- 1 [The R.M.C. 803 session was called to order at 0901, 25 March
- 2 2019.1
- **3** MJ [Col PARRELLA]: Good morning. This commission is
- 4 called to order.
- 5 Trial Counsel, would you please identify who is here
- 6 on behalf of the United States.
- 7 CP [BG MARTINS]: Good morning, Your Honor.
- **8** MJ [Col PARRELLA]: Good morning.
- **9** CP [BG MARTINS]: Representing the United States,
- 10 Brigadier General Mark Martins, Mr. Robert Swann, Mr. Edward
- 11 Ryan, Mr. Clayton Trivett, Ms. Nicole Tate, Major Christopher
- 12 Dykstra. Also present at counsel table, Mr. Rudolph Gibbs and
- 13 Staff Sergeant Clifford Johnson. And also present in the
- 14 courtroom are Patrick O'Malley, Ghailan Stepho, and Jeffrey
- 15 Fuhr of the Federal Bureau of Investigation.
- 16 Your Honor, these proceedings are being transmitted
- 17 by closed circuit transmission to locations in the continental
- 18 United States pursuant to the commission's order.
- 19 MJ [Col PARRELLA]: Thank you, General Martins.
- 20 Mr. Nevin, would you please indicate for the record
- 21 who is here on behalf of Mr. Mohammad.
- 22 LDC [MR. NEVIN]: Yes. Good morning, Your Honor.
- 23 MJ [Col PARRELLA]: Good morning.

- 1 LDC [MR. NEVIN]: David Nevin, Lieutenant Colonel Poteet,
- 2 Ms. Leboeuf, Mr. Sowards, and Ms. Radostitz for Mr. Mohammad.
- **3** And he is present.
- 4 MJ [Col PARRELLA]: Thank you.
- **5** Ms. Bormann?
- **6** LDC [MS. BORMANN]: Judge, on behalf of Mr. Bin'Attash,
- 7 myself, Edwin Perry, Mr. William Montross, and Major Matthew
- 8 Seeger.
- **9** MJ [Col PARRELLA]: Thank you.
- 10 Mr. Harrington.
- 11 LDC [MR. HARRINGTON]: Judge, on behalf of Mr. Binalshibh,
- 12 James Harrington, Wyatt Feeler, and John Balouziyeh -- Captain
- 13 John Balouziyeh, sorry.
- 14 MJ [Col PARRELLA]: Thank you. And as I understand it,
- 15 Mr. Feeler and Captain Balouziyeh are making their first
- **16** appearances?
- **17** LDC [MR. HARRINGTON]: That's correct, Judge.
- 18 MJ [Col PARRELLA]: Okay. And I believe they filed
- 19 appropriate documents stating their qualifications and
- 20 statuses as to oath, but if they could please -- or if
- 21 somebody could state on the record -- for the record what
- 22 those are and that they are in good standing.
- 23 LDC [MR. HARRINGTON]: Do that right now, Judge?

- **1** MJ [Col PARRELLA]: Please.
- **2** DC [MR. FEELER]: Good morning, Judge.
- **3** MJ [Col PARRELLA]: Good morning.
- 4 DC [MR. FEELER]: My name is Wyatt Feeler. I have been
- 5 detailed as a general schedule civilian defense counsel for
- 6 Ramzi Binalshibh by Chief Defense Counsel Brigadier General
- 7 John Baker. I am a United States citizen. I am admitted to
- 8 practice law in the state of Maryland in the District of
- 9 Columbia. I have not been subject to any sanction or
- 10 disciplinary action by any court, bar, or other competent
- 11 governmental authority for relevant misconduct.
- I have been determined to be eligible for access to
- 13 information classified at the Secret level or higher. I have
- 14 signed a written agreement to comply with all applicable
- 15 regulations or instructions for counsel, including any rules
- 16 of court for conduct during the proceedings and to protect any
- 17 classified information received during the course of
- 18 representation of the accused in accordance with all
- 19 applicable law governing the protection of classified
- 20 information and to not divulge any such information to a
- 21 person not authorized to receive it.
- 22 MJ [Col PARRELLA]: Thank you, Mr. Feeler. If you could
- 23 please raise your right hand.

1 [Counsel was sworn.] 2 MJ [Col PARRELLA]: Thank you. 3 DC [CPT BALOUZIYEH]: Good morning, Judge. 4 MJ [Col PARRELLA]: Good morning. 5 DC [CPT BALOUZIYEH]: My name is John Balouziyeh, Captain, 6 United States Army Reserve. I have been detailed as military 7 defense counsel for Mr. Ramzi Binalshibh. I am admitted to 8 practice law in New Jersey and the District of Columbia. 9 have not been subject to any sanction or disciplinary action 10 by any court or other relevant authority for misconduct. 11 I have been determined to be eligible for access to 12 information classified at the level of Secret or higher. I 13 have signed a written agreement to comply with all applicable 14 regulations or instructions for counsel, including any rules 15 of court for conduct during the proceeding and to protect any 16 classified information received during the course of 17 representation of the accused in accordance with all 18 applicable law governing the protection of classified 19 information and to not divulge such information to any person 20 not authorized to receive it. 21 MJ [Col PARRELLA]: Thank you, Captain Balouziyeh. If you 22 could please raise your right hand.

23

[Counsel was sworn.]

- 1 MJ [Col PARRELLA]: Thank you. Please have a seat.
- **2** DC [CPT BALOUZIYEH]: Thank you.
- **3** MJ [Col PARRELLA]: Mr. Connell?
- **4** LDC [MR. CONNELL]: Good morning, Your Honor.
- 5 MJ [Col PARRELLA]: Good morning.
- 6 LDC [MR. CONNELL]: On behalf of Mr. al Baluchi it is
- 7 myself, James Connell, Alka Pradhan, Benjamin Farley, Captain
- 8 Mark Andreu of the United States Air Force. Lieutenant
- **9** Colonel Thomas was previously excused by the military
- 10 commission.
- 11 MJ [Col PARRELLA]: Thank you.
- 12 Mr. Ruiz.
- 13 LDC [MR. RUIZ]: Judge, Ms. Suzanne Lachelier, Lieutenant
- 14 Colonel Jennifer Williams, Mr. Sean Gleason, and myself are
- 15 present on behalf of Mr. al Hawsawi.
- 16 MJ [Col PARRELLA]: Thank you very much.
- 17 I will now advise the accused of their right to be
- 18 present and their right to waive said presence.
- 19 You each have the right to be present during all
- 20 sessions of the commission. If you request to be absent -- to
- 21 absent yourself from any session, such absence must be
- 22 voluntary and of your own free will.
- Your voluntary absence from any session of the

- 1 commission is an unequivocal waiver of the right to be present
- 2 during that session. Your absence from any session may
- 3 negatively affect the presentation of the defense in your
- 4 case. Your failure to meet with and cooperate with your
- 5 defense counsel may also negatively affect the presentation of
- 6 your case.
- 7 Under certain circumstances your attendance at a
- 8 session can be compelled regardless of your personal desire
- **9** not to be present.
- 10 Regardless of your voluntary waiver to attend a
- 11 particular session of the commission, you have the right at
- 12 any time to decide to attend any subsequent session. If you
- 13 decide not to attend the morning session but wish to attend
- 14 the afternoon session, you must notify the guard force of your
- 15 desires. Assuming there is enough time to arrange
- 16 transportation, you will then be allowed to attend the
- 17 afternoon session.
- 18 You will be informed of the time and date of each
- 19 commission session prior to the session to afford you the
- 20 opportunity to decide whether you wish to attend that session.
- 21 Mr. Mohammad, do you understand what I have just
- 22 explained to you?
- ACC [MR. MOHAMMAD]: Yes.

- **1** MJ [Col PARRELLA]: Mr. Bin'Attash, do you understand what
- 2 I've just explained to you?
- **3** ACC [MR. BIN'ATTASH]: Yes.
- 4 MJ [Col PARRELLA]: Mr. Binalshibh, do you understand what
- 5 I have just explained to you?
- 6 ACC [MR. BINALSHIBH]: [Speaking in English] I am on the
- 7 same platform like last time. My lawyer explained to you my
- 8 positions.
- 9 MJ [Col PARRELLA]: I understand your ----
- 10 ACC [MR. BINALSHIBH]: I changed my mind -- I didn't
- 11 change my mind. I still the same.
- 12 MJ [Col PARRELLA]: I understand your continuing objection
- 13 to me presiding as the military judge, and your counsel has
- 14 noted that objection for the appellate courts.
- 15 Mr. Binalshibh, all I want to know right now is
- 16 whether you understand the rights advisement I gave you about
- 17 whether you have the right to be present and you can waive
- **18** that presence.
- 19 ACC [MR. BINALSHIBH]: [Speaking in English] I did answer
- **20** that.
- 21 MJ [Col PARRELLA]: I'm sorry, can you repeat that?
- Well, if you don't answer it, then what I am going to
- 23 have to do is just have you come to each session of the court,

- 1 because if I can't ascertain that you understand your rights
- 2 to waive your appearance here, then my only remedy is to have
- 3 you brought to each session of the court.
- 4 ACC [MR. BINALSHIBH]: [Speaking in English] I will let my
- 5 lawyer speak with you.
- **6** LDC [MR. HARRINGTON]: Could I have a word with my client,
- 7 Judge?
- **8** MJ [Col PARRELLA]: You may.
- **9** [Pause.]
- 10 ACC [MR. BIN'ATTASH]: [Speaking in English] So I did
- 11 understand that.
- 12 MJ [Col PARRELLA]: Thank you.
- 13 Mr. Ali, do you understand the rights I just
- 14 explained to you?
- 15 ACC [MR. AZIZ ALI]: Yes.
- 16 MJ [Col PARRELLA]: Mr. Hawsawi, do you understand what I
- 17 have just explained to you?
- 18 ACC [MR. AL HAWSAWI]: Yes.
- 19 MJ [Col PARRELLA]: On 23 March 2019, this commission
- 20 conducted an R.M.C. 802 conference here in Guantanamo Bay with
- 21 both trial and defense counsel. The accused were absent.
- 22 At this conference introductions were made for the
- 23 new counsel and defense team members who were making their

- 1 first appearances. We then discussed the order of march for
- 2 this week's session. I indicated that the commission intended
- 3 to start this morning's session in an open session with the
- 4 typical identification of the parties and advisement of
- 5 rights.
- I then indicated we would take up the following
- 7 motions: AE 133RR, 118, 614, 574G, 600, 601, 617, and 620.
- 8 With respect to 574G, 600, and 601, I indicated that I would
- **9** defer to Mr. Connell, as the proponent of those motions, to
- 10 decide the specific order he would like to take those up in.
- 11 Depending on how far we get, I indicated that the
- 12 commission will then decide whether Tuesday will be an open
- 13 session, a closed session, or a combination thereof.
- 14 Either way, when we finish the unclassified
- 15 arguments, this commission will then conduct a closed session
- 16 pursuant to R.M.C. 806 to take up the following motions:
- **17** 133RR, 118, 574G, 599, 600, and 601.
- I then stated that barring a stay from the appellate
- 19 court, we will take up the interpreter's testimony pursuant to
- 20 the commission's order in AE 350RRR, 616J in a closed session
- 21 starting on Thursday at 9:00 a.m.
- 22 Finally, I indicated that in order to accommodate the
- 23 prayer schedule, the commission would endeavor to take a

- 1 midday recess from approximately 1200 to 1330, or 1:30 p.m.,
- 2 and to end each day's session by 1730, or 5:30 p.m.
- 3 At the R.M.C. 802 conference, Mr. Nevin inquired
- 4 about his filing from late Friday 22 March marked as AE 615Z,
- ${f 5}$ a motion to be heard. I indicated that I viewed AE 615Z as a
- 6 motion for reconsideration of the commission's ruling in
- 7 AE 613G, 615Y, wherein I denied Mr. Mohammad's request for
- 8 oral argument and that it was the commission's intent to deny
- 9 the motion for reconsideration.
- The commission has since done so in a ruling that is
- 11 marked as AE 615AA. I did, however, indicate to Mr. Nevin
- 12 that I will allow him to state for the record his continuing
- 13 belief that he is burdened by a conflict that prohibits him
- 14 from representing Mr. Mohammad and, as such, it is his intent
- 15 to not actively participate in this week's session.
- Now, Mr. Nevin, I think that summation adequately
- 17 stated your position, but we'll allow you to briefly state
- 18 anything that I've missed. I just ask that you not, however,
- 19 present argument on the topic since I have already ruled
- 20 multiple times now on this issue, to include denying your
- 21 request to be heard. With that, the floor is yours.
- 22 LDC [MR. NEVIN]: All right. Thank you. And, Your Honor,
- 23 really my purpose is to ask for a continuing objection, and

- 1 our objection is the one we have articulated in the course of
- 2 the litigation on this issue, that we perceive the existence
- 3 of a conflict of interest, particularly in view of the long
- 4 history of government intrusion in the defense -- in defense
- **5** activity.
- 6 And we feel that it hasn't -- that the existence of
- 7 that sort of an intrusion has not been extinguished by the
- 8 material that the military commission directed that we be
- 9 provided. And as a result, our intention is to pursue an
- 10 extraordinary remedy from -- from either the Court of Military
- 11 Commission Review or the D.C. Circuit or perhaps both. And
- 12 until that time, our position is that we're -- that we can't
- 13 say that we are not laboring under a conflict of interest and
- 14 therefore we will not be participating in the proceedings.
- 15 I'm aware of the military commission's direction or
- 16 statement that our failure to participate would constitute a
- 17 waiver. It is not intended as a waiver, and so we are going
- 18 forward on that basis.
- 19 I ask that you grant us a continuing objection so
- 20 that each time there's an opportunity for us to speak, I'll
- 21 simply state that I'm relying on the previous objection, or
- 22 words to that effect, with the military judge's permission.
- 23 MJ [Col PARRELLA]: Yeah, I will certainly note that the

- 1 commission recognizes that you have a continuing objection and
- 2 just ask that -- we'll assume that it's in place until you
- 3 tell me otherwise.
- 4 LDC [MR. NEVIN]: All right. Thank you, Your Honor.
- 5 MJ [Col PARRELLA]: Thank you.
- 6 LDC [MS. BORMANN]: Judge, may I be heard just briefly, in
- 7 addition? We also have a continuing objection.
- **8** MJ [Col PARRELLA]: You may.
- **9** LDC [MS. BORMANN]: Good morning.
- 10 MJ [Col PARRELLA]: Good morning.
- 11 LDC [MS. BORMANN]: I also don't intend to argue, but
- 12 we're in a slightly different position than Mr. Nevin's team,
- 13 so I'm going to adopt his statements.
- 14 We want to move forward, but we're in a position
- 15 where we, having done the research that we can, can't move
- 16 forward. So in an attempt to be able to move forward, I have
- 17 one question for the commission. I'm hoping you can answer
- **18** it.
- 19 There were 31 pages of completely redacted police
- 20 records. I was aware, as long -- as well as Mr. Montross and
- 21 Mr. Perry, of our former paralegal being taken into custody in
- 22 July of 2019 at Fort Myers -- 2018 -- strike that, 2018, in
- 23 Fort Myers, in Arlington, Virginia. And I would ask the

- 1 military judge just to tell me whether or not the issue
- 2 revolves around that, because if the commission ----
- 3 MJ [Col PARRELLA]: Okay. I just want to stop you right
- 4 there, Ms. Bormann, because I'm slightly concerned that we
- 5 don't have the Special Review Team here; we have the
- **6** prosecution.
- 7 So if you have an inquiry that gets into the
- 8 specifics, what I would ask that you do is reduce it to
- 9 writing. I'm happy to try to entertain the question or answer
- 10 it for you, but that you submit that to the SRT, as the
- 11 government's representative, and we not take that up in open
- 12 session right now.
- So I will happily recognize that you have an ongoing
- 14 objection, just as Mr. Nevin has asked me to do. Obviously
- 15 you're aware of the commission's ruling. It's been
- 16 memorialized several times now in writing and on the record,
- 17 so we'll note that objection. But in terms of the specifics,
- 18 please reduce that to writing.
- 19 LDC [MS. BORMANN]: I will do so.
- 20 MJ [Col PARRELLA]: Thank you.
- 21 LDC [MS. BORMANN]: Thank you.
- 22 MJ [Col PARRELLA]: Okay. Lastly, at our R.M.C. 802
- 23 conference, Mr. Connell asked the commission to add 502CCCC,

- 1 AE 524RR (AAA Sup), AE 524HHH, and AE 524TT (RBS Sup) to the
- 2 docket order for this week. This request was also made in
- 3 Mr. Ali's proposed and revised proposed order of march set
- 4 forth in AE 619C and 619P respectively.
- 5 In response, the commission stated that it declined
- 6 to add these motions as the commission was in the process of
- 7 finalizing its ruling to AE 524NN. The commission believes
- 8 that this ruling will render the proposed 524 motions moot and
- **9** that 502CCCC is not yet ripe since the ruling is still
- 10 pending.
- 11 All right. With that, do counsel either side have
- 12 any additions or corrections to the commission's summary of
- 13 the R.M.C. 802 conference?
- **14** Trial Counsel?
- 15 MTC [MR. TRIVETT]: Good morning, Your Honor. We believe
- 16 that the summary is correct. In re-reviewing our notes after
- 17 you gave the list of the open session argument, it was our
- 18 understanding as of last time that there would be a portion of
- 19 600 that was open and a portion closed, all of 601 would be
- **20** open, but our understanding was that all of 574 would be
- 21 closed.
- 22 So we would just ask the military commission to
- 23 consider whether or not that was its recollection as well.

- **1** MJ [Col PARRELLA]: Well, if you give me one moment,
- 2 Mr. Trivett.
- **3** Mr. Connell?
- 4 LDC [MR. CONNELL]: I just want to address that issue,
- **5** sir. I can wait.
- 6 MJ [Col PARRELLA]: Go ahead, please. And what I'm doing
- 7 now is -- as you're talking, is I will pull up the closure
- 8 order that pertains to it. Frankly, I don't have a specific
- 9 recollection. So, Mr. Connell, maybe you can help jog the
- 10 commission's memory on this.
- 11 LDC [MR. CONNELL]: Thank you, sir. I re-reviewed the
- 12 transcript from the 505(h) session on 29 January 2019 when
- 13 trial counsel contacted me about this question -- the -- and I
- 14 cannot agree with trial counsel that there was any discussion
- 15 of a full closure of 574G.
- 16 In fact, in the course of the discussion, both the
- 17 military commission and the government observed that there
- 18 were a number of paragraphs in 574B (Amended), which is the
- 19 military commission's Protective Order #3 at issue in 574G,
- 20 that were unclassified or classified FOUO.
- 21 There is nothing about complete closure. In fact,
- 22 the only motion that the government asked to close completely
- **23** was AE 600 ----

- **1** MJ [Col PARRELLA]: Yeah.
- 2 LDC [MR. CONNELL]: ---- and the military commission ruled
- 3 on that.
- 4 MJ [Col PARRELLA]: I do recall, and I also went back and
- 5 reviewed the transcript of the 505 session, so I know and have
- 6 a specific recollection that the parties all agreed to closing
- 7 completely 599.
- I know there was debate with respect to 600. The
- 9 commission ruled that it would afford you the opportunity to
- 10 make argument -- open argument in 600.
- I don't recall any specific discussion about whether
- 12 574 would be open or closed either. Give me one moment.
- 13 [Pause.]
- 14 MJ [Col PARRELLA]: I will note for the parties that both
- 15 in the -- I think the commission's -- well, the commission's
- 16 docket order but more specifically, for the proposed order of
- 17 march, I mean, it's -- 574 has been listed or proposed. In
- 18 those -- both of those is an argument -- or to be argued in
- 19 open session. I don't recall reading anything in the
- 20 government's response objecting to an open session for 574.
- 21 So, I mean, the commission is inclined to frankly
- 22 afford counsel the opportunity to make argument in open
- 23 session. Obviously I am confident Mr. Connell is aware of

- 1 this, that he is going to have to confine his argument to that
- 2 which is unclassified.
- 3 Does that answer your question, Mr. Trivett?
- 4 MTC [MR. TRIVETT]: It does, sir. Thank you.
- 5 MJ [Col PARRELLA]: Okay. Any other additions or
- 6 corrections to the commission's summation of the R.M.C. 802
- 7 conference?
- 8 LDC [MR. CONNELL]: Sir, I just had one more comment on
- 9 that last thing that I didn't get to, which is that in 601,
- 10 there is a classified addendum, so pursuant to the military
- 11 commission's closure order in 601, I believe that 601 will
- 12 also be bifurcated. It was an unclassified motion with a
- 13 classified addendum, which we took up in the last 505(h)
- 14 session.
- **15** MJ [Col PARRELLA]: I agree.
- 16 LDC [MR. CONNELL]: Sir, the one thing that -- I would
- 17 agree that the military commission's summation of the 802
- 18 conference is correct. The one thing that I would add is that
- 19 were the military commission to decide otherwise, we are fully
- 20 prepared to go forward on the 524 series and 502CCCC this
- 21 week. Thank you.
- 22 MJ [Col PARRELLA]: Thank you.
- Okay. With that, we will go ahead and commence with

1 133RR. 2 Now, as I -- and I will just preface this. As I view 3 this, I know this has been around a while, there was an order 4 from my predecessor. The government has submitted a report at 5 least in partial compliance with that order. I think perhaps 6 where we need to start off with this, to the extent we can in 7 an open session, is sort of with an update of where are we. 8 Because the way I read the order, there were still some tasks 9 to be performed pursuant to that. I'm sorry. I can't ----10 LDC [MR. CONNELL]: Can we have a moment with the 11 government? 12 MJ [Col PARRELLA]: You may. 13 [Pause.] 14 CP [BG MARTINS]: Your Honor, we conferred with defense 15 counsel. I mean, the TSCM inspection that you directed 16 pursuant to an agreement between the parties has been 17 conducted, and we agree that we are prepared to move on to 18 argument of the base motion, the request for so-called 19 permanent and verifiable disabling. 20 But that has been done. And as the parties will both 21 agree, there is a paragraph of the report of that inspection

audio-monitoring capability was found in the interview rooms

that we can talk about in this session, which is that no

22

23

- 1 at Camp Echo II. So that's the update we can give you.
- 2 MJ [Col PARRELLA]: Okay. Great. Thank you.
- **3** ADC [Capt ANDREU]: Good morning, sir.
- **4** MJ [Col PARRELLA]: Good morning.
- 5 ADC [Capt ANDREU]: Your Honor, 133RR is Mr. al Baluchi's
- 6 motion to permanently and verifiably disable audio-monitoring
- 7 capability in attorney-client meeting rooms.
- 8 I will start by noting for the record that this
- 9 motion has been argued on several dates: 24 August 2017 at
- 10 transcript pages 16277 through 83 and 16290 through 98,
- 11 16 October 2017 at transcript pages 16553 through 74,
- 12 26 February 2018 at transcript pages 18902 through 05, and
- 13 25 July 2018 at transcript pages 2153 [sic] through 55.
- 14 Your Honor, we think that today will be the last step
- 15 in what has been a long motion series. This motion series
- 16 began in 2013 when the defense first raised concerns of
- 17 monitoring -- audio monitoring of attorney-client
- 18 conversations in meeting rooms at Echo II.
- 19 At that time the JDG Commander provided a declaration
- 20 stating that, yes, the capability to monitor existed; however,
- 21 that attorney-client meetings were in fact not being
- 22 monitored. That's available in the record at
- 23 AE 133A Attachment C. The JDG Commander further ordered that

- 1 all audio capability be disconnected going forward.
- 2 Also in 2013 the Staff Judge Advocate testified that
- 3 there were microphones disguised as smoke detectors in
- 4 attorney-client meeting rooms.
- 5 The military judge then issued a ruling -- issued an
- 6 order, excuse me, that is AE 133QQ. The military judge
- 7 ordered that monitoring be prohibited in attorney-client
- 8 meeting rooms and that what he called the salient points of
- **9** the JDG Commander's order be made part of the standard
- 10 operating procedures for JTF-GTMO and the Joint Detention
- 11 Group.
- 12 The military judge further ordered that if any audio
- 13 monitoring was to occur, that defense counsel be so advised
- 14 prior to meeting with their clients. Again, that's AE 133QQ.
- 15 So then fast forward to July of 2017. That's when
- 16 Mr. al Baluchi filed the instant motion, 133RR. That was
- 17 filed based upon advice from the chief defense counsel based
- 18 upon a disclosure by the government a different case, an
- 19 advisement that defense counsel not meet with clients until
- 20 they were satisfied that their meetings were not being audio
- 21 monitored.
- In March of 2018, the government made a filing with
- 23 the USCMCR, and in that filing, the government publicly

- 1 acknowledged that microphones, plural, were present in at
- 2 least one privileged attorney-client meeting space at
- 3 Guantanamo Bay. That's available in the record at
- 4 AE 133RR (AAA 2nd Sup). This is well after obviously the
- 5 salient points of the JDG Commander's order were ordered by
- 6 the prior military judge.
- 7 133RR, as I mentioned, has been argued on several
- 8 occasions, and following those arguments, the defense and the
- 9 government were able to get together and come up with a
- 10 proposed order -- an agreed-upon order for the military
- 11 commission. That military commission -- or that order was
- 12 later adopted by the military commission. It's AE 133AAA, and
- 13 it said that the convening authority would make arrangements
- 14 for a full technical surveillance countermeasures inspection
- 15 by non-SOUTHCOM entity of JTF-GTMO-controlled attorney-client
- **16** meeting rooms at Guantanamo Bay.
- 17 As Your Honor mentioned, that TSCM -- technical
- 18 surveillance countermeasures -- sweep has occurred. It
- **19** occurred between 9 and 25 October of 2018. The report is
- 20 available in the record at AE 133BBB Attachment B, and the
- 21 report found that no audio monitoring -- no audio-monitoring
- 22 capability was found.
- 23 So that brings us to today and what we believe would

- 1 be the last step in this motion series. We're asking this
- 2 court -- this military commission to issue an order freezing
- 3 the status quo as of that 9 to 25 October sweep. We have --
- 4 we trust the integrity of that sweep, and we feel that an
- 5 order is now appropriate to freeze that status quo.
- 6 I mentioned the prior ruling by the military judge,
- 7 133QQ. In that ruling, the prior military judge recognized
- 8 the need for a prophylactic remedy. We know that -- he
- 9 recognized that just because monitoring capability didn't
- 10 exist then, that it could in the future. And we know that
- 11 because although he ordered that the salient points of the
- 12 JDG Commander's order be made part of the SOPs, he still
- 13 ordered that defense counsel be advised if audio-monitoring
- 14 capability was to occur.
- 15 The military judge also made a finding of fact -- I'm
- 16 referring to page 16 of 133QQ, paragraph e -- stated that the
- 17 commission is all too aware that with continual changes in the
- 18 personnel comprising JTF-GTMO and the JDG what has been done
- 19 right at one point may become a historical notation,
- 20 especially after several changes of the guard force.
- 21 Our motion is styled and we did argue for -- it is a
- 22 motion to permanently and verifiably disable audio-monitoring
- 23 capability. We believe that the verifiably piece has been

- 1 achieved via the TSCM sweep. We are now just asking for the
- 2 permanent piece to be achieved, and that can be accomplished
- 3 by this military commission issuing an order freezing the
- 4 status quo.
- 5 MJ [Col PARRELLA]: Captain Andreu, first off, good to see
- 6 you back and feeling better this session.
- 7 Secondly, question for you: With respect to the TSCM
- 8 report, the report is dated November, correct? So the sweep
- **9** was completed in October.
- 10 ADC [Capt ANDREU]: Yes, sir.
- 11 MJ [Col PARRELLA]: And I guess the question I posed to
- 12 the parties before you began was -- the commission's reading
- 13 of the report is that there is a few more tasks that they
- 14 intended to achieve. And I don't know if that was part of the
- 15 concern of the defense, but at this point in time, are you
- 16 satisfied with the sweep that was done that was reported in
- 17 this report of November?
- 18 ADC [Capt ANDREU]: Yes, sir. Yes, sir, we are. My
- 19 understanding from the report is that there are additional
- 20 sweeps that are set to still occur, but those don't include
- 21 the attorney-client meeting rooms at Echo II. This motion,
- 22 however, is just focused on the attorney-client meeting rooms.
- And so for purposes of this motion, yes, sir, we are

- 1 satisfied with the sweep.
- 2 MJ [Col PARRELLA]: All right. My second question is: I
- 3 understand what you are asking for. Has the defense
- 4 endeavored to propose an order for the commission? Do you
- 5 have a draft of what it is you would like the commission to
- 6 sign?
- 7 ADC [Capt ANDREU]: No, sir, but I would be happy to do
- **8** so.
- 9 MJ [Col PARRELLA]: Okay. That's all the questions I
- 10 have. Thank you.
- **11** ADC [Capt ANDREU]: Thank you.
- 12 CP [BG MARTINS]: Your Honor, other parties had argued,
- 13 and I will respond to a couple of items other parties have
- 14 made, although it appears no one else wishes to argue from the
- 15 defense in this motion that they have joined.
- Your Honor, the burdensome relief -- any additional
- 17 burdensome relief sought in the motion should be denied
- 18 because the Joint Task Force has been earnestly and in good
- 19 faith trying to facilitate attorney-client communications, not
- 20 spy on them.
- The command has self-reported the very few genuine
- 22 problems that have arisen and has worked responsibly to
- 23 remediate those. Moreover, there remains no showing of any

- 1 audio monitoring of these five accused in confidential
- 2 meetings with their attorneys, and there is certainly no
- 3 evidence that the prosecution has ever been made privy to
- 4 confidential defense strategy or trial preparations because
- 5 that simply has not occurred.
- **6** I would like to go back to Appellate Exhibit 133QQ,
- 7 because counsel did lay out some things, and we believe there
- 8 are other important contextual points there. On
- 9 30 November 2016, on an extensive record that included four
- 10 hours of sworn testimony by the Joint Detention Group
- 11 Commander, an Army colonel, another four hours of sworn
- 12 testimony by the Joint Task Force Staff Judge Advocate, a Navy
- 13 captain, and many hundreds of pages of filings, declarations,
- 14 photographs, and other exhibits, the commission issued
- 15 Appellate Exhibit 133QQ.
- 16 In that ruling, Judge Pohl found that the defense had
- 17 not shown that their attorney-client communications were being
- 18 intruded upon in any of the locations where these five accused
- 19 meet with their counsel, namely, the interview rooms at
- 20 Camp Echo II, the holding cells near the courtroom, and the
- 21 courtroom itself.
- Judge Pohl found that while at the time in the
- 23 interview rooms, in February of 2013, there were microphones

1 that to the uninitiated could be mistaken for fire alarms, 2 quote, Existence of the capability to monitor does not by 3 itself establish the fact or probability of abuse or misuse of 4 that capability, especially where there are unrelated 5 legitimate reasons for the capabilities' presence, end quote. 6 Judge Pohl found that no evidence was even offered 7 throughout all of the proceedings indicating that anyone had 8 ever purposely misled defense counsel with regard to the 9 function of the so-called fire alarms that were in the 10 Camp Echo II interview rooms at the time, nor was the fact of 11 audio and video monitoring capability a closely held secret. 12 And so having found no intrusion and -- as well as 13 uniform awareness by the Joint Task Force witnesses of the 14 need to respect attorney-client communications, Judge Pohl 15 denied the most burdensome forms of relief in that motion. 16 And he did, as counsel indicated, issue what he 17 referred to as a prophylactic remedy in recognition of the 18 changes that can occur in the personnel comprising the Joint 19 Task Force and the Joint Detention Group, and that was to 20 direct that the standing operating procedures of the Joint 21 Detention Group and Joint Task Force formally incorporate a 22 prohibition on the monitoring of attorney-client 23 communications: and that when new defense counsel were being

- 1 briefed on the interview rooms at Camp Echo II, that they be
- 2 made aware of the existence of monitoring capability and its
- 3 uses; and that if there were to be a meeting with defense --
- 4 with an accused or a detainee that involved a defense counsel,
- 5 for instance a plea negotiation, that would be monitored, that
- 6 the defense counsel involved would be made aware of it.
- 7 MJ [Col PARRELLA]: General Martins, let me ask you a
- 8 question. So this is one of those rare occasions that I have
- 9 observed so far where, at the end of a long motion series, the
- 10 parties sort of came to an agreement on a proposed order, the
- 11 commission signed the order, the government's complied with
- 12 the order, and we are in a state where now the whole basis for
- 13 the initial motion has been satisfied.
- So as I is understand the defense, what they are
- 15 asking for now is just to ensure we remain in this current
- 16 state of this issue being resolved.
- 17 So the question I have for you is, is what's the harm
- 18 in the commission signing an order that just essentially says
- 19 the status quo applies, don't change anything here?
- 20 CP [BG MARTINS]: Your Honor, I see a couple of things
- 21 here. The posture of -- this is complicated. Counsel
- 22 referred you to places in the transcript where there was
- 23 previous argument. The Bin'Attash team asked for something

- 1 slightly different, so phrased its relief in the nature of an
- 2 ability to sweep before they go in. The details really matter
- 3 in terms of the burden on the command. So that's one area.
- 4 We don't have an order -- a proposed order for the
- 5 relief you are supposed to do, which is contrary to the
- 6 approach the commission follows. So we're concerned about the
- 7 way this could go because -- you know -- and frankly, what
- 8 does that mean? The status quo, presumably as to any
- **9** monitoring capability?
- 10 But the words matter in what this means, and the
- 11 command certainly is interested that we not get a ruling that
- 12 imposes -- winds up being a logistical burden. That is one
- **13** area.
- Your Honor, the other item is that the -- the order
- 15 the government would urge not include any kind of ratification
- 16 of the standard that is being applied again in this case by
- 17 the chief defense counsel, he know with certainty that audio
- **18** monitoring is not occurring.
- Now, we want to assure confidential attorney-client
- 20 communications, but that's not the standard; and the standard
- 21 that should be applied is the reasonable efforts to ensure
- 22 that your communications are confidential. It's not a
- 23 know-with-certainty standard or, as appeared in Appellate

- 1 Exhibit 155II, an earlier intrusion allegation,
- 2 a to-the-satisfaction-of-the-chief-defense-counsel standard,
- 3 because that -- that can really wreak mischief if that
- 4 standard were to be applied.
- 5 So we have -- we have interest in this ruling. We
- 6 believe that it sounds innocuous, and we certainly are
- 7 committed to it. The Joint Task Force is certainly committed
- 8 to it, and they've shown that. So that's -- that's the area
- 9 that we are concerned about in terms of the relief.
- And there is before you a request from the Bin'Attash
- 11 team for more than what Captain Andreu just said.
- 12 MJ [Col PARRELLA]: Well, I'm -- obviously neither of us
- 13 have had the benefit of seeing the proposed order but based on
- 14 Captain Andreu's representations, what I took it to mean, that
- 15 it will show is not an affirmative logistical burden to do
- 16 anything in advance, but rather, something that memorializes
- 17 more akin to what you've articulated is in the SOP now, which
- 18 is prohibiting new defense -- or new, sorry, JTF guard force
- 19 folks as they come and rotate through, they -- in addition to
- 20 the SOP, there will be an order from the commission reminding
- 21 them that there's a standing prohibition on any sort of
- **22** monitoring in the attorney-client meeting areas.
- **23** So ----

- 1 CP [BG MARTINS]: Your Honor, if it's just that -- I mean,
- 2 if it's basically saying see Appellate Exhibit QQ still
- 3 applies, I mean, this commission has already said that. We
- 4 don't have any objection to that.
- 5 MJ [Col PARRELLA]: What I propose is since the parties
- 6 were able to come to an agreement in proposing an order in
- 7 AE 133AAA, what I would like is for Mr. Ali's defense team, as
- 8 the proponent of this motion, to propose an order, to provide
- 9 that to the government, and let's see if we can get an
- 10 agreed-upon order to the commission that meets the stated
- 11 goal, Captain Andreu, that you've just articulated to the
- 12 commission. And I'll go ahead and give you -- let's endeavor
- 13 to have this to the commission within a week of today.
- **14** ADC [Capt ANDREU]: Yes, sir.
- 15 MJ [Col PARRELLA]: Great. All right.
- 16 Barring any further comment on this, we'll go ahead
- 17 and move on to 118. Good morning.
- 18 LDC [MR. CONNELL]: Good morning, Your Honor.
- 19 Before the commission is AE 118, a motion to abate
- 20 until -- essentially until the security structure ordered by
- 21 the commission in Protective Order #1 and its various
- **22** amendments now is in place.
- It has previously been argued on 20 March 2017 at

- 1 transcript 14787 through 816, 21 March 2017 at 14820 to 25,
- 2 and 23 March 2017 at 14990 through 91. I do want to observe
- 3 that we took cognizance of the military commission's order to
- 4 state that each time. I have also endeavored to put previous
- 5 arguments into our proposed order of march for the convenience
- **6** of the military commission.
- 7 MJ [Col PARRELLA]: And that's been found to be very
- 8 convenient. I appreciate that. Thank you.
- 9 LDC [MR. CONNELL]: Only one issue remains with respect to
- 10 this motion of the four, which were included in the original
- 11 filing, and that is the issue of security classification
- 12 guides.
- To understand the fundamental importance of security
- 14 classification guides in the classification system, it is
- 15 necessary to examine the organic document establishing for all
- 16 non-nuclear material the existence of classification in the
- 17 United States. There have been a series of those, but the
- 18 current document is Executive Order 13526.
- 19 13526 establishes, as did its predecessors, two forms
- 20 of classification. The first form of classification mentioned
- 21 frequently in this military commission is original
- 22 classification authority. These are usually senior government
- 23 officials who possess authority to make the initial decision

- 1 as to whether information is classified or not.
- 2 The second category of classifier are so-called
- 3 derivative classifiers. That status is described at
- 4 Section 2.1 of Executive Order 13526, which provides that
- 5 derivative classifiers need not possess original
- 6 classification authority if the markings they apply are
- 7 derived from source material -- that's the first category --
- 8 or as directed by a classification guide, which is the second
- 9 category.
- 10 I, sir, am a derivative classifier. I do not possess
- 11 original classification authority, but on hundreds and
- 12 hundreds of occasions, I have filed with this military
- 13 commission information which is marked as CLASSIFIED. When
- 14 possible, I observe and honor the classification markings of
- 15 the government, and when not possible, I guess, because I lack
- 16 a security classification guide as does my defense information
- 17 security officer, to allow us to make reasoned decisions about
- 18 classification.
- 19 Ordinarily, a classification guide would provide
- 20 information as to not simply categories of information which
- 21 are classified, but also categories of information which,
- 22 combined, are classified, as well as an important aspect of
- 23 that, which is the appropriate declassification date.

1 Because of the importance of security classification 2 guides in this structure, Executive Order 13526, 3 Section 2.2(a) provides that original classification authority 4 shall provide classification guides. Specifically, it 5 provides that agencies with original classification authority shall prepare classification guides to facilitate the proper 6 7 and uniform derivative classification of information. 8 This is especially important in the overall structure 9 of classified information because 13526 also provides rules 10 against overclassification, a duty on derivative classifiers 11 to report if they believe that overclassification is taking 12 place, and the attention to declassification dates which 13 without a security classification guide cannot be known with 14 certainty. 15 This security classification guide problem has 16 haunted this case and my individual practice of law since the 17 beginning of the case. The very first discovery request that 18 we ever filed for Mr. al Baluchi, DR-001-AAA, on 26 June of 19 2012, was a request for security classification guides. 20 The first discovery motion that I ever personally 21 drafted in this case, AE 054 (AAA), filed on 11 July 2012, 22 included a request for the security classification guides. 23 Now, the progress of that motion and the related

- 1 security classification guide litigation developed on
- 2 6 December 2012 when the military commission issued AE 013P,
- 3 the first version of Protective Order #1. In that protective
- 4 order, the military commission -- I thought I was going
- 5 slower, Your Honor; I apologize -- the military commission
- 6 ordered that defense security officers, now known as defense
- 7 information security officers, would have a duty to help the
- 8 defense apply security classification guides. That directive
- 9 of the military commission is found at paragraph 4.c.1. of
- 10 AE 013P and its successor protective orders.
- **11** At the time that we filed AE 118 on 9 January 2013,
- 12 none of the security structure it anticipated existed. There
- 13 was no way for the defense to obtain classification review;
- 14 that exists now. There were no defense information security
- 15 officers; those exist now. And at the time, our request was
- 16 to abate the military commission until that security structure
- 17 important to national security was put in place.
- 18 Eventually classification review came. Eventually
- 19 defense information security officers came. Even the third
- 20 element of this, a need to know, was authoritatively construed
- 21 by the military commission in 2017, in my view, resolving that
- 22 issue because even though it is technically wrong, it's
- 23 functionally okay. And we have not had difficulties with it

- 1 in those remaining two years, so essentially I consider that
- 2 element of this motion moot.
- 3 MJ [Col PARRELLA]: When you talk about that element and
- 4 you talk about the commission's decision on that, was there a
- 5 specific ruling that you attribute that ----
- **6** LDC [MR. CONNELL]: Yes, sir.
- 7 MJ [Col PARRELLA]: ---- foreclosing?
- **8** LDC [MR. CONNELL]: Yes, sir. And it is on 21 March 2017
- **9** at pages 14824 -- no, excuse me, 821 to 22. The -- I was
- 10 describing the problems at that time with the need-to-know
- 11 structure and its actual concrete problems when the government
- 12 stood up and took the position that the original definition of
- 13 defense team within the Protective Order #1 allowed --
- 14 generated a need to know for staff -- like the IT staff was
- 15 the main example. And the -- Judge Pohl stated that he would
- 16 give an authoritative -- that that's what he meant, and he was
- 17 giving that an authoritative construction. I believe that was
- 18 his words.
- 19 At this time I said, well, we may file a motion about
- 20 it anyway, but once I reflected on it maturely, it did not --
- 21 I was able to accept that authoritative construction, and we
- 22 have not had difficulties with it in the two years since that
- 23 time.

- **1** MJ [Col PARRELLA]: Okay. I understand. Thank you.
- 2 LDC [MR. CONNELL]: Thank you.
- The military commission ruled on AE 054, which was
- 4 the discovery request for security classification guides, on
- 5 31 May of 2013. And the military commission held, in what I
- 6 respectfully suggest was circular reasoning, that the request
- 7 for security classification guides was not denied; it was moot
- 8 because we now had defense information security officers.
- **9** Of course, AE 013, I believe at that time BB,
- 10 required the security -- the defense information security
- 11 officers to apply security classification guides as it does
- 12 today under AE 013BB.
- 13 And the DSOs do their best. They draw on prior
- 14 experience, they draw on what classification guidance -- which
- 15 is different from a classification guide -- the government has
- 16 provided, and they draw on essentially folklore of a sort of
- 17 common law of classification that develops. As we are advised
- 18 of spills, we try to -- we are never advised as to what the
- 19 actual spill was, but we go back and review the document and
- 20 say what was wrong with this thing, come up with our own
- 21 inferential interpretation of what was wrong with it, and try
- 22 not to make that mistake again.
- 23 MJ [Col PARRELLA]: You referred to a "guidette"? Is

- 1 that ----
- 2 LDC [MR. CONNELL]: Guidance, Your Honor.
- **3** MJ [Col PARRELLA]: Guidance.
- 4 LDC [MR. CONNELL]: Yes. The -- that's a distinction that
- 5 is -- an important distinction that's drawn in 13526, which
- 6 is, a security classification guide is a formal document that
- 7 has specific requirements.
- 8 MJ [Col PARRELLA]: I understand. I just misunderstood
- 9 what you were pronouncing.
- 10 LDC [MR. CONNELL]: I'm sorry, Your Honor.
- 11 MJ [Col PARRELLA]: So I understand you have received
- 12 security guidance throughout this. The position is, though,
- 13 without the actual parent guide -- guidance, which I assume is
- 14 either excerpts of the guide or summations of the guide, is
- 15 insufficient?
- 16 LDC [MR. CONNELL]: I don't know if -- that is essentially
- 17 correct. I don't know if it's excerpts or summations, to be
- 18 honest. As I am about to tell you, I suspect it is ad hoc,
- 19 but I don't know that because I don't know what's on the other
- 20 side of the wall.
- 21 MJ [Col PARRELLA]: So I would envision that some of these
- 22 OCAs, the guides that they're directed to create as a result
- 23 of the executive order probably encompass not only everything

- 1 that we're dealing with in this case, but they might even
- 2 be -- encompass a lot of other things that we are not dealing
- 3 with.
- 4 Are you asking for the entire guide or just portions
- 5 of the guide that are applicable to the discovery and evidence
- 6 that we are receiving in this case?
- 7 LDC [MR. CONNELL]: Only applicable, Your Honor. We
- 8 wouldn't have a need to know -- you know, if it's about how to
- 9 transport nuclear material or how to conduct electronic
- 10 surveillance, we don't really have any involvement with that.
- **11** Obviously we don't.
- And this may be what the military commission is
- 13 referring to -- we -- actually, I have to resolve that -- I
- 14 have to save that for the closed argument. I do have a sense
- 15 of a parent guide, but let me -- let me save that for closed
- **16** argument, if I could.
- 17 The lack of the guide has three important impacts, I
- 18 suggest. The first is that articulated within 13526 itself,
- 19 which is uniformity, the lack of uniform standards that can be
- 20 applied throughout the participants in the courtroom. And
- 21 certainly the government is the leading edge on this. Being
- 22 closer to the source of classification guidance, they are the
- 23 leading edge. And occasionally we get some of that passed

- 1 down to us, but essentially those of us on the left side of
- 2 the room are left to rely on occasional guidance and folklore.
- 3 The latest change that has occurred in the security structure
- 4 is a perfect example, and that has to be addressed in the
- 5 closed hearing, but I will do so at that time.
- **6** The second is the lack of a security classification
- 7 guide generates occasional spills. Spills occur for different
- 8 reasons. We all know that. Some of them might be
- 9 carelessness, some of them -- but most of them are a lack of
- 10 understanding of what someone later determines to be
- 11 classified. If we were able to know that on the front end, we
- 12 would save the federal government a lot of money and the
- 13 participants a lot of wear and tear on the -- on their hard
- 14 drives from being wiped by avoiding and decreasing the number
- 15 of spills.
- **16** And third is a chilling effect. It isn't --
- 17 boundaries are important, because when one knows the boundary,
- 18 one knows what one can say and what one cannot say. When the
- 19 boundary is fuzzy, there is a self-censorship that has to come
- 20 into play with respect to a -- creating a chilling effect on
- 21 defense advocacy.
- Now, the final thing that I want to say, Your Honor,
- 23 is that I know that the military commission has denied my

- 1 motion for discovery of the security classification guide -2 the -- and for reasons that I will explain in greater detail
 3 in the closed hearing, I have now come to believe in 2019 that
 4 a security classification guide for the information that we
 5 are dealing with here does not exist. I don't -- the
 6 government can tell me that I'm wrong.
- 7 I cannot find evidence of -- of a security 8 classification guide in the -- you know, the military 9 commission has stressed the importance of us reaching out to 10 other elements of the government trying to resolve things 11 cooperatively. Nothing forms a better example of our constant 12 attempts to resolve problems cooperatively than this security 13 classification guide issue on which I personally have met with 14 a wide variety of people trying to convince them of the 15 significance to national security of us having an appropriate 16 guide as to what is classified and what is not, and what level 17 and with what declassification date.
- So with that said, I maintain the original remedy
 that I sought, having been denied the security classification
 guides themselves, which is that I suggest that the military
 commission abate the proceeding until a security
 classification guide is produced. That may mean writing it in
 the first place or it may mean e-mailing it on SIPR. I don't

- 1 know.
- 2 But this is a problem which has dogged this military
- 3 commission for a long time, has required the military
- 4 commission itself to change some of its procedures, has
- 5 certainly required defense teams to change their procedures,
- 6 and has cost a lot of money.
- 7 And so I suggest that as good custodians of national
- 8 security information, we need the security classification
- 9 guide; and the longer the time period goes on without a
- 10 security classification guide, the more risk there is to this
- 11 military commission.
- 12 Thank you.
- 13 MJ [Col PARRELLA]: Thank you.
- 14 LDC [MR. NEVIN]: And, Your Honor, I rely on the
- 15 previously stated objection.
- 16 MJ [Col PARRELLA]: Would any other defense counsel care
- 17 to be heard on 118? All right.
- 18 That being a negative response, Trial Counsel.
- TC [MR. SWANN]: Good morning, Your Honor.
- 20 MJ [Col PARRELLA]: Good morning.
- 21 TC [MR. SWANN]: Your Honor, there have been 31 pleadings
- 22 in the 118 series. Mr. Connell stated on 20 March at record
- 23 14798 that "So far as 118 goes, I have argued this issue maybe

- 1 five times before this military commission and I have lost
- 2 every time. I am at peace with that. I understand you
- **3** disagree."
- 4 The military judge had the advantage of looking at
- 5 the classification guide prior to issuing his ruling in 054C.
- 6 In his ruling at page 4, 054C order dated 31 May 2013, he
- 7 stated the following: "The commission reviewed the document
- 8 ex parte and determined that it is neither relevant nor
- 9 material to the cases before this commission, and this request
- 10 is denied."
- 11 We provide the classification guide to the defense
- 12 and have done so -- or classification guidance to the defense
- 13 and have done so on a number of occasions, telling them what
- 14 the left and right lanes of classification are in this
- 15 instance.
- 16 MJ [Col PARRELLA]: Mr. Swann, wasn't the issue with that
- 17 that Judge Pohl brought up previously is the time that process
- **18** entails?
- TC [MR. SWANN]: The time the process entails? Well, are
- **20** we talking about in the 524 series?
- 21 MJ [Col PARRELLA]: No, I believe we're talking about in
- 22 this series. I'll give you the page. I believe it was on
- **23** page 14815.

1 In talking with Mr. Trivett, your colleague, about 2 this, he stated, "And if we are ever going to try this case, 3 can the process be energized to go faster?" 4 So this followed a colloguy about the speed at which 5 the security classification review was occurring when defense 6 bring these. When they're unable to, through their own source 7 material or whatever, figure out what the derivative 8 classification is, it's taking a very long time for the 9 government to assist. 10 TC [MR. SWANN]: Your Honor, I recall that being an 11 instance where Mr. Trivett was addressing a dump by the 12 Hawsawi team of about 10,000 pages into a funnel, and we have 13 information that goes into this funnel. And what they were 14 discussing at this point was the more you put in the funnel 15 because of the people on the other end having to address that 16 information and assess it to determine what the classification 17 of all that information is takes time, and it does. 18 10,000 pages took maybe -- roughly, I think we were able to 19 get it down to about a 12- to 16-month time frame. 20 I can tell you right here and now that the 21 information that went into the funnel was never going to be 22 anything less than Classified. So that's a process.

process worked. That funnel -- that's just the nature of

23

- 1 doing business. If you dump 10,000 pages into -- and ask an
- 2 OCA to take a look at that kind of information, it's going to
- 3 take a while because they have to assess it with the right
- 4 kind of degree and attention.
- 5 MJ [Col PARRELLA]: So this ----
- **6** TC [MR. SWANN]: Quite frankly, only OCAs can do this.
- Now, what we have provided the defense is a DSO. We
- 8 have provided them with a mechanism to be able to go to
- 9 individuals if they have questions. I think maybe we're going
- 10 to talk about it in closed session, but AE 606, they had a POC
- 11 that they could go talk to regarding any questions that they
- 12 might have had on that.
- 13 They have a backdoor approach where they can send
- 14 information to a walled-off OCA who will take a look at the
- 15 information they have provided -- and I say walled-off because
- 16 we don't even know the process is ongoing -- and they get an
- 17 answer back through the channel to them. Does it take time?
- **18** Sure, it does.
- 19 MJ [Col PARRELLA]: Okay. So when I'm looking at the
- 20 protective order that's in existence, the current version,
- 21 013BBBB, and it talks about the duties of a DISO -- I am at
- 22 paragraph 4.d -- 4.d -- I'm sorry, 4.c -- 4.c.1. As I see
- 23 it -- and maybe you can tell me the protective order -- this

- 1 was not intended but it says part of the duties is to assist
- 2 the defense with applying classification guides.
- 3 So at least when this protective order was put
- 4 together, it seems that, on its face, to envision the DISOs
- 5 would have access to some sort of guide. Am I misreading
- 6 that?
- 7 TC [MR. SWANN]: You're misreading that. They were
- 8 never -- the judge in 054C looked at the guide, the
- 9 classification guidance, and said that that was neither
- 10 relevant or necessary to what we are doing.
- 11 We started out in this process -- and I think the
- 12 brief that lays this out best is the government's response in
- 13 118F dated 12 November 2015, and it addresses some of those
- 14 follow-on concerns that were in place at that time.
- 15 Did we give -- did we give enough to the DISOs? We
- 16 did. They have various mechanisms that they can go to and
- 17 address and talk to the intelligent people who are able to
- 18 answer some of those -- well, those very tough questions. And
- 19 then they can get that guidance, and then they are satisfying
- 20 their responsibilities.
- 21 When Judge Pohl looked at the classification guide
- 22 that we're talking about here, I mean, for him to say it's
- 23 neither relevant or material to what we are doing in this

- 1 process, he saw it as -- he knew all the guidance that had
- 2 been previously provided with respect to -- and again, if you
- 3 will look at our filing in 118F, you will see that over time,
- 4 what was classified is now no longer classified.
- 5 At least in the RDI realm, there are just a couple of
- 6 areas that are classified -- that are today classified and
- 7 will never be declassified, and the defense has been given
- 8 that.
- **9** We give them pretty specific guidance. If you will
- 10 look at the 606 filing -- I know we are going to talk about it
- 11 in closed session -- that is as detailed guidance -- it is a
- 12 handling instruction, quite frankly -- that the kind of thing
- 13 that we have been giving to them over time.
- 14 I think Mr. Trivett's argument too, beginning at
- 15 record 14815 -- excuse me, Your Honor, beginning at 14811
- 16 through 14816, which was the end of that day's session, pretty
- 17 much lays out exactly some of the concerns that you might
- **18** have.
- 19 MJ [Col PARRELLA]: Mr. Swann, if you can answer this
- 20 question in an open session: How many guides do you see being
- 21 at issue? I know you mentioned that Judge Pohl reviewed one.
- TC [MR. SWANN]: Right.
- 23 MJ [Col PARRELLA]: Are there other guides?

- 1 TC [MR. SWANN]: The CIA's classification guide.
- 2 MJ [Col PARRELLA]: Okay. What about, for example,
- **3** SOUTHCOM's classification guide?
- 4 TC [MR. SWANN]: There is a SOUTHCOM classification guide.
- 5 MJ [Col PARRELLA]: Isn't there a DoD Manual that
- 6 indicates that classification guides should be provided to
- 7 derivative classifiers?
- 8 TC [MR. SWANN]: Your Honor, if you're aware of that, I am
- **9** not.
- 10 MJ [Col PARRELLA]: Okay. I believe it's DoD Manual
- **11** 5200.45, pages 1 and 2.
- TC [MR. SWANN]: Your Honor, if you were to suggest that
- 13 we turn over that guide to the defense, then I would ask that
- 14 we probably would go through a 505 process, present the guide
- 15 to you, and then you determine what's relevant and material to
- 16 the defense.
- 17 MJ [Col PARRELLA]: Okay. All right. I don't have
- **18** anything ----
- TC [MR. SWANN]: Assuming the defense doesn't already have
- 20 the guide.
- 21 MJ [Col PARRELLA]: I understand. And we can discuss this
- 22 more in the classified, closed argument if it's necessary.
- 23 But I understand your argument, and I have no further

- 1 questions. 2 TC [MR. SWANN]: Thank you, sir. 3 MJ [Col PARRELLA]: Thank you. 4 Mr. Connell, as you come back up here, I'm going to 5 ask you to address the same question I just posed to 6 Mr. Swann. 7 As you see it, what specific security classification 8 guides are at issue? 9 LDC [MR. CONNELL]: May I ask about the classification of 10 one -- of my answer? 11 MJ [Col PARRELLA]: You may. 12 [Pause.] 13 LDC [MR. CONNELL]: Your Honor, in addition to the -- I 14 agree with counsel about SOUTHCOM -- or at least part of 15 SOUTHCOM, right? -- SOUTHCOM has a lot of things. We don't 16 have anything to do with drug interdiction or anything else. 17 The GTMO probably force protection mostly portion of the 18 SOUTHCOM guide and whatever CIA has about this information on 19 this particular thing.
- There are two other things that I cannot -- actually
- 21 knowing, that I can hypothesize. One of those is with respect
- 22 to the ACCM which remains relevant to this case which will
- 23 probably be a DoD guide since only DoD administers ACCMs.

1 And then my second answer I was advised is 2 classified, and I will give it in a closed session. 3 MJ [Col PARRELLA]: I understand. Thank you. 4 LDC [MR. CONNELL]: Your Honor, I -- the government relies 5 on a couple of points, which I think examining them in context 6 will sort of resolve the issue. 7 The government read a line from -- that I argued on 8 20 March 2017 about having repeated an answer over and over 9 and over. That was not with respect to security 10 classification guides. That argument was with respect to the 11 question of who determines need to know. 12 And the -- Judge Pohl and I engaged in a colloquy. 13 which is completely, you know, clear when you read the 14 transcript, the -- over who -- is it an OCA who determines 15 need to know on an individual basis or is it the individual 16 holder of classified evidence? 17 And my position is, has always been, that the holder of classified evidence has a responsibility to determine the 18 19 need to know of those to whom he or she would disclose 20 classified information. That is what I said to Judge Pohl, 21 and it was in that context that I said -- I keep saying this 22 over and over -- you will never get another answer out of me.

The tremendous irony of the situation is that on that

23

- 1 occasion, Judge Pohl sort of agreed with me and said I see the2 awkward situation that you are placed in by the way that the
- **3** protective order is phrased. And that's why I believe the
- 4 government and certainly why Judge Pohl adopted that
- 5 construction of the protective order to try to relieve that
- 6 problem.
- 7 The second thing is the government represents that
- 8 there was a denial of the security classification guide on --
- 9 in AE 054C and reads from paragraph b.2., which says that "The
- 10 commission" -- he didn't read it, he just referred to it --
- 11 "The commission reviewed the MET S-06 document ex parte and
- 12 determines that it is neither relevant nor material to the
- 13 cases before this Commission. This request is denied."
- I had forgotten this was in an unclassified order,
- 15 and I believe MET S-06 to be a sort of grandparent guide
- 16 probably from which the more specific guides are derived. So
- 17 at the time, I argued for MET S-06 because it was the only
- 18 thing that I had received as a reference to a classification
- 19 guide. It turns out I was wrong; that it was a specific
- 20 classification guide and that it was some sort of
- **21** grandparent-type document.
- The next paragraph, however, is the one that I
- 23 referred to earlier as establishing a sort of circularity with

- 1 respect Protective Order #1 with respect to the DSO, and it
- 2 says -- excuse me, may I get a water? -- "As to the
- 3 overarching issue advanced by the Defense, namely for help in
- 4 negotiating the maze created by security requirements, the
- 5 Commission has previously directed Defense Security Officers
- **6** be provided for each Defense team . . . and therefore
- 7 considers no further action is appropriate and the issue
- **8** MOOT."
- **9** Without taking a position on whether that was an
- 10 accurate position at the time in light of the text of the
- 11 protective order, it has turned out that those DISOs need a
- 12 security classification guide to apply, and that's why I
- 13 believe this aspect of AE 118 is as relevant today as it was
- **14** in 2013.
- 15 Thank you.
- 16 MJ [Col PARRELLA]: Thank you.
- 17 Anything further on 118 from any party? Okay.
- 18 With that, then the commission will take a recess.
- 19 During this time period, if any accused wants to depart, they
- 20 may do so.
- 21 Mr. Ruiz?
- 22 LDC [MR. RUIZ]: Yes, Judge, Mr. al Hawsawi would like to
- 23 depart. I just wanted to make you aware of that.

- 1 MJ [Col PARRELLA]: I just ask that you go ahead and do
- 2 that. Don't wait until the end of the recess to depart. We
- 3 will plan on reconvening at about 1035.
- 4 The commission is in recess.
- 5 [The R.M.C. 803 session recessed at 1018, 25 March 2019.]
- 6 [The R.M.C. 803 session was called to order at 1043, 25 March
- 7 2019.1
- **8** MJ [Col PARRELLA]: The commission is called back to
- 9 order. All parties present when the commission last recessed
- 10 are again present, it looks like, with the exception of
- 11 Mr. Hawsawi, and Ms. Radostitz has stepped out as well.
- **12** Any other counsel who are not present?
- 13 LDC [MR. RUIZ]: We have two counsel who have joined us,
- 14 Judge, Major Wilkinson and Lieutenant Commander Dave Furry.
- 15 MJ [Col PARRELLA]: Thank you. With that ----
- 16 ACC [MR. BIN'ATTASH]: I have a note to talk to the judge
- 17 about. It's about the problem I have with my attorneys. We
- 18 have reached a solution today. Just one minute.
- Approximately we have reached an agreement with my
- 20 attorneys today with the help of some of my brothers. After
- 21 three-and-a-half years of not having attorneys with me, I
- 22 would like to give my attorneys an opportunity now for the few
- 23 coming months so they can move back to my table. They can

- 1 come to the table today.
- 2 This is all.
- **3** MJ [Col PARRELLA]: Okay. Thank you, Mr. Bin'Attash.
- 4 Ms. Bormann?
- **5** LDC [MS. BORMANN]: Judge, I appreciate Mr. Bin'Attash's
- 6 remarks, and I don't want to disrupt the court. I don't know
- 7 whether you want us to move now or later.
- 8 MJ [Col PARRELLA]: I think if you can do it in a quick
- 9 fashion, you can do it now. Otherwise maybe if you want to
- 10 retrieve your other stuff, you can do that over the lunch
- 11 recess.
- 12 LDC [MS. BORMANN]: We can do it expeditiously.
- 13 MJ [Col PARRELLA]: All right. Thank you.
- 14 [Pause.]
- 15 MJ [Col PARRELLA]: Okay.
- 16 LDC [MS. BORMANN]: Thank you, Judge. We're in place.
- 17 MJ [Col PARRELLA]: You are welcome.
- 18 Mr. Ryan, you may proceed.
- TC [MR. RYAN]: Good morning, Your Honor. Edward Ryan on
- 20 behalf of the United States.
- 21 MJ [Col PARRELLA]: Good morning.
- TC [MR. RYAN]: Sir, AE 614 is now before the commission.
- 23 AE 614 is the prosecution's motion to compel notice from the

- 1 defense of their intent to introduce expert mental health
- **2** evidence.
- 3 The authority upon which we rely in making our
- 4 motion, sir, is Rule for Military Commission 701(g)(2), which
- 5 reads, in pertinent part, as follows: "The defense shall
- 6 notify the trial counsel before the beginning of trial on the
- 7 merits of its intent to . . . introduce expert testimony as to
- 8 the accused's mental condition." Our motion seeks to compel
- 9 such notice.
- 10 Our motion requests, Your Honor, that such notice
- 11 include the following: The name and qualifications of the
- 12 defense expert, to include any experts who will provide
- 13 opinion testimony based upon a review of records as opposed to
- 14 a personal examination of the accused; second, a description
- 15 of the general nature of the testing the expert has completed
- 16 or will complete; and third, a description of the general
- 17 nature of the expert's proposed testimony.
- 18 We ask that Your Honor order that such notice be
- 19 provided by 1 June. This will allow the prosecution to
- 20 accomplish several important goals which are necessary to the
- 21 successful and efficient moving forward of the case into
- **22** trial.
- It will allow the prosecution to identify its own

- 1 experts to testify in rebuttal. It will allow the prosecution
- 2 to go about the time-consuming process of obtaining clearances
- 3 for its experts. It will also allow the prosecution to obtain
- 4 funding for its experts; allow time for an evaluation of the
- 5 accused, which would be a motion to follow notice; and it
- 6 would be allow -- it would allow for time for the prosecution
- 7 to sufficiently prepare its experts for any anticipated
- 8 testimony.
- 9 I'll note, Judge, at this time, that ordinarily in a
- 10 normal court-martial practice, the prosecution would be in a
- 11 better position at this point in time to have some idea of the
- 12 experts the defense have retained already. But in the early
- 13 days of the case, back in 2012, the prosecution took a, I
- 14 would suggest, defense-friendly view of R.M.C. 703 and agreed
- 15 that notice of the experts being requested by the defense from
- 16 the convening authority at that time need only -- needed only
- 17 to be accompanied by de minimis notice without any further
- 18 information as to what it was to be about.
- 19 So through the years since that time, all the
- 20 prosecution ever knows about the many, many requests for
- 21 expert information or expert assistance by the defense is just
- 22 that it's happening. We don't know who it is or what they're
- 23 talking about or anything like that.

1 That being said, sir, that was almost seven years ago 2 The defense had close to seven years to plan, to consult 3 with experts, to consult with their clients and spend much 4 time with them to investigate the case. And we submit, sir, 5 that time has now come for the prosecution -- for the defense 6 to provide the prosecution with notice of its intent to 7 introduce expert testimony as to the accused's mental 8 condition to give us the proper opportunity to prepare for 9 that. 10 The fight over this motion that's now before you, 11 sir, it seems to me is mostly about timing. I can fairly, I 12 think, characterize the defense's reading of the plain 13 language of 701(g)(2) to mean they believe that they can hold 14 back such notice at their own discretion and for their own 15 interests, no matter how inconsistent that is or will be, with 16 the proper and efficient running of a trial, motions, 17 sentencing, et cetera, and how unfair it would be to the 18 prosecution who, of course, is a party to this case and whose 19 client deserves proper and competent and prepared 20 representation. 21 Further, it is their position, Your Honor, that you, 22 sir, as the judge in this case have no discretion to control 23 the significant event in the case regardless of the

- 1 consequences that it may bring about, including such things
- 2 that no one wants or no one should want, such as mid-trial
- 3 delay during motions, during trial itself, or during any
- 4 sentencing.
- 5 I believe the parties agree, based on the written
- 6 pleadings, that the only case out there that really interprets
- 7 this specific issue is United States v. Walker, which is
- 8 cited, I think, in everyone's pleadings. And it's a U.S. Army
- 9 Court of Military Review case. In it, the Military Court of
- 10 Review is interpreting and before them the trial court was
- 11 interpreting Rule for Court-Martial 701(b)(2) that was in
- 12 place in 1987, the time of this case.
- In that rule, the language, quote, before beginning
- 14 of trial on the merits appears and is identical to Rule of
- 15 Military Commission 701(g)(2), upon which we base our motion.
- 16 In Walker, Your Honor, the defense provided a list of
- 17 witnesses in the days leading up to to trial, including --
- 18 which included a defense witness -- or proposed defense
- 19 witness who was a psychiatrist. The prosecution at the time
- 20 objected on the grounds of the Rule for Court-Martial on the
- 21 grounds that no notice had been provided previously.
- The appellate court in their opinion describes it as
- 23 follows: "In sustaining the government's objection to the

- 1 production of the defense psychiatrist, the military judge
- 2 reasoned that the defense should have notified the government
- 3 of the expert witness approximately five weeks earlier when
- 4 motions were litigated."
- 5 The appellate court then goes over some
- 6 back-and-forth that occurred between the trial judge and the
- 7 defense counsel in an attempt to get the trial judge to
- 8 reconsider his ruling. And then the appellate court states as
- 9 follows: Thereafter, the military judge adhered to his
- 10 initial ruling. In doing so, he construed the words, quote,
- 11 before trial on the merits -- once again, that which we are
- 12 talking about -- contained in R.C.M. 701(b)(2), as requiring
- 13 that notice of intent to employ expert psychiatric testimony
- 14 must be given at the time of normal motions -- that's in
- 15 quotes -- as in Federal Rule of Criminal Procedure 12.2(b).
- 16 Now, I'll note, Your Honor, I think this is a
- 17 significant fact, that there is no mention in the appellate
- 18 court's review and opinion of any order that had been in place
- 19 by the trial judge establishing a deadline for such notice.
- 20 Rather, it appears that he chose to use the deadline that
- 21 would exist under Federal Rule of Criminal Procedure 12.2 that
- 22 would have required notice after the fact.
- So he, the judge, at the point at which the notice

- 1 was provided in the days leading up to trial says you should
- 2 have filed that way back when at the time of motions, even
- 3 though, he, the trial judge, had never put in place an order
- 4 directing that that happen. So essentially what he did was
- 5 give the defense counsel an order of timing far too long
- 6 afterward than he could have ever complied with. The
- 7 appellate court reversed.
- 8 Now, Walker, I will state, sir, does not stand for
- **9** the proposition that a military judge cannot insist on
- 10 reasonable limits to the broad language contained in
- 11 701(g)(2). And to get rid of the double negative I just used,
- 12 I will say that it does stand for the proposition that a trial
- 13 judge does, in fact, have the ability to control his
- 14 courtroom, to control the behaviors of the parties, especially
- 15 as it pertains to things such as notices and the providing of
- 16 information that will ultimately lead to the efficient
- 17 continuing of the case.
- 18 I would submit, sir, that the most important language
- 19 in Walker is this: While we interpret Rule of
- 20 Court-Martial 701(b)(2) as requiring that reasonable notice be
- 21 given of the defense of the lack of mental responsibility, we
- 22 decline to characterize the notice given in the case at bar as
- 23 unreasonable.

1 Now, I would suggest the term, I would call your 2 attention to the fact that the word "reasonable" doesn't 3 appear in the rule. This is the judge's views on what is 4 allowed or what should happen by the trial judge. 5 Walker court, the appellate court, had viewed the language 6 that the defense now urges upon you as being something that 7 you have the ability to mess with in the least, that is to 8 impose upon them any deadline except somewhere before trial, 9 there would have been no mention of this type of language; 10 there would have been no citing to the idea of reasonableness. 11 They would have simply reversed the trial court and announced 12 that defense counsel could have waited until the members are 13 literally walking into the room and filed it then. 14 Instead, they say reasonable notice is required, and 15 we can't say -- this is them speaking, of course -- we can't 16 say -- and I'm paraphrasing -- that five days' worth of notice 17 in a case regarding bad checks and possession of cocaine was 18 unreasonable. 19 Your Honor, I submit that the need for reasonable 20 notice in this case before you is as important as any case 21 that has probably ever existed. This is not a case of bad 22 checks and cocaine possession. Rather, it's a case of one of 23 the worst crimes -- strike that -- the worst crime ever

- 1 committed on the United States soil.
- 2 There are numerous reasons beyond the facts of the
- 3 offenses itself that I suggest -- that I can suggest this, but
- 4 maybe the most significant is this: Inside and outside of
- 5 this courtroom, the defense has repeatedly claimed for years
- 6 now that the five accused have suffered physical, mental, and
- 7 emotional damage due to the application of enhanced
- 8 interrogation techniques during their time in the CIA's former
- 9 Rendition, Detention, and Interrogation Program.
- 10 Based on statements of counsel through the years that
- 11 we have heard in this courtroom, we can expect that this issue
- 12 of mental health and effects on mental health will be raised
- 13 during the motions to come, during the trial itself, and
- 14 during sentencing.
- As Your Honor well knows, there is an enormous amount
- 16 of information that surrounds this unique aspect of the case,
- 17 and a great deal of it is classified in nature. It is a
- 18 tremendous lift logistically just to get to the point that new
- 19 people from outside of the trial teams will be able to even
- 20 understand and review this kind of material.
- In addition, this issue of damage possible -- or the
- 22 alleged mental damage done by infliction of enhanced
- ${f 23}$ interrogation techniques is a new and novel area that I

- 1 suggest is not just something where a run-of-the-mill
- 2 psychiatrist on the street can be put in place and allowed to
- 3 answer all kinds of questions about it.
- 4 This is going to take a hard amount of effort and a
- 5 lot of time to get to the point that the parties, both parties
- 6 on both sides, are properly prepared to litigate this issue in
- 7 a fulsome manner. And I suggest, sir, that based upon these,
- 8 we deserve and need reasonable notice. And although I use RDI
- 9 and the EIT aspect of it as probably the best example, my
- 10 guess is -- our expectation is that there will be far more
- 11 than that.
- Now, once Your Honor concludes, as we urge, that you
- 13 have the power and responsibility to order reasonable notice
- 14 be provided, we urge you to consider Federal Rule of Criminal
- 15 Procedure 12.2. And I state, as clearly as I can, that we are
- 16 not stating -- we are not suggesting that Your Honor is bound
- 17 by it, because you are not.
- 18 However, if you were to go through and read 12.2, and
- 19 then especially to consider, sir, the reading of the
- 20 committee's notes of the rule as it now currently exists, it
- 21 is clear that the drafters take into account the many
- 22 contributing considerations that go into this include -- this
- 23 very difficult issue, including the rights of the accused,

- 1 including the fair and efficient administration of a trial,
- 2 and the right of the prosecution to competently meet such
- 3 expert mental health evidence.
- 4 Your Honor, subject to your questions, that is my
- **5** argument.
- **6** MJ [Col PARRELLA]: Mr. Ryan, assuming the commission
- 7 agrees that it has the authority to set reasonable limits or
- 8 to require the defense to provide a reasonable notice, the
- 9 issue I struggle with is how do I define what "reasonable" is
- 10 until the commission has set a trial date?
- 11 TC [MR. RYAN]: Your Honor, it is within your discretion
- 12 to fashion the date that accomplishes the goals that we
- 13 believe we are entitled to and that Your Honor would
- 14 recognize.
- Now, the motion is based in part on an understanding
- 16 that the legal landscape in this case is showing that we are
- 17 in fact moving directly and inevitably toward a trial in this
- 18 matter. Now, as I have said, I simply ask that you take into
- 19 account that it is going to be a difficult logistical hurdle
- 20 as well as the aspect of finding the right persons, et cetera,
- 21 for us to have the time necessary to prepare. So how
- 22 Your Honor fashions that and where Your Honor fashions that is
- 23 totally within your discretion.

1 We suggest 1 June on the basis that in light of the 2 litigation as it currently exists in this case, trial is on 3 the not-far-off horizon whatsoever and, therefore, we think 4 1 June is the proper date by which we can begin to accomplish 5 the goals. And I just hasten one last thing, Judge. As in 6 our proposed order, we note that if in fact we receive notice 7 from the defense, as we expect, that 30 days from that, we 8 will be filing a motion seeking examination of the accused. 9 MJ [Col PARRELLA]: I understand. 10 TC [MR. RYAN]: Thank you, sir. 11 MJ [Col PARRELLA]: Thank you. 12 Okay. Mr. Nevin, I note your ----13 LDC [MR. NEVIN]: Rely on the objection, Your Honor. 14 MJ [Col PARRELLA]: I note your objection. 15 Ms. Bormann? 16 LDC [MS. BORMANN]: Judge, we filed 614E. We didn't file 17 any pleadings; and we, because of the conflict, will not be 18 arguing. 19 MJ [Col PARRELLA]: Okay. 20 Mr. Harrington? 21 LDC [MR. HARRINGTON]: Judge, I have agreed with 22 Mr. Connell; he's going to go first.

MJ [Col PARRELLA]: Understood.

23

1 Mr. Connell? 2 LDC [MR. CONNELL]: Your Honor, the government has argued 3 in many fora, in this courtroom and others, that the United 4 States war-fighting power includes the authority to impose 5 jurisdiction in a military commission over alleged war crimes. 6 It argues that the United States can choose among federal 7 courts, courts-martial, and military commissions, or at least 8 Military Commissions Act military commissions, as to its 9 choice of forum. 10 In this case, as it has reminded us many times, it 11 chose a forum, that being the military commissions. Congress 12 wrote the rules in the Military Commissions Act. Secretary of 13 Defense implemented those rules. The government asks now not 14 to apply the rules written by the Secretary of Defense but, 15 rather, to apply Rule 12.2 of Federal Criminal Procedure. 16 It is not at liberty to do so, and this military 17 commission is not at liberty to do so. Congress laid out what 18 it seemed as the operative legal landscape in 10 U.S.C. 19 949a(a), which provides that general courts-martial provide 20 the procedures which apply in a Military Commissions Act 21 military commission. Similarly, in 10 U.S.C. 948b(c), 22 Congress set forth that the procedures in the Military 23 Commissions Act itself are based on general courts-martial

- **1** practice.
- Congress did leave the possibility of some other
- 3 solution to the Secretary of Defense, but the Secretary of
- 4 Defense also -- thank you -- decided that general
- 5 courts-martial provide the operative procedures, and in Rule
- 6 for Military Commission 102(b), the Secretary of Defense
- 7 stated that the procedures in the manual base -- are based on
- 8 those for general courts-martial.
- **9** Specifically, the Secretary of Defense set forth
- **10** R.M.C. 701(g)(2). Now, I will say that there are many times
- 11 that I have regretted the fact that we are operating under the
- 12 Rules for Military Commission instead of the Federal Rules of
- 13 Criminal Procedure. Each time I have complained about it, I
- 14 have lost. It -- in this situation, the shoe is simply, on
- 15 this one small issue, on the other foot.
- Rule for Military Commission 701(g)(2), which is
- 17 analogous to Rule for Court-Martial 701(b)(2), provides that:
- 18 The defense shall notify trial counsel before the beginning of
- 19 trial on the merits of its intent to offer the defense of
- 20 alibi or lack of mental responsibility, or its intent to
- 21 introduce expert testimony as to the accused's mental
- 22 condition.
- The government seeks -- asks the military commission

- 1 not actually to apply Federal Rule of Criminal Procedure 12.2,
- 2 which we're going to talk about in a minute, but, instead, a
- 3 hybrid based on what has not been the law in the federal
- 4 courts for the past 17 years.
- **5** But let's -- before we move on to comparisons, let's
- **6** begin with the plain meaning of Rule 701(g)(2). It requires a
- 7 notification from defense counsel to trial counsel before the
- 8 beginning of trial of certain intent, the intent to introduce
- 9 expert testimony as to the accused's mental condition.
- I represented in the pleading that we do not intend
- 11 to provide notice of defense of alibi or of lack of mental
- 12 responsibility, and I provided notice in our pleading that we
- 13 may provide intent to introduce expert testimony once the
- 14 preparation of that -- an assessment is complete.
- I can represent to the military commission that we
- 16 have acted with dispatch and diligence in preparing our mental
- 17 condition evidence. The -- working with the convening
- 18 authority, it's a matter of record in this military commission
- 19 our efforts and the government's efforts, but most of all the
- 20 convening authority's efforts to obtain an MRI for the island.
- 21 And I can represent that we have worked very hard in moving
- 22 forward and do not intend to stand on our right -- or do not
- 23 intend to stand on the text of the language and provide notice

- 1 five days before trial or anything like that.
- 2 The -- but as far as the rule goes, it's clear that
- 3 the bare notice is all that is required by this particular
- 4 rule. Now, other things are required by other rules, and the
- 5 70 -- we're going to talk about 701(g)(4), because that's
- 6 really where the discretion for the military commission comes,
- 7 in my humble opinion.
- 8 The -- and we are going to talk about the operation
- 9 of that because I know, or at least I believe, from some of
- 10 your rulings that the military commission is in many cases
- 11 more interested in sort of solving the problem than addressing
- 12 the individual contentions of the parties on problems when a
- 13 third way is possible.
- **14** But let's compare within Rule 701(g)(2) itself,
- 15 right? In addition to its plain meaning, let's say maybe the
- **16** Congress -- maybe the Secretary of Defense didn't mean that.
- 17 Maybe it meant something else.
- Well, when you compare within Rule 701(g)(2) itself,
- 19 you see that (g)(2) contains an additional sentence, and that
- 20 additional sentence says, "Such notice by the defense shall
- 21 disclose, in the case of an alibi defense, the place or places
- 22 at which the defense claims the accused to have been at the
- 23 time of the alleged offense."

- 1 Now, why is that significant? It demonstrates that
- 2 the Secretary of Defense knew full well how to provide and
- 3 require additional detail when it was necessary.
- 4 When we compared the analogous court-martial rule,
- **5** Rule for Court-Martial 701(b)(2), we see an even more fulsome
- 6 example. That more fulsome example is that the
- 7 R.C.M. 701(b)(2) has an additional requirement of a notice of
- 8 intent to present an innocent ingestion defense and provides
- 9 -- requires additional detail that has to be provided in a
- 10 notice.
- 11 Neither Rule for Commission -- Rule for Court-Martial
- 12 701(b)(2) or Rule for Military Commission 701(g)(2) have any
- 13 additional requirement for detail with respect to the notice
- 14 of intent to introduce expert mental health testimony, which I
- 15 think is significant in demonstrating the views of the
- 16 Secretary of Defense with respect to military commissions and
- 17 of the President with respect to the courts-martial system as
- 18 to what detail constitutes notice, as the government would
- **19** have it, reasonable notice.
- Now, the -- in our brief, we raised
- 21 United States v. Walker, a case which directly refutes the
- 22 government's argument that it is permissible to draw upon
- 23 Federal Rule of Criminal Procedure 12.2 for reasoning with

1 respect to the notice of mental health evidence rule. And I 2 just pause to footnote, as we're going to discuss later, the 3 government is not actually relying on 12.2 as it has been 4 amended since 2002, but we are going to talk about that. 5 they have a sort of idealized vision of how it works but not 6 how it actually works. I recognize that I have the advantage 7 in capital situations of this not being my first rodeo, but 8 still, the government doesn't actually rely on the text of 9 12.2. 10 But the -- what the government -- what the court, the 11 Army Court of Military Review, reasoned in Walker is that it 12 recited the -- not just the result but the reasoning of the 13 trial court in that case, importing elements of what -- the 14 way that Rule 12.2 read at that time into Rule 701(b)(2) and 15 said, in three words, this was impermissible. It's rare that 16 we have such detailed guidance as to appropriate reasoning. 17 The government argues that really what this is about 18 is that there was no order from the trial judge. And although 19 it's not entirely clear from Walker, I admit, the lineage in 20 which Walker arises does make that clear. And I will draw the 21 military commission's attention to footnote 18 of our brief on 22 page 5 where we cite two other cases which draw upon Walker. 23 And in those two cases, Norman and I think it's pronounced

- 1 Preuss, P-R-E-U-S-S, there were orders, but even more
- 2 significantly, to the government's argument about the
- 3 authority of a court-martial in that sense to control its
- 4 docket.
- I would draw the military commission's attention to
- 6 footnote 19 on the following page where we cite three cases
- 7 involving not just orders but actual local rules that were
- 8 published in advance, not for the individual case but in which
- 9 the appellate courts in the court-martial system held that
- 10 additional requirements imposed by local rules, while perhaps
- 11 an excellent guide to the control of the docket, are not --
- 12 cannot impose more stringent rules than those imposed by, in
- 13 that case, the President or, in the military commission case,
- 14 the Secretary of Defense.
- Now, the government seizes upon the word "reasonable"
- 16 in Walker, and I don't have any argument with that. I pride
- 17 myself on reasonability. And what the military -- excuse me,
- 18 what the Court of Military Review in that case did was assess
- 19 what reasonability meant. And reasonability in that case
- 20 meant a verbal notice, not even written, five days prior to
- 21 trial which gave no additional information.
- I think -- I suggest that that is a slender read
- 23 indeed for government to rely upon that it could have -- that

- 1 reasonable notice includes all these things it asked for: the
- 2 name and qualification of experts, the general nature of
- 3 testing, and the general nature of testimony.
- 4 Now, the -- let's talk about Rule 12.2 itself. Let's
- 5 say that you find Walker unpersuasive and that you want to
- **6** look at Rule 12.2.
- 7 MJ [Col PARRELLA]: I think I can save you some time
- 8 there, Mr. Connell, because it's perhaps fortunate for all of
- 9 us that I am much more familiar with general courts-martial
- 10 practice than with the Federal Rules of Criminal Procedure.
- 11 And I agree that the Rule for Military Commission, which looks
- 12 largely like the corresponding Rule for Court-Martial, is what
- 13 applies here and not 12.2. And I do think that in fairness to
- 14 the government, their argument conceded that 12.2 doesn't
- 15 apply. It is perhaps something for the commission to look to.
- 16 But being familiar with court-martial practice, at
- 17 least I can speak on behalf of the Navy-Marine Corps Trial
- 18 Judiciary, it is common practice that at the time of
- 19 arraignment, the court would issue a trial management order
- 20 setting forth dates, which would include a date for a notice
- 21 of things that were at issue right now, such as expert witness
- 22 testimony.
- Of course, in normal practice, that all typically

- 1 starts with knowing the date of trial and then backing up
- 2 reasonable dates accordingly, all the way back to the
- 3 arraignment, so almost working from trial date backwards.
- 4 We obviously don't have a trial date here now, but
- 5 would the defense agree that -- given that this is common
- 6 practice in probably every courts-martial out there, that the
- 7 commission does have the authority to set a date perhaps
- 8 before -- based on some of the case law, before motions is
- 9 premature, but there is authority to set a date prior to the
- **10** date of trial?
- 11 LDC [MR. CONNELL]: Break that down a few different ways.
- 12 And I do want to be clear, I don't speak on behalf of the
- 13 defense; I only speak on behalf of Mr. al Baluchi.
- **14** MJ [Col PARRELLA]: I understand.
- 15 LDC [MR. CONNELL]: The first part of that is I want to
- 16 fully concede the -- that with respect to military tribunals,
- 17 this is my first rodeo. And everything that I have learned
- 18 about military -- about courts-martial practice either comes
- 19 from reading cases or speaking to my colleagues in
- 20 courts-martial, because we did canvass the military capital
- 21 defense bar to find out if anything like a requirement for --
- 22 that the government is asking for here, the name and
- 23 qualification of experts, the general nature of -- if that had

- 1 ever been ordered. And as far as we could find, it has never
- 2 been ordered in a military capital case.
- 3 At the same time, my conversations and research
- 4 revealed that trial management orders are 100 percent routine.
- 5 I've -- there are -- many organizations publish model trial
- 6 management orders which are adapted to this particular
- 7 situation. And it seems common in courts-martial situation
- 8 for the parties to get together and sort of agree on here is
- **9** what I think the dates are and present those to the judge.
- 10 The -- so that's that part. You have actual
- 11 experience with it. I don't, but that's the way that that
- 12 process appears to me.
- 13 The -- it's interesting that the government
- 14 identifies the timing as the -- as the key issue, because I
- 15 don't see the timing as the key issue, and I'll go into that
- 16 in more detail in just a moment. But I see the scope of the
- 17 notice as the key issue.
- And the reason why I -- the reason why I want to
- 19 return to the 12.2 question for a second is this is not really
- 20 a question of does 12.2 apply organically. Instead, it's a
- 21 matter of the government relies on two cases, Beckford and
- 22 Edelin. It just so happens that those are from my neck of the
- 23 woods. And Beckford and Edelin were pre-2002 amendment cases

1 that required in district courts in the Eastern District of 2 Virginia and the District of D.C. to provide the material the 3 government is asking for here, the general nature of testing, 4 the general nature of testimony, and the nature --5 qualifications of experts. That position was rejected. 6 In 2002, the Rule 12.2 was amended essentially to 7 overrule Beckford and Edelin and put a new procedure into 8 place by which -- which is in many ways more favorable to the 9 defense than 701(g)(2) is, which is why I want to talk about 10 701(g)(2). 11 In the military commission rules, Rule 701(g)(2)12 places the exchange of expert reports as part of the ordinary 13 discovery process. What Rule 12.2 in federal courts does, 14 overruling Beckford and Edelin, is it removes mental health 15 expert testimony from the ordinary discovery process, places 16 it under seal with the judge essentially on the defense side. 17 And when the government is allowed an evaluation, which they 18 are allowed under Rule 12.2, although not under the military 19 commission rules, even though the government's evidence is 20 firewalled off from them and is placed under seal with the

prepare their experts would not occur in -- under 12.2 because

judge so that not even the prosecution can see the report, the

idea -- the suggestion that the prosecution needs time to

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1 the government has to place their -- after there's an 2 evaluation of the defendant, it goes under seal until there's 3 a finding of guilty and until the defense re-advises the court 4 that it intends to introduce mental health evidence, because 5 essentially the defense gets to see the other side's cards 6 before they decide whether or not to go down this road at all. 7 So the reason -- and there's one case that I do want 8 to call your attention to, which is super -- which lays this 9 out pretty plainly, and that case is United States v. Sampson, 10 335 F. Supp. 2d 166, from the District of Massachusetts in 2004. 11 And it explains this process that I have just talked about, 12 that -- and the quote, which is found at footnote 12 of our 13 brief is that "requiring the defendant to provide such 14 information" -- as was in Edelin and Beckford -- "is no longer 15 permissible because 'the nature of the proffered mental 16 condition(s)' is essentially the same as the 'results and 17 reports' for which early disclosure is barred." If we were in 18 a federal court and the government made this argument, it 19 would be roundly refused based on the text of Rule 12.2. 20 That brings us back -- I know that I'm circling 21 around a long way, but I want to come back to your question 22 about the authority of the military commission. I will be 23 honest. I was somewhat surprised at the case after case from

- 1 the military courts which hold that when the -- when the
- 2 executive decision-maker, the President, or in our case the
- 3 Secretary of Defense, states a time for something to occur,
- 4 that -- that an earlier time cannot be enforced. And there
- 5 are a half dozen of them. Walker is just one of them.
- **6** Rule 701(g)(2), however, has no statement as to time.
- 7 And I think that the military commission's discretion as to
- 8 establishing rules for discovery between the parties and --
- 9 you know, even in this case, for example, we don't have a
- 10 general discovery order against the government. Judge Pohl's
- 11 view was essentially they should be relied upon to exercise
- 12 their own discretion as to the amount, nature, content, and
- 13 timing of their discovery, except on specific occasions when
- 14 the military commission did something else. Whether that was
- 15 wise or not, I leave to other people.
- 16 But the -- I do think that the military commission
- 17 has discretion to set a time for the exchange of expert
- 18 reports or other reciprocal discovery required from the
- 19 defense. I think that discretion arises under 701(g)(2) and
- 20 not under 70 -- excuse me, under 701(g)(4) and not under
- **21** 701(g)(2). So that's a long answer to your question, but
- 22 that's that part.
- The government -- I can't just let this go. The

- 1 government previews that it's going to ask for an evaluation.
- 2 I am perfectly willing to leave that for another day. That's
- 3 the part of 12 -- that's really the point of this motion.
- 4 That's the part they're trying to get to. That's the part of
- 5 12.2 that they want.
- **6** Whereas in the courts-martial system and under the
- 7 military commissions rule, if there is to be a defense -- an
- 8 evaluation of the defendant outside of the defense camp, it
- 9 occurs under 706, which, with respect to Mr. al Baluchi, has
- 10 not occurred; did occur with respect to Mr. Binalshibh,
- 11 although not a direct examination of him. He did not
- 12 participate in that.
- But the 706 process is the way that mil -- that
- 14 government mental evaluations occur in the courts-martial and
- 15 the military commission system and is simply not applicable
- 16 here. But as the government said, they may file a motion on
- 17 that, and I think that it is appropriate to bring that up,
- 18 that we can address that at the appropriate time.
- 19 The government argues that trauma from torture is new
- 20 and novel, requiring them to have extra time to find someone
- 21 to address that situation. Setting aside the government's --
- 22 the consequences of the government's decision in the early
- 23 part of this century to use torture as an instrument of state

- 1 policy, unfortunately it is not the first government to have
- 2 done so.
- 3 The refugee community is filled with torture
- 4 survivors. And the psychological and psychiatric communities,
- 5 unfortunately, often have to deal with trauma of crime, trauma
- 6 of sexual assault, trauma of torture, trauma of murder of
- 7 loved ones, and a wide variety of other forms of trauma. So 1
- 8 cannot agree that this situation is as unique as I know that I
- **9** wish that it were.
- The final point that I would like to make -- and you
- 11 may have questions for me about this -- is that I do think
- 12 that the military commission has discretion with respect to
- 13 timing of the order of discovery under 701(g)(4), but I do not
- 14 think that it has discretion with respect to the scope of
- 15 notice.
- 16 For the reasons that I have laid out, the -- neither
- 17 the text nor an analysis of the text and its close kin, nor
- 18 even the 12.2 cases that the government relies on would allow
- 19 an order which is -- for capital mental health evidence, which
- 20 is essentially analogous to the way that it would occur under
- 21 Rule 16 of the Federal Rules of Criminal Procedure, which does
- 22 require the exchange of general -- of expert qualifications in
- 23 general notice.

1 In the federal system, capital mental health 2 sentencing evidence is taken out of that Rule 16 procedure and 3 placed under a special protective blanket. The military 4 commission rules have chosen to follow the courts-martial 5 process of, on the one hand, a fairly simple notice and, on 6 the other hand, moving forward the exchange of expert reports, 7 but number three, operating through the 706 process for any 8 evaluation of the -- of the defendant. 9 MJ [Col PARRELLA]: Thank you. 10 LDC [MR. CONNELL]: Thank you, sir. 11 MJ [Col PARRELLA]: All right, Mr. Feeler. 12 DC [MR. FEELER]: Good morning, Your Honor. 13 MJ [Col PARRELLA]: Good morning. 14 DC [MR. FEELER]: I don't intend to talk very long. 15 Your Honor is aware from reading the pleadings, our response 16 to the government's motion and Mr. al Baluchi's response are 17 very similar. So as you would probably predict, Mr. Connell 18 has made many of the points that we also made in our pleading. 19 The other reason I don't have a lot to say is because 20 I think this is a fairly straightforward issue for some of the 21 reasons that the government, Your Honor, and Mr. Connell have 22 already given. 23 The government's motion to compel here is both

- 1 premature and overbroad. Mr. Connell focused on the breadth
- 2 issue I think to good effect, especially in terms of
- 3 Rule 12.2. And I do want to return to that just a little bit
- 4 myself in a minute. But I want to talk about the issue being
- 5 premature as well for a moment and return to an issue that
- 6 Your Honor raised with the government, and that is the issue
- 7 of reasonableness in terms of setting a specific date.
- 8 The government throws out a date, June 1st, and
- 9 essentially posits that that date is reasonable. The problem
- 10 with that, from our perspective, is that there is no reference
- 11 point for that reasonableness.
- As you pointed out, generally courts work backward
- 13 from a trial date. All of the cases, whether under 12.2 that
- 14 the government cites in its brief or, you know, Walker, the
- 15 other military cases, look to reasonableness in reference to a
- 16 trial date. And it's really a backward way of setting up
- 17 deadlines to set up these kind of pretrial deadlines
- 18 without -- again, without any reference point to when the
- 19 evidence would actually be introduced and when the government
- 20 would need to be ready.
- 21 Especially as we point out in our reply, given the
- 22 posture that we're in, I think the government is overly
- 23 optimistic about timing issues here. As Your Honor is aware,

- 1 the government has a currently pending appeal on dismissal of
- 2 charges. The government has essentially told the court
- 3 that -- depending upon Your Honor's ruling, obviously, on
- 4 524NN that they will appeal that issue dealing with evidence
- 5 in the case. There is ongoing discovery. There are other
- 6 issues that you're aware of with facilities, with other
- 7 things.
- 8 So I think it would be premature to select a date.
- **9** The government has thrown one out. I am not really sure what
- 10 their basis for that date is aside from their thinking that it
- 11 gives us apparently a fair amount of time to give notice, but
- 12 it is -- it is premature.
- The other point I want to deal with briefly has to do
- 14 with breadth. And I will try not to repeat much of what
- 15 Mr. Connell said, but I think what the government is trying do
- 16 do here with Rule 12.2 is -- is kind of to have their cake and
- 17 eat it too. That is, the government wants the court to look
- 18 to 12.2 -- and, of course, they don't say it controls, but
- 19 they want the court to look to 12.2 in its interpretation of
- 20 what kind of deadline to set. But they don't want the court
- 21 to look to Rule 12.2 in terms of breadth of notice.
- 22 So the government says the court should look to
- 23 Rule 12.2 based on a fairness rationale, but only purports to

- 1 apply that ultimately to the timing issue, not to the breadth
- 2 issue. They're essentially trying to shoehorn the parts of
- 3 12.2 that they like into 701 and leave out the parts that they
- 4 don't like.
- 5 And that should be clear, Judge. If you've read the
- 6 cases the government cites on page 8 of its motion, that is,
- 7 the numerous federal cases that they cite, those cases don't
- 8 require defense notice of things like the names of experts, as
- 9 the government itself concedes in its motion.
- 10 But more importantly, as far as I can see, they don't
- 11 require anything like the kind of overview of testimony that
- 12 the defense asks for in the third point in its order --
- 13 proposed order, and that's for the reasons that Mr. Connell
- 14 has stated, that under 12.2, once notice is given and
- 15 evaluation is done, that evaluation is blocked off even from
- 16 the prosecution until trial. At least one federal judge has
- 17 refused to even order the evaluation until the penalty phase
- 18 is done because of the -- the potential, if you will, for
- 19 leaks of that information to the prosecution that could affect
- 20 the penalty phase of a trial.
- 21 So, you know, the problem here is that there is no
- 22 precedent that I can see for -- certainly for at least the
- 23 third part of the government's proposed order, a description

- 1 of the general nature of the expert's proposed testimony, and 2 that is an issue that those federal courts have dealt with. 3 The -- returning back to 701(g)(2). One other point 4 we made in our motion is that at least the heading on that 5 subsection is Notice of Certain Defenses. The problem with 6 that is mitigation is not a defense, as the rest of the rules 7 make clear. Rule -- R.M.C. 916 and 1004 that deal with 8 defenses and mitigation, they are clearly two separate things. 9 So I'm not saying that there couldn't be a reasonable 10 deadline for notice of mitigation, but from what I can see, 11 701(g)(2) doesn't deal with mitigation; it deals with 12 defenses. Defenses are defined as -- you know, as denying 13 wholly or partially criminal responsibility for certain acts 14 under the Rules for Military Commissions. Mitigation is 15 evidence relevant to punishment, not evidence that goes to any 16 of the elements of a defense. 17 So, you know, to the extent that the government claims it's relying on 701(g)(2) in terms of mitigation, I 18
- 21 mitigation evidence at all.
 22 Clearly the Rules for Military Commissions
 23 contemplate capital trials, so the drafters of the rules could

don't think it's clear at all that that rule, which was

derived from, of course, R.C.M. 701(b)(2) contemplates

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- 1 have put in something specific to mitigation similar to what
- 2 the Federal Rules have in 12.2(b)(2). There is nothing like
- 3 that specifically in the rule.
- 4 Your Honor, unless you had any questions, that's all
- 5 I had on this issue.
- **6** MJ [Col PARRELLA]: I don't. Thank you, Mr. Feeler.
- 7 DC [MR. FEELER]: Thank you.
- **8** MJ [Col PARRELLA]: Mr. Ruiz?
- 9 LDC [MR. RUIZ]: Judge, in the beginning, a couple of
- 10 points that I want to respond to on behalf of Mr. al Hawsawi.
- 11 Mr. Ryan made -- he indicated that the defense
- 12 position was that we could hold back notice at our discretion.
- 13 I'm not exactly certain what defense position he was referring
- 14 to, as I think each of the represented in this case have filed
- 15 their own individual pleadings in this case; but for our
- 16 purposes, Mr. al Hawsawi, that is not our position. Our
- 17 position is not that we can hold back the notice at our
- 18 discretion.
- 19 It is also not, as Mr. Ryan indicated, that the judge
- 20 has no discretion to set reasonable time limits in regards to
- 21 this type of notice. In that regard, we do believe that the
- 22 court has that discretion; it can set reasonable time limits.
- 23 Having practiced in the courts-martial system for over

- 1 20 years, I do believe that that is the authority that the
- 2 judge has in a regular courts-martial process and does so in
- 3 this case as well. So that's not our position. I want to be
- 4 clear on that.
- In this instance, Judge, we do agree with Mr. Connell
- 6 that the issue that we take is both with the timing and with
- 7 the scope of the notice. And I'm not going to go into that
- 8 any further as I think it has been covered sufficiently, but
- **9** we do take issue with that.
- In terms of our pleading in this instance, Judge,
- 11 what we sought to do in our pleading was to give the court
- 12 facts, and they are facts that impact the reasonableness of
- 13 the prosecution's request in and of itself at this time.
- In our motion, as you know, there are three exhibits
- 15 that are C, D, and E. They are submitted under seal -- not
- 16 under seal but ex parte. And I would just reference you back
- 17 to those three particular exhibits because they give you what
- 18 we think are fact-based examples of the practical realities
- 19 that impact on even our ability to give such notice at this
- 20 time even if the commission were to determine that the notice
- 21 were to be given certainly within the timeline that the
- 22 prosecution has put before the court in this case.
- The reality is that we do not operate in a vacuum.

- 1 Mr. Ryan went to great lengths to talk about the amount of
- 2 time that we had with the -- representing, for instance,
- 3 Mr. Hawsawi, in representing each of the individual clients in
- 4 this case. What he does not talk about, however, is the
- 5 voluminous litigation in this case that has keyed in many
- 6 instances on medical information; the dozens and dozens of
- 7 pleadings that we have filed on behalf of Mr. Hawsawi seeking
- 8 access to medical records, not only medical records from his
- 9 time here in Guantanamo, from medical records during the time
- 10 that he was held in captivity in the black sites, medical
- 11 records that are obviously necessary to make some progress
- 12 towards the types of defenses that the prosecution is alluding
- **13** to.
- As we stand here, we are still litigating many of
- 15 those issues. The 419 series is one of such motions which is
- 16 still out there. The government has elected not to provide
- 17 the information that we requested in our motion and, instead,
- 18 to seek substitutions. We are still litigating the identities
- 19 of and the names of medical providers for Mr. al Hawsawi which
- 20 are necessary and essential for our investigation.
- 21 So it is not a one-sided approach to litigation in
- 22 this case. It's not really fair to say that the defense has
- 23 had ample time, but at the same time continued to litigate

1 significant motions, significant issues, access to information 2 and that we require in order to make that kind of progress in 3 order to make the decisions that are ethically required for us 4 to make to even provide that notice. 5 We have indicated clearly in our pleading, Judge, 6 that we will provide the prosecution notice in accordance with 7 the requirements of the rule and in accordance with any of the 8 dictates of this court. We are not there yet, and we are not 9 there yet for a variety of reasons. And we actually don't 10 even know if we will even get to that point so we can't 11 provide them notice of something that we have not, ourselves, 12 determined is going to be something that's even going to be 13 presented. 14 I do think, Judge, that what this motion is -- at 15 least from my own perspective, is another attempt by the 16 prosecution to force the commission into a position where the 17 commission has to set a trial date. In this case, I think 18 maybe perhaps we can agree on this: This case is unlike any 19 case or any court-martial or any military case that I have 20 certainly ever seen in terms of complexity, in terms of the 21 system itself, the challenges that arise, and the discovery 22 and the classification issues. I certainly haven't seen

anything like that during my practice, and I ----

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- **1** MJ [Col PARRELLA]: On this we can agree, Mr. Ruiz.
- 2 LDC [MR. RUIZ]: Okay. Great. Great. We will agree on
- 3 that one.
- 4 So the real -- the real challenge here is how would
- 5 you even go about fashioning that. And that's the real
- 6 challenge that Judge Pohl faced for many years, as Judge Pohl
- 7 a number of times, I think, became very aware of the
- 8 difficulties of this case, with the productions of discovery,
- 9 with the shifting classification determinations and the
- 10 guidance, is how to go about doing that. And I think that the
- 11 reason there is no trial scheduling order is simply because
- 12 it's putting the cart before the horse; and that is exactly
- 13 what the prosecution is asking you to do.
- 14 I think before we even get to a point where a
- 15 commission is in a position to set out the type of order or
- 16 trial conduct order that you will see in a court-martial, you
- 17 will have to at least have a good sense of when this process
- 18 and the discovery process is going to end. We are not there
- 19 yet. We continue to litigate those issues. And we have been
- 20 litigating those issues in large part because of the
- 21 prosecution's decisions in terms of how they turn that
- 22 information over.
- If we went back to 2011, 2012, Judge, it was General

1 Martins' position at that time that this case would be tried 2 in a year; that there would be a trial date, and it was 3 impending, and that somehow we were going to get to trial in a 4 year. 5 Since that time, we've obviously received a great 6 amount of discovery. But some of the information that goes to 7 what Mr. Ryan was talking about, the physical, emotional, the 8 mental damage that was suffered in these black sites didn't 9 come from the prosecution; it came from -- it came from 10 declassifications of the Senate torture report; it came from 11 multiple declassifications of other documents that were never 12 provided us by the prosecution in 2014, three years after 13 General Martins has said that he thought we could go to trial 14 one year after the arraignment. We were getting significant 15 information not from the prosecution because they didn't turn 16 it over; we got significant information from other sources. 17 And so all of that has impacted our ability to make 18 progress on this case. In Exhibits C, D, and E, we gave you 19 some of a glimpse of what those actual efforts are so that you 20 can put that into context as to how we would even go about 21 providing the kind of notice that the prosecution is 22 requesting here. And my position is that we are simply not 23 there.

1 It simply would not be reasonable to ask the 2 commission to set such timelines at this time. I think that's 3 simply an impossibility at this point. And ultimately I think 4 what is at play here is the prosecution is trying a different 5 way to skin a cat here. And that comes out in the last page 6 of their filing, page 5 of their reply, where they ask the 7 commission to establish a trial schedule at this time. 8 I think that's certainly part of what's going on 9 here, and we're simply not there. Perhaps if the prosecution 10 adopted other discovery production methodologies, we could get 11 to that point, but certainly they've not done that yet. 12 So our position, Judge, as I have indicated, is that 13 I do believe the commission has the discretion at a reasonable 14 time to do that, but we're simply not there. I think the 15 commission is not in a position right now where it could 16 provide a reasonable notice timeline for us in this instance. 17 Thank you. 18 MJ [Col PARRELLA]: Thank you, Mr. Ruiz. 19 Mr. Ryan? 20 TC [MR. RYAN]: Yes, sir. Your Honor, to be quite clear, 21 we have no objection -- the prosecution has no objection to 22 Your Honor including the deadline we seek in 614, to all the 23 other deadlines that we sought, asked for in AE 478, and, in

- 1 fact, argued over two years ago now. And I hope that that
- 2 list of deadlines and milestones is coming in the very near
- 3 future.
- 4 To the extent -- and with complete respect to this
- 5 commission's work, to the extent Your Honor is not ready to
- 6 establish all of those milestones and deadlines that we sought
- 7 in 478, we submit, Your Honor, that this particular one can be
- 8 treated as a standalone. And it is quite reasonable for
- 9 Your Honor to at least get this ball rolling seven years past
- 10 the date of arraignment.
- 11 Thank you, sir.
- 12 MJ [Col PARRELLA]: Mr. Ryan, is it the government's
- 13 position then that those dates proposed in AE 478, that that's
- 14 a pending request still out there or have those dates changed
- 15 in light of perhaps events since the date you originally
- **16** submitted that pleading?
- 17 TC [MR. RYAN]: Your Honor, two years ago, in March of
- 18 2017, we argued it. Several months later, Judge Pohl
- 19 suggested he needed no further argument, saying the ball was
- 20 in his court. Several months after that, he said that the
- 21 government deserved a trial date.
- Now, our original dates, sir, quite frankly are long
- 23 since overcome by events because otherwise we would be in

- 1 trial today. And I'm not suggesting I wouldn't be ready to do
- 2 an opening right now if you could get a jury in the box. But
- 3 that being said, clearly Your Honor would have to start from a
- 4 different standpoint in terms of timing than what was proposed
- 5 by the government way back when.
- **6** MJ [Col PARRELLA]: I understand.
- 7 TC [MR. RYAN]: Thank you, sir.
- **8** MJ [Col PARRELLA]: Anything further on 614? Okay.
- **9** That being said, before we take a recess -- a midday
- 10 recess, I want to bring up the issue -- it's not currently on
- 11 the docket, but it was raised in the filings in 619R and 619T,
- 12 which was the government's response to R. And it appears from
- 13 those filings that the specific issue has resolved itself, at
- 14 least for this session of court. What I am less certain about
- 15 is whether this is something that's likely to be a reoccurring
- 16 issue.
- 17 So what I would say is over the midday recess, if the
- 18 parties want to consider that, the commission would be willing
- 19 to entertain that, oral argument on that issue or have you
- 20 bring to my attention what perhaps would be the solution so
- 21 that we avoid this from occurring again. Because as I
- 22 understand this, this appears to be an issue with the way
- 23 certain documents are marked and perhaps a misunderstanding by

- 1 the Privilege Review Team.
- 2 LDC [MR. RUIZ]: Judge, our position -- we actually have a
- 3 draft of a motion that we were going to file to have the
- 4 commission rule on this issue. My belief is that the
- 5 prosecution doesn't oppose it, and I know they included that
- 6 in one of their e-mails. It was just a matter for us of
- 7 filing on that specific point. The FOUO issue, I think, can
- 8 be easily resolved, but I think having a ruling from you would
- **9** probably be best.
- And I will also tell you that that's probably the tip
- 11 of the iceberg as we have seen really an increase in
- 12 unreasonableness from the Privilege Team in terms of how they
- 13 interpret this. So I think that we are going to be filing
- 14 additional motions, but I think we can resolve this one fairly
- 15 quickly and easily.
- 16 MJ [Col PARRELLA]: Okay. And if that's the case, and
- 17 that's the impression that I was left with, with the parties
- 18 agreed on this is similar to my earlier request for
- 19 Captain Andreu, Mr. Ruiz, I would ask that you put together a
- 20 proposed order in working with the government for the
- 21 commission to sign.
- 22 LDC [MR. RUIZ]: Will do.
- 23 MJ [Col PARRELLA]: Thank you. Okay. With that, we will

- 1 go ahead and take a midday recess. If everyone could be back
- 2 here at 1330. The commission is in recess.
- 3 [The R.M.C. 803 session recessed at 1150, 25 March 2019.]
- 4 [The R.M.C. 803 session was called to order at 1337, 25 March
- 5 2019.]
- **6** MJ [Col PARRELLA]: All right. This commission is called
- 7 back to order. All parties present when the commission last
- 8 recessed are again present. It appears all the same counsel
- 9 are here, so if any counsel has either come or departed, if
- 10 you could please let me know.
- 11 LDC [MR. NEVIN]: Yeah, Ms. Radostitz is back and
- 12 Ms. Leboeuf has stepped out.
- 13 MJ [Col PARRELLA]: Thank you. Okay.
- 14 With that, Mr. Connell, if you could please enlighten
- 15 the commission as to the order in which you would like to take
- **16** up the next three motions.
- 17 LDC [MR. CONNELL]: Sir, with your permission, it would be
- **18** 601, 574G, 600.
- 19 MJ [Col PARRELLA]: I understand. Let's do it.
- 20 LDC [MR. CONNELL]: Thank you.
- 21 Your Honor, at trial, the government seeks to
- 22 introduce telephone calls involving Khalid Shaikh Mohammad and
- 23 three other defendants made before and shortly after events of

- 1 September 11, 2001. At the same time, the government seeks to
- 2 avoid the obvious questions: How do they have those telephone
- 3 calls? When did they acquire them?
- 4 The next three motions address the government's
- 5 attempt to avoid those questions through a process of a
- 6 substituted evidentiary foundation. The first of those
- 7 motions is AE 601, a motion to dismiss, or in the alternative,
- 8 to suppress certain evidence under the Confrontation Clause.
- 9 The Confrontation Clause and the right to
- 10 cross-examination is important here because the government's
- 11 attempt is to avoid presenting witnesses subject to
- 12 cross-examination through the substituted evidentiary
- **13** foundation process.
- 14 Many jurisdictions across the United States have
- 15 attempted substituted evidentiary foundations in forensic
- 16 evidence and many other types of cases -- a wide variety of
- 17 contexts -- and the Supreme Court and other courts have since
- 18 2004 routinely held that this process violates the right to
- 19 confront and examine -- cross-examine witnesses.
- Let me begin with a procedural history, which I will
- 21 say once and then will not repeat on the other motions.
- 22 On 30 September 2016, the government produced
- 23 discovery, including the exhibit at issue in the AE 574

- 1 series, labeled MEA-INT-185 through 187 regarding these
- 2 telephone calls. You can find a description of that discovery
- 3 at AE 600 Attachment F.
- 4 We immediately viewed that evidence as extremely
- 5 valuable to the defense and exculpatory and intend to make it
- 6 a key issue at trial. Consistent with that view, on
- 7 27 October 2016, Mr. al Baluchi served a discovery request on
- 8 the government labeled DR-280-AAA. It is found in the record
- 9 at AE 600 Attachment B. This sought more factual information
- 10 about the exhibit and especially those aspects which would
- 11 assist the defense at a personal jurisdiction hearing or at a
- 12 trial. There was no response from the government. We assumed
- 13 they were working on it.
- 14 On 1 June 2018, the government filed AE 574, an
- 15 ex parte, under seal, classified pleading. We later learned
- 16 that the -- we later learned the five items of relief the
- 17 government sought in that ex parte, under seal, classified
- 18 filing, three of which are unclassified. One of those
- 19 unclassified items that the government sought as relief is the
- 20 so-called substituted evidentiary foundation.
- In AE 574B (Amended), paragraph 2.a.2., an
- 22 unclassified paragraph, the military commission describes that
- 23 the government asked the military commission to, and I quote,

- 1 find that the use of the government's proposed substituted
- 2 evidentiary foundation for that information is proper as the
- 3 underlying evidence the government seeks to admit into
- 4 evidence is otherwise admissible, the evidence is reliable,
- 5 and the redactions are consistent with affording the accused a
- 6 fair trial.
- 7 AE 574B (Amend) paragraph 2.e. describes the
- 8 substituted evidentiary foundation in more detail. Ir
- 9 unclassified paragraphs, the military commission stated in
- 10 their motion, the government also moved the commission to
- 11 approve a substituted evidentiary foundation protecting the
- 12 sources and methods from which the telephone calls were
- 13 acquired and substituting them with the use of the following
- 14 to be read into the record by two different FBI witnesses in
- 15 open court:
- 16 One, the United States acquired telephone calls from
- 17 between April and October 2001 that were later determined to
- 18 pertain to the planned attacks on September 11th of 2001.
- 19 Two, the FBI transcribed and /TRARPBS /HRAEUTD the
- 20 telephone calls into English.
- 21 Three, an FBI linguist then reviewed known voice
- 22 samples of the accused to determine if voice identifications
- 23 could be made of the telephone call participants.

- **1** Four, an FBI linguist made positive voice
- 2 identifications as to four of the five accused in
- 3 United States v. Mohammad, et al. based on this review.
- 4 Five, an FBI linguist identified that three of the
- 5 accused self-identified during the telephone calls by using
- 6 known aliases.
- 7 Six, the FBI further determined that the telephone
- 8 calls contained coded statements of the accused in furtherance
- 9 of the attacks.
- And seven, these statements were corroborated by
- 11 other evidence in this case, and the FBI prepared an
- 12 evidentiary presentation.
- The government also sought and -- in AE 574 a gag
- 14 order. The 574B (Amend) paragraph 2.e.4., an unclassified
- 15 paragraph, describes that the government sought to, quote,
- 16 restrict any party from making any reference or asking any
- 17 question during any session of the commission that could tend
- 18 to reveal or could conceivably elicit information regarding
- 19 the classified source or method by which the United States
- 20 acquired these telephone calls.
- 21 On 6 June 2018, Mr. al Baluchi objected in
- 22 574A (AAA), although, of course, as with other ex parte
- 23 pleadings, we had no idea what the topic was.

1 On 12 July 2018, the military commission issued 2 AE 574B, ex parte, under seal, classified ruling, and AE 574C, 3 ex parte, under seal, classified order. Both of those 4 documents are still under seal. 5 While all that was going on, without knowing what the 6 government was doing, we continued to research, to 7 investigate, to interview witnesses, and to cross-reference 8 other discovery. We realized that there were possible bases 9 to suppress the exhibit if we chose to do so. 10 And on 27 July 2018, without knowing that the 11 government had come to the military commission on a similar 12 topic, Mr. al Baluchi served DR-280A-AAA, which can be found 13 on the record at AE 600 Attachment C, seeking more information 14 about the legal authority as opposed to the factual details 15 for the exhibit. There was no answer from the government. 16 On 1 August 2018, the military commission issued 17 AE 574B (Amend), amended ruling. The military commission 18 found, in unclassified paragraph 4.a., the government has 19 submitted declarations invoking the classified information 20 privilege in setting forth the damage to national security 21 that discovery of or access to the underlying call data 22 documents and information regarding the sources and methods by

which the telephone calls were acquired reasonably could be

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- 1 expected to cause; and in paragraph 4.d., the use of a
- 2 substituted evidentiary foundation is proper. However, the
- 3 commission defers ruling on this aspect of the motion at this
- 4 time subject to the government's laying of the foundation
- 5 discussed in AE 574G, pages 36 through 39, which, of course,
- 6 we, on the defense, have never seen.
- 7 The military commission further ordered in
- 8 paragraph 6.b. that this order does not abrogate the
- 9 government's continuing discovery obligations, which will
- 10 become important when we come to AE 600; and under paragraph
- 11 6.d., that the order shall issue to the defense 14 days after
- 12 the entry.
- 13 On 1 August 2018, the military commission also issued
- 14 AE 574C (Amend), Amended Protective Order #3, setting forth
- 15 essentially the gag order that the government requested. It
- 16 is my understanding, Your Honor, that I am currently bound by
- 17 that gag order and will not violate it in this session. I
- 18 will, however, draw the military commission's attention to
- 19 places in my argument where if I were not restricted from
- 20 doing so, I would make specific arguments about which could
- 21 conceivably elicit or suggest the sources and methods by which
- 22 the evidence required. We also briefed it at some length,
- 23 that same issue, in the brief, largely in unclassified

- **1** paragraphs.
- 2 Despite the language contained in the order, the
- 3 order did not go out on SIPR. And in going back later to find
- 4 out what happened, the trial judiciary properly advised us
- 5 that the order was available for hand pickup, but probably
- 6 because it was August, we did not pick it up as fast as we
- 7 should have.
- 8 And on 17 August 2018, Mr. al Baluchi filed AE 594,
- **9** Mr. al Baluchi's motion to compel discovery in DR-280-AAA.
- 10 On 30 August 2018, the government replied in 594B
- 11 that the military commission had already entered an order
- 12 about the telephone calls which alerted me for the first time
- 13 to the existence of the order. I immediately advised the
- 14 military commission and withdrew 594.
- 15 On 5 October 2018, Mr. al Baluchi filed AE 600,
- 16 motion to compel discovery, and AE 601, motion to dismiss or
- 17 suppress for violation of the Confrontation Clause; and a week
- 18 later, on 12 October 2018, Mr. al Baluchi filed AE 574G,
- 19 motion to rescind the Protective Order #3 or dismiss the
- 20 charges for violation of the right to present a defense.
- 21 These three motions represent different approaches to
- 22 the same problem. We must first -- in order to understand
- 23 this problem, we have to understand the government's approach.

1 There is a finding -- in the government's view, there is a 2 document -- the exhibit which is an adequate substitute for 3 underlying call data documents and information regarding the 4 sources or methods by which the telephone calls were acquired; 5 that there is a need for a gag order restricting any party 6 from making any reference or asking any question that could 7 tend to reveal or conceivably elicit information regarding the 8 classified source or method, and a substituted evidentiary 9 foundation replacing a vast area of defense inquiry with seven 10 unchallengeable paragraphs. The military commission found 11 this substituted evidentiary foundation proper, but deferred 12 ruling on it. 13 The third aspect of this, the substituted evidentiary 14 foundation, is what is at issue in AE 601. There is no bar to 15 reconsideration, even if this were to -- were a topic that 16 came under the bar to reconsideration, because the military 17 commission has not yet ruled. It is in fact the only 18 mechanism that we have to challenge the admissibility of 19 these -- this substituted evidentiary foundation and its 20 subsequent exhibit if the bar to reconsideration applies and 21 is constitutional. 22 However, the government's proposal to short circuit 23 the evidence at a trial runs squarely up against Crawford v.

- 1 Washington, 541 U.S. 36, 2004, which foundationally held that
- 2 the reliability of evidence must be assessed in a particular
- 3 manner by testing in the crucible of cross-examination.
- 4 I digress at this moment to address an argument that
- 5 the government makes in its brief about the application of the
- 6 Sixth Amendment to the defendants. The government has
- 7 never -- has often raised the question or stated that it is
- 8 not clear what constitutional rights apply to the defendants.
- **9** Early in the case we tried to ask -- we asked the military
- 10 commission to answer that question. The military commission
- 11 said that it preferred to take it up on a case-by-case basis.
- 12 I suggest that the Sixth Amendment right to
- 13 confrontation applies of its own force, a trial right in a
- 14 capital trial. The -- it is not clear to me if the government
- 15 is repeating the argument that it has made before about we
- 16 don't know the scope of constitutional protections or if, for
- 17 the first time, it is actually arguing that protections of the
- 18 Bill of Rights do not cover the defendants. Perhaps they will
- **19** clear that up.
- 20 But the government relies on <u>United States</u>
- 21 <u>v. Verdugo-Urquidez</u> ----
- 22 MJ [Col PARRELLA]: Let me just ask a quick question.
- 23 LDC [MR. CONNELL]: Sure.

1 MJ [Col PARRELLA]: ---- because it is 601 and it is 2 largely a constitutional argument. What is your position as 3 to the applicability of the Sixth Amendment at this military 4 commission? 5 LDC [MR. CONNELL]: My position is that the Sixth 6 Amendment right to confrontation at issue here applies of its 7 own force ex proprio vigore -- I think is the Latin -- in this 8 military commission. Let me explain. 9 The government relies on a couple of cases beginning 10 with United States v. Verdugo-Urquidez. Verdugo-Urquidez is about the Fourth Amendment, and it involves an important 11 12 textual analysis of the people because the text of the Fourth 13 Amendment includes the right of the people against 14 unreasonable search and seizure shall not be infringed. And 15 it was important to the textual analysis in Verdugo-Urquidez 16 who are the people, a national community which excludes the 17 noncitizens living outside the United States. 18 There is also an important element that is guiding 19 here, because the Verdugo-Urquidez court talks about the

States v. Verdugo-Urquidez, it takes place at the time of the

constitutional violation takes place, when does it happen, and

timing of a constitutional violation; that when a

with a Fourth Amendment violation at issue in United

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- 1 unreasonable search or seizure. It doesn't take place within
- 2 the cognizance of a court; it takes place somewhere else. In
- 3 Verdugo-Urquidez, that place was Mexico with respect to a
- 4 Mexican citizen.
- 5 A Sixth Amendment violation, on the other hand, with
- 6 respect to Confrontation Clause takes place at the time when
- 7 evidence is introduced without cross-examination in the same
- 8 way that a violation of Fifth Amendment protection against
- 9 involuntary statements, that, according to Verdugo-Urquidez,
- 10 that violation takes place in court, which is significantly
- 11 different for the application of constitutional rights. And
- 12 we are going to see that in the Ali case a little bit later,
- 13 where there is an important difference between a
- 14 constitutional violation which takes place out in the world
- 15 and one which takes place under the immediate supervision of a
- 16 tribunal.
- I mentioned the -- so the government relies on two
- 18 other cases. One of them is the reversed Hamdan decision from
- 19 the CMCR which held that, at least in the context of alienage,
- 20 noncitizen defendants did not have a protection against
- 21 equal -- a right to equal protection.
- 22 And I would suggest that that particular case turns
- 23 mostly on the question of alienage, because alienage has

- 1 always been an unusual -- unusually situated in the equal
- 2 protection jurisprudence, because it's not the same as
- 3 discriminating against someone on the basis of race, for
- 4 example, because the Constitution itself assigns to Congress
- 5 the duty to regulate immigration within and without the United
- **6** States. So the constitutional analysis for alienage is always
- 7 a little bit different.
- 8 But the Ali case, from the Court of Appeals for the
- **9** Armed Forces, is more significant, I suggest. And in Ali,
- 10 there was -- there were three factors that combined. There
- 11 was a noncitizen defendant, a crime which took place outside
- 12 the United States, and a trial which took place outside the
- 13 United States.
- 14 Ali was a contractor who was accompanying U.S. forces
- 15 in Iraq. And in that context, the Court of Appeals for the
- 16 Armed Forces held that there was no Fifth and Sixth Amendment
- 17 jury trial right and -- in the context of assessing whether a
- 18 court-martial had jurisdiction over Ali.
- 19 The third of those, the crime being outside the
- 20 United States, probably played in some way I suppose to the
- 21 crime here inside the United States, but the trial taking
- 22 place outside the United States is significantly different.
- 23 And that is what -- that element is what brings

- **1** Boumediene v. Bush into play.
- I know that there are schools of thought on exactly
- 3 what Boumediene v. Bush held and how far its extension went,
- 4 but the one thing that we do know from its reasoning is that
- 5 Guantanamo Bay, by virtue of its long occupation and the
- 6 virtual, if not legal, exercise of sovereignty over
- 7 Guantanamo Bay by the United States is de facto part of the
- 8 territory of the United States.
- **9** So it's my argument that assuming that the Ali
- 10 decision is persuasive authority to this military commission
- 11 and assuming that it applies to the confrontation right as
- 12 opposed to the pure jury trial right, the fact that this Sixth
- 13 Amendment violation takes place within the cognizance of the
- 14 court in a place where the United States exercises de facto
- 15 sovereignty controls.
- 16 However -- and this is the second part of my answer
- 17 to your question -- it is ultimately probably not necessary
- 18 for the military commission to decide the constitutional
- **19** question.
- 20 And I don't suggest this merely as a matter of
- 21 constitutional avoidance, but simply in that there is a
- 22 statute which also provides essentially the same right. And
- 23 that is 10 U.S.C. 949p-6(c)(2)(B)(ii) which requires -- which

- 1 addresses the authority for the substituted evidentiary
- 2 foundation in the first place, but it is only allowed if the
- 3 military judge finds that the redaction, among other things,
- 4 is consistent with accusing -- affording the accused a fair
- **5** trial.
- **6** And one thing that we know from the Supreme Court
- 7 cases is that the testing in the crucible of cross-examination
- 8 is at the heart of the fair trial right. In fact, in
- 9 Pointer v. Texas at 380 U.S. 400, a 1965 case, the Supreme
- 10 Court described that the right of confrontation and
- 11 cross-examination is, quote, an essential and fundamental
- 12 requirement of the kind of fair trial which is this country's
- 13 constitutional goal.
- 14 So moving to the application of the Crawford Sixth
- 15 Amendment analysis. The proposed substitute is at the core
- 16 class of testimonial statements which the founders intended to
- 17 be subjected to the cross-examination crucible. It is an
- 18 extra -- the seven-paragraph unchallengeable statement is an
- 19 extrajudicial statement contained in formalized testimonial
- 20 materials; in this case, essentially the set of testimonial
- 21 statements to be read to the jury. It's clearly a statement
- 22 created by a litigant intended for use at a later trial. In
- 23 fact, AE 574 is a request to the military commission to use it

- 1 at a later trial.
- 2 The government acknowledges this essentially in
- 3 its -- in parts of its brief. Its description in AE 575 --
- 4 excuse me, the court's description at AE 574B (Amended)
- 5 paragraph 2.e. makes clear that the government seeks, quote, a
- 6 substituted evidentiary foundation to be read into the record
- 7 by two different FBI witnesses in open court. Clearly
- 8 testimonial.
- **9** The follow-up to Crawford, Melendez-Diaz v.
- 10 Massachusetts, defines statements -- held that statements were
- 11 testimonial when they are functionally identical to live
- 12 in-court testimony, doing precisely what a witness does on
- 13 cross-examination. That is -- excuse me, on direct
- 14 examination. That is exactly what the government is asking
- 15 for, is live in-court testimony only to be read from a
- 16 document and unchallengeable by the defense as opposed to
- 17 being subject to cross-examination.
- 18 So let's break these witnesses down -- these
- 19 statements a little bit more and examine them two by two,
- 20 essentially, on their testimonial nature. The first two
- 21 statements are exactly the, quote, observations of factual
- 22 conditions or events, end quote, that the court in
- 23 Bullcoming v. New Mexico held could not be presented by a

- 1 substitute witness.
- 2 Those two statements are that the United States
- 3 acquired telephone calls between April and October 2001 that
- 4 were later determined to pertain to the planned attacks on
- 5 September 11th, 2001; and that the FBI transcribed and
- 6 translated the telephone calls into English. If these
- 7 statements were made by a witness as opposed to a substituted
- 8 evidentiary foundation, there would be an incredible amount of
- **9** cross-examination on the factual basis for these statements.
- 10 Essentially, the United States is saying that it had
- 11 recordings of Mr. Mohammad's telephone calls to other alleged
- 12 conspiracies before 9/11.
- I am prohibited by the gag order,
- 14 Protective Order #3, from arguing the specifics of sources and
- 15 methods, although I easily could based on open-source material
- 16 as well as unclassified discovery. That prohibition itself
- 17 violates my personal First Amendment rights as well as
- 18 Mr. al Baluchi's due process rights.
- 19 We would have at trial a great deal of questions
- 20 about the origins of this material. We identified the
- 21 significance of signals intelligence to this case as early as
- 22 the theory of defense that we filed in AE 073F in 2013.
- 23 Setting aside the source and method arguments which

- 1 are prohibited by Protective Order #3, there are a lot of
- 2 questions about the exact timing of when the United States
- 3 Government acquired these statements. The statements suggest
- 4 that they were acquired pre-9/11 but were not listened to or
- 5 analyzed until later.
- **6** The statements say that the -- they -- in the passive
- 7 voice, that they were later determined. And by whom and when
- 8 that determination was -- took place was important. It is
- 9 important what agency acquired the documents. It supports our
- 10 arguments that the United States is not engaged in hostilities
- 11 because the -- of the CIA's suppression of evidence of the
- 12 Kuala Lumpur meeting because, in our view, they wanted to
- 13 recruit al Mihdhar and al Hazmi as human intelligence sources.
- 14 It raises the question of what else did they acquire by the
- 15 same means.
- 16 It raises the -- it is also important -- that
- 17 question, the universe of what was acquired, is important
- 18 because it shows Mr. al Baluchi's relatively minor
- 19 participation by showing where he falls in the universe. If
- 20 he was involved in half the calls versus involved in one call
- 21 in that universe is a factor that the jury may take into
- 22 consideration, both in fashioning sentence and, under the
- 23 Burrage analysis, which we're going to talk about more, for

- 1 determining whether there is proximate cause between
- 2 Mr. al Baluchi's actions and the death which is necessary to
- 3 trigger capital application of the statute.
- 4 The government claims in AE 601B that -- and this is
- 5 an unclassified paragraph -- the 118 telephone calls are calls
- 6 associated with five telephone numbers that are otherwise
- 7 significant to the FBI investigation regarding the 9/11
- 8 attacks. Cross-examination would reveal the nature of that
- 9 connection as well as when and how the FBI acquired these 118
- **10** calls.
- 11 The government claims in AE 601B at page 3 that from
- 12 those 118 telephone calls, the prosecution identified it a
- 13 subset, the translated and/or audio content of which it
- 14 intends to use affirmatively. Cross-examination would reveal
- 15 how the government selected the records it chose for the
- 16 exhibit, and the witness could describe the content of the
- 17 other calls.
- 18 It is a defense strategy to be so common as to be
- 19 banal to suggest the prosecution has vetted the evidence to
- 20 include only the evidence which it wishes to use. The fact
- 21 that the government has selected a subset of 118 calls would
- 22 clearly support such a defense.
- Questions about those two statements would address

- 1 the chain of custody and the admissibility of the exhibit
- 2 itself. It would also address what connection there is
- 3 between the universe of acquired statements and the telephone
- 4 calls that the government seeks to introduce. Unlike most
- 5 evidentiary foundations, the seven statements do not say that
- 6 the calls that the government seeks to introduce are the same
- 7 calls that are being described in the foundation.
- 8 The -- finally, the government claims in AE 601B that
- 9 the exhibit, quote, is similar to telephone records kept in
- 10 the course of ordinary business. If we were addressing an
- 11 actual witness, cross-examination would negate this claim,
- 12 although at this point, I am prohibited by the gag order from
- 13 saying exactly how.
- 14 Moving to the second set of statements, the second
- 15 set of statements, which is number 3 and 4 in the government
- 16 taxonomy, present exactly the sort of forensic analysis that
- 17 the court held in Melendez-Diaz could not be presented by a
- 18 witness.
- Number three is a FBI linguist then reviewed known
- 20 voice samples of the accused to determine if voice
- 21 identifications could be made of the telephone participants.
- 22 And four, an FBI linguist made positive voice
- 23 identifications as to four of the five of the accused in

1 United States v. Mohammad all based on this review. 2 If examining a witness, cross-examination would 3 reveal where did these, quote, known voice samples come from? 4 If they came from the CIA and a black site, it would support 5 our claim about FBI involvement in the RDI program and the 6 connection between the FBI and the CIA. 7 It would also provide a basis for suppression because 8 10 U.S.C. 948r prohibits all evidence -- which is not limited 9 to testimonial evidence -- all evidence which is obtained --10 which was obtained by torture. If these were CIA voice 11 samples, we would have a very strong claim that they were 12 acquired by torture. 13 Cross-examination would explore, as with any 14 evidence, the qualifications, the methodology of the linguist. 15 There would a probably be a challenge under Daubert as to what 16 qualifications or what method and application of that method 17 the linguist used. It would address the critical question on 18 cross-examination of a witness when did these translations 19 take place, whether a report was prepared, who had access to 20 this report. And, in the occasion of multiple languages being 21 used on a recording, did the linguist speak the secondary 22 language, or did they rely on the work of yet another witness 23

who would be required to testify.

1 The third set of statements are expert testimony of a 2 different type regarding aliases and codes commonly used in 3 gang cases and commonly exposed to Daubert analysis under the 4 700 series of the Military Commission Rules for Evidence in 5 this case. 6 Number five is that an FBI linguist identified three 7 of the accused self-identified during the telephone calls by 8 using known aliases; and number six, that the FBI further 9 determined that the telephone calls contained coded statements 10 of the accused in furtherance of the attacks. 11 Cross-examination would explore the basis for their 12 knowledge, the specifics of the aliases they believe to be 13 used, the specifics of the coded statements that they believe 14 to be used, and would explore the fascinating statement that 15 the FBI further determined that the code telephone calls 16 contained code statements, not an individual but an 17 institution, and exactly who was involved in that. 18 That question is especially important given the 19 holdings in Melendez-Diaz and Bullcoming that you cannot bring 20 in a supervisor substitute to testify about what someone else 21 did. 22 The final statement, number seven, is the worst

offender of all when it comes to an unsupported bolstering of

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- 1 the credibility of this evidence to give it undue weight to
- 2 any jury. In statement seven, the prosecution tenders these
- 3 statements were corroborated by other evidence in this case.
- 4 And the FBI prepared an evidentiary foundation begging the
- 5 evidence of -- begging the question of what evidence and what
- **6** corroboration.
- 7 Now, in response, the government claims that the
- 8 exhibit itself is not testimonial. The government says
- 9 nothing about the hearsay foundation statement, the seven
- 10 statements we just reviewed, which are clearly testimonial.
- 11 The government does not claim otherwise.
- The exhibit itself is not a business record, it is
- 13 not a phone bill, it is not a call data report common in
- 14 criminal cases. Rather, it is a curated exhibit created by
- 15 the prosecution, as they clearly admit at page 3 of their
- **16** brief AE 601B.
- 17 The basis for the business records or regularly
- 18 conducted business exception is that litigation goals are not
- 19 implicated; it was kept for some other reason. That's clearly
- 20 not the situation here. That exhibit was created entirely for
- **21** litigation.
- Now, the government claims on the brief that the call
- 23 data substitute exhibit is a data compilation made at or near

- 1 the time the information was transmitted by mechanical means.
 2 That is a fascinating argument, and I doubt its accuracy. But
 3 if that is true, the government would have to prove it because
 4 that's one of the foundational elements for a business record,
- 5 of course. And when the call data substitute was created is
 6 exactly one of the questions which I would ask a witness.
- What that means is that the government is relying for
- 8 the basis of admissibility on exactly the claims that they
- 9 prohibit -- that they are asking -- they seek to prohibit us
- 10 from inquiring about in cross-examination. And, of course, if
- 11 it were a business record, it would not be classified, because
- 12 it would be maintained not by some classified entity but
- 13 rather by a business.
- 14 For reasons that are not a hundred percent clear to
- 15 me, the government claims that the document is
- 16 self-authenticating. I suppose their argument is that I would
- 17 not be -- I don't need to examine the authenticity through
- 18 cross-examination. In order to fall into that category, of
- 19 course, it would have to be a record of the United States. It
- 20 would -- it also contradicts their business records claim,
- 21 something that I would explore on cross-examination.
- 22 Unlike an ordinary self-authenticating document,
- 23 there is no attestation certificate with a signer who we could

- 1 interview and find out if they actually had signed this
- 2 document and what it was about. And self-authentication, of
- 3 course, is no exception to the Confrontation Clause, even if
- 4 it avoids certain foundational requirements.
- 5 The government further claims the summary exception,
- 6 which does not appear in the Military Commission Rules of
- 7 Evidence, but they say that it is a summary and that there is
- 8 a summary exception at least in the Federal Rules. But the
- 9 difference between the summary exception in the Federal Rules,
- 10 of course, is that the ideas that the parties have had access
- 11 to the underlying data and can cross-examination [sic] the
- 12 person giving the summary to find out if it accurately
- 13 reflects the underlying data, something that we are prohibited
- 14 from doing here.
- 15 Finally, the government claims that the audio of the
- 16 telephone calls are statements in furtherance of the
- 17 conspiracy. I agree. The audio itself is not testimonial,
- 18 but that does nothing for the foundation statement or the
- 19 exhibit.
- I'd like to close on this motion by saying if you
- 21 find that 10 U.S.C. 949p-6 requires admission of a
- 22 foundational statement and exhibit in violation of the
- 23 Confrontation Clause, that would mean that 949p-6 is

- 1 unconstitutional. It would be no different from dozens of
- 2 statutes permitted -- permitting substituted evidentiary
- 3 foundation for Breathalyzer results, drug analyses, forensic
- 4 examinations, or medical examiner reports which became
- 5 unconstitutional after Melendez-Diaz.
- **6** On the other hand, if you find that the classified
- 7 information privilege prohibits access to this material in
- 8 order to avoid the Confrontation Clause violation, you should
- 9 -- this is where the dismissal comes in. You would have to
- 10 dismiss or take other sanctions set forth in the statute as a
- 11 sanction for the invocation of the classified information
- 12 privilege in such a way that it denies the defendant the right
- 13 to a fair trial.
- 14 MJ [Col PARRELLA]: I do have a few questions for you. So
- 15 starting back in -- you started off with touching on the
- 16 reconsideration aspect of this.
- 17 LDC [MR. CONNELL]: Yes.
- 18 MJ [Col PARRELLA]: Just so I understand your position,
- 19 you don't believe that you're barred from requesting the
- 20 commission to address this topic because in the commission's
- 21 prior ruling, the commission had not yet ruled on the specific
- 22 evidentiary foundation proposed by the government; is that
- 23 correct?

- 1 LDC [MR. CONNELL]: Yes, sir. And let me just develop 2 that for just a moment. 3 So with each of these three motions, I will address 4 the bar on reconsideration in different ways. Because a --5 the substitute itself -- right? -- the exhibit which the 6 military commission found an adequate substitute for the 7 underlying call data is in a different procedural posture than 8 the substituted evidentiary foundation. The military 9 commission ruled on the exhibit as a substitute for the 10 underlying call data, and to the extent it's constitutional, 11 the bar on reconsideration comes into play. 12 In this situation, with respect to the substituted 13 evidentiary foundation, the military commission commented that 14 use of a -- not necessarily this one but a substituted 15 evidentiary foundation is proper as a general matter but 16 deferred ruling on this substituted evidentiary foundation 17 being there's been no ruling on which there would be a 18 reconsideration, no ruling that might be barred. 19 MJ [Col PARRELLA]: That was my understanding as well, that the commission ruled that a substituted evidentiary 20 21 foundation would be appropriate but not necessarily deferred
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So your constitutional challenge would then merger to

on ruling on this specific one.

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- 1 not be barred by the reconsideration would be focused on this
- 2 specific proposed evidentiary foundation, is that a correct
- 3 statement? Or are you talking about -- because the
- 4 constitutional challenge seems to apply to any substituted
- **5** evidentiary foundation.
- **6** LDC [MR. CONNELL]: Yes. Both are true.
- 7 MJ [Col PARRELLA]: Okay.
- **8** LDC [MR. CONNELL]: So I spent some time developing my
- 9 specific critique of this substituted evidentiary foundation,
- 10 but the point that I closed with -- and so I spent the most
- 11 time talking about this one because that's what's before us,
- **12** of course.
- 13 MJ [Col PARRELLA]: Yes.
- 14 LDC [MR. CONNELL]: It is much more difficult to criticize
- 15 an abstract than it is a particular. But I also noted at the
- 16 close of my argument that the -- if you construe the statute
- 17 to mean that some substituted evidentiary foundation must be
- 18 given, then that would make the statute that --
- **19** unconstitutional as applied.
- 20 MJ [Col PARRELLA]: I understand.
- 21 No further questions. Thank you.
- 22 LDC [MR. CONNELL]: Thank you, sir.
- 23 LDC [MR. NEVIN]: Previous objection.

- **1** MJ [Col PARRELLA]: Noted.
- 2 Ms. Bormann?
- 3 LDC [MS. BORMANN]: Judge, our conflict still exists.
- **4** MJ [Col PARRELLA]: Mr. Harrington?
- **5** LDC [MR. HARRINGTON]: Nothing further, Judge.
- **6** MJ [Col PARRELLA]: Mr. Ruiz?
- 7 LDC [MR. RUIZ]: Nothing. Thank you.
- 8 MJ [Col PARRELLA]: Trial Counsel?
- **9** MTC [MR. TRIVETT]: Good afternoon, Your Honor.
- **10** MJ [Col PARRELLA]: Good afternoon.
- 11 MTC [MR. TRIVETT]: I just want to clarify some facts up
- 12 front. There seems to be some confusion, at least amongst the
- 13 defense counsel, as to what it is that we intend to do with
- 14 this substituted evidentiary foundation.
- 15 Understanding that Judge Pohl was the judge who
- 16 considered this when we filed it, I want to give you a little
- 17 bit of background just so you understand how we intend to use
- 18 this, because that negates many of the concerns that
- **19** Mr. Connell raised regarding cross-examination.
- Now, the first fact that we rely on in 601B (Gov) is
- 21 that the United States acquired telephone calls from between
- 22 April and October 2001 that were later determined to pertain
- 23 to the planned attacks on September 11th, 2001. How we

- 1 acquired those phone calls is something that's a protected
- 2 source and method that we've sought to protect within this
- 3 litigation and specifically asked for the substituted
- 4 evidentiary foundation.
- 5 All of the other facts are facts that the defense is
- 6 free to cross-examine our witnesses on. We envision our
- 7 witnesses, for the foundational aspects of it, to be able to
- 8 talk about those things that they're competent and understand,
- 9 specifically an FBI intelligence analyst, FBI linguist, and a
- 10 Baluchi linguist.
- 11 But the fact number two, the Federal Bureau of
- 12 Investigation transcribed and translated the telephone calls
- 13 into English, right? We will have the FBI linguist here to
- 14 testify, and they can cross-examine him on aspects of his
- 15 translations.
- 16 The second fact, an FBI linguist then reviewed known
- 17 voice samples of the accused to determine if voice
- 18 identifications could be made of the telephone call
- 19 participants. The linguist will be here. They will be able
- 20 to cross-examine him on how he got those voice samples. I
- 21 will represent to the court that they're not RDI-generated
- 22 voice samples, but they will be able to cross-examine him on
- **23** that.

- 1 The fact that he made positive voice identifications
- 2 as to four of the five accused -- or at least a combination of
- 3 the linguists did, whether it be the Baluchi linguist or the
- 4 Arabic linguist, based on their review, would be something
- 5 subject to the cross-examination of counsel.
- 6 The fact that three of the five accused in this case
- 7 self-identified, the same will be subject to cross-examination
- 8 of the witness.
- **9** That the FBI further determined that the telephone
- 10 calls contained coded statements of the accused in furtherance
- 11 of the attacks, they will have the opportunity to talk to the
- 12 intelligence analyst from the FBI who has decoded them for us.
- 13 She will be subject to full cross-examination as to why she
- 14 believes that they were coded.
- 15 Part of our presentation will obviously be both
- 16 corroborating and explaining what the codes are with other
- 17 evidence that we presented in the case. So the fact that the
- 18 statements were corroborated by other evidence will also be
- 19 subject to cross-examination and part of our presentation in
- 20 the case-in-chief.
- 21 So really what they are prohibited from doing under
- 22 this substituted evidentiary foundation in Protective Order #3
- 23 is simply inquiring as to how the U.S. Government was able to

- 1 acquire these telephone calls. So that's the sum and
- 2 substance of what Protective Order #3 is. We're not going to
- 3 delve into the sources and methods. We sought to protect
- 4 them. We got the protective order, and we're not apologetic
- 5 about it. That's what Congress intended.
- **6** So I want to transition to his constitutional
- 7 argument. And generally our position on the various aspects
- 8 of the Constitution and its applicability to military
- 9 commissions has been based on ripeness. Is the issue properly
- 10 in front of the judge?
- 11 I think Mr. Connell mentioned when he asked in brief
- 12 what Constitution, what constitutional protections apply to
- 13 this military commission? Our position -- and I believe it's
- 14 in the AE 200 series -- was simply let's take it up when it
- 15 becomes ripe. Under the principles of constitutional
- 16 avoidance, we don't decide an issue of constitutional
- 17 dimension unless we have to; and we don't have to unless it's
- 18 ripe.
- Now, what I will say is that while we don't have a
- 20 motion currently to preadmit this evidence, we will be filing
- 21 one upon getting a little bit more clarity as to when the
- 22 trial is going to be. But we shouldn't have to.
- And this, I just want to bring up. We're not filing

- 1 a motion to reconsider. We understand what Judge Pohl's
- 2 ruling was. But we believe that the U.S. Government was
- 3 entitled to a finding that the substitute is adequate -- not
- 4 the substitute, the substituted evidentiary foundation.
- 5 Because when we're seeking to protect sources and methods that
- 6 are classified, and we have a right to do that under the
- 7 statute, ultimately we need to know if what we are intending
- 8 to do satisfies the foundational aspects of the case.
- 9 Now, we're not filing a motion to reconsider. We are
- 10 just going to file, at this point, a motion to preadmit where
- 11 we will call our witnesses. We're in the position, though,
- 12 where we have to now file a motion to preadmit as opposed to
- 13 just doing it at trial, and that's because if it isn't
- 14 satisfactory, we have to go back to the drawing board.
- 15 You cannot imagine how difficult it was to coordinate
- 16 the use of this information throughout the United States
- 17 Government and how long it took, and so we're going to need to
- 18 know if what we intend to do is satisfactory in advance of
- 19 trial so that in the event that it's not -- and we believe
- 20 that it is -- we'll be able to adjust accordingly.
- 21 But let's get back to the constitutional aspects of
- 22 it. So assume that it's ripe for purposes of what we're
- 23 litigating, because we're going to be moving it in shortly.

1 Mr. Connell's position is that this violates Crawford and it 2 violates the Sixth Amendment constitutional rights of Mr. Ali. 3 And what we advised the commission to do is we need 4 to read the Military Commissions Act in harmony with itself. 5 And when you do that, it's clear that Congress never intended 6 to give full Sixth Amendment confrontational rights to the 7 accused. 8 In 10 U.S.C. 949a(b)(3)(D), Congress determined that 9 hearsay not otherwise admissible under the Rules of Evidence 10 applicable in trial by general courts-martial may be admitted 11 in a trial by military commission. It has certain 12 requirements such as notice, materiality, probative nature, 13 that the testimony is otherwise not available, but clearly 14 they intended for hearsay to be admissible in the military 15 commissions that wouldn't otherwise be admissible in 16 court-martial or even Federal District Court, as certain 17 hearsay obviously, if they don't fall under the exceptions, 18 would generally violate the Sixth Amendment if they fell under 19 the core testimonial features of Crawford and its progeny. 20 that's the first example of why Congress clearly didn't intend 21 for full Sixth Amendment confrontation rights to apply. 22 In 10 U.S.C. 949p-6(c)(2) dealing with procedure for 23

cases involving classified information, Congress stated:

- 1 trial counsel seeks to introduce evidence before a military
- 2 commission under this chapter and the Executive branch has
- 3 classified the sources, methods, or activities by which the
- 4 United States acquired the evidence, the military judge shall
- 5 permit trial counsel -- shall permit, nondiscretionary -- to
- 6 introduce the evidence, including a substituted evidentiary
- 7 foundation pursuant to the procedures described in a
- 8 subsection above, while protecting from disclosure information
- 9 identifying those sources, methods, or activities, if the
- 10 evidence is otherwise admissible; the military judge finds
- 11 that the evidence is reliable, and the redaction is consistent
- 12 with affording the accused a fair trial.
- 13 By statutorily permitting a substitution of
- 14 classified sources, methods, and activities, it becomes clear
- 15 that Congress did not intend to give full Sixth Amendment
- 16 confrontation rights to any of the accused in military
- 17 commissions.
- In 10 U.S.C. 949p-7, introduction of classified
- 19 information into evidence, in (b)(1) it permits the military
- 20 judge, in order to prevent unnecessary disclosure of
- 21 classified information, to order the admission into evidence
- 22 of only part of a writing, recording, or photograph, or may
- 23 order admission into evidence of the whole writing, recording,

- 1 or photograph with excision of some or all of the classified
- 2 information.
- 3 Understanding that there will be certain times when
- 4 classified information is not relevant to the proceedings, in
- 5 order to protect it, it permits the military judge to excise
- **6** certain information, which we asked and was approved by
- 7 Judge Pohl in our ex parte filing to do.
- 8 And finally, the same section allows trial counsel to
- 9 object to any question or line of inquiry that may require the
- 10 witness to disclose classified information not previously
- 11 found to be admissible.
- So while the accused does enjoy the right to
- 13 cross-examine the witnesses who testify against him under
- 14 10 U.S.C. 949a, it's clear within the Military Commissions Act
- 15 itself that Congress never intended full Sixth Amendment
- 16 confrontation rights as are enjoyed in Federal District Court.
- So I want to turn now and make sure that everyone
- 18 understands that we are talking about several different
- 19 things. And it was nice to hear that the defense admits that
- 20 the audio portions would be statements admitting -- that would
- 21 be statements made in the course in furtherance of the
- 22 conspiracy and thus are not core testimonial. So that leaves
- 23 the substituted evidentiary foundation, and it leaves the call

1 data exhibit. 2 Now, the call data exhibit we provided shows 118 call 3 events that we intend to use similar to how we would use a 4 telephone record that was done by AT&T or Verizon, and in a 5 lot of ways -- and although I can't get into the specific 6 facts about that, in a lot of ways, it's very similar to that. 7 It's a data compilation. We're not going to get into the 8 sources and methods nor will we notify the defense what those 9 sources and methods were, but we certainly did for Judge Pohl. 10 In his ex parte filing, we had to ensure that he 11 could make those determinations that the evidence was 12 reliable, otherwise admissible, and consistent with a fair 13 trial. And we provided all of that information in order to 14 ask for a substituted evidentiary foundation. 15 So generally when you're dealing with phone records 16 or when you're dealing with records of the United States --17 and we are arguing by analogy here because this is a specific 18 and unique issue, fully explained in the ex parte filings, but 19 by analogy, it's really a combination of both. And ultimately 20 when you are dealing with a business record, a business record 21 certification is found to be sufficient and not in violation 22 of the Sixth Amendment confrontation right if it accompanies

the phone records that you intend to use.

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1 U.S. Government documents are self-authenticating in 2 that providing you have an attestation certificate that that's 3 what it is, it would be admissible based only on that 4 certificate. 5 Now, obviously the information that would identify 6 all of this information is the source and method by which we 7 obtained it, and that's what we're seeking to protect. 8 while the defense does not get to challenge that, that aspect 9 of the actual foundation, the military judge as a neutral 10 arbiter here looks at it and makes sure that we have satisfied 11 our obligations under the statute before proposing -- before 12 approving a substitute or approving the substituted 13 evidentiary foundation. 14 So the only thing that is potentially hearsay that 15 would not otherwise be admissible is the substituted 16 evidentiary foundation that is specifically authorized by 17 Congress in the statute. Like I said before, we're not 18 apologizing for it. 19 They weighed and made a determination that when 20 prosecuting enemies of the United States, where there is 21 strong evidence of their involvement in war crimes, that we 22 should be able to use that evidence and still protect the 23 national security implications of whatever source and method

- 1 by which we obtained it. We're not doing this very often.
- 2 This is somewhat unique in our case, but we are certainly not
- 3 apologizing for it, and it is specifically statutorily
- 4 authorized.
- **5** But I do want to talk briefly about some of the case
- 6 law that Mr. Connell has cited. So whether it's the Verdugo
- 7 case, the Kiyemba case, the Ali case, or any of the other
- 8 cases that we have cited in our filing, no court has ever
- 9 found that the due process clause of the Fifth or Sixth
- 10 Amendment applies to someone in Mr. Ali's position as an
- 11 overseas alien with no substantial contacts to the United
- 12 States not being tried in United States federal court.
- 13 But none of these -- if the Confrontation Clause did
- 14 apply, none of the documents we intend to use would violate
- 15 them. When Crawford looks at the core reason behind the
- 16 Confrontation Clause and that certain reports, such as
- 17 urinalysis reports and I believe other forensic reports, those
- 18 reports are generated specifically for purposes of trial after
- 19 the event occurred. All of the information we intend to use
- 20 from 3 April 2001 to October of 2001 happened before the event
- 21 occurred with the exception of a couple that happened after
- 22 the event occurred.
- But clearly before anyone was charged, before any of

- 1 the accused were captured, there is no possible way that the
- 2 information contained within the call data substitute is
- 3 testimonial in any way. It is merely a data compilation
- 4 unlike -- or just like an AT&T or Verizon phone bill.
- If I may have a minute, sir?
- **6** MJ [Col PARRELLA]: You may.
- 7 [Pause.]
- **8** MTC [MR. TRIVETT]: So many of these motions are
- 9 interrelated, even including 600, 574, even touching on 617
- 10 and 620, that I don't want to repeat myself. So I am going to
- 11 save my arguments for the armed conflict for later in one of
- 12 the other motions.
- But we would just point out that by the time this
- 14 happened in April 2001, the declaration of war had already
- 15 occurred, the '98 fatwa where they -- Usama bin Laden
- 16 specifically made American citizens legitimate targets in the
- 17 war, East Africa Embassy bombing attack, and the USS COLE
- 18 attack had all occurred before any of this call data that we
- 19 intend to use occurred. So this concept that this is somehow
- 20 related to their argument about hostilities just doesn't make
- 21 sense from a logical or temporal standpoint.
- 22 Subject to your questions, sir.
- 23 MJ [Col PARRELLA]: I have none. Thank you, Mr. Trivett.

1 Mr. Connell. 2 LDC [MR. CONNELL]: Thank you, sir. 3 I want to begin with what I understood the 4 government's initial argument to be. What I heard the 5 government say was that of the seven statements, six of them 6 there is no reason for a substituted evidentiary foundation at 7 all because they are going to have a real evidentiary 8 foundation. That's the way it should be. 9 cross-examination is my responsibility, and whether the 10 military commission ultimately finds the foundation to be 11 adequate or inadequate is the result of what those witnesses 12 say. 13 It seems to me that the military commission -- that 14 the government just told you that it doesn't need number two 15 through seven because they are not protecting any source or 16 method, and number two through seven are covered by the 17 There is no reason for anyone to read a statement witnesses. 18 in court, especially one approved by the court, about 19 corroboration of evidence or, for that matter, about their 20 expertise as voice analysts. 21 I understood the government to say that number one, 22 however, was different. And number one is the place that 23 sticks so importantly, because the -- that is the place where

- 1 Mr. al Baluchi is not simply a matter of challenging the
- 2 evidence but, in fact, of developing facts which are a part of
- 3 his defense.
- 4 The government does not retreat and informed us that
- 5 it does not apologize for skipping over the entire part of the
- 6 evidentiary collection process, which is usually the
- 7 government's weakest link, which is: How did you get this
- 8 evidence? How do you know it's real? Where does it come
- **9** from? What was its chain of custody?
- The government is going to try to do the same thing
- 11 when we get to the raid evidence, and I've been trying to
- 12 think of a way to bring that before the military commission in
- 13 this posture -- right? -- where the government is probably
- 14 going to seek 505 trying to get a substituted evidentiary
- 15 foundation for the raid evidence too. We should be able to be
- 16 heard on that, and it's good that we are able to be heard
- 17 here.
- Now, let's move to the statutory interpretation
- 19 question. I suspect the government is probably right, that
- 20 Congress did not intend to give full confrontation rights to
- 21 the defendants in the Military Commissions Act given that they
- 22 certainly didn't give them full rights in other areas,
- 23 including the use of coerced testimony. But what they did say

- 1 in 949p-6(c)(2)(B)(ii) -- and you don't have to read it -- you
- 2 can certainly read it with the rest of the statute, but you
- 3 don't have to -- is that the mandatory use of the substituted
- 4 evidentiary foundation is dependent on a number of factors,
- 5 including whether it's consistent with a fair trial.
- **6** Now, I suggest the difference, the light between
- 7 these two positions, is that instead of Congress -- meaning
- 8 that confrontation had to occur in every case, that Congress
- 9 required a case-by-case evaluation of the effect of evidence
- 10 on the fairness of the trial.
- 11 One could easily see that, you know, in any trial,
- 12 there are -- there is information that is not really
- 13 challenged, often resolved by stipulation from the parties.
- 14 Say chain of custody of the drug evidence or whether it was
- 15 really marijuana or -- you know, some -- those kinds of
- 16 questions, if they are not the focus of the defense may not
- 17 have nearly as much impact. That's not this situation.
- 18 The conduct of the United States toward the
- 19 defendants prior to 9/11 is, in fact, the core of
- 20 Mr. al Baluchi's hostility defense that I keep talking about.
- 21 The -- in this situation, the case-by-case analysis indicates
- 22 that such a substitution is not consistent with a fair trial
- 23 because we are on a controverted point which would reveal

- 1 substantial evidence in support of the defense as well as
- 2 possibly -- and the government made some representations today
- 3 without evidence or discovery, and we're going to -- I think
- 4 these admissions are going to be important when we come to
- **5** 600 -- in this situation the use of substituted evidentiary
- 6 foundation is not consistent with a fair trial.
- 7 Now, the government made an argument that the
- 8 distinction between Melendez-Diaz and its progeny --
- **9** MJ [Col PARRELLA]: Let me ask a question, Mr. Connell,
- 10 with respect to your last statement.
- 11 LDC [MR. CONNELL]: Yes, sir.
- 12 MJ [Col PARRELLA]: Is there a particular -- you mentioned
- 13 I think previously six and seven of the proposed evidentiary
- 14 foundation were particularly problematic, I think, for you.
- **15** Is that -- is that fair?
- 16 LDC [MR. CONNELL]: So I found -- let me say this. Seven
- 17 is, in my mind, the most flagrant offender, because it makes a
- 18 credit -- it makes a judgment that is normally the province of
- 19 the fact-finder about whether evidence corroborates other
- 20 evidence, and that -- I described it as the worst offender.
- In terms of the importance to the defense case,
- 22 however, number one is the most important because -- and I
- 23 would like to articulate some of the theories that I was able

- 1 to articulate on brief but I can't because of the protective
- 2 order, the -- but let me just give you a hypothetical here.
- 3 The government claims that the United States was at
- 4 war with, and thus had the full panoply of warfighting rights,
- 5 including just outright killing, Mr. Mohammad and others prior
- **6** to 9/11.
- 7 If -- and I am not -- I am not suggesting, eliciting,
- 8 or doing any of the things that I am prohibited pursuant to
- 9 the protective order, but hypothesizing that the government
- 10 obtained this material -- imagine that it obtained these phone
- 11 calls by tapping Mr. Mohammad's phone. If that were true,
- 12 that would mean that it knew where he was; and if that were
- 13 true, then the fact that it did not exercise its warfighting
- **14** rights to simply kill him ----
- 15 MJ [Col PARRELLA]: Yeah, I understand the hostilities
- **16** argument ----
- 17 LDC [MR. CONNELL]: Oh, I'm sorry.
- 18 MJ [Col PARRELLA]: ---- and I think we're going to get
- 19 into that later, and I understand exactly where you are going
- 20 because I read it in one of your briefs ----
- 21 LDC [MR. CONNELL]: Yes, sir.
- 22 MJ [Col PARRELLA]: ---- where we are going. And since we
- 23 are specifically focusing on 601, is this issue with any

- 1 proposed substitution or, by perhaps altering the one proposed
- 2 by the government, could it meet constitutional muster in your
- 3 eyes?
- 4 LDC [MR. CONNELL]: Let me -- let me make sure I
- 5 understand the question. The -- so I'm excluding -- well, do
- 6 you want me to exclude two through seven? They seem like
- 7 they're dealt with to me, but -- or I can address them, as you
- 8 prefer.
- **9** MJ [Col PARRELLA]: However you want to approach it.
- 10 LDC [MR. CONNELL]: All right, sir.
- 11 MJ [Col PARRELLA]: I mean, however -- whichever one is
- 12 the most problematic, whether it be one, whether it be seven.
- 13 Assuming we could adjust it, would it ever meet constitutional
- 14 muster or, as I take it, the other point of 601 could be that
- 15 no matter what, any substituted evidentiary foundation
- 16 allowable on its face by the statute would be in violation of
- 17 the Constitution.
- 18 LDC [MR. CONNELL]: As a facial matter -- right? Not as
- 19 applied in this situation, but as a facial matter, right, when
- 20 you're analyzing the overbreadth of a -- the constitutional
- 21 overbreadth of a statute which does not involve speech, the
- 22 question is hypothetically could you come up with some example
- 23 that did not impact the Confrontation Clause. And probably --

- 1 I'm a creative person. Probably I could come up with some
- 2 scenario in that.
- In this particular case, as applied, meaning the
- 4 constitutional challenge as applied here -- slowing down --
- 5 the -- I could imagine a substituted evidentiary foundation
- 6 which we could stipulate to, right?
- 7 Does that exactly answer your question of would it
- 8 satisfy the Confrontation Clause? It would in the sense of we
- 9 would withdraw our objection, right, if there -- if the detail
- 10 were rich enough and it included the particular facts that we
- 11 would seek to elicit on cross-examination.
- 12 Live testimony, of course, is not the only way that
- 13 evidence can come in. And in many cases on many occasions --
- 14 particularly tricky things, right? And it works for the
- 15 defense too, right? Sometimes there's evidence and, you know,
- 16 like if you're talking about the felony for the felon in
- 17 possession and you make an agreement between the parties that
- 18 the defense doesn't want the name of the felony to come in, so
- 19 the prosecution gets to prove it's a felony, the defense gets
- 20 to avoid having the felony named. And even though that
- 21 probably might not satisfy the Confrontation Clause, it's a
- 22 way to introduce the evidence.
- One of the reasons why I say that's important is

- 1 because 600, which we are going to get to in a little while,
- 2 seeks to gather the information that we would need to craft
- 3 such a proposed stipulation. And the government's position is
- 4 you can't know anything about this; you have to accept on
- 5 faith that at some point -- and you don't -- we don't get to
- 6 know when. We don't get to know if that's, you know, on
- 7 September 1st of 2001 or whether that's on September 1st of
- 8 2015, the FBI came into possession of this material and then
- **9** analyzed it.
- 10 So the -- in that situation, I have to say that I
- 11 cannot think of a way that a substituted evidentiary
- 12 foundation that is so blanket, right, that substitutes such a
- 13 naked, one-sentence statement for such a vast area of defense
- 14 inquiry could be consistent with the Confrontation Clause.
- 15 But if you were -- but that doesn't mean that, you know, there
- 16 are not tweaks that are available to that, if you -- if you
- 17 understand what I am saying.
- And I'm not saying that I would never stipulate to --
- 19 like -- you know, there is -- we can say a little bit more on
- 20 this in the closed session, but there seems to be one
- 21 particular fact that recurs through the protective order and
- 22 through the government's brief that they want to hide. It may
- 23 not be that that fact is particularly important to me, whereas

1 other facts are. 2 And so -- and I'll give you another example. We've 3 talked about the 118 calls. It's quite important to me what 4 is the universe of the calls, because is Mr. al Baluchi 5 one-one-hundred-eighteenth of the calls in the alleged 6 conspiracy? Is he one-six-hundredth of the calls in the 7 alleged conspiracy? Is he one-six-thousandth of the calls? 8 mean, the universe of calls is important. 9 That might not be something the government is all 10 that interested in hiding. I don't know. Whereas, you know, 11 the -- the sort of communications device -- the exact sort of 12 communications device which Mr. Mohammad is alleged to use 13 might be very important to them and not important to me. 14 know that I'm -- I don't know if I am giving you the 15 information that I want ----16 MJ [Col PARRELLA]: I think you've answered my question. 17 LDC [MR. CONNELL]: Okay. Good. 18 MJ [Col PARRELLA]: Thank you. 19 LDC [MR. CONNELL]: The government's argument for why the 20 substituted evidentiary foundation is not like a forensic 21 report, despite its facial looking like a forensic report, is 22 because the forensic reports are generated after an event and

that the calls were made before and after an event. But of

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- 1 course the problem with that argument is that there are two
- 2 different events that we're talking about.
- 3 A forensic report is made after the event of the
- 4 forensic analysis, whether that be the breathalyzer analysis,
- 5 the drug analysis, or whatever. It doesn't have to do with
- 6 its orientation with respect to the crime. In fact, some
- 7 forensic -- there are plenty of forensic reports that take
- 8 place before any crime.
- **9** Take the calibration of an Intoxilyzer machine,
- 10 right, that's a forensic report. I calculated this. It
- 11 properly registers .04, it properly registers .08. That
- 12 doesn't take place with reference to any particular DUI that
- 13 took place. It's one that happens yearly in my jurisdiction,
- 14 it may happen other ways in others, so there is really no
- 15 temporal correlation that makes any sense.
- 16 Whereas the calls, it's not whether the calls took
- 17 place before and after any -- before and after the crime.
- 18 It's whether the analysis, the testimony, whether that be the
- 19 government's curated, self-selected spreadsheet or whether
- 20 that be a naked statement of the following seven things
- 21 happened, that's the testimonial evidence. That's the
- 22 critical part.
- I -- you know, I suspect everybody in the room has

1 been involved in a lot of conspiracy cases. Phone calls under 2 Title III or whatever among conspirators is not a rare 3 situation. And although I appreciate the government's kind 4 words, I'm not really giving anything away by acknowledging 5 that conversations between co-conspirators during the course 6 of the conspiracy is not testimonial. It's well decided. 7 that does not mean that the process by which those calls were 8 acquired, if it seeks to be substituted by something else, is 9 not testimonial. 10 Now, the last thing that I want to observe is that 11 having listened very carefully on this point, I still don't 12 know whether the government is saying that Mr. al Baluchi does 13 not have a Sixth Amendment right to confront and cross-examine 14 witnesses. The government used its phrasing, which it has 15 used on many occasions before, that no court has held under 16 these circumstances that a defendant has a Sixth Amendment 17 right to confront cross-examination -- confront and 18 cross-examine witnesses. It's not the same thing. 19 And the reason why I ask that is if you believe or if 20 the government clarifies for us that on this occasion, unlike 21 all previous occasions, it is actually contending that there

request the opportunity to brief it, which is what we did with

is no Sixth Amendment protection for Mr. al Baluchi, I would

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- 1 the ex post facto clause when -- in the 251 series.
- 2 Once it became clear that there was a potential
- 3 ex post facto clause violation, the military commission
- 4 directed both parties to brief the application of the
- 5 ex post facto clause to the defendants. And so if -- if
- 6 that's where this is going -- and, you know, I know the
- 7 military commission has a lot of choices, but if that's where
- 8 this is going, I would request permission to brief it.
- **9** The last thing that I'll observe is that the
- 10 government mentioned AE 200 with respect to the constitutional
- 11 question. I think the government meant AE 057. So if you
- 12 want to look back at the position of the parties with respect
- 13 to application of the Constitution and procedurally how it
- 14 should be adjudicated, that's in AE 057.
- 15 MJ [Col PARRELLA]: Thank you.
- **16** LDC [MR. CONNELL]: Thank you.
- 17 I don't know if anybody else is going to go, or I am
- **18** going to do 574.
- 19 MJ [Col PARRELLA]: I think either way. Let me see if
- 20 anyone wants to, and if not, Mr. Connell, I would propose we
- 21 will take a 10-minute recess before you start your next motion
- 22 series.
- 23 LDC [MR. NEVIN]: Same objection, Your Honor.

- 1 MJ [Col PARRELLA]: Okay. It doesn't appear that any
- 2 other counsel would like to be heard on this one, so with
- 3 that, we will take a 10-minute recess and then start the next
- 4 one. The commission is in recess.
- 5 [The R.M.C. 803 session recessed at 1453, 25 March 2019.]
- 6 [The R.M.C. 803 session was called to order at 1519, 25 March
- 7 2019.1
- **8** MJ [Col PARRELLA]: This commission is called back to
- 9 order. All parties present when the commission last recessed
- 10 appear to be present again, unless anybody has anything to the
- 11 contrary. I don't see Mr. Nevin here in -- oh, okay. There
- 12 you are. All right.
- 13 With that, Mr. Connell, I believe it's 574.
- 14 LDC [MR. CONNELL]: Sir, AE 601 that we just discussed
- 15 addressed the government's attempt, reserved by the military
- 16 commission in AE 574B (Amended), to introduce evidence without
- 17 producing witnesses.
- AE 574G, in contrast, addresses the aspects of the
- 19 government's approach that the military commission did rule
- 20 on. Substitution of the exhibit for, quote, the underlying
- 21 call data documents and information regarding the sources and
- 22 methods by which the telephones were acquired. And then,
- 23 second, the gag order, restricting any party from making any

1 reference or asking any question during any session of the 2 commission that could tend to reveal or could conceivably 3 elicit information regarding the classified source or method 4 by which the United States acquired these telephone calls. 5 Those are AE 574B (Amended), paragraphs 4.a. and 2.e.4. Ι 6 will incorporate the procedural history from the prior 7 argument and not repeat any of it. 8 Addressing the substitution portion first. This 9 substitution is clearly inadequate in that it has a 10 substantial impact on Mr. al Baluchi's right to a fair trial. 11 Information about telephone calls in any modern case 12 is extremely important. The use of mobile phone records and 13 experts is a commonplace government strategy. Last year the 14 Supreme Court ruled in Carpenter v. United States that cell 15 tower records reveal so much information that law enforcement 16 must obtain a warrant rather than a subpoena for them. 17 Title III wiretaps, FISA warrants, Stingrays, and Hailstorms 18 have become part of the criminal prosecution landscape. 19 There are lots of unclassified aspects of this case 20 that make telephone calls exceptionally important.

prohibits it, so I will point you instead to the unclassified

paragraphs on page 7 and 8, 10 and 11, and 13 of AE 574G, and

argue them to you specifically, but Protective Order #3

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- 1 the classified paragraph on page 9.
- 2 This, I suggest to you, demonstrates how insidious
- 3 Protective Order #3 is. There has already been testimony in
- 4 this military commission under oath about telephone calls and
- 5 their relationship to sources and methods, but I cannot even
- 6 argue the connection of that testimony in open court to this
- 7 motion because of its relationship to sources and methods. At
- 8 the time, the government did not object, but now it has
- **9** obtained an ex parte gag order.
- There have been multiple books addressing the topics
- 11 of sources and methods for obtaining telephone calls regarding
- 12 al Qaeda, including books with CIA prepublication review, but
- 13 the gag order prevents me from arguing those.
- 14 The charging document alleges information about
- 15 telephone calls, including vague claims of association, and
- 16 some of which the government acknowledges it may not be able
- 17 to prove at trial, making it a ripe source for defense
- **18** argument.
- To the extent -- so these telephone calls, for the
- 20 reasons articulated in the brief and many others, are
- 21 extremely important, and the stripped-down version of their
- 22 provenance violates the right to a fair trial. To the extent
- 23 the Military Commissions Act bars this reconsideration, I

- 1 suggest that it is unconstitutional, as Mr. Bin'Attash argued
- **2** in AE 164.
- **3** MJ [Col PARRELLA]: Would you agree that under 505(f),
- 4 that reconsideration is barred under the situation where
- 5 Judge Pohl has approved the substitution after an ex parte
- **6** presentation?
- 7 LDC [MR. CONNELL]: I agree that it comes within the scope
- 8 of that provision. I do not agree that it is barred because I
- 9 believe that that provision is unconstitutional.
- **10** MJ [Col PARRELLA]: Okay. I understand.
- 11 LDC [MR. CONNELL]: With respect to the second half, the
- 12 remaining piece of 574B (Amended), however, the gag order, the
- 13 bar on reconsideration has no application. That is not a
- 14 substitution, and it does not fall within the scope of 505(f)
- 15 or the Military Commissions Act.
- 16 The military commission should revoke
- 17 Protective Order #3. Protective Order #3 interferes with
- 18 Mr. al Baluchi's right to present a defense in two ways.
- 19 First, it robs the information and telephone calls of all of
- 20 the aspects valuable to Mr. al Baluchi's defense while leaving
- 21 the one remaining argument that the government wishes to make
- **22** linking the co-conspirators.
- 23 Second, it prohibits Mr. al Baluchi and his attorneys

- 1 separately from asking questions or making arguments in court
- 2 which would develop the factual basis that the members need to
- 3 make an informed decision or that Mr. al Baluchi needs to
- 4 oppose the government protective order in the first place.
- 5 With respect to the first of these, regarding
- 6 omitting important information, we just discussed a number of
- 7 important examples with respect to AE 601, and there are more
- 8 examples contained in the paragraphs that I pointed you to in
- **9** 574G.
- 10 Much of this information would ordinarily be present
- 11 in a call record. If we were actually talking about call
- 12 detail records, or CDRs, much of this information, including
- 13 if it were a cell phone, the relevant cell tower would be
- 14 included. This is an example of why AE 164 was correct and
- 15 the bar on reconsideration represents an unconstitutional
- **16** restriction.
- 17 If we were allowed to access this, the defense -- or
- 18 Mr. al Baluchi's defense would use the underlying call
- 19 information to demonstrate the sloppiness of aspects of the
- 20 investigation, a traditional defense; the nonexistence of
- 21 hostilities, an untraditional defense but one very much alive
- 22 in this case; and Mr. al Baluchi's relatively minor role in
- 23 the conspiracy which forms a defense both for any death under

1 Burrage v. United States, which is a statutory construction of 2 statutes which require death to result for eligibility for the 3 death penalty, such as -- that one was about sale of drugs 4 where death results. This case is about a conspiracy where 5 death results, but also as a mitigating factor in any ultimate 6 sentencing. 7 Second, the protective order and its gag order 8 element prohibits inquiry by Mr. al Baluchi and his attorneys. 9 I respectfully suggest to the military commission that the 10 most Kafkaesque element of Protective Order #3 is that because 11 the government obtained it ex parte without a defense 12 opportunity to argue, I am prohibited from making many of the 13 specific arguments that I would otherwise make as to its 14 unconstitutionality. That is why, in the ordinary situation 15 in every other gag order -- take a fair trial free press gag 16 order -- it is brought in an adversarial context and not 17 limiting one of the parties at the request of the other 18 without that party's participation. 19 It represents a prior restraint that interferes with 20 my ability to carry out my statutorily assigned role as 21 defense attorney in violation of my personal First Amendment 22 rights. It is incredibly overbroad and vague and seemingly

only targets speech, not writing, much of that speech

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1 unclassified. 2 I will give an example. I proffer that I have 3 already written much of my personal questioning of Special 4 Agents Fitzgerald and Perkins, dozens of pages based on the 5 discovery, their prior testimony in this case, prior 6 unclassified testimony before grand juries and open-source 7 information. Protective Order #3 prohibits scores of the 8 questions that I intended to ask relating to telephone calls 9 because they relate to sources and methods including 10 unclassified sources and methods. In fact, as I mentioned, 11 Special Agent Perkins has already testified about telephone 12 call sources and methods in this case. 13 I respectfully request the military commission to 14 rescind Protective Order #3. If the military commission will 15 not rescind Protective Order -- excuse me, not rescind its 16 Protective Order #3 in toto, temporarily suspend it and then 17 allow me to reargue the inadequacy of -- allow me to make this 18 argument again without the restrictions of 19 Protective Order #3, which would at least emulate an 20 adversarial process over Protective Order #3. Thank you. 21 MJ [Col PARRELLA]: Thank you, Mr. Connell. 22 Any other defense counsel?

LDC [MR. NEVIN]: Prior objection, Your Honor.

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- 1 MJ [Col PARRELLA]: Ms. Bormann? 2 LDC [MS. BORMANN]: The same objection, Judge. 3 MJ [Col PARRELLA]: Any other defense counsel wish to be 4 heard on this? 5 That being no, Trial Counsel. 6 MTC [MR. TRIVETT]: Extremely briefly, Your Honor. 7 is an improper motion to reconsider based on the fact that 8 Judge Pohl looked at the substitute and approved it pursuant 9 to an ex parte filing. 10 Without getting into the details of the protective 11 order, I can say this: Mr. Connell seems as if the entire sky 12 is falling. The protective order -- which isn't a gag order; 13 it's a protective order that's common in national security 14 cases -- simply applies to the calls referenced in AE 574. 0n 15 its face, that's all it applies to. That's all we sought. 16 That's all it applies to on its face. It's not the Kafkaesque 17 First Amendment violation that Mr. Connell seems to think it 18 is.
- There has certainly been no testimony in this court
 by any of our witnesses regarding any of the telephone calls
 at issue in 574, and nothing in the protective order makes any
 of the previous testimony about telephone calls a prohibited
 line of questioning for Mr. Connell. Just please look to

- 1 Protective Order #3. On its face, it applies only to that
- 2 which we turned over pursuant to 574.
- 3 Subject to your questions.
- 4 MJ [Col PARRELLA]: I have none. Thank you.
- **5** LDC [MR. CONNELL]: The government's argument that
- 6 Protective Order #3 is similar in some respect to any other
- 7 order which occurs in any published case would suggest that
- 8 they should be able to find some analogy that they could point
- **9** to.
- 10 The rank and remarkable differences between, for
- 11 example, Protective Order #1, which was hashed out between the
- 12 parties and the military commission over a series of
- 13 adversarial hearings, and Protective Order #3 are stark.
- 14 Protective Order #1, for example, defines certain
- 15 information as classified. And if the defense wishes to make
- 16 arguments about that, they are free to do so following the
- 17 505(g) notification process and, when appropriate, in a closed
- 18 hearing.
- 19 Protective Order #3, without going into any of its
- 20 details, bears no relationship to that. It is in two of three
- 21 prohibited categories simply a blanket prohibition on making
- 22 certain arguments or asking certain questions without respect
- 23 to their classification. It sweeps in unclassified testimony

- 1 as much as classified testimony. 2 The example that the government just referred to, the 3 government's statement of it was correct and its implication 4 is exactly wrong. The statement that no witness has testified 5 about these phone calls is true. Before today, I don't know 6 that this information was present in the public forum in any 7 But the -- it is not true -- the prior witness did 8 testify about the sequence of events which in my view -- I 9 can't even say that -- did testify about a sequence of events 10 that could implicate sources and methods. 11 The -- I can argue it in writing, and I think, in 12 fact, I probably already have, but the protective order 13 prohibits me from saying anything else about it. 14 The distinction -- the other distinction between 15 these protective orders has to do with their breadth. And I 16 suggest that that is a direct result of the way that the 17 government acquired this protective order. 18
- The -- when there were issues that came to -- that we could tell because -- on the defense side could tell with respect to Protective Order #1 because of the way that it worked out in practice, even if the -- even if the language was right, or if the language, as we saw today, when the language was wrong but it works out okay in practice, those

- 1 were issues that we could bring to the military commission and
- 2 address.
- This, on the other hand, is a blanket prohibition
- 4 from arguments or questions on certain areas and certainly is
- 5 a prior restraint on a U.S. citizen as opposed to simply
- 6 shifting certain arguments from the unclassified context to
- 7 the classified context.
- 8 MJ [Col PARRELLA]: Thank you. I have no questions.
- **9** Thank you.
- 10 LDC [MR. CONNELL]: Thank you. I'm ready to proceed on
- **11** 600, if you wish.
- 12 MJ [Col PARRELLA]: Anything further from any other party
- **13** on 574? Okay.
- 14 That being the case, please proceed.
- 15 LDC [MR. CONNELL]: Thank you, Your Honor.
- **16** AE 601 addressed the substituted evidentiary
- 17 foundation and the admissibility questions deferred in
- **18** AE 574B (Amended), and AE 575G addressed the approved
- 19 substitution in AE 575B (Amended) and the gag order provisions
- **20** of AE 574C (Amended).
- 21 AE 600, on the other hand, seeks to compel discovery,
- 22 almost all of which falls outside the scope of the
- 23 substitution order in AE 575B and, with one very limited

- 1 example, simply does not fall within the scope of the bar on
- 2 reconsideration.
- I incorporate the prior procedural history and will
- 4 not repeat it, but I think that it is important to note the
- 5 timing of the discovery requests. The government produced
- **6** initial discovery about these telephone calls on
- 7 30 December 2016 and, considering it very important,
- 8 Mr. al Baluchi sought further discovery on 27 October 2016.
- **9** There was no action at all by the government that we
- 10 knew of until 1 June 2018 when, instead of responding to a
- 11 discovery request by a yes or no or producing information, it
- 12 sought ex parte substitution for one element of the discovery
- 13 request.
- 14 While the government was obtaining such ex parte
- 15 relief, Mr. al Baluchi sought additional discovery. The
- 16 discovery requests themselves are classified, and I will
- 17 address them in the closed session. Thank you.
- 18 MJ [Col PARRELLA]: Thank you.
- 19 LDC [MR. CONNELL]: I know it's a little truncated, but
- 20 everything else has to be in the closed session.
- 21 MJ [Col PARRELLA]: Any other defense counsel care to be
- **22** heard on 600?
- 23 LDC [MR. NEVIN]: Previous objection, Your Honor.

- **1** MJ [Col PARRELLA]: Noted.
- 2 LDC [MS. BORMANN]: Previous objection, Judge.
- **3** MJ [Col PARRELLA]: Noted, Ms. Bormann. Okay.
- 4 Trial Counsel, do you wish to be heard?
- 5 MTC [MR. TRIVETT]: Nothing for the open, sir.
- **6** MJ [Col PARRELLA]: All right. Mr. Connell, what's your
- 7 best estimate as to how much time you anticipate for the 617
- 8 and 620 arguments?
- **9** LDC [MR. CONNELL]: Sir, consulting with Mr. Farley, we
- 10 anticipate for Mr. al Baluchi, in total, both motions, both
- 11 arguments, about 30 minutes.
- 12 MJ [Col PARRELLA]: Okay. All right. Well, in that case,
- 13 we will go ahead and proceed and take them up. I just don't
- 14 want to split them. I think they're close enough related and
- 15 we're good enough on time that if they're going to go longer,
- 16 we can take them up in the morning, but I think we have --
- 17 with that estimation, we'll go ahead and proceed. So we'll go
- **18** ahead and take up 617.
- **19** LDC [MR. NEVIN]: Your Honor.
- 20 MJ [Col PARRELLA]: Mr. Nevin.
- 21 LDC [MR. NEVIN]: I'm advised that the prayer time is
- 22 4:30, and it may have -- you may have been advised that it was
- 23 a later time than that. I just want to ----

- 1 MJ [Col PARRELLA]: Yeah, the chart that I have indicates
- 2 it's 5:30.
- 3 LDC [MR. NEVIN]: The feeling is there was a mistake
- 4 there. I didn't mean to suggest we don't have enough time to
- 5 finish. I just, you know, wanted to bring that to your
- 6 attention.
- 7 MJ [Col PARRELLA]: No, I think that -- well, that does
- 8 factor in because it potentially takes an hour off of our
- 9 time. But I'm perplexed because this appears to come off of
- 10 a, you know, published website. So is it -- give me a moment
- 11 to see if we can verify where the error is here. Okay
- 12 You have seen probably the same chart I have,
- 13 Mr. Nevin. I believe it was appended to the proposed order of
- 14 march. So is it perhaps because of daylight savings time? Is
- 15 that the issue?
- 16 LDC [MR. NEVIN]: Yeah. I -- I think it's my fault. I
- 17 think I conveyed incorrect information about the correct
- 18 method for -- for resolving the time, and I'm advised that the
- 19 time that the camp has is apparently 4:30 as well.
- 20 MJ [Col PARRELLA]: Okay.
- 21 LDC [MR. NEVIN]: So I'm not enough of a scholar to
- 22 authoritatively explain the difference as I stand here, but I
- 23 think that's our understanding of where it is.

- **1** MJ [Col PARRELLA]: Okay.
- 2 LDC [MR. NEVIN]: And it's the -- it's the 'Asr prayer
- 3 that is affected on that chart, not any of the others. The
- 4 others are correct.
- **5** MJ [Col PARRELLA]: I understand.
- **6** LDC [MR. NEVIN]: But, again, I believe there's time,
- 7 so ----
- 8 MJ [Col PARRELLA]: Well, let's go ahead and see what we
- 9 can accomplish.
- 10 Mr. Farley.
- 11 DC [MR. FARLEY]: Good afternoon, Your Honor.
- **12** MJ [Col PARRELLA]: Good afternoon.
- 13 DC [MR. FARLEY]: Your Honor, AE 617 is Mr. al Baluchi's
- 14 motion to compel communications from the International
- 15 Committee of the Red Cross concerning the existence of an
- 16 armed conflict between 1996 and 2002.
- 17 Your Honor, Mr. al Baluchi submitted a discovery
- 18 request, DR-392-AAA, to the government on 19 December 2018
- 19 seeking the records referenced before. The government denied
- 20 Mr. al Baluchi's request citing a failure -- a supposed
- 21 failure on Mr. al Baluchi's part to articulate a theory of
- **22** relevance and materiality.
- As you are aware, Your Honor, hostilities form a core

- 1 issue in this litigation. The government must prove the
- 2 existence of hostilities beyond a reasonable doubt at trial in
- 3 order to carry its burden to convict Mr. al Baluchi and the
- 4 other men on trial. And as you're aware, there remains a
- 5 pending issue before the military commission concerning the
- 6 military commission's personal jurisdiction over
- 7 Mr. al Baluchi based on his challenge to the existence of
- 8 hostilities prior to September 11th, 2001.
- **9** MJ [Col PARRELLA]: So, Mr. Farley, the first question is:
- 10 Talking about the personal jurisdiction piece, what's your
- 11 position with respect to the court's prior ruling in 502BBBB?
- **12** Do you believe it just doesn't apply?
- DC [MR. FARLEY]: Your Honor, the military commission
- 14 clearly bifurcated the proceedings with respect to personal
- 15 jurisdiction between Mr. al Hawsawi and Mr. al Baluchi. The
- 16 military commission took evidence and issued a ruling
- 17 explicitly with respect to Mr. Hawsawi and not with respect to
- **18** Mr. al Baluchi.
- 19 MJ [Col PARRELLA]: And having read it -- no, I understand
- 20 that, but, I mean, I think that you would have to do that with
- 21 respect to the nexus aspect of the personal jurisdiction
- 22 because that would be different for each individual. But as
- 23 to the existence, it seems entirely odd that the commission

- 1 would find that hostilities existed for one accused and not
- 2 another.
- 3 DC [MR. FARLEY]: Your Honor, I agree with you that it may
- 4 be an unconventional or a perhaps inconsistent result.
- **5** However, Mr. Hawsawi presented one argument for the existence
- 6 or nonexistence of hostilities, and Mr. al Baluchi intends to
- 7 present another.
- 8 Now, to be entirely clear, the issue before you is
- 9 not whether AE 502BBBB applies to Mr. al Baluchi. And, in
- 10 fact, we don't need to address the personal jurisdiction
- 11 aspect at all to resolve this motion to compel.
- 12 MJ [Col PARRELLA]: Well, I think we do in part, because
- 13 we have to understand why you need the discovery. So, you
- 14 know, if you need it to prove existence of hostilities, we
- 15 have to establish if that's personal jurisdiction, part of the
- 16 substantive element, or both.
- 17 You made a statement that the government has to prove
- 18 the existence of hostilities beyond a reasonable doubt for
- 19 trial. And I understand -- I mean, I've read the briefs on
- 20 this. I understand the government's position on the Hamdan
- 21 instruction. And I also take it to understand that at least
- 22 for Mr. Ali, you don't agree that the Hamdan instruction
- 23 applies, but I'd like to discuss and explore more exactly

- 1 where -- where the existence question plays into the
- 2 substantive element, you know, what that looks like and why
- 3 this discovery is -- is necessary or material for that aspect.
- **4** DC [MR. FARLEY]: Absolutely. And I am happy to address
- **5** that, Your Honor.
- **6** With respect to the substantive element, as I have
- 7 said and I believe as you recognized, the government must
- 8 prove the existence of hostilities beyond a reasonable doubt
- 9 at trial.
- 10 So putting aside whether the commission's ruling in
- 11 502BBBB applies to Mr. al Baluchi, at trial the government has
- 12 to carry its burden beyond a reasonable doubt that hostilities
- 13 existed prior to 9/11, and Mr. al Baluchi ----
- 14 MJ [Col PARRELLA]: I'm just curious where you are -- what
- 15 are you citing as the source of that?
- 16 DC [MR. FARLEY]: It's in -- I'm sorry, Your Honor, I
- **17** don't have the ----
- 18 MJ [Col PARRELLA]: Is it the actual substantive element?
- 19 DC [MR. FARLEY]: Yes, Your Honor. I apologize. It's the
- 20 nexus to hostilities element that is a -- prefigures all of
- 21 the offenses. So in order for the government to carry its
- 22 burden with respect to each offense that Mr. al Baluchi has
- 23 been charged with, they must demonstrate the existence of

- **1** hostilities.
- 2 And the government, as you -- as you noted, maintains
- 3 that the appropriate standard by which hostilities should be
- 4 determined is the standard articulated in Judge Allred's
- 5 instruction in United States v. Hamdan. And, Your Honor, the
- 6 provision is 10 U.S.C. 950p -- sorry, subparagraph (c), common
- 7 circumstances.
- 8 Now while Your Honor is correct that Mr. al Baluchi
- 9 disagrees with the government's preferred standard for
- 10 hostilities, in both -- in AE 617, Mr. al Baluchi has assumed
- 11 arguendo that the government is correct and that the Hamdan
- 12 standard applies. And the Hamdan standard is a true totality
- 13 of the circumstances standard.
- **14** Judge Allred suggested -- suggested that the military
- 15 commission, the panel, the jury should consider seven
- 16 categories of information in reaching its conclusion as to
- 17 whether hostilities exist or do not exist between the United
- 18 States and al Qaeda.
- 19 One of those categories of information is the first
- 20 one, whether there was protracted armed violence between a
- 21 state actor, the United States, and organized armed groups, in
- 22 this case al Qaeda. Another, the final category of
- 23 information is any other fact or circumstance that the panel

- 1 may consider relevant to a determination of the existence of
- 2 hostilities.
- 3 MJ [Col PARRELLA]: Quick question, because I might
- 4 have -- I just want to make sure I heard you correct. Is it
- 5 your position -- because I thought I read something to the
- 6 contrary -- that this is the appropriate instruction, the
- 7 Hamdan instruction?
- **8** DC [MR. FARLEY]: No, Your Honor. We disagree that it's
- 9 the appropriate standard. However, even under the
- 10 government's preferred standard, the discovery Mr. al Baluchi
- 11 seeks in AE 617 is material and relevant to this case, and as
- 12 a consequence, it must be produced to him. And we would ask
- 13 that the government -- or that the military commission order
- 14 the government -- compel the government to produce that
- 15 discovery to Mr. al Baluchi.
- And the reason for that is that the government has
- 17 asserted that an armed conflict existed before 9/11. And the
- 18 government has pointed to a handful of pieces of evidence that
- 19 are publicly available to bear out its assertion. One of
- 20 those pieces of evidence is OPERATION INFINITE REACH, a
- 21 minutes-long bombardment in August of 1998. Another piece of
- 22 evidence is the -- are the bombings of the U.S. embassies in
- 23 Kenya and Tanzania in August of '98. And, of course, there is

1 the USS COLE bombing. The government also points to the 1996 2 declaration of jihad by Usama bin Laden that it characterizes 3 as a declaration of war and to the 1998 fatwa. 4 This makes a compelling narrative, you know, standing 5 here some 20 years later, when we have all lived through the 6 better part of 18 years of actual armed conflict between the 7 United States and al Qaeda. And we -- we stand here with 8 befogged memories and all of us laboring under hindsight bias. 9 So Mr. al Baluchi must -- in order to refute the government's 10 argument that hostilities existed before 2000 -- before 11 10 September 2001, must seek evidence that demonstrates a 12 negative, which is an incredibly difficult task, as you're 13 aware. 14 So Mr. al Baluchi has engaged in a counterfactual 15 exercise. Let's assume that the government is correct, that 16 there was an armed conflict between the United States and 17 al Qaeda before 11 September 2001. What would the world look 18 like in that situation? What events may have taken place? 19 What activities would the U.S. Government have undertaken? 20 What information would be in the hands of the U.S. Government? 21 One such piece of information -- type of information 22 that would be in the hands of the U.S. Government would be

communications from the International Committee of the Red

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- 1 Cross reminding the U.S. Government of its obligations under
- 2 the law of war with respect to a putative armed conflict
- 3 between the United States and al Qaeda.
- 4 MJ [Col PARRELLA]: Do you have any -- what leads you to
- 5 believe that the government has this? Or is it sort of that
- 6 you believe -- I sort of read into it that you believe that
- 7 they don't have it and that's sort of just as valuable to you
- 8 as if they did have it?
- **9** DC [MR. FARLEY]: Correct, Your Honor. Again, this is a
- 10 counterfactual exercise. And if I may have the feed from
- 11 Table 4, I believe that we have some slides prepared. And the
- 12 slides have been cleared with your security officer, and
- 13 they've been handed out to the parties.
- 14 MJ [Col PARRELLA]: Okay. Just give me one moment.
- **15** DC [MR. FARLEY]: Sure.
- 16 MJ [Col PARRELLA]: Okay. You may have the feed.
- 17 DC [MR. FARLEY]: May I have slide 2? Your Honor, may I
- **18** publish it to the gallery?
- **19** MJ [Col PARRELLA]: You may.
- 20 DC [MR. FARLEY]: May I have the next slide, please?
- 21 Your Honor, so, again, you're exactly correct that
- 22 what would be valuable to us and what we believe to be the
- 23 case is that the ICRC never engaged in the communication that

1 I just described to you to the U.S. Government prior to 2 11 September 2001. 3 The reason we believe that the ICRC would have 4 engaged in such a communication, there are a couple of bases 5 for this. 6 First, in order for the International Committee of 7 the Red Cross to fulfill its mandate, which is the promotion 8 of international humanitarian law and the insurance of 9 compliance with the laws of war, as well as to provide relief 10 to victims and individuals caught up in the course of armed 11 conflict, the ICRC is a uniquely positioned organization that 12 must sort of constantly be asking the question: Is there an 13 armed conflict? You know, is this situation of armed violence 14 someplace in the world -- is it an armed conflict? 15 what type of armed conflict is it? What body of law applies? 16 And the ICRC's practice is not to hold this 17 information to itself. The ICRC's practice, because it wants 18 to promote compliance with the laws of war, because it wants 19 to provide relief to victims of armed conflict, because it 20 wants to do the things that it does here and establish 21 communication between families and individuals who are 22 detained and account for individuals who are detained and 23 ensure that those people are disappeared or held

- 1 incommunicado. 2 The ICRC communicates with the parties to the armed 3 conflict, and it says things like, you, United States, we 4 believe that you are engaged in an armed conflict with Irag; 5 and we believe because you are a state actor and Iraq is a 6 state actor, that that's an international armed conflict; and 7 as a consequence, the full panoply of the Geneva Conventions 8 apply, and you must do these things to remain in compliance 9 with the Geneva Conventions. 10 Now, the ICRC doesn't just do this for international 11 armed conflicts; it does it for non-international armed 12 conflicts as well. And what you have before you, what's on 13 the screen and what's been published to the gallery, is a 14 cable -- a portion of a cable -- a State Department cable that 15 has been released through the Freedom of Information Act that 16 reflects communications between the ICRC and the 17 U.S. Government following the 11 September 2001 attacks. 18 In fact, this cable from May of 2002 represents or 19 suggests that there is -- there has been a month's-long 20 conversation between the United States and the International
- You can see that one of the topics of discussion is

Committee of the Red Cross about the U.S. Government 's

responsibilities under the laws of war.

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- 1 the Global War on Terrorism, writ large, and another topic of
- 2 discussion is the status of detainees. They were also
- 3 interested in military commissions way back in May of 2002.
- 4 This -- this document is one piece of evidence that
- 5 suggests that the ICRC has engaged in the behavior that I just
- 6 described to you; that it, in fact, reached out to the
- 7 U.S. Government, reminded the U.S. Government of its
- 8 responsibilities under the laws of war, but it did so after
- 9 the 9/11 attacks.
- 10 Our question for the government is whether the ICRC
- 11 did this before the 9/11 attacks, whether the ICRC did this
- 12 during the time period in which the U.S. Government, you know,
- 13 today, standing here some 18 years later, asserts that a war
- 14 was going on between the United States and al Qaeda.
- 15 The government has not indicated, one way or another,
- 16 whether these documents exist. They haven't, you know, said
- 17 that they do exist; they haven't said that they don't exist.
- 18 Their response to Mr. al Baluchi has been simply that the
- 19 documents are not material. But under the Hamdan standard,
- 20 under the government's preferred standard for determining
- 21 whether an armed conflict exists, these sorts of documents are
- 22 clearly material.
- MJ [Col PARRELLA]: Well, based on your own research, do

- 1 you know whether they exist or not?
- **2** DC [MR. FARLEY]: Your Honor, I can't say definitively
- 3 whether they exist or not. I -- I strongly suspect that they
- $\mathbf{4}$ do not exist, and I -- and I believe that the government is in
- 5 a position to say definitively whether they exist or they do
- 6 not exist.
- 7 And I think that -- that if I'm right, that they do
- 8 not exist, that that is strong evidence that a neutral,
- 9 impartial, third-party organization that exists entirely to
- 10 determine whether there is an armed conflict going on, you
- 11 know, even if they apply a slightly different standard than
- 12 the government would apply for determining the existence of
- 13 armed conflict, the failure of that organization to take
- 14 notice of an armed conflict is strong evidence that such an
- 15 armed conflict did not exist.
- And I think that it's material -- these sorts of
- 17 documents, if they exist, are inarguably material. And it
- 18 would be shocking to me if the government possessed them and
- 19 would not stand up and waive them around at a trial as strong
- 20 evidence that an armed conflict did exist, right? And the
- 21 contrary inference is also true.
- Your Honor, I just -- sorry.
- 23 LDC [MR. CONNELL]: May I have just one moment?

- **1** MJ [Col PARRELLA]: You may.
- 2 Just before you go, I am just going to note for the
- 3 record that the slides that you are displaying are marked as
- **4** AE 617C (AAA).
- **5** DC [MR. FARLEY]: Thank you, Your Honor.
- **6** And, Your Honor, you will notice in our briefings,
- 7 Mr. al Baluchi has referred to a period beyond September 11th
- 8 in the discovery request. And the reason why is because we
- 9 have this one piece of evidence that indicates an ongoing
- 10 communication between the U.S. Government and the ICRC over an
- 11 armed conflict after the September 11th attacks. This
- 12 document itself references several other cables that
- 13 Mr. al Baluchi does not have and which are presumably germane
- 14 to this conversation.
- 15 We believe that, in the abstract, the absence of
- 16 communications from the ICRC to the U.S. Government is strong
- 17 evidence of the nonexistence of an armed conflict but would be
- 18 potentially meaningless to a panel -- or at least of less
- 19 value to a panel of members without the contrasting
- 20 information.
- 21 And if Mr. al Baluchi is correct, based on this
- 22 evidence and based on the ICRC's practice, that there exists a
- 23 series of communications from the ICRC to the U.S. Government

- 1 after 9/11, and likely after 7 October 2001, then at that
- 2 point, the point at which the ICRC began communicating to the
- 3 U.S. Government about its obligations under the laws of war
- 4 and the communications thereafter, will strengthen the value
- 5 of the pre-9/11 non-communications and will also assist
- 6 Mr. al Baluchi in setting a date not later than -- you know,
- 7 the date on which the armed conflict between the United States
- 8 and al Qaeda began, which, again, Mr. al Baluchi believes
- 9 happened after September 11th, 2001.
- Now, Your Honor, I just want to make a couple of
- 11 points about items that the government raised in its response
- 12 brief.
- 13 First, the government indicated that it objected to
- 14 providing these communications or responding as to the
- 15 nonexistence of these communications to Mr. al Baluchi on the
- 16 basis that the communications themselves represented
- 17 impermissible expert testimony as to a conclusion of law.
- 18 You know, we cited Supreme Court case law in our
- 19 briefs. We do not agree with the government that is -- that
- 20 these communications would represent expert testimony, and
- 21 neither do we agree that expert testimony as to the content of
- 22 law, particularly international law, is in any way
- 23 impermissible.

1 However, we would like to note that the objection 2 that the government raised is not an objection to discovery or 3 providing discovery but a testimonial objection. And to the 4 extent that that objection applies at all, it should be an objection raised if and when Mr. al Baluchi introduces this 5 evidence at trial in a testimonial setting and elicits 6 7 responses from an expert witness. At that point, it is up to 8 Mr. al Baluchi's counsel, counsel for the government, and the 9 military judge to police the line between permissible 10 testimony and impermissible testimony. 11 MJ [Col PARRELLA]: What about the government's footnote 12 indicating that the scope of your request is too broad in the 13 sense that it requests documents relating to the Islamic 14 Emirate of Afghanistan, i.e., the Taliban? Would you --15 what's the relevance of communications related to hostilities 16 between the United States and ----17 DC [MR. FARLEY]: Thank you, Your Honor. It is possible 18 that the -- because of the nature of OPERATION INFINITE REACH, 19 which was an action undertaken in self-defense under 20 Article 51 of the UN charter, and it targeted the territory of 21 Afghanistan which was at the time under the effective control 22 of the Taliban, it is possible that the ICRC would have raised 23 and communicated to the U.S. Government in the immediate

- 1 aftermath of OPERATION INFINITE REACH, reminding the
- 2 U.S. Government of its obligations under -- under -- excuse
- 3 me, under the laws of war as they applied to international
- 4 armed conflicts, right?
- 5 Because one way to view the world in 1998 is that the
- 6 U.S. Government used force against sovereign territory of a
- 7 foreign state. And any use of force -- any use of armed force
- 8 against another state actor automatically triggers the full
- 9 panoply of the Geneva Conventions and the body of law that
- 10 governs international armed conflict, as opposed to the type
- 11 of armed conflict that the United States and al Qaeda are
- 12 actually engaged in, not international armed conflict.
- So it is possible that the ICRC at that time
- 14 communicated to the U.S. Government and reminded the
- 15 U.S. Government of its responsibilities with respect to use of
- 16 force against the Taliban based on some misperception or
- 17 misapprehension as to the target of that force or a -- a more
- 18 expansive view of the -- of the application of international
- 19 humanitarian law than the government has or frankly that I
- 20 necessarily share.
- 21 Simply -- that part of our discovery request is
- 22 simply an effort to make sure that we're not leaving out
- 23 information that is material to our case. That information

- 1 would not help us necessarily refute the government's
- 2 position, but it may -- it may assist us in avoiding pitfalls
- 3 or engaging in impersuasive argument down the line.
- **4** MJ [Col PARRELLA]: Okay.
- **5** DC [MR. FARLEY]: Does that make sense, Your Honor?
- **6** MJ [Col PARRELLA]: It does.
- 7 DC [MR. FARLEY]: Subject to your questions.
- 8 MJ [Col PARRELLA]: I have none. Thank you.
- **9** DC [MR. FARLEY]: Thank you, Your Honor.
- 10 MJ [Col PARRELLA]: Mr. Nevin, same objection?
- 11 LDC [MR. NEVIN]: Same objection. Thank you.
- **12** MJ [Col PARRELLA]: Ms. Bormann, I assume the same?
- 13 LDC [MS. BORMANN]: Yes, Judge.
- 14 MJ [Col PARRELLA]: Any other defense counsel care to be
- **15** heard on 617?
- **16** All right. Trial Counsel?
- 17 MTC [MR. TRIVETT]: Sir, I could potentially combine our
- 18 responses to save the commission time. There's a lot of
- 19 overlap in my arguments. I'd leave it to the discretion of
- 20 the judge, but I am certainly willing to do that.
- 21 MJ [Col PARRELLA]: That's fine with the commission. So
- 22 with that, do you want to go ahead and proceed with 620?
- DC [MR. FARLEY]: Thank you, Your Honor.

- 1 Your Honor, the government is correct; there is quite 2 a bit of overlap here. This, again, AE 620 is 3 Mr. al Baluchi's motion to compel documents and information 4 concerning the United States' use of law of war detention 5 against individuals associated with al Qaeda before 9/11. 6 Again, this is a hostilities-related discovery 7 motion. It strikes at the heart of the government's argument 8 that there was an armed conflict between the United States and 9 al Qaeda before 9/11. This is also the product of 10 Mr. al Baluchi's attempt to imagine what the world would look 11 like had there been an armed conflict prior to 9/11. 12 You know, there are only two lawful ways to remove 13 enemy fighters from the battlefield. The first is to kill 14 them. You know, those who may be targeted, you may, when 15 you're engaged in an armed conflict, use lethal force to 16 target them and kill them. 17 The second way in which you may lawfully remove enemy 18 fighters from the battlefield is to detain them. It's why we 19 are here, right? There are individuals here who have been 20 removed from the battlefield in the course of an armed
- 23 Law of war detention, as the Supreme Court has noted,

detained for the duration of hostilities.

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conflict between the United States and al Qaeda, and they are

- 1 is a fundamental incident to armed conflict. Given that it is
- 2 the second of two lawful ways to remove enemy fighters from
- 3 the battlefield, you might describe it as the second most
- 4 fundamental incident of armed conflict.
- 5 So when Mr. al Baluchi assumes that the government is
- 6 right that there was an armed conflict before 9/11 and he
- 7 thinks to himself, what would the world have looked like if
- 8 they were right? One of the things that he thinks is, well,
- 9 the government would have used lethal force to target members
- 10 of al Qaeda. And it certainly did that in OPERATION INFINITE
- 11 REACH, but only once, only for a few minutes of bombardment in
- **12** August of 1998.
- And the other way is -- the other prime example here
- 14 is, well, wouldn't the government have detained members of
- 15 al Qaeda and subject them to law of war detention, just as the
- 16 government did following 11 September 2001 following the U.S.
- 17 invasion of Afghanistan on 7 October 2001?
- As a consequence, Mr. al Baluchi asked the government
- 19 for any discovery of documents or information related to
- 20 U.S. Government law of war detention activities of individuals
- 21 associated with al Qaeda before 11 September 2001. But rather
- 22 than provide Mr. al Baluchi with the discovery he requested or
- 23 respond definitively that the United States did not plan for

1 or engage in law of war detention with members of al Qaeda 2 prior to 11 September 2001, the government responded coyly. 3 It now avers that the United States did not capture 4 very many members of the al Qaeda prior to 9/11. Those it did 5 capture, it did not detain solely subject to the laws of war, 6 and it affirmatively chose to prosecute captured members of 7 al Qaeda in federal criminal court, implying it did so despite 8 a determination at the time that it possessed the authority to 9 detain these individuals subject to the laws of war. 10 Now, that may all be true, but that does not divest 11 the government of its obligations to provide that information 12 in discovery. It has provided no evidence to back up its 13 assertions that it detained -- that the few numbers of members 14 of al Qaeda that it detained it did so both under the laws of 15 war and also subject to criminal and law enforcement 16 authorities. It simply suggests that it didn't hold them 17 solely under the laws of war. I don't really know what that 18 means. 19 It also implies that there was some determination 20 made that the U.S. Government had the authority to detain 21 people subject to the laws of war, detain members of al Qaeda 22 subject to the laws of war, but it chose not to avail itself

of that authority. And, again, that may be true.

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1 There may have been an interagency process. A 2 lawyers' small group may have been convened, and they may have 3 decided that the U.S. Government is engaged in an armed 4 conflict with al Qaeda. And it can detain those people 5 subject to the laws of war, but there are only so many of them 6 captured; there aren't enough to justify setting up a 7 detention facility in, for example, Guantanamo, and, instead, 8 we will move them into a criminal justice proceeding and we 9 will prosecute them in the Southern District of New York. 10 But if that policy process happened, if the 11 government came to some affirmative determination to disclaim 12 its authorities under the laws of war, there should be some 13 evidence of that, and the government should provide that 14 evidence to Mr. al Baluchi in discovery. 15 Your Honor, Mr. al Baluchi does not believe that 16 there is any such evidence. Mr. al Baluchi suspects that the 17 government never planned for and certainly never implemented 18 law of war detention of members of al Qaeda prior to 9/11. 19 And if the government failed to do that, that is strong 20 evidence that the United States and al Qaeda were not engaged 21 in an armed conflict prior to 9/11 in the same way that the 22 failure of the U.S. Government to use the full force -- pardon 23 me, strike that -- in the same way that the government's

- 1 failure to use force on most of the days between August of
- 2 1996 and 11 September 2001 against al Qaeda suggests that the
- 3 U.S. Government and al Qaeda were not engaged in armed
- 4 conflict.
- Now, this -- the evidence that Mr. al Baluchi seeks
- 6 here, the material Mr. al Baluchi seeks here in discovery fits
- 7 squarely within four of the categories of the <u>Hamdan</u> standard
- 8 that the government prefers and believes must determine
- 9 whether there exists hostilities between the United States and
- 10 al Qaeda.
- 11 Evidence of law of war detention is evidence of
- 12 protracted armed violence between the United States and
- 13 al Qaeda. The absence of evidence of law of war detention is
- 14 evidence of the absence of a protracted armed conflict
- 15 between -- or armed violence between the United States and
- **16** al Qaeda.
- 17 You don't have to take my word for that. I believe
- 18 we mentioned this in our briefs, that if you search Lexis, for
- 19 example, for the phrase "protracted armed violence," you will
- 20 discover that U.S. cases making reference to that phrase all
- 21 juxtapose the reference with citations to the jurisprudence of
- 22 the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia.
- That's because that is a term of art that arises from

- 1 the interlocutory appeal in the <u>Prosecutor v. Tadic</u> decision,
- 2 T-A-D-I-C with an accent, concerning jurisdiction of the
- 3 tribunal.
- 4 In that case, in one case elucidating the term
- 5 protracted armed violence, Prosecutor v. Boskoski, the
- 6 tribunal looked at whether violence between the Albanian
- 7 National Liberation Army and the government of the former
- 8 Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, which would be a
- 9 noninternational armed conflict, much like the conflict we are
- 10 analyzing here, whether violence in that conflict was
- 11 sufficiently protracted, sufficiently intense to qualify as an
- 12 armed conflict. And that tribunal, that trial chamber, as all
- 13 the other trial chambers, looked at many factors, considered
- 14 many factors in determining whether there was protracted armed
- 15 violence or not.
- 16 But one of the factors that the tribunal considered
- 17 was whether the government of the former Yugoslav Republic of
- 18 Macedonia engaged in law of war detention, whether it
- 19 captured, you know, supposed enemy fighters, what type of
- 20 process they were subject to, how they were held, the rights
- 21 they were afforded, and what they were charged with.
- 22 And the tribunal -- you know, the tribunal said, you
- 23 know, it's a confusing situation here. They seemed to be held

- 1 under law enforcement authorities. They're being detained in
- 2 mostly normal jails, and they're being subject to normal
- 3 criminal process. But confusingly, the ICRC was able to visit
- 4 them and treat them like law of war detainees. And
- 5 confusingly, the government, when they prosecuted these
- 6 individuals, they prosecuted them by charging them with crimes
- 7 that sounded in the laws of war and not in the normal criminal
- 8 code of the Macedonian Republic.
- **9** And the trial chamber analyzed this and said, you
- 10 know, this really looks a lot more like law of war detention
- 11 and as a consequence, we think that the Republic of Macedonia
- 12 must have believed itself to be engaged in an armed conflict.
- 13 So the existence of law of war detention is evidence of
- 14 protracted armed violence.
- And the appellate chamber in that case looked at the
- 16 same situation and approved of the trial chamber's analysis
- 17 and said, yes, we agree that law of war detention is evidence
- 18 of protracted armed violence.
- So in the absence of decisions in U.S. juris prudence
- 20 interpreting this phrase and looking at this question
- 21 specifically, we would suggest that you look to the decision
- 22 by the ICTY analyzing whether law of war detention is evidence
- 23 of protracted armed violence. And we suggest that it is. And

- 1 the absence of law of war detention is likewise evidence that
- 2 there was no protracted armed violence.
- 3 And that is the first of the seven factors, the seven
- 4 categories of suggested information that the government
- 5 asserts we must -- must be satisfied under the Hamdan standard
- 6 for determining the existence of hostilities.
- 7 Now, the second factor in the <u>Hamdan</u> standard is
- 8 whether and when the U.S. Government relied on the combat
- **9** capabilities of its Armed Forces to meet the threat posed by
- 10 al Qaeda. Well, as we have discussed before, law of war
- 11 detention is a core combat capability of the U.S. Armed
- 12 Forces.
- You know, the U.S. Government has engaged in
- 14 detention operations in every armed conflict and often in not
- 15 armed conflicts, for security purposes. So the failure of the
- 16 U.S. Government to engage in law of war detention prior to
- 17 9/11 suggests that the U.S. Government wasn't using at least
- 18 this aspect of the combat capabilities of its Armed Forces
- **19** prior to 9/11.
- We also -- Mr. al Baluchi also believes that evidence
- 21 of law of war detention -- at least planning for law of war
- 22 detention is evidence of the perception of U.S. leaders
- 23 concerning the existence or not of an armed conflict.

1 The idea that the U.S. Government had not even 2 planned to detain members of al Qaeda subject to the laws of 3 war would suggest that U.S. leaders either did not believe 4 they were going to engage -- capture anybody, which would be 5 surprising given that the U.S. Government, in fact, captured 6 members of al Qaeda, or that the U.S. Government did not 7 believe it had to abide by international law and the laws of 8 war when it engaged in armed conflict, which also would be 9 surprising given that it has been longstanding Department of 10 Defense policy to apply the laws of war in every armed 11 conflict situation and in every military operation, for that 12 matter. 13 Or it could be -- it could indicate that U.S. leaders 14 simply did not conceive of an armed conflict between the 15 United States and al Qaeda. Otherwise, one would expect that 16 policymakers would ask the question: Do we have the authority 17 under the laws of war to detain? And, if so, shouldn't we be 18 planning for those detention operations? 19 Finally, even if Mr. al Baluchi is incorrect about 20 the three foregoing categories, that law of war detention is 21 not evidence of protracted armed violence, that it's not 22 evidence of U.S. leaders' perceptions, or that it's not 23 evidence of the use or nonuse of combat capabilities of the

- 1 U.S. Armed Forces, Mr. al Baluchi believes that a panel made
- 2 up of members of the U.S. military, many of whom will have
- 3 been engaged in combat operations overseas in the last
- 4 18 years, who are familiar with operations on the battlefield
- 5 that include the capture and detention of enemy fighters, will
- 6 find it persuasive and relevant that in this period that the
- 7 government asserts an armed conflict existed.
- 8 The U.S. Government simply failed to utilize this
- 9 second most important feature of law of war authorities, the
- 10 only way -- the only lawful way to remove enemy fighters from
- 11 the battlefield other than to kill them.
- 12 Subject to your questions, Your Honor.
- 13 MJ [Col PARRELLA]: I have none. Thank you.
- **14** DC [MR. FARLEY]: Thank you.
- Any other defense counsel wish to be heard on 620?
- 16 The same objection for Mr. Nevin and Ms. Bormann. Negative
- 17 response from other counsel.
- And, Mr. Trivett, you may present argument on both
- **19** 617 and 620.
- 20 MTC [MR. TRIVETT]: So, Your Honor, the controlling legal
- 21 standard for determining hostilities is set forth by the
- 22 United States Court of Military Commission Review in the case
- 23 of <u>United States v. Hamdan</u>.

1 It states, "In determining whether hostilities 2 existed between the United States and al Qaida and when it 3 began, you should consider the length, duration, and intensity 4 of hostilities between the parties; whether there was 5 protracted armed violence between governmental authorities and 6 organized armed groups; whether and when the United States 7 decided to employ the combat capabilities of its armed forces 8 to meet the al Qaida threat; the number of persons killed or 9 wounded on each side; the amount of property damage on each 10 side; statements of the leaders of both sides indicating their 11 perceptions regarding the existence of an armed conflict, 12 including the presence or absence of a declaration to that 13 effect; and any other facts and circumstances you consider" --14 instruction to the members -- "you consider relevant to the 15 existence of armed conflict." 16 Now, this was the first instruction that was given 17 because Hamdan was the first contested military commission 18 case since World War II. It was given after the case-in-chief 19 was over for both the prosecution and the defense. 20 The prosecution's theory of hostilities is this. Ιn 21 1996, Usama bin Laden declared war on the United States. 22 1998, he made clear that American civilians, no matter where 23 they could be found around the world, were legitimate targets

- 1 of his fatwa and declaration. Al Qaeda attacked the United
- 2 States embassies in Kenya and Tanzania, killing 257 people.
- 3 They attacked the United States warship USS COLE in Aden
- 4 Harbor in October of 2000, killing 17, wounding 39. And they
- 5 attacked the United States by hijacking four planes, flying
- 6 them into three targets, killing 2,976 people.
- 7 After the embassy bombings, two weeks later, the
- 8 United States fired over 80 Tomahawk missiles at Usama bin
- 9 Laden-related facilities in Sudan and in Afghanistan. At
- 10 trial, that's either going to be enough or it's not. It's
- 11 either going to be sufficient or it isn't. It was sufficient
- 12 in Hamdan, it was sufficient in al Bahlul, and we believe it
- 13 will be sufficient here.
- And while our position is that the armed conflict
- 15 started as early as 1996 and no later than August of 1998, for
- 16 this case that doesn't matter. All that matters is whether or
- 17 not the September 11th attacks were sufficient, which we
- **18** believe they are.
- So while we'll prove all of it, all we need to prove
- 20 is that the September 11th attacks happened and that al Qaeda
- 21 was responsible for it and that that was sufficient to
- 22 establish armed conflict.
- The members who have this legal instruction in front

- 1 of them -- and we have to be anchored to this legal
- 2 instruction. This legal instruction governs what's
- 3 discoverable, what's not discoverable, what's admissible,
- 4 what's not admissible, but we have an actual legal standard
- 5 from an appellate court that is superior to this commission.
- **6** MJ [Col PARRELLA]: On a case that was overturned albeit
- 7 maybe on other grounds.
- **8** MTC [MR. TRIVETT]: On other grounds, yes, sir.
- 9 MJ [Col PARRELLA]: So let's say that assuming I agree
- 10 with you that this is the standard, given the last factor, why
- 11 shouldn't I grant the defense request to afford them the
- 12 opportunity to at least present evidence contrary to the
- 13 government's theory of when hostilities began?
- 14 MTC [MR. TRIVETT]: It certainly doesn't apply to any of
- 15 the factors in the standard. If you look ----
- **16** MJ [Col PARRELLA]: But what about ----
- 17 MTC [MR. TRIVETT]: Yes, sir, I'm going to address ----
- 18 MJ [Col PARRELLA]: What about any other facts or
- 19 circumstances you consider relevant? Because that seems to be
- 20 pretty broad and invite an opportunity for the defense to put
- 21 forward anything that they deem that the members might find
- 22 relevant.
- 23 MTC [MR. TRIVETT]: Right. But, again, in 2008 in <u>Hamdan</u>,

- 1 that was done only after the case-in-chief and that was
- **2** directed to the commission. So the commission had already
- 3 heard all of the evidence that it was going to hear. If the
- 4 defense wanted to argue certain aspects of the evidence that
- 5 was already deemed admissible that showed either the absence
- 6 of or existence of an armed conflict, they would have been
- 7 able to do so.
- 8 If you read that last factor as not being -- if you
- **9** don't read it in context, it's limitless. It's completely
- 10 limitless, right? And I was coming up with ideas that would
- 11 be at least plausibly admissible under this standard if it
- **12** were limitless.
- 13 Say in 1998, in August, when President Clinton
- 14 ordered the strikes in Afghanistan, you would imagine that
- 15 there would be communications that President Clinton may have
- 16 had with the Joint Chiefs. There may have been a war room.
- 17 There may have been other high-level meetings, all of which
- 18 would seemingly be normal for a military strike, especially
- 19 one that hadn't been done before in countries that it hadn't
- 20 been done before. Right?
- 21 But the defense could ask what else was
- 22 President Clinton doing that day. Was he in the East Wing
- 23 eating vanilla ice cream? Because I think that matters, that

- 1 it shows that he wasn't taking this very seriously. Now
- 2 that's not at all tethered to whether or not there was actual
- 3 armed conflict.
- 4 MJ [Col PARRELLA]: And I agree with that, and I don't
- 5 think it's limitless: I think it still has to meet the
- 6 threshold for materiality. And I think there's a big
- 7 difference between whether the President was eating ice cream
- 8 and whether the ICRC, in their part of what they do, deemed
- 9 this to be an international armed conflict.
- I mean, certainly the government's position may be
- 11 that that's irrelevant, it doesn't matter, shouldn't be
- 12 considered as important to the members. But it's a different
- 13 standard when you are saying -- denying the government --
- 14 excuse me, denying the defense the ability to at least see
- 15 what the information is or whether it exists.
- 16 MTC [MR. TRIVETT]: So whenever we -- I don't disagree
- 17 with your premise. Whenever we get discovery requests, our
- 18 first determination is if anything existed that they have
- 19 asked for, is it discoverable? And if our first position is
- 20 it's not, we won't go and look for it. If we believe that,
- 21 well, if it did exist, that would matter, then we would go
- **22** look for it.
- And we went through a tremendous evolution to look

- 1 for hostilities-related information. We went to two
- 2 Presidential libraries. We looked at over 600,000 documents.
- 3 Ultimately, we turned over all that which we believe is
- 4 discoverable. We took the position and we took a wide
- 5 position that anything in any of those documents that
- 6 indicated that we were not at war, we would disclose.
- 7 But that's just not how the government works, and
- 8 there is not a lot of information that's like that, but we
- 9 looked for it.
- 10 MJ [Col PARRELLA]: So is your position that you've looked
- 11 for it and it doesn't exist, or is the position that we're not
- 12 going to look for it because it's not material?
- 13 MTC [MR. TRIVETT]: Our position in regard to the ICRC
- 14 materials is that we have not inquired. Now, I'm certain
- 15 there's ICRC materials because the ICRC materials -- we were
- 16 in the Balkans at the time. There was a United Nations
- 17 mission that President Clinton was an important part of, so
- 18 I'm certain that there is ICRC communications.
- 19 I'm also certain that the ICRC takes the position
- 20 that all of their communications to any country enjoy a total
- 21 and unfettered privilege. Now, that's not the
- 22 U.S. Government's position, but the U.S. Government's position
- 23 as set forth by the Secretary of Defense in the manual is that

- 1 there is a privilege that's recognized under the factors that
- 2 are listed.
- 3 MJ [Col PARRELLA]: And what about with respect to the
- 4 discovery at issue in 620?
- 5 MTC [MR. TRIVETT]: 620 being specifically the law of war
- 6 detainees?
- 7 MJ [Col PARRELLA]: Yes.
- 8 MTC [MR. TRIVETT]: So for the law of war detainees, the
- 9 most important part of the defense's concession -- and I want
- 10 to make sure that I say it exactly correctly, because it
- 11 completely undermines their argument as to why it would be
- 12 relevant regarding hostilities, is this, the bottom of page 6
- 13 from the defense brief:
- 14 "Traditionally, in the context of noninternational
- 15 armed conflicts, it is well accepted that a state may use
- 16 either its law of war or its criminal law authorities upon
- 17 capturing a member of an oppositional organized armed group.
- 18 Generally the state has this choice because in addition to
- 19 functioning as the belligerent opposition force in an armed
- 20 conflict, the organized armed group's members have violated
- 21 the state's domestic law."
- We could not agree more. In a noninternational armed
- 23 conflict, which is what the Supreme Court has determined in

- 1 Hamdan was, in fact, the nature of the armed conflict with
- 2 al Qaeda as separate from the Taliban, that if we can use
- 3 both, and if we're entitled to use both, and as the government
- 4 does, it uses every tool in the tool box it has. The fact
- 5 that it used a hammer and not a screwdriver doesn't matter for
- **6** purposes of whether the armed conflict exists.
- We're just dealing with actual actions of the actors.
- 8 What did al Qaeda say? What did al Qaeda do? What did the
- **9** United States say? What did the United States do?
- 10 MJ [Col PARRELLA]: And I understand the government's
- 11 argument and position. The question, though, relates the same
- 12 as with 617: Is the government's position that it doesn't
- 13 exist or that we're not even going to look because it's not
- **14** material?
- 15 MTC [MR. TRIVETT]: Well, our position is the second. In
- 16 this instance, I have a better idea. We certainly arrested
- 17 everyone we could after the East Africa Embassy Bombings. We
- 18 tried them in the capital case. At least several of them were
- 19 up for capital charges in the Southern District of New York.
- 20 They were ultimately convicted. If you look at the time frame
- 21 of that, that's occurring after August of 1998. The COLE
- 22 attack happens in October of 2000, which is the very tail end
- 23 of President Clinton's administration. The new administration

- 1 takes office, the Bush administration, in January of 2001.
- 2 By the time September 11th happens, none of the main
- **3** COLE perpetrators had been captured. Obviously none of these
- 4 accused had been captured yet. So the nature of the war just
- 5 indicated that there wasn't an opportunity to put boots on the
- **6** ground and actually detain someone.
- 7 But the defense has plenty of information that we
- 8 provided them through discovery that shows our estimates as to
- 9 how many people were killed when we fired over 80 tomahawks at
- 10 Usama bin Laden-related facilities.
- 11 So -- slowing down.
- But we did not capture anyone we killed. We did not
- 13 remove any bodies from anyone we killed. So, again, the
- 14 argument that because we didn't capture someone is irrelevant
- 15 to the current conflict. There could be a conflict where
- 16 countries just lob missiles at each other for five years
- 17 straight. They don't collect the bodies. They don't capture
- 18 anybody. And still under any standard, they're engaged in an
- 19 armed conflict.
- 20 So there is no real relevance. And quite frankly --
- 21 and we've said this before -- that we would argue under 403
- 22 would be prejudicial to the members.
- And we are talking only to the evidence now that goes

- 1 to the members, because our position, and we certainly hope
- 2 that the commission shares it, in regard to jurisdiction, the
- 3 issue of the existence of hostilities before and on 9/11 has
- 4 been resolved as to all of the parties. Everyone had an
- 5 opportunity -- well, certainly Mr. Connell and Mr. Ruiz had an
- 6 opportunity to make their arguments as to that fact.
- 7 And it's important to remember too that when
- 8 Judge Pohl made his decision, he didn't rely on a single piece
- 9 of evidence we used. We showed the declaration of war. We
- 10 showed the fatwa, embassy attacks, the COLE attack, the 9/11
- 11 attacks, and the responsibilities -- al Qaeda's responsibility
- 12 for those. But he didn't rely on any of that when he made his
- 13 decision in I believe it's 502BBBB. He relied solely on
- 14 congressional determination and deferred to them.
- 15 So that's an issue of law, that's not an issue of
- 16 fact where they can somehow put different facts in for Ali's
- 17 case that would question or impact at all the question of
- 18 whether or not Congress determined that and whether or not
- 19 this commission should defer to it.
- So in the end, we don't believe there are any
- 21 prisoners of war that were taken prior to September 11th. We
- 22 think that has more to do with the nature of the war rather
- 23 than whether or not we had authority. Clearly, if we believed

- 1 we had authority under Article 51 of the UN charter to -- in
- 2 self-defense to strike at them, we would have also had the
- 3 authority to detain them if we wanted to. That's not a far
- 4 stretch.
- **5** But we simply -- the facts on the ground -- the fact
- 6 that we didn't have any boots on the ground, and the nature of
- 7 the armed conflict -- which al Qaeda brought to us, they
- 8 brought to the United States. We didn't go after them. They
- 9 came to us. The nature of the facts are the nature of the
- 10 facts.
- 11 And although Mr. Farley is keen on saying imagine
- 12 what it would have looked like and that we had all lived under
- 13 a real war for the last 18 years, I think that presumes that
- 14 those that were killed in the embassy attacks and the COLE
- 15 attacks and the family members of those in the back of this
- 16 courtroom who were killed on September 11th somehow didn't die
- 17 in a war. That's not our position, and that's not what the
- 18 elements say.
- We're going to have the opportunity to rely on it, to
- 20 rely on those, the factors set forth in Hamdan, but ultimately
- 21 the ICRC's determination is irrelevant to that conclusion.
- 22 Whether or not they have any opinion, if that opinion is not
- 23 tethered to the <u>Hamdan</u> decision, it's irrelevant and it's

- 1 confusing and it's not required to be discovered, especially
- 2 due to either the total or limited privileged nature of the
- 3 communications.
- 4 We would be happy to stipulate to the topic in 620,
- 5 but we would never stipulate to its relevance because we don't
- **6** believe that it's relevant.
- 7 But, again, they are sending us on fools' errands.
- 8 They are asking for documents that they don't believe exist,
- 9 and they are having us go look and try to prove a negative.
- 10 How do we know when we have gotten to the end of the rainbow
- 11 and we are certain we checked everywhere before we know that
- 12 something doesn't exist? And that might not be that difficult
- 13 for the ICRC. I would imagine DoD would have some records of
- **14** it.
- 15 But, again, these are impossible standards for us to
- 16 meet, and we are just not required to meet them by law. So we
- 17 ask that you deny both of these motions to compel because we
- 18 don't believe that they're material to the preparation of
- 19 defense under 701. We don't believe they are relevant to any
- 20 legal standard before the military commission.
- 21 MJ [Col PARRELLA]: With respect to the <u>Hamdan</u>
- 22 instruction, was that something that was part of the holding
- 23 or was that in dicta?

1 MTC [MR. TRIVETT]: We believe it was part of the holding. 2 We believe that the CMCR, just like the courts of military 3 review, have full fact-finding power, and they need to ensure 4 that every fact -- or that every conviction is supported by 5 law and fact. 6 It's in the body of the opinion that Judge Allred 7 correctly instructed the members of the <u>Hamdan</u> panel. It then 8 lists in a footnote what the instruction was. But we believe 9 ultimately it's in the body of the opinion, and they had the 10 obligation to look at and ensure that the conviction was 11 supported by law and fact. So we believe it's a holding. 12 General Martins just reminds me it is also in the Bahlul 13 opinion as well. 14 I cannot imagine a scenario by which you instruct the 15 members of those elements and then the CMCR comes back, after 16 having said on two different occasions that that's the correct 17 standard, and then have it overturned because it's not. 18 There's some irony in the fact that we asked for the 19 Tadic standard. That was our position. That was the 20 U.S. Government's position going in because we believed it 21 was -- we believed that it had been the correct standard. 22 Ultimately, after it was litigated, Judge Allred expanded it

to include statements and some other small differences, but

23

- 1 ultimately we feel we are bound by it, and we're ready and
- 2 able to satisfy it if we ever get to court, if we ever get to
- 3 our case.
- 4 Subject to your questions.
- 5 MJ [Col PARRELLA]: No further questions. Thank you.
- **6** Mr. Farley?
- 7 DC [MR. FARLEY]: Your Honor, we'll rest.
- 8 MJ [Col PARRELLA]: Okay. Anyone else care to be heard on
- **9** 620? Noting the objections from Mr. Nevin and Ms. Bormann.
- **10** Okay.
- 11 With that, then, what we'll do is we will reconvene
- 12 tomorrow morning for a closed session pursuant to R.M.C. 806
- 13 to take up the appropriate motions as discussed this morning.
- **14** Anything further prior to recessing?
- 15 LDC [MR. NEVIN]: May the -- may Mr. Mohammad remain here
- **16** for -- until prayer is completed, Your Honor?
- 17 MJ [Col PARRELLA]: Yes, the same ----
- 18 LDC [MR. NEVIN]: The usual.
- **19** MJ [Col PARRELLA]: ---- procedures as usual.
- 20 LDC [MR. NEVIN]: Yeah, thank you.
- 21 MJ [Col PARRELLA]: Anything else?
- 22 LDC [MS. BORMANN]: Mr. Bin'Attash is asking for some
- ${\bf 23}$ additional time to meet with counsel and defense team. If I

1	can have just a moment to ask for how long.
2	Prayer will take approximately a half an hour, and
3	we're asking for an hour after that, so 6:00.
4	MJ [Col PARRELLA]: Okay. I see no issue with that, so we
5	will go ahead and do that. It seems to be reasonable in light
6	of what our usual practice is.
7	Anything else from anyone else?
8	Otherwise, we will reconvene for closed session at
9	0-9. The commission is in recess.
10	[The R.M.C. 803 session recessed at 1638, 25 March 2019.]
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