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1 [The Military Commission was called to order at 1442,
2 28 May 2014]

3 MJ [COL POHL]: The commission is called to order. All
4 parties again are present that were present when the
5 commission recessed.

6 Commander.

7 DDC [CDR MIZER]: Judge, I am sorry to delay things but in
8 an effort to be responsive to your question on the motion
9 dealing with military judge alone, we will be filing a motion
10 to cite supplemental authority, one case, which is out of the
11 illustrious Navy Marine Corps Court of Criminal Appeals,
12 Jungbluth, which is 48 MJ 953. It will be the paper version
13 of that this afternoon. I just wanted to alert the court of
14 that for the proposition that an election for judge alone can
15 occur after the venire has been seated.

16 MJ [COL POHL]: Is that a capital case?

17 DDC [CDR MIZER]: It is not, Judge. You asked me for
18 authority, I am giving it to you, Judge.

19 MJ [COL POHL]: Okay.

20 LDC [MR. KAMMEN]: I am told there is no translation.

21 MJ [COL POHL]: No, Commander, I got -- I remember I had
22 asked you two separate questions and you are answering a
23 different question than I thought you were, but I see where

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1 you are at.

2 DDC [CDR MIZER]: I had no authority, Judge. Now I am
3 providing what limited authority there is.

4 MJ [COL POHL]: Okay. Thank you. 272.

5 ADDC [Capt JACKSON]: Good afternoon, again, Your Honor.

6 MJ [COL POHL]: Good afternoon.

7 ADDC [Capt JACKSON]: Your Honor, the factual predicate
8 that forms the basis of defense motion 272 is the correlating
9 motion 292 from the 9/11 case whereby a member of a defense
10 team was contacted by the FBI and caused to sign a
11 nondisclosure agreement.

12 The remedies requested by the defense in this motion
13 are that you issue a similar order that you did in 292
14 admonishing any member, past or present, of the defense team
15 to come forward if they have been contacted in any way by a
16 governmental agency requesting information about the inner
17 workings of the team, or specifically the FBI having them sign
18 a nondisclosure agreement; and, secondly, that the government
19 provide a statement of facts as to what portions, if any, of
20 this FBI investigation actually impacted members of the
21 Nashiri defense team.

22 Your Honor, we believe that this request is not
23 unwarranted and that there is a good basis for requesting

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1 this, just even to err on the side of caution, where this
2 conflict of interest may arise in this case. And my
3 understanding is that the prosecution does not object to the
4 primary, the first requested relief from the defense whereby
5 you issue a similar order for 272 as you did in 292.

6 And then aside from that, Your Honor, the defense is
7 confident to rest on its motion.

8 MJ [COL POHL]: Thank you.

9 Trial Counsel? General Martins.

10 CP [BG MARTINS]: Good afternoon, Your Honor.

11 MJ [COL POHL]: Good afternoon.

12 CP [BG MARTINS]: We only know the facts averred in the
13 pleading have been walled off from any investigation. The
14 potential conflict that's described, to the extent Your Honor
15 feels an order is -- there is a basis in fact that you are not
16 doing a declaratory judgment here, we don't object to that
17 same form of relief with regard to the issuance of an order
18 admonishing members of the defense team to come forward to
19 their counsel, senior counsel as I recall the order being, and
20 notifying if they have been contacted based on the averments
21 and the understandings, very limited understanding that we
22 have got on the averments of the contact with the Ramzi
23 Binalshibh team.

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1 Was there another piece of relief you were seeking?

2 ADDC [Capt JACKSON]: The statement of facts regarding the
3 investigation that was done by the FBI, if any part of that
4 investigation implicated members of the al Nashiri defense
5 team, that that should be made known to the defense.

6 CP [BG MARTINS]: Your Honor, on that aspect of the
7 relief, I can't participate in this -- in anything having to
8 do with that investigation and can't participate in arguing or
9 opposing or approving of that relief or recommending approval
10 of it.

11 I can say that I can inquire as to this what the
12 appropriate mechanism might be and determine -- in the other
13 case, I detailed special trial counsel to ensure that we were
14 walled off from it. So with regard to that, I can say that I
15 will -- I can make an inquiry.

16 But with regard to the first piece of relief, we do
17 not oppose, if the commission finds it has got a basis in fact
18 and that you are making the judgment not purely in the
19 abstract and it's not just a declaratory anticipatory
20 judgment, we would not oppose that relief.

21 MJ [COL POHL]: Okay. Thank you. Anything further?

22 ADDC [Capt JACKSON]: Very briefly, Your Honor. In
23 issuing the order that's similar to AE 292's order, the

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1 defense just wants to reiterate why there is actually a
2 factual basis that warrants giving this order.

3 The defense can talk to other members of the defense
4 team and say, if anybody has been contacted by the FBI, please
5 come forward, but that's just not going to carry the same
6 amount of weight. And in the situation where we are
7 discussing where the personal interests of defense counsel or
8 members of the defense team may be contrary or affected by our
9 role and our responsibilities within this case, it is best to
10 err on the side of caution in making any of those types of
11 disclosures known. And it's going to take an order from this
12 court in order for that to have weight behind it rather than
13 just coming from the defense.

14 And this is no imposition, just to err on the side
15 of caution to make sure that any of those outside
16 communications, that they understand that the weight of the
17 court is behind it and that they must come forward and
18 disclose that for past or present defense team members.

19 MJ [COL POHL]: Now, the options in the order are to
20 disclose it within the defense team.

21 ADDC [Capt JACKSON]: Yes, Your Honor.

22 MJ [COL POHL]: Or directly to the court if they are
23 uncomfortable with doing that?

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1 ADDC [Capt JACKSON]: Yes, Your Honor.

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

3 That brings us to the 120, the unclassified
4 discussion of 120. This is a government motion for
5 reconsideration. General Martins.

6 CP [BG MARTINS]: Your Honor, the government requests that
7 you reconsider your order of 14 April. The standard for a
8 reconsideration being that the court should reconsider if
9 either party shows no facts or a clear error in law which
10 compels the court to change its position. Significant
11 discretionary authority on the part of the commission to grant
12 a motion for reconsideration and to reconsider in the context
13 of discovery wherein the trial judge has the full authority to
14 specify time, place and manner of discovery and to prescribe
15 such terms and conditions that are in the interests of
16 justice, that protect national security, and that safeguard
17 witnesses. Also believe that this is authorized by the
18 classified information procedures provisions of the Military
19 Commissions Act which create procedures that will be vitiated
20 if a reconsideration doesn't result in a more clear -- a
21 clearer outlay of the rationale that was followed.

22 We are seeking a specific relief with the
23 reconsideration, which is that you clarify your rationale with

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1 regard to classified information discovery, provide us a
2 rationale as to why the invocation of privilege, the claim of
3 classified information privilege that we have made on a number
4 of occasions with regard to these items, whether or not that
5 is a proper invocation, and that you detail the rationale used
6 and believe that is the appropriate relief.

7 I will start with facts, new facts. The government
8 avers in its brief, its reply brief of last Wednesday,
9 Your Honor, that the appropriate authority has now determined
10 that extensive discovery already in possession of the defense
11 with regard to things the accused experienced -- that is,
12 interrogation techniques that were applied to the accused and
13 conditions of the accused's detention -- will be re-marked
14 display only, Abdul al Rahim al Nashiri, and thus are
15 available to the defense. With regard to something it's
16 repeated said was important, was the ability to talk to the
17 accused about information received in discovery with him and
18 thus be able to uncover as necessary extenuation, mitigation
19 information.

20 Your Honor, as I go through this, if there is a
21 particular provision of the rules or the law that we cite, is
22 there any objection from the bench that we show some of these
23 which have previously been cleared by the court security

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1 officer and copy provided to counsel? These are copies of the
2 CIPA and the rules in our briefs.

3 MJ [COL POHL]: Go ahead if you want to.

4 CP [BG MARTINS]: So as we have outlined in Appellate
5 Exhibit 120D, our basic motion had provided significant
6 discovery to the defense within these categories that are part
7 of 120C.

8 Actually, Sergeant G, can you please bring up --
9 bring up number 2, please. It is still showing a blank screen
10 up top. Is it possible to publish to the screen, please?

11 MJ [COL POHL]: Sure, go ahead.

12 CP [BG MARTINS]: I think there is a bit of a delay. If
13 you could pull up number 2, slide 2. There you go. Specific
14 relief that we are seeking. So this isn't a request for a
15 supplement, a supplemental briefing. We are seeking -- this
16 is a motion seeking specific relief having to clarify the
17 standard used.

18 So the new facts then, Your Honor, are the ability
19 of the defense to show information to the accused that relates
20 to the accused's own treatment, own experiences. This is part
21 of over a thousand pages of information regarding the Central
22 Intelligence Agency's former Rendition, Detention and
23 Interrogation Program. Significant material that's been

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1 provided will be able to be discussed with the accused and
2 this is something that the defense has again, time and again,
3 said they wish to be able to show the accused.

4 Another fact, Your Honor, is that we have indexed
5 for the defense -- based on the ten categories laid out in
6 your order of the 14th, we have provided indexing with regard
7 to those ten categories of what they received, and indexing
8 being a form of process that courts use. When you were
9 discussing this matter in February, you spoke of wanting to
10 get a word picture of what had been provided. And in the
11 aftermath of that, it became clear that the response to the
12 75-paragraph request of August 2012 that you, from the bench,
13 ordered in February, the government provided didn't get to
14 that for you.

15 We have provided now an index in Appellate
16 Exhibit 120G that describes what it is they received. I
17 believe that is another fact, a new fact that merits, in this
18 context, a reconsideration, a revisiting of 120C. And I'll
19 talk about those facts in addition to the declassification
20 effort that is underway in the context of the legal aspect of
21 the motion whether there was a clear error in law. And as we
22 have stated in the request for reconsideration, it's difficult
23 to determine precisely where an error may have occurred. We

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1 frankly need to see what the rationale was.

2 The order cites to Rule for Military Commission 1001
3 and Rule for Military Commission 1004, and then if you could
4 go to slide 42, please, Sergeant G, we are now looking at
5 120C. It cites to various statutes, military commission rules
6 and case law concerning discovery.

7 So there is an incantation, if you will, of law
8 after having described the defense obligation to investigate
9 for extenuation and mitigation, but there is no description
10 then of particular aspects of the classified information
11 procedures rules that bear upon it. And what is clear, if
12 nothing else is clear from the case law, but a lot is clear
13 with regard to this particular case, a trial judge dealing
14 with classified information procedures and the national
15 security classified information privilege must consider, must
16 consider that classified information privilege and the sources
17 and methods concerns when passing on matters of discovery.

18 And if you could go to slide 26. This is from the
19 Yunis case, which is authoritatively cited in the Manual for
20 Military Commissions, Military Commission Rule 505 and also
21 Rule for Military Commissions 701 in describing the discovery
22 obligation.

23 So citing CIA v. Sims, which though a Freedom of

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1 Information Act case, is clearly brought into the context of a
2 criminal proceeding by the Yunis court, our higher court, our
3 Circuit Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia Circuit.
4 So the same concerns described in the Sims case must inform
5 analysis by the district court.

6 So this isn't an ordinary piece of analysis. CIPA
7 is a procedural statute. If the procedures of CIPA are not
8 complied with, the statute is vitiated. So it's not -- the
9 actual tracking of how the process should work is critical to
10 providing the protections the court stated must inform the
11 analyses of trial courts in passing on the discoverability of
12 classified information.

13 So we are in Section 4 of the statute, Military
14 Commission Rule 505(f) principally, Rule of Evidence
15 505(f) ----

16 MJ [COL POHL]: General Martins, when we litigated this,
17 the government denied the discovery requests based strictly on
18 the discovery rules.

19 CP [BG MARTINS]: Your Honor, we have been citing
20 classified information discovery rules throughout this. And I
21 think -- I mean, your description of the prosecution's
22 outline, if you go to our responses, we are citing classified
23 information discovery rules.

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1 MJ [COL POHL]: Just so I am clear on this, it is that --
2 one of the objections to the order is that apparently
3 summaries wouldn't be permitted?

4 CP [BG MARTINS]: That's not -- yes. For instance, in the
5 order, to put a fine point on it, in your paragraphs 5(i) and
6 (j), you say unredacted, which on its face, again, Your Honor,
7 in the context of discovery, we don't believe we have reached
8 the point of clear error here because discovery is, as the
9 Moussaoui court said, an interactive process, particularly in
10 the classified information realm. But if by that order -- and
11 we can only read your words -- but if by that order you are
12 saying unredacted means unredacted, then we are specifically
13 contravening the classified information procedures requirement
14 that you shall allow us to request, at least, redactions.

15 So in that example, that's the most pointed one,
16 where failing to acknowledge that the remedies provided to the
17 people through their government to avoid the
18 disclose-or-dismiss dilemma, which is at the heart of this act
19 and the heart of the classified information procedures in the
20 Military Commissions Act ----

21 MJ [COL POHL]: Okay, so just -- I see what your point is,
22 in the fact that later on I say you must comply with Military
23 Commission Rule of Evidence 505 ----

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1 CP [BG MARTINS]: I think you would agree, Your Honor,
2 that seems to say the parties abide by the protective orders.

3 MJ [COL POHL]: We are reading the same thing differently,
4 but I understand your confusion. I am just trying to figure
5 out, on the classified material, your concern was the use of
6 the terms in paragraphs 5(i) and 5(j) would seem not to give
7 the government an opportunity to provide summaries?

8 CP [BG MARTINS]: We looked hard at this, Your Honor.
9 There are places in the transcript where you say -- in
10 acknowledging the force of the discussion relating, for
11 instance, to matters that might be introduced in clemency,
12 this broad notion in our capital proceedings, there are times
13 where you say, well, the government has its remedies. And
14 that gives us some thought that maybe by this you mean, well,
15 come back to me, government, if this is going to result in a
16 disclosure of classified information.

17 But I think within the four corners of that order,
18 it's tough for us to get to the point that you are being
19 informed by this analysis from Sims in the controlling
20 precedent from our court.

21 MJ [COL POHL]: Okay, I understand that. Okay. Go ahead.

22 CP [BG MARTINS]: So going through the analysis and then
23 applying these new facts, which we think again apply, within

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1 the discovery context, where you have the authority to issue
2 orders as this interactive process that is described by a
3 court considering very similar questions, a capital case in
4 Moussaoui as an interactive process -- if you could pull up
5 number 41, please, Sergeant G.

6 So it's an interactive process. And the new facts
7 that I have described allow for an interview of the accused
8 that allows them to even show him information they have
9 received in discovery. This is specifically what they were
10 asking for. In the context of the analysis required by the
11 classified information procedures in the Military Commissions
12 Act, the first step is relevance.

13 And I think as, again, we reviewed the arguments in
14 this, I think we -- there may have been a misunderstanding
15 created that the government was saying relevance is some
16 really high bar, basic relevance. We are not saying that at
17 all. I mean, the standard for relevance, of course, from
18 Rule 501 and our Rules of Evidence, information that has any
19 tendency to make a fact of consequence to the determination of
20 the action more or less probable, agree that's a pretty low
21 bar and the courts routinely say that.

22 But the importance of that step, Your Honor, we
23 would submit is not to determine whether that bar is reached

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1 and you get to the next steps, which I will talk about, but it
2 defines what it is we are talking about and we are arguing
3 about. So that when we get to the point where the government
4 uses its remedy, the people's remedy in the act, to ask for
5 protection in the form of a summary, that there is -- the
6 context provides an understanding of what might be an adequate
7 summary. And if that step is glided over, all that follows
8 fails to work under the act, fails to provide the protection
9 both to the accused as to getting all of the noncumulative,
10 relevant, helpful information that relates to a legally
11 cognizable defense, rebuttal of the prosecution's case or to
12 sentencing. That's the language in the act straight out of
13 Yunis that not only provides that information, but also
14 creates the context wherein which a substitution, a summary or
15 a redaction could be adequate.

16 And so it was really for the first time in oral
17 argument in February, because the defense still hasn't really
18 cited it, the fact of consequence to the determination of the
19 action that seemed to come out of that discussion was
20 Rule 1001(c), this is our presentencing procedures rule;
21 (1)(B), the matters in mitigation, which is defined in
22 military practice broadly to include the presentation of
23 matters to the panel that might serve as the basis for a

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1 recommendation of clemency at a later point to the convening
2 authority. And that specific fact of consequence was talked
3 about a lot, but by focusing on that and on other specifically
4 identified facts of consequence to the determination of this
5 action, we can identify what might be appropriate later on.
6 It particularly gets important when you consider what is
7 cumulative or not cumulative.

8 You know, you are the one privy presumably to the
9 defense theories, Your Honor. The act protects that as well.
10 And this interactive process places you in the unenviable
11 position of having to listen to two sides, both of which are
12 keeping something from the other, as required by law or as
13 enabled by law, and other things we are hearing about as
14 important facts of consequence about which they seek more
15 information, where they request it, the admissibility of
16 subsequent statements of the accused.

17 Again, no citation to authority, but we are
18 discerning from the discussion 10 U.S.C. 948r, the statutory
19 provision, which does make the totality of the circumstances
20 relevant, and thus the circumstances under which a prior
21 statement had been made and the length of the passage of time
22 and the different factors that are in that statute are facts
23 of consequence to the determination of the action.

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1 Defense counsel cited Skipper, a future
2 dangerousness case in capital litigation, as an area where the
3 treatment, the accused's record and confinement, what happened
4 to the accused in confinement and whether that indicates
5 future dangerousness, that that becomes a fact of consequence
6 to the determination of the action again became sharpened and
7 clear from the discussion.

8 Now, in Skipper, that's a situation where a
9 prosecution was using future dangerousness as a nonstatutory
10 aggravator. Here we have not placed the defense on any notice
11 that we intended to argue in that regard or present any
12 evidence in our -- in any sentencing case that may come to
13 pass related to future dangerousness.

14 But this process of identifying specific facts of
15 consequence then is what enables later on when we get into a
16 discussion about how the task might be achieved of placing the
17 defense in substantially the same position as it would have
18 been. It can't be achieved unless we focus specifically on
19 the fact of consequence to the determination of the action,
20 and that aspect is only becoming clear as we talk about the
21 specific areas, but continue to want that kind of specificity
22 now that the defense can speak to the accused about the
23 information they have received, and we hope to be able to get

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1 that.

2 And I have to also say that the detailed discussion
3 that we are hearing today about discovery is encouraging. The
4 desire for investigation, for many other things, we believe
5 ought to begin with a very careful look with what they have
6 received and what they feel may be lacking after talking with
7 their client.

8 The second step, Your Honor, is the claiming of the
9 privilege and whether that claim of the privilege is adequate.
10 The standard used by the Yunis court is whether it is merely
11 colorable. And here in 120C there is no indication that the
12 claims of privilege with regard to information -- again, now
13 indexed to show you what we have provided and make clear what
14 we have provided in 120G -- how that is inadequate. Is it
15 colorable? Do you agree that it is properly claimed, and now
16 you are surmounting it because no substitution is adequate,
17 that that is what we seek in order to be able to understand
18 how to use the remedies that are in the Military Commissions
19 Act procedural provisions for classified information?

20 And then the third piece of the analysis, this
21 discussion of materiality -- in the discovery rules, it's
22 termed material, in Yunis it's helpful or material -- that is
23 an objective helpfulness to the defense, that if the fact of

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1 consequence has been carefully identified and the privilege
2 has been analyzed and you find it is more than clearly
3 colorable, then the act requires a process of considering, if
4 we request them -- and we have, we have requested them on ten
5 occasions in different installments -- whether or not the
6 redactions, the substitutions, the summaries or the other type
7 of substitute described in the act is an admission of relevant
8 facts, whether those are adequate. And there is no indication
9 in the order that the substitutions that we have provided are
10 inadequate or whether the privilege was poorly claimed with
11 it.

12 That what's we are seeking to ask you to reconsider
13 in applying that standard and give us an idea of where you
14 found our invocation inadequate or a substitution that we
15 offered, a summary that we offered inadequate. And that's not
16 just to create more process here, it's intended to move this
17 along so we actually achieve the balance that's required of a
18 trial court in this act and what Congress sought.

19 I want to just address one more point. If you could
20 go to the slide 27, Sergeant G. What we see in the defense
21 filings on this -- again, this began with a defense motion to
22 compel -- is a statement that what they have gotten is
23 inadequate, that it doesn't capture what they think the

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1 information should have in it and wish to draw the court's
2 attention to the Rezaq case, this is another D.C. Circuit
3 case, and this is now on a direct appeal. So the question was
4 whether the trial judge, in accepting the substitutions that
5 had been provided, had erred because they lacked evidentiary
6 richness and narrow integrity, that they were desiccated, that
7 they somehow didn't capture what the defense wanted, to pack a
8 punch presumably. And the court clearly stated that the
9 information is what is discoverable, noncumulative, relevant,
10 helpful in an objective sense information.

11 And this requires, in order to figure this out,
12 Your Honor, we are not minimizing the difficulty of this task
13 and have spent a lot of time trying to develop proposed
14 summaries for it, this requires a lot of work and acknowledge
15 that with regard to counsel and court, a lot of time spent in
16 SCIFs working this.

17 If you could bring up slide 36. This is a recent
18 case, CIPA case, Your Honor, not in our jurisdiction, but I
19 think the court captures it well. This is the United
20 States v. Brown. It's an Eastern District of North Carolina
21 case that CIPA processes are tedious and time-consuming and
22 requires significant amount of resources.

23 In order to comply wherever we could with the

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1 commission's order in 120C, I personally have been supervising
2 the indexing of the material which we anticipated the
3 commission wanted, and although you didn't precisely use the
4 word index, seemed to be what you were after on 2 February
5 when that was earlier argued. And I can tell you, as you have
6 found, it just takes a long time sitting, having this material
7 there and doing what is really a wholistic analysis. Because
8 you can't really figure out what might put the defense or what
9 will put the defense in an adequate position or a
10 substantially similar position unless you consider all that
11 they have, and now we would submit, Your Honor, consider the
12 fact that they can talk to the accused and show the accused
13 the information that's already been provided to them in
14 discovery about the treatment of the accused.

15 So the notion that it is perhaps impossible to say
16 precisely what they are looking for, courts are sympathetic to
17 this, and there has been some understanding of that in these
18 proceedings. But by being able to speak to the accused, the
19 Yunis court talks about that being an important ameliorating
20 factor, the ability of actually talking to the accused.

21 Subject to your questions.

22 MJ [COL POHL]: No. I have no questions. Thank you.

23 Mr. Kammen.

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1 LDC [MR. KAMMEN]: If perhaps I look befuddled, it's
2 because one of the hallmarks of the prosecution is that the
3 target keeps moving. And so what they argued in their brief
4 seems to be considerably different than what they argued
5 today. But let me begin, Your Honor, with what I think is
6 germane, and let me present to the court what I have marked
7 and offer into evidence as AE 1200, which the government has
8 seen. Let me tender it, Your Honor. I would like to display
9 it as well. That is a letter to the President on January 6 of
10 this year from Senators Carl Levin and Dianne Feinstein.
11 Senator Levin was the chairman of the Senate Armed Services
12 Committee and Senator Feinstein is the chairman of the Senate
13 Select Committee on Intelligence.

14 MJ [COL POHL]: Go ahead.

15 LDC [MR. KAMMEN]: I don't know what ----

16 MJ [COL POHL]: I'm sorry, you can publish it.

17 LDC [MR. KAMMEN]: Yes. And is it available -- it is
18 available on this screen, I don't know if it's -- it's
19 available? Okay, now.

20 What this letter -- in January, at least two major
21 arms -- chairmen of two major senate committees, were urging
22 the president to declassify all of the information concerning
23 what, and I am quoting, the letter describes as the now

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1 defunct CIA detention and interrogation program. And
2 significantly for our purposes, the senators go on to say this
3 situation, this overclassification, what I call the CIA
4 stranglehold on the truth, the senators say needs to be
5 resolved or the trial, and they were talking about the other
6 case, needs to be shifted to an Article III federal criminal
7 court. And quite candidly -- and they go on to say that the
8 overclassification, the stranglehold on the truth is
9 undermining the reputation of the military commissions with
10 the American public and friends and allies, and the
11 overclassification, the stranglehold on the truth, interferes
12 with our country's long-delayed but important efforts to
13 publicly shine a light on a misguided CIA program that
14 President Obama rightfully ended five years ago.

15 Now, what they are asking for and what they are
16 asking the president to do was to break the stranglehold that
17 the CIA has on the truth is what the United Nations Special
18 Rapporteur for Torture calls the Bush torture conspiracy. So
19 there is no misunderstanding, and this was discussed publicly
20 by Dr. Crosby, this affects this case because Mr. Nashiri
21 suffers PTSD as a result of this physical, emotional and
22 sexual torture to which he was subjected.

23 Now, your order in 120C, Your Honor, was very

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1 significant and, in fact, was quite brave because it took a
2 step -- a baby step, to be sure -- but a step towards breaking
3 the stranglehold on the truth. But I want to be clear, and I
4 know we all understand it, but I just feel like it needs to be
5 said, our request in 120 was much, much broader. And you
6 rejected 90 percent of our requests. You said, nope, not
7 necessary. And what you granted doesn't make information
8 public, it only gives information to people with security
9 clearances who then, under appropriately controlled
10 circumstances, can do what you found they need to do to
11 provide effective assistance of counsel. And your order,
12 quite candidly, was very, very clear: The government is
13 ordered to produce X; the government is ordered to produce Y.
14 You know, there have been times, and certainly I
15 don't want to pull the scab, but clearly in the motions to
16 recuse, that was premised on things that we felt could
17 possibly and realistically interfere with independence. And
18 to be fair, and I really do want to be fair here, we have
19 tried to think of an analogy, what's a comparable order of
20 magnitude to the order you granted. And the closest thing we
21 could come to, Your Honor, was Judge Sirica's order in the
22 Watergate cases breaking the stranglehold on the truth that
23 the Nixon White House was attempting to impose with its

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1 various cover-ups. Quite candidly, with all the admiration I
2 can possibly muster, that is the magnitude of your order. And
3 that is the order that the government desperately wants you to
4 rescind; to reassert, at their request, the stranglehold on
5 the truth.

6 Now, in the motion to recuse, when you denied it,
7 you effectively were saying to us and to the world, well, I
8 can be independent. And there was another point where we were
9 arguing -- you and I had a colloquy, I don't think it was on
10 120 -- and, you know, I said well, you know, we didn't get
11 around to doing something because we just don't have enough
12 bodies. And you said, "Are you saying you're ineffective?"
13 And I said, "No, but the problem is the system, the way it
14 is in this case with the lack of resources, nobody can be
15 effective."

16 Well, your order is premised on providing effective
17 assistance of counsel. So quite candidly, Your Honor, this is
18 where the rubber meets the road, it's where the rubber meets
19 the road in terms of what Senators Levin and Feinstein were
20 talking about, about breaking the stranglehold on the truth,
21 about protecting the reputation of military commissions, it's
22 about whether or not we are really committed to providing
23 effective assistance of counsel.

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1 Now, there is another piece of this which the
2 prosecution didn't respond to or didn't address, and that is
3 what I think is a very significant procedural default.
4 Earlier today, in another context, the prosecutors say, well,
5 we have got to follow the process. Doing away with the rules
6 is no -- is not appropriate. Well, I agree. The process to
7 file a motion to reconsider requires a contemporaneous or
8 prior pleading requesting permission and setting out, in a
9 single paragraph, the new facts or new law.

10 The government did not do that, and I think that's
11 in -- the government didn't do it. And the government says,
12 well, it's a motion to reconsider, so we don't need to do
13 that, because we are asking for some kind of relief. Well, if
14 that's the standard, then there is no bar to any motion to
15 reconsider. We could file a motion to reconsider every
16 decision you have made without seeking any permission, without
17 seeking any new facts or law. And let's be candid, in their
18 motion they cited no new law. None.

19 Yunis was decided in 1989. Yunis was in their
20 original brief. We discussed Yunis in the argument on 120 at
21 great length. There is no new law cited.

22 Now, it has been an evolving target, but they
23 procedurally defaulted. And that is significant, Your Honor,

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1 because as we point out in our response and we have cited and
2 attached as exhibits in our response one example when we filed
3 a supplemental pleading and it was rejected by the staff
4 because it didn't have the required statement.

5 In our motion concerning Ms. Hollander, 178, which
6 is a supplement, we were required and did file the
7 supplemental -- the required condition precedent because there
8 was a new fact, the fact that she had resubmitted a new card
9 and it was denied.

10 With respect again to our supplemental motion to
11 recuse Your Honor, we cited a new fact, the discovery of the
12 communication between the convening authority and the folks in
13 the Army personnel.

14 So there is this condition precedent that they
15 didn't follow. And if we are going to have these rules, we
16 have got to have these rules. And the worst possible mark on
17 the military commissions, what will continue to undermine any
18 pretense of legitimacy is if we say, well, there are rules,
19 but they really don't need to be followed; or, worse, yeah,
20 there is one set of rules for the defense, you have got to
21 jump through all these hoops, but gosh, when the prosecution
22 really, really wants something, they don't have to comply.

23 Because the notion that a motion to reconsider

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1 doesn't require new facts or law doesn't make sense. We could
2 ask for motions to reconsider and motions to reconsider and
3 motions to reconsider.

4 Procedural default, Your Honor, is so significant in
5 the law that people have been executed because their lawyers
6 procedurally defaulted on claims. People have had huge
7 lawsuits thrown out because of procedural default. It is a
8 standard. If there is a condition precedent that is required
9 and a party doesn't comply with it in courts with rules,
10 that's the end of the discussion.

11 So we think, Your Honor, that this motion should be
12 summarily denied. Because of the procedural default, it
13 doesn't -- it is procedurally defective. It didn't raise any
14 new law, it raises no new real facts. And what it does,
15 though, is say to Your Honor, okay -- because let's set the
16 context of this.

17 Way at the beginning, the government said, we want
18 to move aggressively on this 505 and we said -- and you said
19 submit your defense, and we said we don't know our defense, we
20 don't have discovery. Well, go ahead and do it anyway.

21 So now -- you know, then, two years later we argue
22 120, and you heard extensive arguments on both sides and you
23 issued this order, which, as I said, was brave and courageous.

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1 The cynical part of me thinks it's going to get you fired,
2 because -- but I hope I am wrong in that regard. But it is,
3 and I mean that very seriously, it is a brave and courageous
4 order. That's why they want you to walk it back. That's why
5 what they are basically saying to you is stay in your lane.
6 So their motion to reconsider is not on the facts, it's,
7 Judge, let's negotiate. We don't like this, so let's you and
8 I negotiate. That's what this is.

9 Now, what are the things that they throw out? The
10 thing that General Martins talked about is that we have
11 created -- and I'm paraphrasing General Martins now -- a new
12 classification of display to the accused. And I need to tell
13 you, Your Honor, this has got our people who are knowledgeable
14 about security law's head exploding.

15 Because what the government proposes is in some way
16 that we have no idea how this occurred, information will
17 remain classified, but somehow we are expected to display it
18 to somebody who they claim is a suspected terrorist and who
19 they claim is a suspected member of al Qaeda, who does not
20 have a security clearance, who is not cleared to receive the
21 information.

22 Now, everything I have learned about security law as
23 a result of my involvement in this case has taught me, number

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1 one, you can only share classified information with an
2 individual who has a need to know; and, number two, if that
3 individual has the requisite security clearance, which
4 Mr. Nashiri most assuredly does not.

5 So the solution of display only is a meaningless
6 solution, because as we know the law, we can't do it under the
7 present circumstances. There are huge questions about this.
8 Number one, does display only mean we can hold it up and show
9 it to him even though it's -- and what I am holding up is just
10 a piece of paper, it's not a classified document. It's --
11 these documents are not in Arabic, he doesn't read the
12 language the documents are in. So showing him a document he
13 can't read is meaningless.

14 Well, does display only mean we can read it to him
15 with the interpreter? It's not clear. Does display only mean
16 we can have an interpreter translate it and let him read it in
17 a meeting room under our supervision? Does display only mean,
18 well, it can be translated and, like other discovery that we
19 are allowed to give him, take it back to his cell? Presumably
20 not.

21 None of this is answered by this solution, this
22 opening gambit in negotiations. And it can't be answered
23 because it doesn't exist in classification law. It's

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1 something they are making up. And we don't know who's making
2 it up. Is it the prosecutors? Is it the classification
3 authority?

4 This is the overarching problem, is that the
5 classification in this case is being used to assist the
6 prosecution and to keep a stranglehold on the truth, and it's
7 just used willy-nilly. And we see examples of that virtually
8 daily.

9 So there is another piece of this. If we show it to
10 him, under whatever that might mean, we are committing a
11 federal crime. It is against the law for us to show
12 information to a person without the requisite security
13 clearance. People are in prison for doing this. He can't
14 give us immunity, and I don't think Eric Holder is going to
15 give us blanket transactional immunity.

16 So the notion, oh, you can solve this problem, just
17 reveal classified information to a suspected member of
18 al Qaeda and it's all going to be good doesn't work. And I
19 mean this very, very seriously. I have been practicing
20 criminal law for over 40 years and the first rule I learned --
21 I mean this with all respect to Mr. Nashiri -- one of the
22 first things I learned is if somebody has got to go to prison,
23 it needs to be the client. And what they are proposing for us

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1 to do is commit a crime. Not going to happen.

2 Now, they propose other diversions. Don't do this,
3 Your Honor, don't enforce your brave, courageous order. Gosh,
4 there is going to be this declassification of the executive
5 summary. Well, I don't want to belabor that point. We
6 touched on it earlier. The executive summary is, if you will,
7 the tip of this iceberg that may or may not be germane. And
8 the whole issue of declassification misses the point.
9 Declassification means that the proverbial gas station
10 attendant in Iowa can read it.

11 I think we have a little greater need to access to
12 information than the average guy out on the street. You have
13 found that. You found that when you found that these ten
14 categories of information were necessary for the effective
15 representation, that they were material and they were
16 necessary.

17 Now, their language, and this maybe is a little bit
18 unclear, so I know we will be discussing the whole SSCI report
19 and some of the more specific needs tomorrow in the classified
20 session, but it's really the same issue. To the extent they
21 are saying wait on declassification of the whole report, why
22 should we? We have clearances. Why should we jump -- wait on
23 the redaction process that the CIA goes through is not really

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1 -- you know, when you see the end product, it's not terribly
2 helpful, and that will be discussed at more length tomorrow,
3 is really how intrusive the redaction process is. So the
4 declassification of the SSCI report is not a -- you know,
5 that's just negotiations, Your Honor. That's what all this
6 is.

7 Now, they say, okay, we will give you more
8 summaries. This will be, again, addressed in the classified
9 matter. But for two years or more, I don't know how many
10 times when we have discussed this they have said these
11 summaries are the greatest things in the world, they are
12 completely adequate. We have gone through this. We know what
13 we are doing. These are wonderful. Now apparently their
14 position is, eh, apparently not so much. We realize they are
15 not so good. We are going to try to make it better. It's
16 going to be a long process. It will take us months, maybe
17 years. We will finally get there. That's negotiations.
18 That's because they don't like your brave, courageous order.

19 Then they talk about the indexes, and I guess they
20 have filed with you something. We haven't seen them, so I
21 guess it's really hard to tell and respond as to what these
22 indexes are. But if it is just a listing of what they have
23 really given us, well, you know, that will be something we

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1 will just have to address at some future time. But again,
2 that all came after the fact. And those were the new facts
3 that aren't new facts, they are just negotiations. It is
4 something they created. It is, oh, we will show you some
5 indexes and please don't grant this order, please don't
6 enforce this order, please don't do this.

7 The final thing they offer is that they will issue
8 invitations for interviews. They will reach out to some folks
9 whose names we don't know and they will invite them to come
10 and be interviewed. And one of the things that they say is
11 you don't need their training records because you will be able
12 to talk to them.

13 Well, I don't know whether it's that people don't
14 respect the prosecution, people are afraid of the defense,
15 people just don't want to be bothered, but there are five
16 people who we have requested interviews that -- who are going
17 to be subpoenaed, or whatever passes for a subpoena in this
18 process, who we are going to try and get on the stand, because
19 they clearly have knowledge germane to this case. Those
20 people are former President Bush, former Vice President
21 Cheney, John Rizzo, Jose Rodriguez, and former President
22 Clinton.

23 Now, last week the prosecutor sent us a notice

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1 saying, well, yes, we reached out to those guys on your behalf
2 and they basically aren't interested. These folks are willing
3 to write articles in the New York Times, they are willing to
4 write books, they are willing to give \$100,000 speeches, they
5 are willing to go on Fox and C-SPAN and talk about how
6 wonderful all this is, but when it comes to sitting down and
7 being subjected to the crucible of the truth of an interview,
8 forget under oath, oh, no, I'm not doing that, and again maybe
9 it's because the prosecutor doesn't ask right, maybe it's
10 because they don't want to be bothered, maybe it's because
11 they are afraid, maybe it's because it's easy to have press
12 conferences and hard to be confronted with the hard questions.

13 But if these guys aren't willing to be interviewed,
14 who is the guy who was in the room or the doctor you referred
15 to in one of your paragraphs of your order or the
16 psychologist? They are not going to be interviewed. So the
17 notion that they will use their good offices to somehow assist
18 is ridiculous. Not gonna happen. And then what will happen
19 is a year from now, we will sit there and they will say we
20 tried, they didn't want to talk to you, too bad. Let's go to
21 trial. Sorry you don't have that information.

22 The prosecution says, well, maybe you didn't really
23 respect the claim of privilege. Well, Your Honor, it's pretty

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1 clear that you did. You clearly understood the importance of
2 this, because as required in paragraph 8, you suggest -- you
3 ordered that the parties will continue to comply with the
4 protective order. Everybody knew what was at stake here.
5 This was no secret. And having argued as forcefully as they
6 knew how that you should deny 120 in its entirety, they come
7 back and say, oh, well, you granted these ten categories, now
8 we want to negotiate.

9 Now, the prosecutor also in their motion essentially
10 says to you -- what's the language? -- the people's need to go
11 forward without essentially having classified information be
12 revealed. This came up in the Ghailani case, Your Honor,
13 where Judge Kaplan simply said, fine, you have to make
14 choices. If you want to offer Ghailani's statement, you have
15 to give this information up, or otherwise you can't offer his
16 statement.

17 So there is nothing in your order that will require
18 them to dismiss this case, and their argument and suggestion
19 that they will have to dismiss this case if you stand by your
20 order is absolutely frivolous. But they may not be able to
21 ask for the death penalty, because if you torture a guy, you
22 can't kill him.

23 They may not be able to offer co-conspirator

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1 statements, because if the statements were taken under
2 torture, you can't use them.

3 They may not be able to, and they won't be able to,
4 I think, offer into evidence Nashiri's clean team statement,
5 because we have the right to litigate all of the events that
6 led up to that as forcefully as possible in a motion to
7 suppress, and there has been no secret about this. This is
8 not something that was new in February when we argued this or
9 April when we argued it. It was in February. There has never
10 been any secret that we were going to challenge the
11 admissibility of that statement. And they alluded to it in
12 their brief where they say, yeah, this stuff is relevant for
13 outrageous government misconduct.

14 In, I think it's *Rochin v. California*, they said you
15 can't pump a guy's stomach for heroin because that's too close
16 to the rack and screw. Well, let's just say it like this,
17 Your Honor: The Supreme Court has said and the courts have
18 acknowledged that there exists the case where the government
19 misconduct was so profound and so intrusive and so contrary to
20 American values that continued prosecution might not be
21 warranted. And maybe this is the case, I don't know. But
22 it's never been any secret that that was coming once we had
23 the information we needed.

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1 They may not be able to go ahead with the case and
2 use Mr. Al Darbi as a witness, because I think he went through
3 some of the same things. But they've got 66 hearsay
4 statements they can try to use, and if you rule that they are
5 admissible and if the jury hears that and says that convinces
6 us beyond a reasonable doubt that Mr. Nashiri is guilty, he
7 will be sentenced presumably to a long, long sentence, if not
8 a life sentence.

9 So it's not that the case is going to go away; it's
10 just maybe parts of the case go away. Maybe they can't kill
11 him. But, you know, I was stunned when General Martins says,
12 well, you know, that whole conditions of confinement in
13 Skipper, that really doesn't have anything to do with that
14 case -- of course, that's something they argued before that
15 you rejected -- because we are not alleging future
16 dangerousness.

17 Well, I guess what that means is they are going to
18 argue to the jury, if Mr. Nashiri is convicted, we want you to
19 kill a guy who we agree is harmless in the future. Is that
20 really where we are?

21 Your order, Your Honor, is really quite clear.
22 There is nothing unclear about paragraph (a), a chronology
23 identifying where the accused was held between the date of his

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1 capture and September 2006. Nothing mysterious about that.
2 And (b), a description of how the accused was transported, and
3 (c) and (d), including identities of medical personnel,
4 examining and treating physicians, psychologists, et cetera.
5 Copies of the standard operating procedures or guidelines.
6 All of that is really, really clear. There is nothing
7 mysterious about this.

8 And the notion, Your Honor, and what they say is,
9 well, we don't know the standard you used. Nonsense. We
10 spent hours arguing the standard. Is it relevant? Is it
11 material? Is it necessary?

12 The only people who now say they don't understand
13 the standard you used are them. And as you point out in your
14 order, you used the standard they argued. You used their
15 cases, their law. They know what it is. And then they have
16 the arrogance, and it really is arrogant, to say okay, well,
17 we are going to appeal if you want to persist in this. If you
18 won't stay in your lane, if you won't pull back this order, if
19 you are really going to be independent, we are going to
20 appeal, but we would sure like you to write another order so
21 that we can take -- you know, so we hope you mess up.

22 They got the order. It's not like the law of
23 discovery is complicated. You have found this material is

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1 necessary for the defense, it's necessary for our
2 investigation. If they want to appeal that, the standard of
3 review is abuse of discretion. And if the Court of Appeals
4 says, by some magic reconstruction of federal criminal law, in
5 military commissions somehow it's different, then we will deal
6 with that. But this notion that somehow you haven't done it
7 right is simply just a pretext for more negotiations.

8 I have never been a judge. Pretty clear. But one
9 of the -- I don't know if it is a disadvantage or it's an
10 advantage that people that I have seen grow up in the law, or
11 in some cases people I have taught or people I have worked
12 with have become judges, and a judge I know told me once, in
13 the context it came up, that he was taught at judge school
14 that when you write an order, you write what you mean and that
15 you mean what you write. I don't know, I mean, whether that's
16 something that is taught to Your Honor; I presume in some way
17 or another, it is.

18 And what my friend said is, look, what it means is
19 if I am going to issue an order, I sit down, I think about it,
20 I write what I am going to direct the parties to do, and they
21 can either comply, they can appeal, but I have got to mean it.
22 You know, you don't get take-backs. And your order is clear.
23 I presume you wrote what you meant, and the question is now do

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1 you mean what you write.

2 They didn't comply with the procedures, they didn't
3 set out any new facts, they certainly haven't set out any new
4 law, and now they say, well, why don't you change it all, walk
5 it back, stay in your lane, walk away from it.

6 Where would this country have been, Your Honor, had
7 they gone to Judge Sirica and said, gosh, the White House
8 really doesn't like this, walk this back, and he had done
9 that? That's not what should happen. It shouldn't have
10 happened there, and it shouldn't happen here. So this motion
11 should stand. The government's request for reconsideration
12 should be denied.

13 I'm sure that they will have new things, and we'll
14 respond appropriately. Thank you.

15 MJ [COL POHL]: Thank you, Mr. Kammen. Trial Counsel?

16 CP [BG MARTINS]: Your Honor, we would move that the
17 attachments to Appellate Exhibit 120D be submitted for
18 consideration in this motion. These are the two letters from
19 White House counsel.

20 MJ [COL POHL]: I will consider them. Go ahead.

21 CP [BG MARTINS]: Your Honor, among the more than a
22 thousand pages of information pertaining to the CIA's former
23 Rendition, Detention and Interrogation Program provided to

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1 this defense without any judicial prompting, long before this
2 day and long before this litigation on this motion, included
3 amongst that are a finding by the Inspector General of the
4 Central Intelligence Agency that unauthorized, improvised,
5 inhumane interrogation techniques and detention had been used,
6 including on the accused, with specifics, among other things,
7 that the waterboard was used in November of 2002. This is
8 material that has been provided.

9 The allowing -- even allowing for his client's
10 unquestioned right to a zealous defense, the idea that defense
11 counsel has a monopoly on what's courageous and what's
12 patriotic, what's arrogant or not, would be offensive if it
13 weren't just so wrong.

14 If you could pull up slide 45, please. Without in
15 any way saying something negative about defense counsel, I
16 would like to draw the court's attention -- can you bring up
17 the El-Mezain provision? It should be slide 45 or 46.

18 DDC [CDR MIZER]: I'm sorry to interrupt, but may Captain
19 Jackson be excused?

20 MJ [COL POHL]: Sure, if she needs to be.

21 DDC [CDR MIZER]: I'm sorry, General.

22 CP [BG MARTINS]: It should be the most recent slide that
23 you did, Sergeant G. Yes, here you go. This is a case that

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1 we cited, Your Honor. This goes to this issue that defense
2 raises from time to time that, hey, we have got a security
3 clearance, we ought to be able to get anything that is at a
4 particular level. And what it ignores, and it frankly
5 validates the very concern that underwrites this, that just
6 because you have a security clearance at a certain level
7 doesn't mean that the authority seeking to protect the real
8 source and method is obliged to show everybody that. It's
9 encapsulated in the Executive Order 13526 in the need to know
10 provision, but that is as much of a term of art. The court
11 can provide the need to know in the form of a specific
12 determination that something is noncumulative, relevant and
13 helpful, but this is just an important distinction.

14 And what the Classified Information Procedures Act
15 states and what this whole body of law is about, protecting
16 real sources and methods, it is not -- I am not appealing in
17 any way to bad faith on the defense. I don't have a monopoly
18 on who is patriotic or courageous any more than they do. What
19 I am saying is the structure of the system is that, an
20 important respect, officials who are hearing cases as judges,
21 defense counsel who are representing individual clients in
22 some respects can't help themselves. They are not the ones
23 who can be most best placed to determine whether something is

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1 classified. And this quote is a court acknowledging that, a
2 court acknowledging, in that case the Attorney General, this
3 was a FISA context, could decide that somebody who had a
4 clearance nevertheless shouldn't be getting a specific piece
5 of information. So I need to address that because that comes
6 up again and again, and it reflects a level of
7 misunderstanding that is sort of at the heart of the problem
8 in terms of access to specific facts and what the process is
9 intending to protect, real sources and methods.

10 I also want to address this -- you know, he raised
11 Skipper and clemency and so forth. Can you bring up slide 31,
12 please? You know, he is misunderstanding something we stated
13 rather clearly. I was not saying future dangerousness can't
14 be a fact of consequence to the determination of the action.
15 In fact, using that as a specific example of why we have to
16 get granular on what is that fact of consequence, it is by --
17 this is from Skipper, citing to Eddings and Lockett, on
18 something very analogous to our rule relating to clemency and
19 the accused record in confinement be something considered in
20 sentencing, a very broad standard, the defendant's character
21 and record, but it provides the context within which to
22 consider what is an appropriate substitute or at what point
23 does that become so cumulative that it starts invading the

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1 province of the sentencing authority to exercise reasoned,
2 impartial sentencing authority.

3 And it's important, right? Because the idea of
4 stepping on a mitigation case or saying that something is too
5 far is not something we ordinarily do, particularly in a
6 capital case. Point made. Understand that. So if there is
7 going to be any limitation on that, what are going to be those
8 cabining principles? You cannot find them. The Moussaoui
9 court stands for nothing else in the CIPA context but saying
10 that no substitutions are adequate can be an abuse of
11 discretion. That's what that case stands for.

12 And so if you are going to, in some ways, curb a
13 capital defendant's case, you have got to really be looking
14 hard at what is it they want to offer that piece of evidence
15 or information for. And that's where, if a substitute is
16 going to be adequate, and the government is not saying it's
17 always the case that there is an adequate substitute, not
18 saying that at all, but if the court is going to find that in
19 this context, we need to have explored the alternatives and
20 the requests for substitutions and summaries have to have been
21 searching. We have to have looked at indexes, we have to have
22 looked at all of the stuff they have received and determine is
23 their position substantially the same.

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1 This isn't negotiation. This is about trying to do
2 what the process, which is clear, calls for.

3 If you could pull up slide 22. This notion that
4 somehow reconsideration doesn't happen or it is so unusual,
5 this is the Yunis case itself. And, Your Honor, if one reads
6 the procedural development of that case through the year 1988,
7 defense trivializes Yunis's claim there. Yunis was actually
8 looking to rebut a piece of the prosecution's case and looking
9 for a potential defense of entrapment on the merits. On the
10 merits, they are looking for something and the court says not
11 material to the preparation of the defense -- or this is the
12 appellate court does. Back at the trial level, the trial
13 court asked for transcripts of Yunis' own statements,
14 transcripts that included Yunis' own statements. They asked
15 the government to provide an index and a summary. You see the
16 basic tools in this process. When the court ordered
17 production, the government moved for reconsideration. It's
18 the appropriate thing to do. This isn't a supplement under
19 your rules, it's a request for a reconsideration with
20 unasked-for -- previously unasked-for relief in a procedural
21 context that is distinct from any other that we have.

22 We are not saying that our previous summaries were
23 inadequate. We are doing it in the course of this interactive

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1 process with a honing of the issues with the commission
2 regulating the time, place and manner of discovery.

3 Your Honor, in light of defense's citation to
4 Ghailani, we would request that we be able to provide the
5 precise context within which the prosecution in that case did
6 not pursue introduction of certain statements and subsequent
7 evidence.

8 MJ [COL POHL]: Are we at that point in this case?

9 CP [BG MARTINS]: Well, in light of the fact ----

10 MJ [COL POHL]: I mean, I believe the point was to
11 illustrate there are other remedies, other potential remedies
12 when the government gets an order they don't agree with.

13 CP [BG MARTINS]: I thought it would be helpful. It is
14 something they cited and believe they got it wrong.

15 MJ [COL POHL]: If you want to submit it, go ahead.

16 CP [BG MARTINS]: And then on this whole issue of display
17 only being unheard of, this is a reflection of why the need to
18 really study the discovery that has been submitted is
19 important. They have had this marking on material they have
20 had for a long time in discovery and they haven't said this
21 makes people's heads explode in the classification realm or it
22 is illegal or they are going to go to jail. I would have
23 liked to have heard this. They have had this. If you are

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1 going to change the world, read the discovery that you have.
2 And they have had that. And it's a reflection of the need for
3 them to study the material and help us hone precisely what's
4 relevant and helpful.

5 The last thing I will show Your Honor, if you can
6 pull up slide 44. Your Honor, this is from the dissent in
7 Ghailani -- I'm sorry, in Moussaoui. This is the dissent,
8 now. It cites to Skipper, it talks about the accused's need
9 to present a sentencing case, and I pointed out it's the
10 dissent. So this is Judge Gregory giving you the argument
11 that we have heard from defense counsel, and I just want to
12 point out that's the dissent. This is a Court of Appeals
13 finding an abuse of discretion for the holding that no
14 substitution or that there was not a searching enough
15 examination of potential substitutes.

16 Your Honor, this reconsideration is based on
17 substantial new facts, it's based on a description of the
18 appropriate standard that we would ask the commission to apply
19 and believe it is fully called for by the law. That's all we
20 seek you to apply is the law.

21 Thank you.

22 MJ [COL POHL]: Mr. Kammen.

23 LDC [MR. KAMMEN]: We argued all this. We argued all this

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1 in February. We were largely in closed session. We got down
2 in the weeds with respect to the insufficiency of the
3 summaries. Been there, done that. No reason to go back and
4 do it again. They argued maybe virtually the same thing in
5 February. You know, they just want another bite of the apple,
6 that's all this is, without ever complying with the rules,
7 without the procedural complying with the condition precedent,
8 just we don't like your order, and so we want to negotiate.

9 There can't be anything more clear than what you
10 found that we needed. Look, this isn't about admissibility at
11 trial. This is about allowing us to discover the universe of
12 what evidence we may want to consider seeking admission of.

13 I think it is in John Rizzo's book, and I may be
14 misquoting, but he talks about people who were watching the
15 waterboarding of Nashiri being so upset they were vomiting.
16 Well, if we had such person and he says -- describes this in
17 detail, that might be something we would want to offer in
18 evidence.

19 Now, they may say, whoa, that's not admissible.
20 They may say, well, gosh, that's really not appropriate to
21 present that witness, we need to do it another way, and that's
22 a battle later on. But we at least at this point want to
23 interview these people. We want the information you ordered.

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1 Whether it becomes admissible and whether or not we have some
2 of these fights about how it can be tailored is a different
3 question, but that's not -- but we are not there now. This is
4 discovery for us, to inform our investigation.

5 And look how it has morphed. When we argued 120 the
6 last time, the prosecutor's argument was they don't get to
7 investigate, they just have to accept what we give them and
8 we're sorry your client gets killed. Now it's, oh, yeah, of
9 course they have an obligation to investigate, we just want to
10 do it on our terms. That's not what you ordered. We have
11 been through this. Your order is clear. Produce this
12 information.

13 We get to summaries later on if we choose to try to
14 offer it. We will be discussing it tomorrow, presumably in
15 the classified session again, as to why the summaries are
16 inadequate, but we have done that. There is just nothing new
17 here. And the new facts, the new don't do this, let's do
18 that, we are supposed to wait on whatever is going to happen
19 in the White House, which according to the newspapers, which
20 may or may not be right, will be sometime this summer or fall
21 for 500 pages. So the government says put the case on hold
22 until fall for 500 pages. Or who knows how long it's going to
23 take if you say, well, we will wait on the declassification of

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1 several thousand pages of the SSCI report.

2 Well, they will produce more summaries but again,
3 now we are back to two years ago. How do you consider
4 summaries and the adequacy of summaries in the absence of our
5 defense?

6 Now, we gave you this information two years ago, but
7 if we are really going down that road, clearly it's a much
8 more -- what we would give you today is much more different
9 and much more focused than what we gave you two years ago.
10 They don't know it. They don't know any -- you know, I mean,
11 so if we are going down that road again, you know, if it is
12 going to be this time-consuming process, that's fine. But
13 then I don't want to be hearing about, oh, we have got to set
14 hearing dates and we have got to do this and we have got to do
15 that.

16 The fact is that -- how difficult it is to
17 understand that what they are ordered to produce -- and I am
18 looking at paragraph 120C or Charlie, subparagraph Charlie,
19 for example, "All records, photographs, videos and summaries
20 the government of the United States has in its possession
21 which document the condition of the accused's confinement at
22 each location." What's complicated about that? Give us all
23 of it. Whether or not it becomes admissible, whether or

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1 not -- let's say it's a thousand photographs. Well, you may
2 say okay, you get to offer five from every location, not 500
3 from every location. That's fine. That's the control. But
4 we need to know the universe, not just what they want to show
5 us.

6 Remember that the agency underneath this, the people
7 with their hands on the throat of the truth, have been caught
8 lying to three different district courts; the 9/11 commission;
9 according to what we read in the papers, the United States
10 Senate; I'm going to guess, based on what I have seen, this
11 commission; and who knows what else? And we also know that
12 they intentionally and willfully, in violation of a court
13 order, destroyed exculpatory evidence. And they say, well,
14 let's do their bidding.

15 We have done this. We have had this fight. You
16 have ruled. It's time. You know, keep your order in place.
17 If they are going to appeal, let them appeal. That's the most
18 efficient way to move forward. If the Court of Appeals says,
19 Judge Pohl, you are wrong, we will see where we are there. If
20 the Court of Appeals says, Judge Pohl, you are right,
21 presumably they've got some hard choices to make.

22 But if we are to believe their letters from the
23 White House, things may be overtaken by events and maybe this

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1 will all be moot because maybe this will all be declassified,
2 I don't know.

3 I just want to respond to one other thing very
4 briefly, because they claim that, well, we have had given them
5 stuff before that's classified that they can show to the
6 accused. And I think I know what he is talking about, and he
7 is absolutely wrong. The thing they are talking about is
8 something that was provided to us in two forms, one classified
9 and one unclassified, and what we discussed with the accused
10 was the unclassified.

11 They still haven't answered the fundamental
12 question, how is it that by some operation of fiat, the rules
13 of classification somehow get erased in this court. And there
14 is another problem with what they propose, Your Honor. They
15 say, okay, you can share it with Mr. Nashiri. You can display
16 it, whatever that all means. Does he have to sign a
17 protective order? I presume not. What are his obligations?
18 Let's say we display this to him or are allowed to read it to
19 him or whatever; does he then have to be held in solitary
20 confinement so he can't talk to anybody?

21 MJ [COL POHL]: Mr. Kammen, is that issue really before me
22 now?

23 LDC [MR. KAMMEN]: It is, because they don't address the

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1 obvious consequences of this.

2 MJ [COL POHL]: They are providing you, according to
3 representations, a certain way to provide classified
4 information to your client.

5 LDC [MR. KAMMEN]: A way that is not recognized in the
6 law.

7 MJ [COL POHL]: I am with you there.

8 LDC [MR. KAMMEN]: Okay.

9 MJ [COL POHL]: You just want to know what are the
10 conditions of this and what needs to be done, but that's not
11 really the issue. I understand your concern, but is that the
12 issue really before me?

13 LDC [MR. KAMMEN]: I think not because I think we never
14 get to that issue because I think it should be summarily
15 denied. I say this is the renegotiation. They say this is
16 the new fact, aha, they can now share stuff.

17 And what I am saying is this new fact doesn't change
18 anything and, in fact, makes things worse, because we have to
19 give a client advice.

20 Now, one of the concerns, Your Honor, is this:
21 Supposing -- and again hypothetically, because, you know,
22 let's say that we do this and under circumstances that are
23 appropriate he talks to somebody else, another person about

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1 it, another inmate. Is he committing a federal crime? Does
2 he build in aggravating circumstances where the government, if
3 they learn of that, you know, if somehow they learn of that
4 says, ladies and gentlemen of the jury, we gave Nashiri this
5 classified information and he told somebody else so now you've
6 got to kill him because he revealed classified information?

7 Or -- and again, then everyone will think this is
8 farfetched, and it may well be, but supposing he is acquitted.
9 Now, we have already raised the issue a long time ago. Well,
10 if he is acquitted will he actually get to go home like he
11 would in an Article III court, or at least be released? And
12 they said that's -- we can't address that, you know, stay in
13 your lane, that wasn't anything you needed to concern yourself
14 with. But if we go down this road then and he is acquitted,
15 are they going to say we have got to hold him here for the
16 rest of his life because we gave him this classified
17 information?

18 The solution they propose creates this huge set of
19 problems. There are procedures under CIPA in which the
20 government can create unclassified summaries. That's how
21 CIPA -- how CIPA works, and we have been through this, is the
22 defense gets -- cleared people get the underlying information,
23 the document that says here is what happened. In Yunis, the

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1 transcripts.

2 Then there is this interactive process where the
3 parties, under the supervision of the court, create the
4 summaries and the summaries are unclassified and the defendant
5 can see the summaries.

6 That's not what's happening here. They want to skip
7 the underlying stuff, say here are the summaries you get, good
8 luck to you. Now they say, well, we are not going to
9 declassify the summaries, they are still TS/SCI, but there is
10 this one exception recognized in the law that creates all
11 these huge collateral issues as though that somehow solves the
12 problem.

13 Again, that's why your order should stand. There is
14 no new facts, no new law, only solutions that aren't
15 solutions, only solutions that they rejected when we argued it
16 before; and then having lost, you having ruled, they say well,
17 okay, now let's try this.

18 You ruled. You found that this material was
19 necessary for effective investigation, and we just ask you to
20 stand firm in your ruling.

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

22 That covers all the issues that we are going to
23 discuss this session in an open session. Tomorrow there is

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1 going to be a closed session pursuant to Rule for Military
2 Commission 806 to discuss classified materials.

3 The commission is in recess.

4 [The Military Commission recessed at 1627, 28 May 2014.]

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