcomes,
10 no matter how al Bahlul comes out, the war crimes definitions
11 are informed by the law of war in 2001.

12 And more precisely important for AE 321 and 399 is
13 that the detention that the defendants in this case are held
14 in is pure law of war detention. And the reason why I make
15 that -- I want to make that point, in almost every other
16 situation, a person who is deprived of their liberty in the
17 United States is done so on the order of a judicial or
18 quasi-judicial officer.

19 It so happened that once I was on the tuberculosis
20 panel in Fairfax County, Virginia, and my responsibility there
21 was to defend people who were ordered to be deprived of their
22 liberty because they had an uncontrolled disease. Even in
23 that situation, a person was deprived of their liberty not for

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1 criminal wrongdoing but for public policy reasons, like the
2 law of war, by order of a judge.

3 In this situation -- and that's usually not true in
4 the UCMJ situation, of course, because it's a commander who
5 deprives their Soldier, Sailor, Airman or Marine of liberty.
6 But here the defendants are deprived of liberty only through
7 operation of the law of war. The military commission didn't
8 order them to be detained and arguably the military commission
9 could not order their release.

10 That law of war detention, however, is a package
11 deal. The same principles which permit that law of war
12 detention in international humanitarian law are the principles
13 which limit that detention in international humanitarian law.
14 It is not possible to pick and choose in a law of war
15 detention situation because the authority to detain comes with
16 its built-in principles, it comes with built-in limitations.
17 And this is not some radical idea that I've come up with, this
18 is actually the official position of the United States
19 Government on this topic.

20 When the Obama administration took office in 2009,
21 the District of D.C. asked the administration, the Department
22 of Justice, for an official -- for a statement of what
23 principles the United States Government felt governed law of

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1 war detention. And on, I believe it was, 23 March 2009,
2 the -- in the habeas cases, the United States Government filed
3 its official position. And boiled down that position is, and
4 I quote here, "The detention authority conferred by the
5 authorization for use of military force is necessarily
6 informed by the principles of the law of war."

7 So that raises the question, what is the
8 relationship -- what are those principles of the law of war
9 and what is their relationship to other aspects of domestic
10 law, because I submit to you in many ways the law of war is
11 the law of the United States, and what is its relationship to
12 International Human Rights Law or IHRL?

13 The government got this fundamentally wrong in 321B.
14 And the reason why I spent so much time trying to construct
15 this issue in 321C is that the government's argument was wrong
16 in many, many ways, and that's what I'm talking about today.

17 But their fundamental claim, their fundamental
18 opposition to our argument for family contact is found in
19 321B, and I'm going to quote here -- or excuse me, their claim
20 is that our -- the principles that we rely on govern, and here
21 I begin to quote, "prisoners in the United States, not
22 detainees being detained under the authorization for use of
23 military force, the AUMF, as informed by the principles of war

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1 as enemy belligerents."

2 That argument from the government has the situation
3 exactly wrong. The government has continuously relied on
4 principles like Turner v. Safley which govern civilian
5 prisoners in civilian prisons. These are not civilian -- they
6 are civilian prisoners, but they're certainly not in a
7 civilian system. The -- and, in fact, all of the principles
8 that we articulate in 321 and later in 399 are the law of war
9 principles that are baked into law of war detention.

10 I think that on a couple of occasions, the military
11 commissions has, in glancing blows, made comments about this
12 that I think would bear correction. I'm going to mention
13 those as we go by.

14 I also want to observe that we did have a slightly
15 different position from Mr. Bin'Attash in AE 321 pleadings,
16 but I think that our positions converged in the AE 399
17 pleadings.

18 So what is the relationship of the law of war to a
19 military commission? As a learned colleague of mine
20 explained, there is -- the United States has a hybrid system
21 of dealing with international law, including the law of war.
22 It is governed by four main principles. The first of those
23 principles is the supremacy clause, the idea articulated by

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1 the founders in the Constitution, that the international law,
2 the law of nations as they would have said, is -- and treaties
3 are the law of the land.

4 The second is the self-execution doctrine. This came
5 up in the AE 200 series. Certain treaties are self-executing,
6 certain other treaties are not self-executing. Some treaties
7 may have been self-executing in 1955, like the Geneva
8 Conventions, but had limits on their abilities to be
9 self-executed in 2006 in the Military Commissions Act of 2006.

10 The third principle that governs this hybrid system
11 is the second in time rule, that a subsequent explanation of
12 the law governs an earlier explanation of the law. That is
13 why, for example, that in 2006 Congress was able to change the
14 scope of ability to claim redress under the Geneva
15 Conventions.

16 And the fourth element of this hybrid system is the
17 Charming Betsy Doctrine. The Charming Betsy Doctrine says
18 that -- is a principle of avoidance in the same way as the
19 more familiar principle of constitutional avoidance, that,
20 when possible, a construing authority should construe the
21 relevant law to be consistent with international law as
22 opposed to inconsistent with international law.

23 All right. So with that background, we begin with

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1 the question of the relationship between International
2 Humanitarian Law and International Human Rights Law here in
3 the military commission.

4 The overall position of international scholars in the
5 international courts is that International Humanitarian Law is
6 complemented by International Human Rights Law when those two
7 bodies are not inconsistent. The number of cases out of the
8 International Court of Justice, most prominently occupied
9 Palestinian territory and similar cases out of the
10 Inter-American Court of Human Rights, including Bamaca,
11 B-A-M-A-C-A, Velasquez versus Guatemala.

12 The reason why I explain those principles is that
13 until 2009, or arguably even 2014, the United States had a
14 position that international humanitarian law was *lex*
15 *specialis*, that it was the only law that governed detention of
16 detainees, but *ex --* I would say implicitly in 2009 and
17 explicitly in 2014, the United States abandoned that position.

18 So, Your Honor, may I have access to the document
19 camera? I would like to show a document which is already in
20 the record as AE 321C, Attachment B.

21 MJ [COL POHL]: Sure. Go ahead.

22 LDC [MR. CONNELL]: Thank you.

23 May I have permission to display it to the gallery?

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1 Let me just show counsel first. Your Honor, may I have
2 permission to display the document camera to the gallery?

3 MJ [COL POHL]: Have you seen this? I'm not sure which
4 document it is yet.

5 LDC [MR. CONNELL]: Okay. I can hand up a copy. It's
6 already in the record. It's already been processed.

7 MJ [COL POHL]: If it's already been processed, yeah, go
8 ahead.

9 LDC [MR. CONNELL]: Could we bring it up on the overhead,
10 Your Honor?

11 MJ [COL POHL]: Sure.

12 LDC [MR. CONNELL]: It's coming.

13 MJ [COL POHL]: This is on your -- this is attachment to
14 321C?

15 LDC [MR. CONNELL]: This is Attachment B to AE 321C.

16 In -- at the review by the Committee Against Torture
17 of the United States in November of 2014, the acting legal
18 advisor to the United States Department of State made an
19 explanation of the United States' position on the role of the
20 law of war in detention operations. It did so specifically
21 by -- in the context of the Committee Against Torture, but
22 went broader than that, so let me refer you to the specific
23 information.

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1 I wouldn't normally go to such efforts for a quote,
2 but the -- this is such a -- an important explanation of the
3 U.S. position that I don't think has been previously analyzed
4 here in the military commission, but the green bracketed
5 information says that, "Although the law of armed conflict is
6 the controlling body of law with respect to the conduct of
7 hostilities and the protection of war victims, a time of war
8 does not suspend operation of the Convention Against Torture,
9 which continues to apply even when a state is engaged in armed
10 conflict. The obligations to prevent torture and cruel,
11 inhumane, and degrading treatment and punishment in the
12 convention remain applicable in our times of armed conflict
13 and are reinforced by the complementary prohibitions in the
14 time of armed conflict."

15 The significance of this position is not lost on --
16 we can let go of the document camera, please. The
17 significance of this position was not lost on commentators who
18 in many ways applauded the United States for abandoning *lex*
19 *specialis*, that is, the idea that the law of war occupied the
20 field and excluded all human rights law and the law of war is
21 essentially binary. A person who is being dealt with under
22 the law of war is either a combatant, a limited set of people
23 who have a chain of command, wear a badge of authority, and

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1 are subject to the laws of war, or a civilian, a person who is
2 not a combatant.

3 There is confusion on this topic because of the
4 language of the Bush Administration of unlawful combatants.
5 But strangely enough, unlawful combatants are not a subset of
6 lawful combatants, unlawful combatants are a subset of
7 civilians. An unlawful combatant is a civilian who takes up
8 arms and is thus argued to be targetable by the military for
9 such time as they take a direct part in hostilities.

10 So that brings us to the question of what is the
11 status of these defendants. Now, even after the Military
12 Commissions Act of 2006 greatly limited the application of the
13 Geneva Conventions, and then rolled back by the Military
14 Commissions Act of 2009 prohibited the use of Geneva
15 Conventions as a basis for a private right of action. In
16 Yahia, Y-A-H-I-A v. Obama at 716 F.3d 627, a 2013 D.C. Circuit
17 case, the D.C. Circuit explained even after those times in a
18 Guantanamo context the Geneva Convention remain a roadmap for
19 the establishment of protected status.

20 So the question is what is that status? Well, we --
21 we have very clear guidance, both in the Geneva Conventions
22 and in Army regulation 190-8, which domesticates most of the
23 provisions of the Geneva Convention and translates them into a

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1 specifically American context.

2 Both of those -- both Article 5 of the -- of --
3 Common Article 5 of the Geneva Conventions and Army Regulation
4 190-8, Section 1-6.a, say that, "Until a competent tribunal
5 has determined a person's status to be otherwise, a law of war
6 detainee status to be otherwise, they are to be considered a
7 prisoner of war under Geneva Convention 3." It's equally true
8 because of the operation of the burden of proof, that under
9 94 -- 10 U.S.C. 948b(e), until a competent tribunal determines
10 that a person is an alien unlawful enemy belligerent, then
11 they are not presumed to have that status.

12 That question -- both of those questions, are
13 presented in AE 119. As we stand here on 1 June 2016, the
14 defendants are in the status of protection under Geneva
15 Convention 3 because there has been no competent tribunal
16 which has determined that they are not -- that they fall into
17 some other category.

18 Now, our position -- and so truthfully, that means
19 that whatever 10 U.S.C. 948b(a), the prohibition on citing the
20 Geneva Conventions as a basis for private right of action,
21 whatever that means, whether that applies in military
22 commissions cases or only as truly a private right of action,
23 the military commissions conclusion that it governs right now

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1 in AE 303D was wrong because the 10 U.S.C. 948b(e) only
2 applies, only inserts a barrier against reliance on the Geneva
3 Conventions as a private right of action for a person who is
4 an AUEB, that is a person who has been determined to be an
5 AUEB, which has not happened yet in this case. It may never
6 happen. But it certainly has not happened yet.

7 Now, our position as articulated in 321 (AAA) Sup, is
8 that at that Article 5 hearing, the military commission or
9 whatever other tribunal, Army regulation 190-8 allows other
10 tribunals, it allows, it specifically reflects the
11 requirements of Geneva Convention III, that there be a
12 three-judge tribunal, should determine that Mr. al Baluchi
13 specifically is a protected person, a civilian under Geneva
14 Convention Article 4 -- excuse me, under Geneva Convention IV.
15 That is true no matter what the nature of this conflict is.

16 Now, up to now, we have been talking about people.
17 Now, I want to switch for a moment and talk about conflicts
18 because it's important to the application of the Geneva
19 Convention what kind of conflict there is.

20 Now in reality, Mr. al Baluchi may not have been
21 arrested in connection with -- or detained in connection with
22 any conflict whatsoever. The only body who has assessed sort
23 of a global war on terror with all of its many aspects has

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1 concluded that it does not qualify as an armed conflict at
2 all. That would be the United Nations in its 2004 exploration
3 of the status of persons at Guantanamo Bay because -- and
4 there's a reason for that, right? You think about the War on
5 Terror and the vast number of things which are dealt with
6 under the War of Terror, that would include targeted killing,
7 it would include ordinary military operations.

8 But on the other hand, the War on Terror could
9 include things like surveillance. It could include things
10 like avoiding, you know, financial transactions. So not all
11 of that is armed conflict. So the idea of the War on Terror
12 as armed conflict is too broad.

13 Now, we also know, however, that there are aspects of
14 the War on Terror which have constituted an international
15 armed conflict, that would be the conflict in Afghanistan from
16 2001 to 2003, and we also know that there are aspects that
17 constitute a noninternational armed conflict.

18 The charge sheet is silent on the question of whether
19 this is an international armed conflict, an IAC, or an NIAC, a
20 noninternational armed conflict, but the prosecution has taken
21 the position that at least parts of it are a noninternational
22 armed conflict. The United States Supreme Court certainly
23 treated it that way in Hamdan, and so I'm going to proceed now

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1 under the presumption that we're dealing with a
2 noninternational armed conflict for purposes of the Geneva
3 Conventions.

4 Now, switching back, why is it our position that the
5 -- switching back to the status of the person, why is it that
6 Mr. al Baluchi is a protected person under Geneva Convention
7 IV. The first reason, of course, is that the Law of War is
8 binary. There are only two categories of persons, there is
9 the category of civilians and there's the category of
10 combatants. And an unlawful combatant, an unlawful enemy
11 combatant, an unlawful alien enemy combatant, all of those
12 fall into the civilian category which is the subject of Geneva
13 IV.

14 Now, our specific -- ordinarily a noninternational
15 armed conflict would only achieve the protection of Common
16 Article 3, because other than Common Article 3, the vast
17 majority of both Geneva III and Geneva IV deal only with the
18 international armed conflicts, whereas Common Article 3, of
19 course, deals with noninternational armed conflicts.

20 But there's a much-overlooked provision of Common
21 Article 2 within the Geneva Conventions which provides that
22 the Geneva Conventions apply when there is, quote, partial or
23 total occupation of territory of a high-contracting party,

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1 even if it meets with no armed resistance.

2 That situation describes Guantanamo. And I know that
3 my position on this may be fairly rare, but it has a great
4 deal of support in United States case law. It is obviously
5 the position of the high-contracting party on whose territory
6 we sit, that is Cuba, but it is -- there is a great deal of
7 support for it in American domestic law as well.

8 The first source of that law comes from a case called
9 Adula, A-D-U-L-A, at 176 U.S. 361, a 1900 case. It was a
10 Supreme Court case still during the Spanish American War which
11 was dealing with the status of Guantanamo Bay, and it
12 describes the occupation of Guantanamo Bay in a technical
13 legal sense of occupation by the United States Marines in
14 1898. That occupation has never been relinquished. It was
15 regularized in 1903 by a treaty between the United States and
16 Cuba, which the treaty itself uses the word occupy.

17 Now, there is debate, I admit, over whether the use
18 of the word occupy in the 1903 treaty is the same use of the
19 word occupy in Common Article 2, but it certainly does not
20 push against the idea that they -- that the United States
21 continued to occupy.

22 Now, in modern times, we've had much more analysis
23 along the same lines. We have spent at various times a fair

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1 amount of time talking about Boumediene v. Bush, found at 553
2 U.S. 723, 2018. And principally we talk about its extension
3 of constitutional rights to the de facto occupation, the de
4 facto sovereignty of the United States at Guantanamo Bay. It
5 has other aspects as well that don't get as much attention.
6 One of those that is that the -- in determining the de facto
7 sovereignty of the United States over Guantanamo, the United
8 States Supreme Court compared the occupation of Cuba at
9 Guantanamo Bay with the occupation of Germany following World
10 War II. And, in fact, the United States Supreme Court
11 reasoned that the occupation -- the occupation of Cuba is more
12 complete -- is -- excuse me, not complete, absolute, is more
13 absolute than the occupation of the allies of post World War
14 II Germany.

15 Finally, there is a D.C. Circuit case also bears on
16 the question and that is Maquleh, M-A-Q-U-L-E-H, v. Gates at
17 605 F.3d 84, a D.C. case from 2010 which compares the
18 occupation of Cuba by the United States with the occupation of
19 Afghan territory in Bagram. And like Boumediene, it reasons
20 that the occupation at Guantanamo is much more complete than
21 the relationship that the United States bears to Afghanistan
22 in Bagram.

23 So if that were true, if my position is correct, that

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1 Common Article 2, Geneva IV applies, then what's the answer to
2 this actual question which is before the military commission,
3 which is what about family contacts?

4 Well, if that is true, if Geneva IV applies, then
5 Article 116 provides the clear answer, there's no more debate.
6 Article 116 of Geneva IV provides that every internee, which
7 is a subset of detainees, every internee shall be allowed to
8 receive visitors, especially near relatives, at regular
9 intervals and as much as possible. Geneva IV also talks about
10 telegrams. It's no longer possible to talk about telegrams,
11 but I think that's a good analogy between modern communication
12 and the telegram.

13 One of the aspects of military writing that I like is
14 that sometimes in e-mails I see members of the military put
15 the word break, and by -- what I take that to mean is I'm done
16 talking about the thing that I was talking about before. Now
17 I want to talk about something else. So I'm putting the word
18 break here.

19 MJ [COL POHL]: Okay.

20 LDC [MR. CONNELL]: Because what I have been talking about
21 recently is the direct application of Geneva IV to
22 Mr. al Baluchi in Article 116. I'm not going to talk about
23 that anymore. Everything that I just said about the

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1 occupation of Cuba by the United States does not matter for
2 everything else that I say now.

3 What I am trying to say is if you think, Mr. Connell,
4 you're crazy if you think that I'm going to rule that the
5 United States is occupying Cuba, then you can still rule in my
6 favor based on all of the material that I'm about to cover,
7 because that's -- that's strict Geneva that we just talked
8 about and now we're going to talk about the U.S. domestication
9 of international law through executive orders, congressional
10 statutes, DoD policy.

11 MJ [COL POHL]: And at some point you're going to get to
12 why this is in my lane?

13 LDC [MR. CONNELL]: Yes. Absolutely. Absolutely.

14 The -- because it's very much in your lane and so I
15 will definitely get there. Now, so ----

16 MJ [COL POHL]: Just so I'm clear, this long dissertation
17 on international law, and given the nature of the motion and
18 reading your pleadings, is you seem to be going down that I am
19 to ensure that the confinement facility complies with
20 international law in these other aspects, communication with
21 family and things like that?

22 LDC [MR. CONNELL]: I'm glad you asked because here's what
23 your responsibility is. Your responsibility is also binary.

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1 Your responsibility is to ensure humane treatment of
2 detainees. All right. There are multiple reasons why you
3 have to do that, largely for -- and they fall into two
4 categories, which the military commission actually articulated
5 in AE 018T. One of those is the ability of the military
6 commission to proceed and the other one is the effect on the
7 defendants' rights.

8 So yes, it is absolutely true that your
9 responsibility to ensure humane treatment and the binary flip
10 of that is to avoid cruel, inhumane, and degrading treatment,
11 is absolutely within the lane of the military commission.

12 MJ [COL POHL]: Then is there any limit on, in view of my
13 authority to -- to regulate the conditions of confinement of
14 these five accused?

15 LDC [MR. CONNELL]: My goodness, there are tons of limits.
16 In fact, there are -- there was a bill in Congress last month
17 to move these detainees out of Guantanamo Bay, in which case
18 geographically you would have no limit whatsoever.

19 MJ [COL POHL]: Well, but I'm -- what I'm saying is -- I
20 understand there's a statutory -- it's an Article 1 court, I
21 got it. It's limited jurisdiction, I've got that part.

22 LDC [MR. CONNELL]: Lots of limits.

23 MJ [COL POHL]: But what you just said seems to say that

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1 any condition of confinement that may violate international
2 law ----

3 LDC [MR. CONNELL]: I'm not talking about international
4 law. In fact, that's kind of the point that I'm trying to
5 make is I'm talking about domesticated U.S. law. The whole
6 reason for the dissertation about the four principles of the
7 hybrid system is to explain that.

8 Your ruling in AE 200 took a very limited view of
9 what our argument was, I don't mean a limited view of the law.
10 You took our argument to be that we were arguing that the
11 Commission Against Torture -- excuse me, the jus cogens
12 against torture for Mr. Al Hawsawi and the Convention Against
13 Torture for Mr. al Baluchi gave the military commission
14 authority to act on its own. And while that's a fair argument
15 and I think that we were right about that, there was a lot
16 more nuance to that because -- and what I'm talking to you
17 today about is not, you know, please act to enforce the
18 Copenhagen process on detention authorities in a
19 noninternational armed conflict.

20 Instead what I'm asking you to do is to follow DoD
21 policy, executive orders, and the Detainee Treatment Act of
22 2005, U.S. policy on what is humane treatment.

23 So, yes, there is absolutely a limit. Those limits

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1 are, number one, you have -- you have a duty to ensure humane
2 treatment, but not beyond that, unless, two, there is a direct
3 impact on the military commissions.

4 So direct impact on the military commissions and the
5 fundamental responsibility of all U.S. servicemembers and all
6 U.S. authorities to provide humane treatment are the two
7 limits.

8 So does that mean ----

9 MJ [COL POHL]: Does the first part -- is the first one
10 really a limit? I've got the second one because we've talked
11 about that, we've talked about impact on the commissions.
12 Okay.

13 But the humane treatment component, and help me here,
14 would seem to be awfully broad. That what basically you're
15 saying, so there's something that has no nexus with this by
16 definition it doesn't fit the subset of nexus to the
17 commission, okay, but somehow ----

18 LDC [MR. CONNELL]: Let me explain.

19 MJ [COL POHL]: Do you see where I have trouble here?

20 LDC [MR. CONNELL]: I see where you are going, yeah. It's
21 the same situation that you have in the UCMJ court. So in
22 the -- if this were a court-martial, the -- a commander would
23 order their Soldier, Sailor, Airman, or Marine to be confined.

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1 You're not in their chain of command. You're not responsible
2 for what they do. But nevertheless, it is clearly within the
3 jurisdiction of the court-martial, because they have
4 responsibility for the body of the defendant, it is the -- it
5 is within the authority of the court-martial to deal with
6 conditions of confinement. In fact, not only is it within the
7 authority of the -- of the court-martial, it is a duty of a
8 court-martial.

9 MJ [COL POHL]: That's encapsulating a specific statutory
10 provision.

11 LDC [MR. CONNELL]: Not correct, sir. It is not.

12 MJ [COL POHL]: Oh, really?

13 LDC [MR. CONNELL]: Yes. That is right.

14 Neither the UCMJ nor the Military Commissions Act
15 include a specific due process -- include a specific
16 requirement for -- to supervise conditions of confinement.

17 MJ [COL POHL]: No, but doesn't Article 13 prohibit ----

18 LDC [MR. CONNELL]: Illegal pretrial punishment, of
19 course.

20 MJ [COL POHL]: ---- illegal pretrial punishment and,
21 therefore, there's a specific provision that necessarily
22 implies there's a judicial role in that? I mean, you say you
23 disagree there's a statute. That's the statutory reference I

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1 was referring to.

2 LDC [MR. CONNELL]: I see.

3 MJ [COL POHL]: Is there a comparable one here?

4 LDC [MR. CONNELL]: Okay. Three thoughts about that.

5 The first one is Article 13 as has been repeatedly
6 explained by all of the military courts is simply a -- is
7 simply a crystallization of the due process right against
8 pretrial punishment. Okay.

9 If the -- if there's a Fifth Amendment right against
10 pretrial punishment, which there clearly is, right, and lots
11 of cases have held against that, and the Detainee Treatment
12 Act of 2005 requires this military commission to enforce the
13 Fifth Amendment requirement, then the same principles which
14 come under Article 13 are present through the Detainee
15 Treatment Act of 2005. That's the first thing.

16 The second thing is ----

17 MJ [COL POHL]: But do you understand Article 13, when
18 it's talking about pretrial punishment, unduly harsh
19 conditions of pretrial confinement, okay, it's talking
20 about -- it's not talking about all conditions of confinement
21 that may -- that a detainee or in this case a soldier is
22 talking about. We're talking about, you know, improperly
23 treating the soldier where ----

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1 LDC [MR. CONNELL]: You might say inhumane treatment.

2 MJ [COL POHL]: You might, but it doesn't go into whether
3 or not he doesn't get rec period of time or things like that.

4 LDC [MR. CONNELL]: Okay. Well ----

5 MJ [COL POHL]: Well, let me just put it this way:

6 Different judges interpret it differently, I've got that; but
7 there's a limit ----

8 LDC [MR. CONNELL]: No, I understand.

9 MJ [COL POHL]: ---- but there's a limit of where you go
10 down that road. And what I'm saying is when you talk about it
11 doesn't have to have a nexus to the trial, there's another
12 category of inhumane treatment. Under your analysis of the
13 Article 13 analogy, that is the nexus to the trial.

14 LDC [MR. CONNELL]: Sure. That's a perfectly good way to
15 say it. There are a couple of things -- that's a fine way to
16 say it.

17 The -- you know, a court-martial has a nexus to the
18 conditions of confinement in the disciplinary barracks because
19 the defendant who is between -- in front of the court-martial
20 is living in the disciplinary barracks. Yes, that in a way,
21 that is the connection. The due process analysis under the
22 Detainee Detention Act of 2005 is a connection. There are
23 other connections.

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1 I think that it is -- we have yet to determine the
2 status of Article 3 -- excuse me, of Article 13 itself in the
3 military commission. 948, 10 U.S.C. 948b lists a set of
4 requirements from the UCMJ which are absolutely not imported
5 into the MCA. Speedy trial, for example, is one of those.
6 But Article 13 is not one of those. Article 13 is one of
7 those which falls under the provision of 948b, which is, all
8 other aspects of the UCMJ are applicable to the extent they
9 are consistent with military commissions practice. So, you
10 know, there is -- the status of Article 13 falls into a gray
11 area in the Military Commissions Act of 2009 which has yet to
12 be resolved.

13 So the third principle, the third connection is that
14 there is a duty to ensure humane treatment, which is not
15 entirely the same as avoiding pretrial punishment. Right.
16 There will be a separate motion about pretrial punishment. In
17 fact, what the Court of Appeals for the Armed Forces say as I
18 read them, one of the requirements before bringing a claim of
19 illegal pretrial punishment is to give the military
20 commission, or the court-martial in that situation, a chance
21 to remedy the problem.

22 So before we can really even come to you about the
23 problem of illegal pretrial punishment, we have to come to you

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1 and give you an opportunity to remedy the problem. That's
2 only fair as a matter of judicial economy and comity,
3 C-O-M-I-T-Y, not C-O-M-E-D-Y, the -- because if we're going to
4 claim that there is something wrong, it's only fair to give
5 the person who is closest in time and place and culture to the
6 detention facility the opportunity to do something about it.

7 So having dealt with all of that, I would like to
8 place on the -- I would like to show the military commission
9 what is already in the record at 254WWW (AAA) which is a
10 diagram. And now if I could have the feed from Table 4, I
11 would request permission to display it to the gallery. It's
12 already in the record. It's already marked for public
13 release.

14 MJ [COL POHL]: Sure. Go ahead. You can put it on the
15 overhead.

16 LDC [MR. CONNELL]: So this diagram is my attempt to
17 articulate graphically the protections which govern an alien
18 unlawful enemy belligerent who is charged with a crime,
19 capital or otherwise, in the military commissions.

20 So different triggers bring into effect different
21 protections. And this is why I am talking about the
22 domestication of U.S. law, because the -- in domesticating
23 some international principles. Right, this is a law of war

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1 court, that's where I began, and these men are held on the
2 basis of the law of war. In bringing those principles into
3 the United States, there are different triggering events.

4 Triggering event number one is when a person is
5 detained by the United States. When a person is detained by
6 the United States, there are four principles which come into
7 effect, some of which are legally enforceable by an
8 individual, some of which may not be.

9 The first of those is the Convention Against Torture.
10 In November of 2014, the United States changed its position
11 from what it was when the military commission ruled in AE
12 200LL about the status of the Convention Against Torture.
13 Legal advisor McLeod at that time said that, we, meaning the
14 United States, on whom she was officially speaking for,
15 understand that where the text of the convention provides that
16 obligations apply to a state party, in quote, any territory
17 under its jurisdiction, comma, quote, such obligations
18 including the obligations in Article 2 and 16 to prevent
19 torture and cruel, inhumane, degrading treatment or punishment
20 extend to certain areas beyond the sovereign territory of the
21 state party and more specifically to, quote, all places that
22 the state party controls as the governmental authority,
23 period, quote.

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1 We have determined that the United States currently
2 exercises such control at the U.S. Naval Station at
3 Guantanamo Bay, Cuba, in respect to U.S. registered ships and
4 aircraft. In November of 2014, the United States specifically
5 extended the protections of the Convention Against Torture,
6 including its prohibition on CIDT to Guantanamo Bay.

7 The second element that applies has also changed, and
8 that is the U.N. standard minimum rules for the treatment of
9 prisoners. In 2015, there was a new version of those that
10 came out. They had not been updated since the '50s and now
11 they're known as the Mandela Rules, a reference to Nelson
12 Mandela's 30 years in prison. The Mandela specifically
13 which -- I am not saying -- and I want to be clear on this, I
14 am not saying, Your Honor, that the United Nations standard
15 minimum rules, although they govern the United States, are
16 enforceable as a matter of right in this court. What I am
17 saying instead is that the United States has subscribed to a
18 number of principles which explain what treatment is humane
19 and what treatment is inhumane.

20 Under the Mandela Rules, visits from family and --
21 and reputable friends are required, as well as reasonable
22 facilities for communicating with family and friends, and
23 personal visits.

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1 The third principle is the body of principles for the
2 protection of all persons under any form of detention or
3 imprisonment as subscribed to by the United States over
4 50 years ago. And that requires visits from and the ability
5 to correspond with the outside world.

6 And finally, the -- this principle, these principles
7 are -- specifically the Convention Against Torture, but these
8 other principles are domesticated by the Detainee Treatment
9 Act of 2005. The Detainee Treatment Act of 2005 provides --
10 was specifically intended to adopt the trigger of United
11 States detention. Because the United States Department of
12 Defense, whether it has always lived up to them or not, has
13 always had standards of humane treatment. So when -- Army
14 Regulation 190-8, for example, which governs detention
15 facilities, was put into place in its current form in 1998.
16 The abuses which took place here at Guantanamo in 2003 and
17 2004 I would suggest were a violation of Army Regulation
18 190-8. I don't want to digress onto that, but what was clear
19 was in the period in which Mr. al Baluchi and the other
20 defendants were in CIA custody, it was not always clear what
21 the authorities governing their detention were. And that is
22 why the Office of Legal Counsel issued such -- issued the
23 torture memoranda, interpreting things like the Convention

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1 Against Torture to allow the treatment.

2 But Senator McCain in 2005 -- excuse me, in 2005
3 wanted to put an end to that sort of detainee treatment, and
4 the United States adopted a law -- Congress adopted a law,
5 which is the Detainee Treatment Act of 2005, which is
6 memorialized at 42 U.S.C. Section 2000d(d), the prohibition on
7 cruel, inhumane, degrading treatment or punishment of persons
8 under the custody or control of the United States Government.

9 And it provides in subsection A that no individual in
10 the custody or under the physical control of the United States
11 Government, regardless of nationality or physical location,
12 shall be subject to cruel, inhumane, degrading treatment or
13 punishment. That is not international law. That is instead a
14 domestication of principles of international law by Congress.
15 And you do not have to reach out to international law except
16 as it informs what Congress meant, right.

17 Later in the Detainee Treatment Act there is a
18 reference to the Convention Against Torture and the U.S.
19 reservations and understandings on it. So it is clear
20 domestication of U.S. law principles. That's the trigger.
21 Those principles apply when the United States holds a person
22 anywhere in the United States -- in the world.

23 Now, what about the fact that we're on a Department

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1 of Defense base? That is the second trigger. That brings
2 into effect Department of Defense policy, including
3 specifically DoD Directive 2310.01E, the detainee treatment
4 program, and Army Regulation 190-8. I do want to digress and
5 I'm pretty sure the military commission knows all about this,
6 but I keep referring to it as AR 190-8. Each branch has its
7 own equivalent to it and the Navy name for it is so long that
8 I can barely even pronounce it.

9 MJ [COL POHL]: Just use the Army shorthand.

10 LDC [MR. CONNELL]: Right. We'll just use the Army
11 shorthand. The DoD Directive 2310.01E is important because it
12 adopts the requirement of humane treatment -- it reinforces, I
13 should say, the requirement of humane treatment on all
14 Department of Defense-held prisoners. And it incorporates
15 three specific parts of international law.

16 So even if you don't agree that -- even if you were
17 to adopt the 2002 Bush interpretation that Common Article 3 of
18 the Geneva Conventions does not apply to members of al Qaeda,
19 for example, I think which has been repudiated, but even if it
20 we were looking at that, DoD 2310.01E specifically
21 incorporates three parts of international law.

22 The first is Common Article 3, which includes the
23 prohibition against ill treatment. The second is Additional

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1 Protocol I, Article 75, which sets forth trial rights, and
2 Additional Protocol II, Articles 4 through 6. Now, it's
3 Additional Protocol II that we had our slight disagreement
4 with the Bin'Attash team on what effect -- whether Additional
5 Protocol II applied organically, but ultimately, it doesn't
6 really matter because it applies by -- it's been domesticated
7 by DoD policy.

8 Now, paragraph 3(b)(1)(B), of -- excuse me, 3(b)(1)
9 of DoD Directive 2310.01E sets out a precise definition for
10 the Department of Defense of what humane treatment includes.
11 And if the military commission is looking for a limit beyond
12 which it cannot go, I would suggest that the DoD policy
13 requiring humane treatment is an awfully good limit. You
14 know, the standards for humane treatment are low. They are
15 not lemonade on Tuesdays. They are not, you know, an extra
16 soccer ball at the rec. What they are are the fundamental
17 requirements that are needed when one institution holds a
18 human being as a prisoner.

19 And 3(b)(1)(B) provides that humane treatment
20 includes appropriate contacts with the outside world, whether,
21 where practical, exchange of letters, phone calls, and video
22 telephone conferences with immediate family or next of kin as
23 well as family visits.

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1 Now, the same principle is expressed in Army
2 Regulation 190-8 which requires humanitarian care and
3 treatment of prisoners under Army custody. And it says, I
4 quote, Here relatives and other persons authorized by theater
5 commander will be permitted to visit as frequently -- the
6 person as frequently as possible, in accordance with theater
7 regulations.

8 Now, these principles are not foreign to Guantanamo.
9 When Commander Heath -- excuse me, when Colonel Heath
10 testified, he testified that he follows 190-8, that he
11 considers AR 190-8, he considers it to be an important
12 source of law. But more than that, we have seen Guantanamo
13 implement these procedures for so-called non-high-value
14 detainees meaning people who were not held by the CIA.

15 The ICRC has reported that -- in February 2014
16 reported that it has facilitated over 3,100 phone calls and
17 video teleconferences between family members between 2018 and
18 February of 2014. And, in fact, this is just -- this is part
19 of our brief that's already been submitted to -- already been
20 cleared, but if you could -- if I could have the document
21 camera, please.

22 With DoD permission, the ICRC has released a
23 photograph of the facility that it has for making telephone

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1 calls -- for telephone calls by detainees and for video
2 teleconference material -- excuse me -- processes. You see
3 the camera on top of the video.

4 Thank you. If we could return to the feed from
5 Table 4.

6 The third trigger for protections of the -- of a
7 prisoner is detention at Guantanamo specifically. Because as
8 we talked about in the Maquleh case from the D.C. Circuit,
9 detention at Guantanamo is detention -- is different from
10 detention at other places such as Bagram.

11 At Guantanamo, the constitutional amendments apply --
12 provisions of the Constitution will apply unless they are
13 impracticable and anomalous, that's the language of
14 Boumediene. And we know specifically, because that's
15 generally, but specifically we know that the ex post facto
16 clause applies from the D.C. Circuit, we know the appointments
17 clause applies from the D.C. Circuit, we know the define and
18 punish clause applies from the D.C. Circuit, and we know that
19 the suspension clause applies from the United States Supreme
20 Court.

21 So that brings us to that -- we're done with the blue
22 circle now and we're moving to the yellow circle, which is
23 when a person is -- a person can be detained at Guantanamo on

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1 something other than the law of war. There have been many
2 migrants detained at Guantanamo, for example. But when a
3 person is detained by the United States on its DoD base at
4 Guantanamo under the law of war, it brings into effect
5 additional protections.

6 One of those is customary International Humanitarian
7 Law, or more simply put, the law of war. We've already
8 talked -- and we've already talked about the Geneva
9 Conventions, we have already talked about Common Article 3,
10 but we have not talked much about the other two major sources
11 of customary international law. The Customary International
12 Law itself -- this is for a noninternational armed conflicts.
13 The Customary International Law itself is summarized by the
14 ICRC in its occasionally updated rulebook, if you will, and
15 the customary -- the principle of Customary International Law
16 that applies here is Rule 126, which says that persons
17 deprived of their liberty in connection with a
18 noninternational armed conflict must be allowed to receive
19 visitors, especially near-relatives, to the degree
20 practicable.

21 This principle is reflected in an awful lot of
22 treaties, including the Cairo Declaration on Human Rights in
23 Islam and the Council on European Prison Rules. The United

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1 States is not signatory to those.

2 One of those processes that the United States has
3 participated in, however, is the Copenhagen process on the
4 handling of detainees in international military operations.
5 The reason for the Copenhagen process, which the United States
6 participated in its development from 2007 to 2012, is to fill
7 the gap in international law about, well, how do we handle
8 prisoners in noninternational armed conflicts? And the United
9 States officially welcomed that process in 2012, and its black
10 letter principle 10 is that persons detained are to be
11 permitted to have appropriate contact with the outside world,
12 including family members, as soon as reasonably practicable.
13 The comment to that black letter principle specifically
14 includes visits from family.

15 Now, what about domestication of this? We have seen
16 domestication of these principles by the President of the
17 United States in Executive Order 13491, which requires humane
18 treatment, specifically at Guantanamo. It is known as
19 ensuring lawful interrogations. It references provisions of
20 the Convention Against Torture and the principles of
21 International Humanitarian Law.

22 Article 14, of course, of the military convention --
23 excuse me -- of the Convention Against Torture includes the

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1 idea of rehabilitation from torture. And we have talked in
2 our brief to a good extent, and we're going to come back to
3 this when we get to the what do I want you to do about it
4 question, about the importance of a family connection and a
5 support system in rehabilitation from torture. Because
6 treatment of torture, the family connection, involves four
7 different aspects: Detecting trauma, when is a person acting
8 out of trauma, confronting that trauma, urging recapitulation
9 of the trauma, meaning trying to reduce it to a way that the
10 torture survivor can understand, and facilitating resolution
11 of conflicts related to the trauma.

12 Now, every other detention facility for alleged war
13 criminals in the world allows phone calls and family visits
14 under its definition of humane treatment. Am I saying that
15 you have to do something because -- this military facility has
16 to do something because some other facility does it? No, I am
17 not. What I am saying instead is that there is a baseline
18 which is -- begins at the Department of Defense but is shared
19 and, in fact, promulgated by the United States to the rest of
20 the world about what constitutes humane treatment.

21 MJ [COL POHL]: Mr. Connell, let me ask you a question.

22 LDC [MR. CONNELL]: Certainly, sir.

23 MJ [COL POHL]: Maybe we're talking about two separate

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1 things here. Reading the 183 pleading, it seemed to say that
2 there is phone calls to the families.

3 LDC [MR. CONNELL]: So there are not phone calls to
4 families. The -- I can tell you exactly what the situation
5 is. Sometimes the vocabulary gets messed up.

6 In -- last year after the filing of this brief, the
7 military commission -- excuse me, the JTF-GTMO has never
8 allowed a phone call between Mr. al Baluchi and anywhere.

9 But beginning last year ----

10 MJ [COL POHL]: Oh, okay. So -- I just read what I'm
11 given.

12 LDC [MR. CONNELL]: Of course.

13 MJ [COL POHL]: And it says in here -- doesn't talk about
14 Mr. al Baluchi, it says that the commander permitted the
15 transfer of Mr. Mohammad to camp Echo II in order to allow him
16 to participate in Internet-supported delayed video telephonic
17 transmission with his family.

18 LDC [MR. CONNELL]: Right. Which is not the same as phone
19 calls.

20 MJ [COL POHL]: Okay.

21 LDC [MR. CONNELL]: It's not simultaneous communication at
22 all.

23 MJ [COL POHL]: I didn't say that. I'm simply ----

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1 LDC [MR. CONNELL]: I thought you asked didn't they have
2 phone calls.

3 MJ [COL POHL]: Well, okay. Video phone calls.

4 LDC [MR. CONNELL]: They're not video phone calls, either.

5 MJ [COL POHL]: It's a video telephonic transmission,
6 that's the term you used.

7 LDC [MR. CONNELL]: But you're missing the -- I don't know
8 how they called it, the nonsimultaneous consecutive order.

9 MJ [COL POHL]: That's all in there. I got that. But I'm
10 saying that -- well, I'm just trying to figure out is you're
11 asking for communication with the family.

12 LDC [MR. CONNELL]: Yes.

13 MJ [COL POHL]: And we're quibbling over the word phone
14 call and to the exact, precise thing.

15 LDC [MR. CONNELL]: I don't mean to quibble.

16 MJ [COL POHL]: But you are, but go ahead.

17 LDC [MR. CONNELL]: Okay. Fair enough.

18 MJ [COL POHL]: But what I'm just saying is do they get
19 currently video telephonic transmissions with the family?

20 LDC [MR. CONNELL]: So I want to tell you exactly what
21 they get, is they get -- once per quarter, they're authorized
22 to have a recording of themselves, which is then -- there's
23 then a 10- to 15-minute gap while that is translated and

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1 reviewed for classification. And then that video gets played
2 for a person on the other end. Right? Then that person has
3 the opportunity to record a video, two to three minutes in
4 length, which is screened, however they want to screen it, and
5 then is played for the detainee. Sometimes it goes back and
6 forth twice, sometimes it goes back and forth three times.
7 That is what they have access to.

8 MJ [COL POHL]: And that's -- okay. They have that
9 communication, and you don't like that? You want something
10 more than that?

11 LDC [MR. CONNELL]: I do like it. I think it is better
12 than what we had when we filed this position, which is
13 nothing ----

14 MJ [COL POHL]: Okay.

15 LDC [MR. CONNELL]: ---- but it is not simultaneous
16 communication, which is what is required.

17 MJ [COL POHL]: Okay. Okay. I just wanted to clarify
18 that there is some ----

19 LDC [MR. CONNELL]: Yes.

20 MJ [COL POHL]: ---- just so we're precise here ----

21 LDC [MR. CONNELL]: Yes.

22 MJ [COL POHL]: ---- video telephonic transmission between
23 the detainees and their family.

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1 LDC [MR. CONNELL]: I don't know why the word "telephonic"
2 is in there.

3 MJ [COL POHL]: Excuse me. I just read what's on the ----

4 LDC [MR. CONNELL]: Well, I can't speak for ----

5 MJ [COL POHL]: I read what Mr. Nevin wrote. Regardless,
6 it's a delayed procedure as you described.

7 LDC [MR. CONNELL]: Yes. The procedure.

8 MJ [COL POHL]: Go ahead.

9 LDC [MR. CONNELL]: You know, I listed a witness to tell
10 us about -- about this procedure, and so I'm happy to -- we're
11 happy to take evidence on it. But yes, what I just described
12 is my understanding of the current state of affairs.

13 MJ [COL POHL]: Okay. So each detainee has an opportunity
14 to do that once a quarter.

15 LDC [MR. CONNELL]: That's my understanding, yes.

16 MJ [COL POHL]: You always qualify that. When you say
17 it's your understanding, because you're not there at the time?

18 LDC [MR. CONNELL]: Your Honor, the rules have probably
19 changed at Guantanamo while we have been arguing this morning.
20 So I can only keep up so fast, right?

21 MJ [COL POHL]: Right. Okay. Go ahead.

22 LDC [MR. CONNELL]: So the -- let's move to the last part,
23 which is what's the military commission's jurisdiction

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1 specifically, right? We know that only a small number of the
2 men who are held by the United States under the law of war in
3 Guantanamo are charged in a military commission, and that
4 attaches additional certain provisions to them.

5 Most of the provisions of the Military Commissions
6 Act of 2009 only applied to charged individuals. The
7 Sixth Amendment of the United States is -- of the United
8 States Constitution is triggered only by a charging document,
9 and the -- most of the provisions of the Sixth Amendment are
10 triggered only by a charging document and orders of the
11 military commission obviously apply only to the people before
12 it.

13 So what order can the military commission -- what is
14 the authority of the military commission to order this? Now,
15 the -- clearly conditions of confinement are properly within a
16 military court's jurisdiction. The -- we talked earlier about
17 that Article 13 is not an affirmative grant of power, it's a
18 reflection of the due process right against cruel, inhumane,
19 and degrading treatment as defined in the Detainee Treatment
20 Act of 2005. So you don't even have to decide that the Fifth
21 Amendment applies of its own organic power to these military
22 commissions in order to obey your statutory commandment to
23 ensure that no one is receiving cruel, inhumane, or degrading

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1 treatment as defined in the Detainee Treatment Act of 2005.

2 In fact, one of the things that -- the military
3 courts are so clear on this topic that there's actually a sort
4 of additional procedural default rule. We are required to
5 raise conditions of confinement arguments contemporaneously to
6 our military tribunal or risk waiving them. One example of
7 that is United States v. White, 54 MJ 469, a Court of Appeals
8 of Armed Forces case from 2001.

9 Now, at this point, I'm not going to show this
10 document, but specifically with the question of what effect
11 does the -- is had on the military commissions, I want to
12 refer to a document which was referred -- which was filed
13 yesterday, has not yet been reviewed so I'm not going to say
14 any specific content of it, I'm just going to say what it's
15 about.

16 But the 425 -- AE 425E Attachment I includes a
17 declaration from a physician about -- which describes his
18 inspection of the conditions of confinement at Camp VII and
19 their effect on Mr. al Baluchi's state. So the -- that's all
20 I'm going to describe about it. Everybody has it in the
21 record. I think it's unclassified, but once it's reviewed,
22 then we can talk about it more.

23 But the -- that Sixth Amendment interest and the

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1 effect on Mr. al Baluchi is reflected in two ways. The -- but
2 mainly, it's there's a direct effect on his health, which
3 we've talked about, but a direct effect on Mr. al Baluchi's
4 ability to participate meaningfully in his defense.

5 Now, there are sort of three categories, right?
6 There's a -- there's a person who's fully competent, there's a
7 person who is incompetent to assist in their defense, and
8 until you get to that level of a person being incompetent to
9 assist in their defense, they no longer -- the military
10 commission is not all that involved in their treatment. But
11 there is in the middle something of a sliding scale of a
12 person's ability to participate meaningfully in their defense.
13 And we've seen it reflected in other military commissions
14 actions, protecting the space at Echo II, protecting the
15 ability to move back and forth to legal visits. And the
16 ability of Mr. al Baluchi to function as a normal human being
17 and as a prisoner who is a normal human being is directly
18 relevant to his ability to participate meaningfully in these
19 events. The -- and the Attachment I that I just referred to I
20 think will shed some light on that.

21 So that brings us to -- there is actually a second
22 part of the AE 321 series, and that is the government's filing
23 in AE 321D.

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1 LDC [MS. BORMANN]: Judge, I hate to interrupt, but we --
2 I am in desperate need of a comfort break, so I don't know
3 if ----

4 MJ [COL POHL]: We're going to recess for lunch in eight
5 minutes. Is that enough time?

6 LDC [MS. BORMANN]: No, that's fine.

7 MJ [COL POHL]: Okay.

8 LDC [MR. CONNELL]: Eight minutes. I hear it. Eight
9 minutes happens to be the amount of time one gets in an
10 intercollegiate debate.

11 So stenos, get ready.

12 The AE 321D is a motion by its caption of 505(f)(2)
13 motion under seal filed by the government on 28 April of 2016.
14 Our objection to that is found at AE 321E (AAA), and this is
15 at -- I have filed some version of this objection maybe 40
16 times. This is the first motion that has come up that I have
17 ever had the actual opportunity to argue it, and this is an
18 example of years after the briefing is completed, the
19 government injects an under seal ex parte pleading into the
20 series which unilateralizes an otherwise adversarial motion.

21 The government takes a -- and they have done it now
22 in 308 and they have done it in a series of motions now where
23 they take -- we're having an adversarial conversation. The

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1 military commission has the authority to rule and regulate the
2 conversation between the parties, but instead, the government
3 goes ex parte instead.

4 Now, their procedure for doing so in 321D, like on so
5 many other occasions, is improper. In order to file an ex
6 parte pleading under 505(f)(2), the -- there must be two
7 invocations of the classified information privilege. The
8 first is under 505(c), which is a general invocation, and the
9 second is under 505(f)(1)(A), which is a specific invocation.

10 And we know both from the text of 505 itself and from
11 the text of 10 U.S.C. 949p-4 and from Ellsberg v. Mitchell at
12 709 F.2d 51, D.C. Circuit case from 1983, that that invocation
13 of classified information privilege must itself either be
14 public or have a public explanation of why a public
15 explanation would endanger national security.

16 The 505(f)(2)(B) does not permit an ex parte
17 invocation of privilege. It only permits an ex parte request
18 for authorization. It excludes the 505(c) invocation of
19 privilege which is required under United States v. Reynolds
20 345 U.S. 1, 1953, and it -- 505 treats the invocation of
21 privilege separate from the request for authorization. I am
22 not making an argument that the government cannot make an ex
23 parte request for authorization. In fact, it surely can.

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1 Under CIPA -- this one of the differences between 505
2 and CIPA. Under CIPA Section 4, the ex parte hearing is
3 permissive, but under 949p-4 and 505(f)(2)(B), the ex parte
4 procedure on the request for authorization is mandatory if it
5 is necessary to protect classified information. That is why
6 you have to have a public invocation of classified information
7 privilege so that we can have a meaningful debate over whether
8 it is necessary -- quote, in the language of the rule,
9 necessary to protect classified information.

10 This -- I just want to point out that in United
11 States v. Rezaq, R-E-Z-A-Q, 899 F.2d 697, D.C. District case
12 from 1995, the district court explained why the permission to
13 file ex parte must be adversarial. The D.C. District took a
14 different approach in the United States v. Libby. At that
15 time, 429 F.2d 46, they took a -- they did it the opposite
16 way. They said that the government in its pleading must
17 explain why the defense does not have a need to know and why
18 this classified information is different from all that other
19 classified information that they provided.

20 Bottom line on this ----

21 MJ [COL POHL]: Who do they provide that explanation to?

22 LDC [MR. CONNELL]: You.

23 MJ [COL POHL]: Got it.

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1 LDC [MR. CONNELL]: The idea that both the request for
2 authorization and the invocation of classified information
3 privilege are both ex parte violates not only the D.C. Circuit
4 law but also 949p-4 and 505(f). Thank you very much.

5 MJ [COL POHL]: Thank you. We'll recess until tomorrow at
6 1000 hours. Today at 1330, we'll conduct a discussion of
7 classified information under Commission Rule of Evidence
8 505(h). So the commission is in recess for the public session
9 until tomorrow at 1000 hours.

10 [The R.M.C. 803 session recessed at 1159, 1 June 2016.]

11 [END OF PAGE]

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