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1	Friday, 4 February 2022
2	[Status Conference]
3	[Open session]
4	[The accused entered the courtroom via videolink]
5	Upon commencing at 2.30 p.m.
6	JUDGE GUILLOU: Good afternoon, everyone, and welcome.
7	Court Officer, could you please call the case.
8	THE COURT OFFICER: Good afternoon, Your Honour. This is case
9	KSC-BC-2020-06, The Specialist Prosecutor versus Hashim Thaci,
10	Kadri Veseli, Rexhep Selimi, and Jakup Krasniqi.
11	JUDGE GUILLOU: Thank you, Madam Court Officer.
12	Now, I will kindly ask the parties and participants to introduce
13	themselves, starting with the Specialist Prosecutor's Office.
14	Madam Prosecutor.
15	MS. LAWSON: Good afternoon, Your Honour, and to those joining
16	both in the courtroom and remotely. For the Specialist Prosecutor's
17	Office this afternoon are Alan Tieger, Senior Prosecutor;
18	Ward Ferdinandusse, Head of Investigations Prosecutions; Marlene
19	Yahya Haage, Legal and Disclosure Officer; and also joining us this
20	afternoon are SPO interns Mia Vukovic and Ruth del Pino. And I am
21	Clare Lawson, Senior Prosecutor.
22	JUDGE GUILLOU: Thank you, Madam Prosecutor.
23	Now let me turn to the Defence.
24	Mr. Kehoe, please.
25	MR. KEHOE: Yes, good afternoon, Your Honour. Gregory Kehoe on

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1	behalf of President Hashim Thaci, along with Pierre Prosper,
2	Dastid Pallaska, Sophie Menegon, and down in the third row is Bonnie
	Johnston. Thank you. Oh, I forgot. And the good-looking fellow up
3	
4	there on the left with the beard is Jonathan Greenblatt.
5	JUDGE GUILLOU: Thank you, Mr. Kehoe.
6	Let me turn to Mr. Emmerson, please.
7	MR. EMMERSON: [via videolink] Good afternoon, Your Honour, and
8	to all of those in the courtroom and beyond. I appear this afternoon
9	on behalf of Mr. Veseli, assisted in the courtroom by
10	Mr. Andrew Strong, Counsel; Ms. Annie O'Reilly, Counsel; Mr. Kujtim
11	Kerveshi, Counsel; and Ms. Pascale Langlais as Case Officer. We are
12	also joined today by [indiscernible] Hajredin Kuci.
13	JUDGE GUILLOU: Thank you, Mr. Emmerson.
14	Mr. Young, please.
15	MR. YOUNG: Your Honour, good afternoon. I appear for
16	Mr. Rexhep Selimi, and I am assisted today by Mr. Geoffrey Roberts,
17	Dr. Rudina Jasini, and Ms. Furtuna Sheremeti. Thank you.
18	JUDGE GUILLOU: Thank you, Mr. Young.
19	And Ms. Alagendra who is in the courtroom.
20	MS. ALAGENDRA: Finally. Good afternoon, Your Honour.
21	Venkateswari Alagendra for Mr. Krasniqi, together with
22	Mr. Aidan Ellis, Counsel; and Mr. Victor Baiesu, Counsel; and we have
23	our Legal Associate, Mr. Mentor Beqiri.
24	JUDGE GUILLOU: Thank you, Ms. Alagendra.
25	And from the record, I note that Mr. Thaci, Mr. Veseli,

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Mr. Selimi and Mr. Krasniqi are not physically present in the 1 courtroom but attend this hearing via video-conference. 2 Now I turn to the counsel for victims. 3 4 Mr. Laws, please. MR. LAWS: [via videolink] Good afternoon, Your Honour, and good 5 afternoon to everybody joining us today. I'm Simon Laws and I'm 6 counsel for the victims in this case. 7 JUDGE GUILLOU: Thank you, Mr. Laws. 8 And, finally, I turn to the Registry. 9 Mr. Nilsson, please. 10 MR. NILSSON: Good afternoon, Your Honour, Jonas Nilsson, 11 12 Judicial Service Division, Registry. JUDGE GUILLOU: Thank you, Mr. Nilsson. 13 14 And from the record, I am Nicolas Guillou, Pre-Trial Judge for this case. 15 On 22 January, I scheduled this tenth Status Conference. I 16 asked the parties to provide with written submissions if they so 17 wished. 18 On 1 February 2022, the SPO, three Defence teams, and the 19 Registry submitted their written observations. 20 The purpose of our hearing today is to review the status of the 21 case and to discuss the topics in our agenda; specifically, 22 disclosure, translations, SPO investigations, and Defence 23 investigations. As usual, I will invite the parties to present their 24 views in a concise fashion about each item. 25

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But before we go into matters pertaining to disclosure, I would like to address the Thaci Defence request to be heard on matter relating to pre-detention review and to the SPO's submissions on handling confidential information and the parties' contact with witnesses.

6 With respect to detention review, I invite the Thaci Defence to 7 make its request in the context of the next detention review. As 8 regards the SPO's submissions concerning the handling of confidential 9 information and the parties' contact with witnesses, I asked the 10 Registry for submissions, which were filed yesterday and distributed 11 this morning.

I invited the parties to reply to these submissions in writing by 14 February 2022.

I would like the parties to present their views now on whether additional oral arguments are necessary, or whether they prefer *inter partes* discussions at this stage, as suggested by some of the Defence teams. Then the degree to which such a hearing could be conducted in public. And, finally, whether the parties would be available on Tuesday, 22 February, in the afternoon, if such a hearing would be scheduled.

I will first ask the Defence for their views on this matter, starting with the Thaci Defence team which made the request originally.

24 Mr. Kehoe.

25 MR. KEHOE: Yes, Your Honour, thank you for the floor. We

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1	absolutely would like a hearing to discuss this
2	JUDGE GUILLOU: I think your microphone is oh, no, sorry.
3	MR. KEHOE: Is it not on?
4	JUDGE GUILLOU: No, it is the other one. No, sorry, I think
5	that's good. I was only looking at the other one.
6	MR. KEHOE: Oh, okay. The wires kind of extend a bit.
7	We absolutely would ask the Court for a hearing on this matter.
8	We think it's crucial. We think the positions suggested by the SPO
9	is an invasion of the Defence camp, it's an invasion of the
10	attorney-client privilege, and it is just unsupportable. And we must
11	discuss this matter because what they have put on the table for
12	Your Honour to consider is completely untenable and will not allow
13	the Defence to vigorously defend our clients the way they should be
14	defended, with the SPO sitting across the table with regard to these
15	witnesses.

So, yes, we will -- I will check my schedule on the 22nd, Judge. If I can just do that at the break. But the Thaci team absolutely categorically would request a hearing on that issue.

With regard to the pre-trial detention matters, Judge. I put that on simply because, obviously, there's an appeal *sub judice* at this point. However, given that we will probably be back before Your Honour, we were looking for some guidance from Your Honour. Some guidance as to what Your Honour wanted, whether it was submissions made by the Kosovo police that the SPO decided to criticise and cause to be somewhat corrupt without doing it in

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public, of course, behind closed doors and confidential issues. And our submission on that issue is yet another hearing on that issue so Your Honour can ask anybody from the Kosovo police, or any third party country, questions about any arrangement for pre-trial release. It's impossible to give every piece of information that Your Honour may want.

Your Honour asked questions of the Kosovo police, answers were 7 provided, and Your Honour wrote, in its last decision, that there 8 were some questions with regard to that information. I understand 9 that the Court has questions. The proper methodology, I submit to 10 Your Honour, is bring those people here, sit them down in the witness 11 12 box, and ask them questions on the methodology that they will employ, be it the Kosovo police or any third party country. That's all we're 13 14 asking for at this point, Judge.

And that type of approach is something that I think will be very helpful for the Court and will clarify any lingering questions that the Court may have, and I would ask the Court if we could do that as soon as possible.

19 JUDGE GUILLOU: Thank you, Mr. Kehoe.

20 Mr. Emmerson, please, on the proposal to schedule a hearing 21 specifically for the SPO request on handling confidential 22 information.

23 MR. EMMERSON: [via videolink] Yes, on both of the requests made 24 by Mr. Kehoe, we enthusiastically support the position he's advanced. 25 As regards the second point, as you will recall, I've been

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making the argument since the first provisional release application 1 that Your Honour can't rule on that without having heard from the 2 director of police. And [indiscernible] that was one of the grounds 3 of appeal that resulted in the first decision being turned down and 4 [indiscernible] has been a live issue ever since. And each time, I 5 mean, the appeal has all been turned on the fact that you didn't do 6 enough to inquire. And that was the second appeal. But, I mean, at 7 the end of the day, you put that right and show an open judicial mind 8 by hearing the witness whose evidence you have found to be 9 insufficient in some form or another. 10 So we would strongly support both applications for a hearing and 11 22 February is entirely convenient. 12 JUDGE GUILLOU: Thank you, Mr. Emmerson. 13 14 Mr. Young, please. MR. YOUNG: Your Honour, likewise we strongly support the 15 submission of Mr. Kehoe on behalf of Mr. Thaci. 16 There's no reason why we can't have a hearing in public. This 17 is a discussion. These are submissions on law. In fact, if we have 18 a public hearing, it will be a very straightforward way to narrow the 19 issues quickly and efficiently. And so I applaud Your Honour for 20 considering this course and setting the date. 21 As far as the date is concerned, 22 February is convenient to 22 us. 23 Thank you. 24 JUDGE GUILLOU: Thank you, Mr. Young. 25

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And Ms. Alagendra, please. 1 MS. ALAGENDRA: Your Honour, we support the position taken by 2 all Defence teams for the reasons they have given as well. 3 4 On the date, Your Honour, could we come back after the break with? I'm grateful. 5 JUDGE GUILLOU: Thank you, Ms. Alagendra. 6 Madam Prosecutor, please. 7 MS. LAWSON: Thank you, Your Honour. 8 On contact with witnesses and confidential information. 9 Submissions have already been made in writing, and there is the 10 opportunity for the parties to now reply further in light of the 11 Registry's submissions that were notified earlier today. However, 12 should Your Honour consider a hearing necessary, having received 13 14 those further submissions, we would be available on 22 February. Thank you. 15 JUDGE GUILLOU: Thank you, Madam Prosecutor. 16 And let me turn to Mr. Laws, please. 17 MR. LAWS: [via videolink] Thank you, Your Honour. 18 Your Honour, we are neutral as to whether the further 19 submissions should be made orally or in writing. But we are not 20 neutral about the outcome of those discussions, because this is a 21 matter of great importance to the victims, who are also witnesses in 22 this case. 23 So we're happy to do it either way. 22 February, if it's 24

determined that there's to be an oral hearing, is a date that's

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1 convenient to us.

2 Thank you.

3 JUDGE GUILLOU: Thank you, Mr. Laws.

4 Mr. Nilsson, do you want to take the floor on this?

5 MR. NILSSON: Thank you, Your Honour.

6 No, nothing to add. We are always available for a hearing.

JUDGE GUILLOU: Thank you, Mr. Nilsson.

8 So I invite the parties to reply to the Registry's submissions 9 in writing before 14 February, and to inform the Court Management 10 Unit about your availabilities on the 22nd, and I will make a 11 decision shortly after 14 February to schedule - or not - a hearing 12 based on your written submissions.

Let us now move to the first topic that was listed in the Scheduling Order, which is disclosure. And, as usual, I will give the floor to the parties on the disclosure of each category of material separately.

First, the 102(1)(b) material, which is the material the SPO intends to use at trial. I also invite the parties to give an update on the witness entities in Legal Workflow during this round of discussion.

21 Second, the Rule 102(3) material, which is the material relevant 22 to the case, as listed by the SPO.

Third, the Rule 103 material, which is exculpatory material. And, finally, the Rule 107 material, which is protected material for which the consent of the provider is requested.

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1 So let us start with the disclosure of the Rule 102(1)(b) 2 material.

At the Status Conference of 29 October 2021, I extended the deadline for the disclosure of outstanding Rule 102(1)(b) material and the translation of such material to 31 January 2022.

6 During the last Status Conference, the SPO indicated that 7 disclosure of the English translation of 496 items and the Albanian 8 translation of 545 items remained outstanding. The SPO also 9 mentioned that less than ten items of Rule 102(1)(b) were still to be 10 disclosed.

In its written submissions, the SPO indicated that since the last Status Conference, it disclosed three Rule 102(1)(b) disclosure packages containing new material, and three packages containing translations of previously disclosed Rule 102(1)(b) material.

I note that the number of items disclosed is substantially higher than what was expected.

The SPO considers that it has now completed disclosure of existing Rule 102(1)(b) materials, including translations, subject to any future ruling on the last SPO request on protective measures and with the exception of the audio-visual recording of -- and two associated exhibits addressed in the Extension Decision I issued on Monday.

The SPO also indicated that it intends to make related disclosure pursuant to Rule 102(2) in relation to the evidence of two witnesses and will do so as soon as the relevant transcripts are

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1 available.

In its submissions, the Thaci Defence requests that the SPO confirm whether disclosure pursuant to Rule 102(1)(b) has now been completed. In particular, English translations of all documents disclosed as incriminating by the SPO, and all items mentioned in witness statements and interviews.

I invite the SPO to respond to the Defence interrogations, to present their submissions on the discrepancy between the amount of material disclosed and the previous estimates during the last Status Conference, and to provide a best estimate for obtaining the relevant transcript for the Rule 102(2) witnesses and making an application on this matter.

Finally, I would also like the parties to give an update on 13 14 their inter partes discussions on the witness entities that have been created in Legal Workflow. On this topic, I note that certain 15 additional metadata, including modes of testimony and linking all the 16 relevant filings as the case progresses, will be added by the 17 18 Registry. However, I note the persistent concern of the Defence on this tool and their demand to populate the witness entities with 19 additional information, such as the witness's name, date of birth, 20 and protective measures. 21

I invite the parties to present their submissions on these issues; in particular, for the SPO to explain their concerns with respect to populating these witness entities.

25 Madam Prosecutor.

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MS. LAWSON: Thank you, Your Honour.

As the Court is aware, there are a very small number of items held by third parties for which an extension has been granted. As you mentioned, that is two associated exhibits and accompanying recordings for certain already disclosed transcripts. Otherwise, the SPO has completed disclosure of existing Rule 102(1)(b) materials, including translations, and that was by way of Disclosure Packages 154 to 159.

I'm pleased to also be able to provide the Court with an update 9 in relation to the outstanding items. Yesterday we received official 10 confirmation that the third party entity in question that has the 11 recordings is now in a position to release those recordings to us. 12 Similarly, yesterday we were also informed that one of the two 13 14 associated exhibits has been cleared. So we expect to receive each of those items shortly and will proceed to disclose them once 15 received. That means there's now only one item left to be resolved. 16

As Your Honour mentioned, there are a couple of other matters that we mentioned in our -- there was one other matter that we mentioned in our written submissions for the awareness of the Court. That was the Rule 102(2) disclosure and related filing that we intend to make.

My understanding is that we are only awaiting the Albanian translation of one of those interviews now, so we would expect that to be ready in the near future. And as soon as it is, we'll be able to make the application. "The near future" in this context hopefully

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1 means next week when we would receive it.

2 JUDGE GUILLOU: You anticipated my question.

3 MS. LAWSON: Yes, Your Honour.

And there is one other matter that I would mention for the 4 awareness of the Court and the parties. And that is, obviously, that 5 trial proceedings are ongoing before Trial Panel I, and that is 6 continuing to generate certain materials that fall within our 7 disclosure obligations. The Prosecution case in that trial was 8 closed earlier today, and so, where necessary, we'll be sure to 9 continue to fulfil any disclosure obligations in this case arising 10 out of those proceedings. 11

With regard to witness entities. The SPO released all of the witness entities in December 2021, and those witness entities have prior statements and associated exhibits linked to them. The Registry has also confirmed during *inter partes* discussions that consistent with practice in other cases and before other courts, as proceedings progress, it will update certain additional metadata and link relevant filings.

The SPO does not actually have the technical capability to upload further metadata to the witness entities in Legal Workflow. However, as indicated in our written submissions, we are happy to arrange to provide the Registry with witness names and filing numbers of relevant protective measures decisions to assist them in adding such information. And this was indicated in *inter partes* communications that the Registry would be in a position to do so once

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1 we provide them with that information.

2 Thank you.

3 JUDGE GUILLOU: Thank you, Madam Prosecutor.

4 Mr. Kehoe, procedures.

5 MR. KEHOE: Yes, thank you, Your Honour.

6 Several items, of course, consistent with Your Honour's question 7 about why there was an estimate made of 102(1)(b) disclosures that 8 were going to be made and it was significantly higher than that.

9 We have received since the last conference Rule 102(1)(b) 10 matters, 1.954. On Monday, this past Monday, 31 January, we 11 received -- of the 1.954, we received 1.613. So as far as this being 12 a rolling production of 102(1)(b) material consistent with the OTP's 13 practice, this document production dump is given to us on the eve of 14 a conference before Your Honour.

That being said, counsel has said that they have fulfilled their 16 102(1)(b) requirements. Of course, going to the trial that's before 17 Trial Panel I, the Salih Mustafa matter, I do believe that there was 18 a decision by that Chamber essentially bringing it back to this 19 Chamber with regard to those disclosures. And we are talking about 20 transcripts and exhibits.

21 We have received none of that. That trial has been going on for 22 some period of time. So when they say they've completed their 23 102(1)(b) disclosures, that's just simply not accurate because we 24 have not received that.

25

With regard to the rest of the 102(1)(b), there was another item

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that was filed by the Prosecutor on Monday talking about redacting documents. And the Prosecution now seeks to add 132 documents statements, and exhibits - that they maintain that they overlooked, and they're looking for protective measures in that regard too. They have redacted these documents unilaterally. Not asking the Court. They just have redacted the documents which is, frankly, the MO for the Prosecutor's Office.

8 Obviously in terms of the pre-trial brief, which we all know 9 that the Prosecutor was scheduled to file that brief per 10 Your Honour's order on 17 December. Did the Defence receive that 11 document on 17 December? No. We did not receive that document until 12 21 December, some four days later.

13 There was no request of this Court to delay disclosure of that 14 pre-trial brief to the Defence. The Prosecutor, consistent with 15 their conduct, just did it on their own. Didn't pay any attention to 16 Your Honour's order and just did it. They filed the brief on the 17 17th, they filed it under seal, and we didn't get it, the redacted 18 copy, until the 21st in complete violation to Your Honour's order.

But be that as it may. They now come here, the exhibit list deadline -- again, Your Honour ordered that exhibit list deadline to be 17 December, if my memory serves me correctly. And now they're adding another 132 documents - statements and exhibits well after well after - the period of time that they were ordered to disclose it, unilaterally redact these documents but they want to now add it all to the witness list as 102(1)(b) exhibits.

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Deadlines don't seem to mean anything to the SPO. They don't -you know, Court's orders mean little to what they are going to do and how they're going to disclose matters. At least - at least - they could have asked the Court, and I assume they knew this was the case prior to 31 January, whether they could redact these documents. But they didn't and they just did it on their own.

And now we have these 132 more exhibits floating in the ether some place that are redacted consistent with how the SPO redacts everything.

With regard to the actual Legal Workflow, Your Honour. I am going to bow to the Krasniqi team to answer Your Honour's questions in that regard because, frankly, they're smarter and better schooled on this issue than I am. And at the risk of misleading you with something I'm not completely educated on, if I can turn to the Krasniqi Defence on that score at the appropriate time, now or whenever, to address that matter.

I do believe I have addressed all of Your Honour's points.JUDGE GUILLOU: Thank you, Mr. Kehoe.

19 Mr. Emmerson, please.

20 MR. EMMERSON: [via videolink] I am going to ask Annie O'Reilly 21 to present the Veseli submissions on disclosure, please.

22 JUDGE GUILLOU: Thank you, Mr. Emmerson.

23 Ms. O'Reilly, please.

24 MS. O'REILLY: Thank you, Your Honour.

25 We adopt the submissions made by the Thaci Defence. And we'd

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just like to add, while we're here, there's no great place to put this. The request that the Prosecution made, the 102(1)(b) request on Monday, in paragraph 3 states that those further materials were either obtained between late 2021 and January 2022 or simply overlooked.

So I just wanted to make clear, with respect to those materials 6 that are coming into their possession all the time, we need 7 assurances that those are also being reviewed for disclosure under 8 other rules, such as 103 and 102(30. We haven't had any update to 9 the 102(3) list since it was disclosed last summer, and that seems 10 slightly incredible. So we just wanted to make sure that that 11 process is ongoing, that they are continuing to identify materials 12 that are disclosable under other rules. 13

14 Other than that, no further submissions from us.

15 With regards to the Legal Workflow. Yes, we've started the 16 *inter partes* forum. There is not much to add on that. It's not a 17 very useful system. We're trying to see if there is scope for 18 improvement. So far, not much to report.

19 Thank you.

20 JUDGE GUILLOU: Thank you, Ms. O'Reilly.

21 Mr. Kehoe, briefly.

22 MR. KEHOE: Your Honour, did you want our commentary on the 23 Rule 102(3) issues now or -- okay, thank you.

24 JUDGE GUILLOU: Later.

25 Mr. Young, briefly.

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1	MR	. Y(	DUNG:	Yes, Y	our	Honour,	brie	fly.					
2	We	do	also	support	the	submis	sions	in	relation	to	the	Thaci	
3	Defence	on	this	issue.									

There is one additional point I would like to raise. The Prosecutor has just addressed you this morning -- or this afternoon, and has properly - quite properly - accepted that the Prosecution hold 102(1)(b) disclosure obligations in relation to the materials in the previous trial proceedings in this Court.

9 The only matter I raise now for Your Honour, given the 10 situation, the deadline and timelines, is that this material should 11 be disclosed very quickly. So I ask Your Honour to set a deadline 12 for the Prosecution to disclose these materials to the Defence, 13 because, as Your Honour will appreciate, the 102(1)(b) material, in 14 the previous KSC proceedings, are, effectively, akin to witnesses's 15 prior testimony. So we should have that as soon as.

16 And so I ask Your Honour to set a date.

17 Thank you.

18 JUDGE GUILLOU: Thank you, Mr. Young.

19 Ms. Alagendra, please.

20 MS. ALAGENDRA: Could Mr. Ellis address the issues on

- 21 disclosure, Your Honour.
- 22 JUDGE GUILLOU: Sure.
- 23 MS. ALAGENDRA: Thank you.

24 JUDGE GUILLOU: Thank you, Ms. Alagendra.

25 Mr. Ellis, please.

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1	MR. ELLIS: Thank you, Your Honour.
2	We support the submissions that previous Defence teams have made
3	on these issues.
4	In relation to the working forum. It's right that, as
5	Ms. O'Reilly said, the first meeting has happened. It didn't solve
6	all of the issues. But the next meeting has been scheduled, and we
7	will try to progress the <i>inter partes</i> process a little further before
8	we bring matters back to Your Honour.
9	JUDGE GUILLOU: Thank you, Mr. Ellis.
10	Let me turn to the Registry.
11	I guess you've attended the Legal Workflow meeting. Do you see
12	room for improvement, especially following what Madam Prosecutor said
13	about the fact that you could populate the witness entities,
14	according to what Ms. Lawson indicated?
15	MR. NILSSON: Thank you, Your Honour.
16	Yes, regard to it's correct you have summarised the position
17	well, and Ms. Lawson as well.
18	As for the witness entities, there is certain metadata that will
19	be provided and will be dealt with by the Registry. I'll add maybe,
20	as a clarification, that this metadata includes protective measures,
21	which the Registry will also be in a position to add to it. So

that's as far as it can go. 22

And this will be -- well, besides the protective measures, where 23 there is certain information available, of course, already now, much 24 of this will be as the case progresses and the witnesses will testify 25

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1 and so on.

2 Thank you.

3 JUDGE GUILLOU: Thank you, Mr. Nilsson.

4 Let me turn to the Prosecution. Madam Prosecutor, if you could respond to the Defence question; notably, the redacted exhibits. 5 The, basically, unilateral redactions. Then the question about the 6 new documents that have been disclosed, have they been reviewed for, 7 notably, Rule 103, i.e., to determine if they are exculpatory. And 8 also for the proposal to set a deadline to disclose materials that 9 was raised by Mr. Young. And any other matter you would like to 10 respond to also. 11

- 12 Thank you.

MS. LAWSON: Thank you. And I, in fact, neglected to respond to your initial question on the discrepancy on numbers, and I will do so now.

At the time of the last Status Conference, what we were aware of was one associated exhibit and the lesser redacted or unredacted materials disclosed in Packages 154, which had two items, and 155, which had seven items.

As indicated in our written filing on Monday, that's filing 670, the additional 60 items, plus translations, the 132 includes translations, we identified as not having been included in prior disclosure packages during the additional verifications we conducted while finalising the Rule 95(4) materials and preparing the Rule 109(c) chart. And these have since been promptly disclosed on

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1 the 31 January deadline.

It is correct that we disclosed some of those items with redactions provisionally in place, while we simultaneously made an application to the Court on Monday. And we did that in order to provide them to the Defence teams at the earliest possible opportunity.

With respect to the figure of 1.954 items quoted by the Thaci 7 Defence. That obviously includes translations of previously 8 disclosed materials. And in some cases, there are multiple 9 translations associated with a single original item which, in part, 10 explains the discrepancy in numbers. But that number quoted is also 11 slightly misleading in this context, because it includes the 341 12 items included in Disclosure Package 137, and that disclosure package 13 14 was the materials resulting from lifting of delayed disclosure protections for certain witnesses which fell at the same time as our 15 filing of the pre-trial brief and related materials. 16

In relation to the new documents which are being received in the office. Those are, indeed, being reviewed for disclosure under other rules. We'll come to it, I'm sure, in the context of Rule 103 and other matters. But those are, in fact, the documents that we're currently focusing our Rule 103 review on; that is, materials received in the past approximately seven months in the office.

And in relation to materials from Trial Panel I. Certain materials from that case have, in fact, already been disclosed to the Defence in this case. And as I mentioned, the Prosecution case

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closed earlier today, so we will be now promptly reviewing all the 1 materials generated by those proceedings, preparing them for 2 disclosure in a timely manner. I don't immediately have the volume 3 and wouldn't be able to give an estimate, but we will do it promptly. 4 Finally, in relation to the pre-trial brief. It was filed on 5 Friday, 17 December, in accordance with the deadline given. And it 6 was notified on Monday, 20 December, in accordance with normal 7 practice being the next business day. And then the confidential 8 redacted version was notified to the Defence teams the very following 9 day after that. It was obviously a very voluminous filing with three 10 large annexes which required careful redaction. 11 12 Thank you. JUDGE GUILLOU: Thank you, Madam Prosecutor. 13 14 Mr. Kehoe, please.

MR. KEHOE: Yes, Your Honour, obviously the Prosecutor misses my point. The point is that with regard to the brief that if they're going to decide not to file it with the parties in a timely manner, they should ask permission of Your Honour to do so. They didn't. They just decided to do what they wanted to do when they wanted to do it and how they wanted to do it. They didn't.

21 What is the point of having a Court Order when Your Honour 22 orders for that document to be filed with Your Honour's complete 23 understanding that it's going to be given to the Defence and it's 24 not? Without asking Your Honour for permission to give it four days 25 later. It's not. They just do what they want to do. And why wasn't

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1 it given to us on Monday if they decided to do it on the 17th 2 evening? They didn't do that either.

This is just a pattern here of the Prosecutor doing what they 3 want to do. And then it just goes back to what we were talking about 4 before. Their addition of these 132 documents that they just 5 unilaterally redact. They didn't have the foresight -- and this a 6 rhetorical question: They didn't have the foresight to ask 7 Your Honour's permission to do that prior to 31 January, that "We 8 have additional redactions that we want to turn over by 31 January, 9 is it okay with the Court if we redact that?" No, they didn't do 10 that. 11

12 Keep in mind that the date that Your Honour ordered that the 13 exhibit list would be cut off was December 17th.

With regard to the Salih Defence, the reason why we ask for the Salih Mustafa Defence - that's the case in front of -- case 05 - was because it's the same crime base or one of the crime bases alleged here and there are some items that have been given. But with regard to everything that happened during the course of that trial, all of those witnesses and exhibits, we have not received those. Let us be clear. We have not.

And that's all I have on this matter. Thank you.

JUDGE GUILLOU: Thank you, Mr. Kehoe.

23 Ms. O'Reilly.

MS. O'REILLY: No further submissions from us, Your Honour. JUDGE GUILLOU: Thank you, Ms. O'Reilly.

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1 Mr. Young.

2 MR. YOUNG: No, thank you.

3 JUDGE GUILLOU: Mr. Ellis.

4 MR. ELLIS: No, thank you, Your Honour.

5 JUDGE GUILLOU: Thank you.

Just for the record, I think the SPO pre-trial brief was filed on Friday, 17th evening, and the confidential redacted version was filed on Tuesday, the 21st. So it is true that it is four days later, but it's, in practice, probably one or two working days; correct?

MR. KEHOE: This is true, Judge. But it is emblematic of a larger pattern and problem. If they had come to Your Honour with permission to do that, we would be having a different conversation. But that didn't happen. The Court wasn't given the respect of allowing the SPO to delay the redacted disclosure until the 21st. JUDGE GUILLOU: Thank you, Mr. Kehoe.

I think in future decisions, I will explicitly mention that the confidential version shall be filed the same day as the strictly confidential version.

Let us now move to the Rule 103 notice and evidentiary material. I remind the parties that at the Status Conference on 29 October 2021, I suspended the remaining Defence deadlines for Rule 102(3) material. Since the last Status Conference, the SPO indicated that 14 Rule 102(3) disclosure packages have been released containing more than 14.300 items.

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1 The SPO also indicated that the pending requests are not being 2 processed in a strictly chronological order but rather in, and I 3 quote, "the most efficient way for the SPO." It is currently 4 preparing a number of requests for protective measures in respect of 5 certain items identified so far, and it has begun to engage with 6 relevant Defence teams regarding the materiality of a limited number 7 of other requested items.

8 Regarding the disclosure timelines of Rule 102(3) material, the 9 SPO considers that were the proposed deadline of 4 March 2022 to be 10 imposed for the Defence to complete all requests for items from the 11 Rule 102(3) notice, there is a significant risk that an unnecessary 12 burden would be placed on all the parties.

The Defence also submits that no deadline should be re-established for requesting such material. The Defence indicates that some items might become relevant in ways which could not reasonably be anticipated at this stage. They should, therefore, not be prevented from making subsequent Rule 102(3) requests when the need arises.

19 The Defence also considers that it shall have the ability to 20 conduct further review of the Rule 102(3) notice and make further 21 requests each time new information is received.

However, some Defence teams have also indicated that they could be in a position to propose a deadline for Rule 102(3) disclosure at the next Status Conference.

25

Finally, I also note that the Krasniqi Defence supports the

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1	reintroduction of practical deadlines for the SPO to respond to
2	Rule 102(3) requests, and it notably requests that deadline should
3	also be imposed on the responses to Rule 102(3) requests which have
4	already been made.
5	The Krasniqi Defence also requests the SPO to provide the
6	Defence with a copy of a master Rule 102(3) spreadsheet with each
7	disclosure batch in order that all parties can keep track of which
8	items have been disclosed and which remain outstanding.
9	I would like the parties also to explain what were the result of
10	their inter partes discussions on this matter and, more generally, on
11	the disclosure calendar of this category of material.
12	Madam Prosecutor.
13	MS. LAWSON: Thank you, Your Honour.
14	In relation to Rule 102(3) disclosure. As you mentioned, since
15	the last Status Conference, and at the time of our written
16	submissions, we had disclosed 14 further packages containing in
17	excess of 14.300 items. And as we have done consistently over the
18	past three weeks, there were further packages disclosed today which
19	contain over 3.000 additional items.
20	As explained in our written submissions, the pending requests
21	are not being processed in a strictly chronological order, and that
22	is for a number of reasons. Firstly, so that each of the Defence
23	teams receive a portion of material on a regular basis. Secondly, so
24	that material which we can more easily or quickly process and provide
25	to the Defence is made available as soon as we can. And, thirdly, it

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1 assists us in the redaction process to have material of a similar 2 nature all coming from the same case files reviewed together in order 3 to ensure consistency in protective measures.

For example, it is the case that certain earlier requests for the Krasniqi Defence are not yet completed, but we've already addressed almost 80 per cent of the requests that were received on 13 January. And similarly, we received a tenth Veseli request for slightly over 3.200 items three days ago, on 1 February, and today we already disclosed approximately 90 per cent of those requested items in Disclosure Package 163.

11 So what we're aiming to do is to provide the materials as soon 12 as we possibly can, even if it's not strictly in the order in which 13 the requests were received.

14 While we do not concede the materiality of many of the items requested, we've chosen to challenge materiality as little as 15 possible. And this is both in order to provide the Defence with 16 maximum disclosure and to minimise litigation. So as indicated in 17 18 our written submissions, we are engaging in discussion of the materiality of certain items. It's a relatively small number, with 19 Defence teams, and we do anticipate making protective measures 20 requests for certain other materials. 21

As Your Honour summarised with respect to the proposed schedule of deadlines for Rule 102(3) requests and disclosures, we are concerned about such a timeline being imposed from two perspective. The first is that we believe it would result in large further

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requests for materials that might not otherwise be sought at all.
Due to the broad nature of the relevance criterion, there are many
items on the Rule 102(3) notice that are of only tangential
relevance, at best, to the case. However, imposing a deadline may
lead the Defence teams to request almost all items on the notice if
they believe they would otherwise be precluded from doing so, and
this would result in an excessive burden on all parties.

And relatedly, from the SPO's perspective, we're continuing to 8 balance a lot of completing priorities, and new requests and 9 deadlines imposed in respect of Rule 102(3) materials would certainly 10 compromise other ongoing reviews, including our efforts to complete 11 review of exculpatory material. This is something we'll be coming to 12 shortly on the agenda. And certainly that review should take 13 14 priority to processing the, if you like, more residual items on the Rule 102(3) notice. 15

So as mentioned in our written submissions, we would request that these type of deadlines for requests or for processing not be put in place at this time, and we would certainly request that materiality and protective measures reviews not be bifurcated if a timeline were to be imposed, as this would definitely result in inefficiencies in the review process.

I believe there was one other aspect under this that you wished me to address.

JUDGE GUILLOU: I think it was the question of the Krasniqi Defence of providing the Defence teams with a master Rule 102(3)

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spreadsheet in order for them to understand what was already 1 disclosed and what was missing, because the disclosure packages that 2 you file do not correspond to each request. 3 4 MS. LAWSON: Yes, thank you. So we do already provide a spreadsheet after disclosure for a 5 particular request has been completed, and this spreadsheet includes 6 information on any items which have not been disclosed; for example, 7 if the request was withdrawn after discussions on materiality, if we 8 have put in a protective measures request for the item, or if it's a 9 duplicate. 10

And as requested items are being disclosed in batches of disclosure packages, going forward we will also include information in that spreadsheet as to which disclosure batch the item was in once the request has been completed. One of the Defence teams had requested us to add item numbers from the Rule 102(3) notice to the spreadsheet, and we confirmed that we will also be able to do that going forward.

However, we're not in a position to provide these type of spreadsheets with each individual disclosure package being released, because many of the documents in batches are being worked on in parallel and the spreadsheets are not automatically generated. They do take time to prepare.

But what I would note is that save in the case of disclosures following protective measures decisions, like the one which we disclosed to the Thaci Defence earlier today, we don't mix documents

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from different requests in the same disclosure package. So each Rule 102(3) disclosure package we release relates to a single request, and we do already send the Defence teams e-mails indicating which request a disclosure package relates to. So tracking what has been received on an interim basis is something that the Defence teams are already in a position to do themselves.

7 Thank you.

8

JUDGE GUILLOU: Thank you, Madam Prosecutor.

9 Mr. Kehoe, please.

MR. KEHOE: Yes, Your Honour, I will get into a -- talk about the substance of Rule 102(3) items as we move forward. But I heard with interest the Prosecutor's comment, that they made their disclosures to us today, along with others, in our package. And I certainly would like to share those disclosures with you document by document, and you can see from there.

Because here is disclosure number 1: Page 2 of disclosure number 1; page 3; page 4; page 5; page 6; page 7; page 8. That's disclosure number one for our 102(3) request.

Here's the next disclosure. That's only two pages, but equally efficient use of black ink. And let the record reflect that is nothing on any of these documents.

22 The third disclosure. That's only one page. That's completely 23 blank.

Our next document, the same. This is only two.

25 So when we make 102(3) disclosures, and we have tried to make

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1 102(3) requests in a limited fashion, unfortunately this is what we're getting back. This is -- when counsel talked about their disclosures today, that she said they made 103 disclosures today, this is what they disclosed to us.

5 With regard to the 103 matter, we have several requests that we 6 still have that have been made and left -- remain unanswered. And 7 there will be further requests under 102(3), not only in addition to 8 the information that just came in last Monday, the 1900-whatever it 9 is documents. 1.961. But also the rolling information that needs to 10 come with regard to items that are in the pre-trial brief and in the 11 indictment.

And I raise a question to Your Honour. In paragraph 112 of the 12 brief, they charge my client and Mr. Veseli with improper conduct 13 14 concerning activities that took place in June 1998. The rest of the information, redacted: Where it was, when it was, who it was. 15 Everything is redacted. How are we supposed to put together a 102(3) 16 request -- and that's just one example, I should say. There are 17 18 hundreds of them throughout the document, and heaven knows how many there are throughout the indictment. 19

How can we cogently make a request in defence of our clients with that type of information still redacted? I have no idea what to ask with regard to that, Judge. Other than to say what happened in June of 1998 that you're redacting? And what I'm probably going to get back is this: Black, blank pages.

25

There are still 106 anonymous witnesses, which at some point I

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submit to Your Honour that we'll maybe know about, maybe prior to 1 trial, maybe 30 days or some weeks before the witness testifies. All 2 of that information, once we find out who that person is, will 3 generate 102(3) material. 4 So we have this ongoing lacuna of what we should have and what 5 we do have, and we're still getting information as it comes long, as 6 counsel just reflected not only last Monday but the submissions they 7 have with the additional documents that they want to put on their 8 exhibit list. 9 So any deadline at this point, Your Honour, is completely 10 premature. We have no idea exactly what we're answering for on 11 behalf of my client and many different instances without having 12 facts. 13 14 So with regard to holding the date in abeyance, this is probably the one thing that we agree with, with the SPO -- it's good to find 15 agreement some place, Judge. That we should hold that date in 16 abeyance, because we simply cannot meet a timetable that would, say, 17 18 March 4 or whatever it happened to be. Thank you. 19 JUDGE GUILLOU: Thank you Mr. Kehoe. 20 Mr. Emmerson or Ms. O'Reilly. 21 MR. EMMERSON: [via videolink] Yes, it would be for Ms. O'Reilly 22 to add anything she wishes. 23 24 JUDGE GUILLOU: Thank you, Mr. Emmerson.

25 Ms. O'Reilly.

1	MS. O'REILLY: Thank you, Your Honour.
2	So as regards the statistics. We have now requested 19.487.
3	And as of a couple of hours ago, we now have 8.428 of those
4	Rule 102(3) documents.
5	Our primary position, lest it be unclear from our submissions,

6 is that no deadline should be imposed. However, if you are minded to 7 force a deadline, as it were, we'll address that at the next Status 8 Conference. But Ms. Lawson is absolutely right, that if you impose a 9 deadline on us, then we will request pretty much everything, because 10 it's the only way that we'll be able to cope under that short amount 11 of time.

I just wanted to add that we have, so far, not received any of the spreadsheets that Ms. Lawson mentioned. That may be because they have not, so far, completed any of our requests. So I would like clarification on that.

Also, even if there is a deadline imposed, what we were trying to clarify in our submission is that it won't be a hard deadline because there will be changes as to what is material based on what we know about the case. So we will still need to make some requests after the deadline passes.

But, moreover, that works in both directions insofar as the SPO will also have to continue to add documents to their Rule 102(3) list, which is the point I was trying to make earlier, when they come into receipt of material that is not exculpatory and they don't intend to rely on that falls into this, you know, broad unused

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material category. 1 So, in that sense, that's another complication. That means it's 2 not really possible to set a hard deadline on this anyway. 3 So those are our submissions as regards that aspect of 102(3). 4 Thank you, Your Honour. 5 JUDGE GUILLOU: Thank you, Ms. O'Reilly. 6 7 Mr. Young, please. MR. YOUNG: Yes, Your Honour, briefly. We do support the 8 submissions made by the Thaci Defence. 9 To give Your Honour an idea of the scale of the 102(3) 10 11 situation. As far as we are concerned, on behalf of Mr. Rexhep Selimi, we have requested around 52.000 items. We have 12 received around 9.000 items disclosed so far under 102(3). And given 13 14 what my learned friend for the Prosecution said that, to date, they've not been challenging or been challenging materiality as 15 little as possible, if that's the case going forwards, then the 16 reality, Your Honour, is that we're looking at receiving possibly up 17 to 43.000 new sets of materials. 18 Thank you. 19

20 JUDGE GUILLOU: Thank you, Mr. Young.

21 Mr. Ellis, please.

22 MR. ELLIS: Your Honour, in my submission, the most basic 23 information that we need in order to manage this process is to know 24 an idea of how long it's going to take the Prosecution to process 25 requests that have already been made. And I understood from the

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transcript of the last Status Conference that the Prosecution hope to be able to more concretely forecast those matters for Your Honour today.

We've set out, in our written submissions, the history of the requests that we've made and the responses that we have received. Let me just dwell a moment on the second request made by the Krasniqi Defence. That was made on 7 October. It related to some 5.945 documents. We've received responses split, I think, across five different disclosure batches to date.

As at the last Status Conference, the indication on transcript page 794 was that the Prosecution expected to disclose the remainder of that material in January. And then on 29 January, we receive an e-mail telling us that the Prosecution hopes to correspond with us about materiality of around less than a hundred of the remaining documents within the next couple of weeks.

So what we have here is a request made now almost four months ago still unanswered and still with the pending possibility of correspondence about materiality or redactions to come. That's only one request. It was our second request. In terms of the total volume documents requested, it's one of the more modest one at just under 6.000 documents.

But there is, here, in my submission, a very real concern that if there are no deadlines on this process, then the process is going to continue for some considerable period of time with all the implications that that has for Defence investigations and for the

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future management of the case. 1 So we fully support what other Defence teams have said about the 2 impracticability of setting a deadline for Defence requests, but we 3 do invite some supervision of how long it is taking the Prosecution 4 to respond to the requests that are made. And we put it in the 5 written submissions to suggest practical deadlines be imposed. 6 We're not standing here insisting on a response within three 7 weeks, but we do say some sort of deadline would focus minds and 8 maybe we would begin getting through the end of this mountain of 9 Rule 102(3) disclosure. 10 JUDGE GUILLOU: Thank you, Mr. Ellis. 11 Madam Prosecutor, are you able to give some information about 12 the timeline for processing the Defence requests as indicated by 13 14 Mr. Ellis? I'm not asking you a specific date, of course, given the amount of material, but in the ballpark how long are we looking at? 15 You have the floor. Thank you. 16 MS. LAWSON: Yes, Your Honour. 17 Minds are very focused in the SPO, and we are reviewing and 18 processing the materials intensively. Currently we're getting 19 through approximately 5.000 items a week, on average. So I can't 20 give an overall estimate. We've obviously received requests as 21 recently as this week, and we've turned them around this week. 22 So we really are providing the materials as fast as we can 23 provide them and doing so in a manner that we consider to be as 24 efficient as possible in order to get the requests addressed. I 25
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1	think	that's	all	Ι	can	say	on	that.	
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In relation to the Veseli Defence query on spreadsheets, we will revert to you *inter partes* on that after this hearing.

And in relation to protective measures. As both the Chamber and 4 the Defence teams are aware, we've been making protective measures 5 requests for as few documents as possible from the Rule 102(3) 6 notice. The documents disclosed today were the result of a request 7 for redactions necessary to give effect to existing protective 8 measures. There is no lacuna between what the Defence teams should 9 be receiving and what they have. We've been disclosing exactly what 10 they should have, in accordance with the delayed disclosure timetable 11 12 in place.

13 Thank you.

14 JUDGE GUILLOU: Thank you, Madam Prosecutor.

15 5.000 documents a week, I think everybody can do the math. I 16 think if we have, let's say, 30.000 documents pending, it's 17 approximately six weeks. So this is where we should be at the next 18 Status Conference.

19

Or am I too optimistic, Madam Prosecutor?

MS. LAWSON: I think that might be slightly optimistic, Your Honour, because there are a significant degree of checks that need to be done on each package and review before it can go out. So while we're getting through 5.000 in terms of review, there is furthering processing before they can immediately appear.

25 Thank you.

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1	JUDGE GUILLOU: Thank you, Madam Prosecutor.
2	And on the request from the Krasniqi Defence team to reinstate
3	specific deadlines for their request to be processed, do you have any
4	submissions on this?
5	Mr. Prosecutor.
6	MR. FERDINANDUSSE: Your Honour, if you find it necessary to
7	impose a deadline for this specific Krasniqi request, we suggest it
8	will be that we finish that request before the next Status
9	Conference. But that is what the SPO will do regardless of a
10	deadline.
11	Thank you.
12	JUDGE GUILLOU: Thank you, Mr. Prosecutor.
13	I don't see any Defence team requesting the floor.
14	So I take note that it is premature to re-instate any deadline
15	for the Rule 102(3) material. That said, I invite the parties to
16	continue the discussion <i>inter partes</i> both for the processing of the
17	material, that is, the scope of the existing requests, and for the
18	future requests that the Defence are going to the send to the
19	Specialist Prosecutor's Office.
20	I will not set a deadline to the SPO for the processing of their
21	request at this Status Conference, but I invite the SPO to process
22	the existing requests, and especially the ones that have been filed
23	in October, as fast as possible. And as, Mr. Prosecutor, you
24	indicated, that these requests are processed before the next Status
25	Conference.

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Let us now move to the Rule 103 material. Since the last Status 1 Conference, the SPO disclosed two further packages of potentially 2 exculpatory items. The SPO has --3 MR. FERDINANDUSSE: I apologise, Your Honour. 4 JUDGE GUILLOU: Mr. Prosecutor. 5 MR. FERDINANDUSSE: I had to find the passage in the transcript. 6 I would like to point out that I talked about the specific 7 Krasniqi request, and that I believe in October the request for more 8 than 40.000 items has also been filed, which is in a category of its 9 own due to its size. But, obviously, we will be processing this 10 request and finish what we can as soon as possible. 11 JUDGE GUILLOU: Thank you, Mr. Prosecutor. This is noted. 12 Let me continue about the exculpatory material. 13 14 So the SPO indicated in its written submission that no protective measures request for this category of material is 15 imminent. However, the SPO did not give an estimate on the time 16 needed to finalise its review of exculpatory evidence. 17 18 In its submissions, the Thaci Defence requests that the SPO confirm, first, whether and what amount of exculpatory evidence 19 remains in its custody, control, or actual knowledge, and when 20 disclosure of such material currently in its possession will be 21 completed. 22

The Veseli Defence also requests, first, that the SPO provide its best estimate of amount of Rule 103 material currently in its possession; and, second, to provide a date representing the SPO's

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best estimate as to when it will complete disclosure of all Rule 103 1 material currently in its possession. 2 I would like the SPO to answer these Defence questions. I 3 stress that exculpatory material must be disclosed, according to the 4 wording of the rules, which is as soon as it is in the SPO's 5 "custody, control, or actual knowledge." 6 Such evidence is absolutely crucial for the Defence 7 investigation and, thus, for the expeditiousness of the case. 8 Madam Prosecutor, you have the case. 9 MS. LAWSON: Thank you, Your Honour. 10 As you noted, since the last Status Conference we have disclosed 11 12 two further packages of potentially exculpatory material. That's Packages 152 and 160. And as outlined in our written submissions, 13 14 we're working to complete exculpatory reviews of material held. Review is currently focused, in particular, on materials that 15 were either received by the office or otherwise cleared for 16 disclosure purposes within approximately the past six or seven 17 18 months. And, in addition, in light of the finalisation of the witness list in December 2021, we are organising certain additional 19 focused exculpatory reviews and searches related to that. 20

In respect of the progress, the current status. We are now over per cent through review of the more recently received or cleared items. So it would be hard to give an estimate, but the review is continuing at a rapid pace for those items. And the results of the reviews that have been conducted have either been disclosed. We've

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1	disclosed 21 packages to date of Rule 103 materials, or they're being
2	processed for disclosure, including conducting redaction reviews, or
3	they're being collated for a protective measures request, and we're
4	aiming to collate those materials as much as possible in the
5	interests of judicial efficiency overall.
6	The one other item I would mention in relation to Rule 103 is
7	that in preparation for this Status Conference, we recalled that in
8	recent hearings the Thaci Defence had expressed interest in receiving
9	materials of a particular individual. And given that quite a number
10	of the materials currently under review relate to international
11	witnesses, we did contact the Defence yesterday to ask whether they
12	would like us to prioritise review of any particular item. The
13	response we received was that they would be raising the matter in the
14	Status Conference today, but I currently have no further information
15	in relation to that.
16	Thank you.
17	JUDGE GUILLOU: Thank you, Madam Prosecutor.
18	Mr. Kehoe, please.
19	MR. KEHOE: Thank you, Your Honour.
20	This is, of course, an issue that I have addressed with
21	Your Honour several times over the past conferences. But let me
22	raise a larger issue with Your Honour that will dove-tail with this.
23	And it goes to Rule 62. And Rule 62 talks about the duties of the
24	Specialist Prosecutor. And the rule says:

25 "In performing his or her functions, the Specialist Prosecutor

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shall contribute to the establishment of the truth of the Specialist
 Chambers."

3

14

"... the truth of the Specialist Chambers."

Well, Your Honour, were you ever informed by the Office of the 4 Prosecutor, during your confirmation hearing, during the hearings 5 concern -- during the submissions concerning the Defence's motion for 6 pre-trial release? Were you ever informed, Your Honour, that a 7 senior OSCE diplomat had advised the Prosecutor four years ago - four 8 years ago - that the criminal activities post-June 1999 -- the 9 criminal activities charged in this case, the criminal activities 10 post-June 1999 were committed by individuals who sought a chance to 11 gain personal benefit and was not - was not - part of an organised 12 campaign from the Albanian leadership. 13

Four years ago. And we will go through the rest of this.

The individual who gave this information was Ambassador Daan Everts. And who is Daan Everts? He's been a Dutch diplomat since the early 1980s in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs here in The Hague and elsewhere. He was posted as head of ECMM in Zagreb shortly after the end of the war in the former Yugoslavia, and then he was posted as the head of OSCE in Tirana shortly thereafter.

And in July 1999, Ambassador Everts took over the OSCE mission in Prishtine for the entire country for the implement of the peace plan and to bring the police up to gear and to work with UNMIK and with EULEX to bring about peace and stability in the country.

And what did he tell the SPO four years ago? Well, I just

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reiterated that Everts' view was that the violence post-1999 was not 1 part of an organised campaign from the Albanian leadership. 2 What else did he tell them? If I may: 3 "In my view, it would be incorrect to call it systematic, 4 organised harassment and to infer that it was directed from above. 5 Rather, I view the situation as one of impunity and permissiveness 6 were people to pursue ulterior goals, whether ethnic revenge, 7 political control, or material gain." 8

9 With regard to my particular client, would Your Honour not 10 wanted to have known what this ambassador had to say with regard to 11 my client, Mr. Thaci, who interfaced with Ambassador Everts 12 throughout this time-period? And wouldn't you have wanted to know 13 this when you were reviewing and weighing the application by the 14 Prosecutor for pre-trial release? Put aside reasonable doubt and 15 guilt or innocence.

16

Talking about Mr. Thaci:

IT cannot see any reason or motive why Thaci would have wanted the KLA to commit ethnic violence, as it would have damaged his international standing. In my view, there was a disconnect between the crimes and the central Kosovo Albanian leadership."

None of this was turned over to us when we were going back and forth and discussing this evidence. None of this was given to Your Honour. None. And they've had this information for four years. While these four gentlemen sit in jail since November 2020, they sat on information that they turned over February 1st. And we'll get to

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the reason why they turned it over then. 1 One would ask Ambassador Everts: So why did this happen? Why 2 did this take place? Well, he had an answer for that as well. 3 "In my view, the main problems were the absence of the media and 4 enforcement mechanisms, such as the police." 5 He's talking about the violence on the ground after July of 6 1999, and he says the reason why this went on was -- the major 7 problem was there was no police. And who was responsible for setting 8 up the police? The UN, OSCE, UNMIK. Not the four gentlemen that sit 9 before Your Honour. Not the Kosovo leadership. This was a 10 Chapter VII situation under the UN Charter where they had no power to 11 12 run a police force. It was the internationals running the police

13 force.

And how about my client individually? Was he the person that was in charge of this? Would you not have wanted to know this when talking about the Rambouillet conference?

17 "Thaci's total lack of control ..."

18 Total lack of control.

19 "... is why the KLA had people like Drini, Remi, and Ramush in 20 leadership roles."

So he's saying he had total lack of control, he didn't -- had no motive whatsoever to have violence on the ground, he saw no proof that there was a vertical ordering coming from on top to the violence on the ground, and again that he had no motive to do so because he didn't have the power to control this, the other KLA members,

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1 especially in the outlying areas.

2 Let's continue. That's not the only item he mentions in that 3 regard.

JUDGE GUILLOU: I think I get your point. I think what is important for us today is the procedural point you want to make, that this is Rule 103 material and should have been disclosed earlier.

7 MR. KEHOE: Well, Judge, I think one last item that Your Honour 8 should take into -- not that it should be disclosed earlier. That 9 these men should be released. That you have before you reasonable 10 doubt in this document. And as a consequence of that, Your Honour, 11 these four men should be released, based on a document that they sat 12 on for four years.

If I go back to Rule 62, this is supposed to be a tribunal that seeks the truth. And the Specialist Prosecutor is supposed to be seeking the truth. Yet Your Honour never had this document. And we never had it until Tuesday. And we got on it -- and I will get into how we got it on Tuesday as a result of Ambassador Everts' efforts and putting pressure on the Office of the Prosecutor to try to get that document, which they refused to turn over to him.

And, quite disturbing -- and, by the way, we're going to get into it. This isn't the only one they haven't turned over. I mean, that -- let's just [indiscernible]. But what's the most disturbing is, and I believe Your Honour should examine this, is the statement by -- that was insisted to be included by Ambassador Everts concerning the conduct of this investigation by the SPO.

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And he wrote in his statement, talking about the interviewing process coming from the SPO:

While every single paragraph is accurate as written and can stand as it is, the totality of the statement seems to reflect a lesser interest in exculpatory than incriminating information."

If he was sitting here before you, Judge, he would tell you what he told us, that the only thing that they were interested in, the SPO, was garnering what they considered to be inculpatory facts as opposed to exculpatory. How can they be fulfilling their Rule 62 obligations with such an approach?

11 And as I noted, Judge, this is not an isolated incident.

By the way, with regard to what they didn't turn over, I'm sure they didn't turn over a letter they got from the United States State Department during this same timeframe dated 4 May 1999, from Barbara Larkin, the Assistant Secretary of Legislative Affairs, to Senator Mitch McConnell, Chairman of the Foreign Operations Committee.

18 What the United States in an official document tell a ranking 19 senator in the United States Senate:

20 "There is no political structure in Kosovo or effective command 21 and control of the KLA."

They had this document. Did they turn it over? No. And I'd gladly give Your Honour a copy of this letter if Your Honour would like to see it, because I do have extra copies here.

25 There are any number of individuals that they haven't turned

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1 over. In paragraph 13 of the indictment, the prime minister -- former 2 prime minister of Kosovo was an individual by the name of 3 Bujar Bukoshi, B-u-k-o-s-h-i. Mr. Bukoshi talked to the SPO. The 4 interview ended with the statement questioned by the SPO 5 interrogator: 6 "Oh, you must be friends with Hashim Thaci, aren't you?" 7 We never received that document. We never received any notes of 8 any interview, whether or not he signed a document. He's mentioned 9 in the indictment. We've received nothing. 10 Hundreds, hundreds of KLA soldiers were called to give 11 statements. Where are all those statements? Where are those 12 statements of what they said? 13 14 We've got statements that the Prosecutor has put on their witness list that they believe are inculpatory. Where are the rest 15 of them? Literally hundreds of people were called to be examined by 16 the Prosecutor. 17 18 The most eqregious matter here is the situation with Ambassador Everts. Here is an ambassador, a ranking ambassador for 19 OSCE. I submit to Your Honour that when the Prosecutor was talking 20 to ambassadors in a private meeting and talking about how terrible my 21 client was and that my client was going to spend the rest of his life 22 in jail, that he never informed them, "Oh, oh, did Mr. Smith say" --23 oh, by the way, by the way, what are you? Ambassador folks -- well, 24 25 he says, really, you know, Thaci is not guilty and there really was

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no top-down involvement here, and this was just a grass-roots movement.

Do you think he told those people that? No. Of course, he didn't. He didn't even tell you. He didn't even tell you that the evidence that they had in their possession proves that they are not guilty, that there is a reasonable doubt concerning all of these. But they keep and they hold him in jail indefinitely.

8 What's the resolution here, Judge? There is one resolution we 9 put on the table. That the search through exculpatory material, 10 anything that's marginally exculpatory has to be done by an impartial 11 tribunal, because the SPO can't be trusted to do it. They cannot be 12 trusted to do it. And they haven't done it. If they stand before 13 you and say, "Well, you know, we gave the information concerning, you 14 know, Everts as soon as we know," nonsense. Nonsense.

They had the -- well, first of all, they knew about this years 15 ahead of time. Did they come to Your Honour and say, "You know, we 16 have to delay disclosure of this exculpatory material?" No. Did 17 18 they have the green light to disclose this material? Even by their own admission they had it. Earlier, in 2021 at the latest, and the 19 rest of the OSCE witnesses that they think are inculpatory were 20 turned over. Were turned over in August 2021. The only one they 21 left out was him. Why? Why did they leave him out? 22

And why did it take Ambassador Everts to go to the Specialist Prosecutor's Office and request his statement on numerous occasions over the telephone and ratcheted this up as early as this Monday for

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them to come back in a series of e-mails, which I can provide to Your Honour, telling Ambassador Everts no, you can't -- an international ambassador, "You can't have your statement, it's not our practice, and the rules say we can't give it to you." I mean, who knows what rule that is.

6 So where are we, Judge? Where are we? Your Honour has stressed 7 several times about the need for them to go through and find their 8 exculpatory material. Is there anything more exculpatory than this 9 statement by Ambassador Everts that they've known about for years? 10 If there is, we're in serious trouble.

And what we don't know, because Everts' statement has, 11 essentially, been forced out of them, we don't know how much more 12 information there is that they haven't disclosed. They've been in 13 jail since November 2020. This is now February 2022. And we were 14 just given this information on 1 February 2022, while these four 15 gentlemen sit at the detention unit, while they hide behind their 16 refusal to talk in public about what they say about the Kosovo police 17 18 and pre-trial release and refuse to give exculpatory information until they're forced to do so? It's got to stop, Judge. With all 19 due respect, it has to stop. 20

21 And I submit to Your Honour -- and I just want to have my 22 colleague Ambassador Prosper add a few comments.

I submit to Your Honour -- I don't know what the schedule is of the Court. But there has to be an impartial magistrate involved in this disclosure process with the SPO, because they simply cannot be

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relied on and trusted to give full disclosure in a timely manner to 1 ensure that these four gentlemen are not spending one second more 2 than they should in the detention unit. 3 And if I can just turn the floor over, with the Court's 4 permission, briefly to Ambassador Prosper. 5 JUDGE GUILLOU: Thank you, Mr. Kehoe. 6 Briefly, Mr. Prosper, because Mr. Kehoe already took the floor 7 for more than 15 minutes. 8 MR. PROSPER: Well, Your Honour, I'll be as brief as I can, but 9 this is a critical matter, and I ask your indulgence. 10 As you know, I don't take the floor much in these proceedings, 11 as we have my able colleague here, but I feel the need to address 12 this issue because this matter has grave implications. It has 13 14 implications which are broader than these proceedings, broader than the KSC. The implications are such that it shatters, it shakes the 15 foundation of the international justice system. 16 Now, I'm uniquely positioned to speak on this issue because as 17

you know, in my background, I've been involved in every single tribunal that has been created since Nuremberg. I either participated, negotiated, created, was consulted, or oversaw each tribunal. That includes the ICTR, the ICTY, East Timor, Sierra Leone, Cambodia, the ICC, Serbia, Bosnia, Iraq, Lebanon, I've helped consult in their creation. And now this.

These tribunals are built on trust. Trust. They are supposed to be the gold standard for the world. They are supposed to be a

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model that domestic systems look up to and should aspire to become.
Political leaders universally want to set a goal for people to say if
you can be like the KSC, like these tribunals, they will not be
needed. Nations, governments, put their faith in these proceedings
because they're supposed to be beyond reproach. They're supposed to
be proceedings that can survive scrutiny, legal, political, and
historical.

8 Nations such as Kosovo have ceded their sovereignty, ceded their 9 sovereignty, voluntarily based on this trust, the trust of the 10 establishment of the truth. They're supposed to operate with the 11 highest, highest integrity. And what has happened here is the 12 Prosecution has betrayed that trust. The Prosecution has betrayed 13 their duty to establish the truth.

When they approached you for confirmation, they gave you a half story. A half story which has led us to where we are today. In their zeal for victory, in their zeal for prosecution, they have lost sight of the most critical function of the Office of the Prosecutor, and that is the pursuit of justice. What is fair and what is right.

Instead of letting the facts lead to the outcome, they've decided to bend the facts for their desired purposes. Now, this is a human rights violation, if you think about it. If you look at all the human rights instruments, you start with the universal declaration, what was the common theme or purpose behind this? It's to prevent abuse of power. It's to protect individuals. It's to protect accused persons from rogue prosecutions, rogue judicial

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systems. The purpose is to establish standards so that the truth and fairness will prevail.

Now, the Office of the Prosecutor has been operating without 3 oversight. As you know from your experiences, one of the big debates 4 for international tribunals is the question of oversight, because 5 everyone's afraid of what is happening here where you have a 6 prosecutor's office operating on its own whim, unaccountable to 7 anyone. As my colleague has said, disclosing when they wish, filing 8 when they wish, sitting on critical exculpatory information for four 9 years and not even giving it to you - to you. It's a deception, a 10 deception that needs to be corrected. 11

Imagine if what we are talking about happened in a domestic system. Just imagine the condemnation that would occur from human rights groups, from governments, from overseeing international tribunals. They would say how dare you withhold critical, credible exculpatory information. And as my colleague said, this is just what we know. This is only what we know.

18 So what we have here, as I said, this is something larger than this tribunal. Because if this is allowed to continue, ask yourself 19 this question: What country in the future, what country in their 20 right mind will ever agree to an international or hybrid tribunal 21 when they learn of the behaviour of hiding exculpatory information, 22 when they learn of the behaviour of not pursuing the truth, the 23 establishment of the truth, when they learn of the behaviour of 24 deceiving the Court, who would want to be part of an international 25

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1 tribunal?

2	So, Your Honour, this is a large issue that needs to be
3	corrected. The KSC has lost its way. And if this is not corrected,
4	the legacy of this Court, the legacy of the officials, the legacy of
5	international justice will forever irreparably be harmed. So let's
6	put this into context. This is not just a little issue that needs to
7	be addressed in a Status Conference. This is much larger.
8	Thank you for your time.
9	JUDGE GUILLOU: Thank you, Mr. Prosper.
10	I'll give the floor to the SPO after I give the floor to the
11	other Defence teams to respond to the arguments.
12	May I just turn to the interpreters. Do you allow me to
13	continue for a couple of minutes so we can finish the debate on this
14	category of disclosure material?
15	I see the Court Officer saying yes, so thank you very much.
16	Let me turn to Mr. Emmerson, please.
17	MR. EMMERSON: [via videolink] I'll be brief, if I may. There
18	are two issues that I want to touch upon, but the first I'm going to
19	leave until the "any other business" section, and it relates to where
20	we stand in terms of the Prosecution Serb witnesses. That to say,
21	even though when there remains considerable uncertainty about the
22	unserved evidence of which the statement of the ambassador of the
23	OSCE is a good example, but the numbers you've been quoted this
24	morning make it fairly clear that we won't get to a certainty about
25	the Prosecution's case and the scope of it for at least another few

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1 months.

But what I want to do with you, sir, at the end in the "any other business" section is just to spend a moment or two tracing through the implications of the way the Prosecution is proposing to put its case and the number of witnesses it is proposing to call. But I think that is -- although it touches on some of these issues, I think that's best dealt with at the end.

And on the detailed questions of exculpatory, I'll just give Annie O'Reilly an opportunity in case there's anything she wishes to add. But otherwise, I will return to the main issue that I wanted to raise with Your Honour at the end of the Status Conference.

12 JUDGE GUILLOU: Thank you, Mr. Emmerson.

13 Ms. O'Reilly.

MS. O'REILLY: Your Honour, I'll be brief. We join the 14 submissions made by the Thaci Defence. The issue of Rule 103 15 disclosure is very serious, and as we have previously raised in 16 protective measures submissions, we have no faith in the SPO's 17 identification of 103 materials. I would say their ability to, but 18 given their experience on the other side of the courtroom, I don't 19 think that would really be credible. They are simply not disclosing 20 103 material to us that we are entitled to. 21

22 We are aware of other witnesses who fall into the category of 23 Mr. Everts that have also not been disclosed to date that are 24 providing -- have provided potentially exculpatory information. So I 25 would just like to underline that this is an incredibly serious

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matter that really goes to the heart of the fairness of this trial. 1 As regards to our request for some clarity as to how much 103 2 material there might be, we would note that we still have not 3 received an answer to this. We were told that there have been 21 4 packages disclosed so far. For the sake of the record, that comes to 5 a total of 3.583 items. But that -- we don't know if they've 6 reviewed everything that they've received up until recently. All 7 we've been told today is that they've gone through 50 per cent of the 8 materials that they've recently received. 9

So we would request some more specific information in response to our question. Thank you, Your Honour.

12 JUDGE GUILLOU: Thank you, Ms. O'Reilly.

13 Mr. Young, please.

14 MR. YOUNG: Yes, Your Honour, I can be brief as well.

What Mr. Kehoe on behalf of Mr. Thaci has related to you is 15 extraordinarily serious. We support and endorse every submission the 16 Thaci team make, and it must be apparent to Your Honour how serious 17 this issue is. Indeed, Your Honour, at the start of the discussion 18 on 103 materials, rightly acknowledged that the important words in 19 Rule 103 were "as soon as," and as Your Honour knows, and Your Honour 20 is rightly nodding, the words then follow "the Specialist Prosecutor 21 shall immediately disclose to the Defence any information as soon as 22 it is in his or her custody, control, or actual knowledge which may 23 reasonably suggest the innocence or mitigate the guilt of the accused 24 or affect the credibility or reliability of the 25

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1 Specialist Prosecutor's evidence."

Now, Your Honour rightly described this category of disclosure as absolutely crucial for the Defence investigations, and the material that Mr. Kehoe has referred to clearly falls well under that category.

Now, there are a number of disturbing things about what we have 6 heard in relation to this, but Your Honour will have noted that 7 Mr. Kehoe explained this particular extraordinarily important 8 document from an extremely senior international figure. That 9 document was a document produced by the Prosecutors themselves in 10 January and March 2018, over four years ago. So, with respect, 11 difficult to see how they weren't aware of it given that they were 12 the ones that produced it. 13

And Your Honour will know very well that 103 is subject only to two restrictions where delayed disclosure can be made. And these are very specific ones under Rule 107 and 108 which do not appear to apply or appear not to apply in this situation, because if they had applied, the Prosecution would have had to apply to you formally *ex parte* and confidentially in an application and you would have knowledge of that.

In the absence of any application to Your Honour, then there seems to have been a gross, substantial and egregious violation of the disclosure rules which are so important to the Defence. And for these reasons, we ask Your Honour to take this particularly seriously and to follow the Thaci submissions in relation to what they

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particularly Thaci Defence.

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requested, which were very clearly set out.
So I have nothing else to say. This is a very serious matter.
JUDGE GUILLOU: Thank you, Mr. Young.
Mr. Ellis, please.
MR. ELLIS: Yes, Your Honour. We, too, join in what has been
said already, particularly -- by all three Defence teams, and

8 This is a matter that concerns us all, Your Honour. Certain 9 passages have been read from the statements of Mr. Everts. They're 10 exculpatory not only for Mr. Thaci, for all the accused, and 11 certainly for Mr. Krasniqi. We are deeply concerned that these 12 statements were not turned over at a far earlier stage in the 13 proceedings.

We cannot understand how this can fit with the Rule 103 obligation to do so immediately or as soon as in the Prosecution's control. And that is what this must come down to, the wording of the rule. And it appears not to have been complied with in a very serious way.

We are also concerned that this is one example that's been given to Your Honour. Glancing through disclosure batch 160, which was the one disclosed on 1 February, one can see at a cursory glance statements taken by the Special Investigative Task Force in 2014, interviews carried out by this Prosecution in September of 2020. None of those documents can be said to have been turned over to us as soon as they were in the Prosecution's possession.

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1	They were in the Prosecution's possession when they arrested
2	these men. They should have been turned over shortly after that.
3	And we, again, emphasise the seriousness of this, Your Honour, and we
4	look to Your Honour to protect our clients' rights in this regard.
5	JUDGE GUILLOU: Thank you, Mr. Ellis.
6	Let me turn back to
7	MR. EMMERSON: [via videolink] Your Honour, before Your Honour
8	continues, could I
9	JUDGE GUILLOU: Mr. Emmerson, yes.
10	MR. EMMERSON: [via videolink] I do apologise, but could I invite
11	you, please, to ask the Prosecution now to explain the circumstances
12	upon which that document was withheld for this length of time.
13	JUDGE GUILLOU: Thank you, Mr. Emmerson.
14	So, Madam Prosecutor, you have the floor, both to respond to the
15	specific document that was partially read by Mr. Kehoe, the reasons
16	for such a late disclosure, and more generally on the disclosure
17	process for the Rule 103 material.
18	You have the floor.
19	MS. LAWSON: Thank you.
20	In relation to the Rule 103 material status and the Veseli
21	Defence query on that. Yes, prior material such as that on the
22	Rule 102(3) notice has undergone an exculpatory review. We're now
23	reviewing material more recently received or cleared, and as I
24	mentioned, we are over 50 per cent through that review.
24	mentioned, we are over 50 per cent through that review.

25 Turning to the Thaci Defence. If I understand their submissions

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1 correctly, Mr. Everts's statement appears to be the item that they 2 were interested in. I'm obviously only learning that now for the 3 first time, as I am only learning now that Mr. Everts has any 4 connection to the Thaci Defence team. This, obviously, hampers my 5 ability to respond with any degree of specificity on this one item 6 out of the over 170 that were included in recent Rule 103 disclosure 7 packages.

8 What I can say is, first, that the Defence have chosen to quote 9 very selectively from the views of one individual. Should the 10 Defence choose to present that evidence at trial, its value will be 11 assessed in the context of other evidence.

Second, recent Rule 103 packages were determined by ongoing review and not by any outside query.

14 As to the timing, for many of the materials disclosed in recent 103 packages, we would have initiated clearance requests as early as 15 2019. We've been diligent in seeking clearances, in following up 16 with providers, and in subsequently making relevant disclosures. 17 What disclosure of this item does reflect is that the SPO is 18 correctly identifying and disclosing exculpatory material. Much 19 additional exculpatory material has already been disclosed, and 20 additional exculpatory material will be disclosed. That information 21 can be used by the Defence to develop their Defence cases or identify 22 leads. That's the purpose of the disclosure. 23

As I mentioned, evidence the Defence choose to bring will be considered in the context of trial, will be weighed against all the

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other evidence, including that presented by the Prosecution. 1 Mr. Kehoe also referred to a second specific interview, and I 2 can say that he has inaccurately summarised it. 3 From the responses we received during -- both to our indications 4 at the last Status Conference and our recent inter partes 5 communications, it would appear that the Defence are less interested 6 7 in actually receiving these items than in making submissions about them. We will continue our review and disclosure of potentially 8 exculpatory information as we have been doing, and we're working 9 intensively to complete it. Thank you. 10 JUDGE GUILLOU: Thank you, Madam Prosecutor. 11 12 Briefly, Mr. Kehoe, please. MR. KEHOE: [Microphone not activated]. 13 14 JUDGE GUILLOU: Microphone. MR. KEHOE: Yes, sorry. It is difficult to stand by and listen 15 to what the Prosecutor just said. 16 What I gave Your Honour was I read what the Prosecutor turned 17 over. "Everts' view was that the criminal activities post June 1999 18 were committed by individuals who sought a chance to gain personal 19 benefit and was not part of an organised campaign from the Albanian 20 leadership." 21 This is not some commentary by the Thaci team that is trying to 22 take some debate about the disclosure. This is the problem, that it 23 wasn't disclosed. When Your Honour was making rulings on the 24 pre-trial release of these four gentlemen, would Your Honour not want 25

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to know that an OSCE ambassador that ran the OSCE office during the operative timeframe of this indictment said that he -- that this violence was not part of some plan by the Albanian leadership, that my client, Hashim Thaci, had no motive to encourage this type of conduct.

I am paraphrasing. I'll gladly read once again, Your Honour, which I did before. It wasn't Greg Kehoe talking. What I read to you was from the statement. But I will gladly re-read what is in this statement and this exculpatory information. It's an outrage that they sit there smugly and don't take responsibility for keeping these four men in jail when they had documentation before them that indicated there was a reasonable doubt about this case.

And how about their arguments that if you release any of these four men, they're going to go down and wreak havoc in Kosovo, when they said -- their witness that they took the statement from, Ambassador Everts said, there is no incentive for Mr. Thaci to do any such thing and what would happen in their relationships to the internationals.

This document wasn't turned over in the due course of their 103 case. I can tell you exactly what happened. Let's back up. The OSCE witnesses that were inculpatory were all turned over -- they got clearances and they were turned over in August 2021. We've had two pre-trial detention motions since then.

Everts' at the latest - at the latest - was received at that point. They even say -- they even say in their memo that clearances

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were received in the second half of 2021, August 2021. So it's okay, gentlemen, to stay in jail for August, September, October, November, December, January, until the SPO decides to get around to turn this document over. And why did they turn it over?

5 And, by the way, Judge, the Thaci Defence has got no 6 relationship with Ambassador Everts. Ambassador Everts is a 7 gentleman that came out in these OSCE reports.

Ambassador Prosper called him on the phone. That's how it 8 happened. He called him on the phone and said can we chat. As far 9 as any relationship with the Thaci Defence, there is no relationship. 10 And if he sat here before you, he would tell you that. But we talked 11 to him as a result of that. And it was as a result of our first 12 conversation with Ambassador Everts, where he expressed some surprise 13 14 that we did not have his statement, that he articulated this: "I think I'm going to contact the SPO to see if I can get my statement." 15

16 That's what he told us. We have no control over Ambassador 17 Everts. This is an international ambassador of some stature, 18 Your Honour.

And that's what he did. He attempted to contact the Prosecutor who took it, who apparently had left the office. He then attempted to contact people in the office that he knew. That gentleman said, "I'm going to see what I can do." And when was that? The last conversation of the person inside the Prosecutor's Office, Mr. Bennett, as to turning this document over, was Monday. Monday. And it was at that point that the SPO concluded that they had

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been caught, that they had been caught in not disclosing 103 material, material that at very minimum, under the best of circumstances from anything the Prosecutor said, will certainly effect the credibility or reliability of the Specialist Prosecutor's evidence.

And it was thereafter that he tried to get it that the SPO said, 6 "We're not going to give it to you." And then, oh, okay, then 7 graciously, within 24 hours, it just happens to be uploaded. Just 8 happens, miraculously, out of the ether. This document that is such 9 an issue happens to be uploaded. Oh, it's just the natural course of 10 things. Nonsense. This is nonsense. Does anybody believe that 11 story? Of course not. Of course not. They turned it over because 12 they had been caught. 13

And the problem here, Judge, is not necessarily the document. The problem is that those four men are still sitting in jail while they sat and didn't turn anything over until they got caught. That is the problem. Putting aside the problems that Ambassador Prosper outlined, that is the problem for my client and these gentlemen's and ladies' clients.

And I submit to Your Honour that based on this alone, there is reasonable doubt and this Court should release these gentlemen on any conditions that Your Honour wants but release them, because a senior member of the international community has put everything that the SPO has leveled in this indictment in doubt, in reasonable doubt. And you can't hold somebody in jail indefinitely based on that.

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1 Thank you.

2 JUDGE GUILLOU: Thank you, Mr. Kehoe.

3 MR. KUSCHNIK: Your Honour, can I --

4 JUDGE GUILLOU: Mr. Prosecutor, very briefly, please.

5 MR. KUSCHNIK: I only have a very brief question, just to get 6 the record clear, to the Defence. You just made a submission that 7 there is no relationship between Mr. Everts and the Thaci Defence. 8 Is it your submission that there is no relationship -- does that 9 include Mr. Thaci or are you separating the Thaci Defence from 10 Mr. Thaci? Is it your submission that there's no relationship 11 between Mr. Everts and Mr. Thaci?

MR. KEHOE: I will tell you, they want to accuse us of some type 12 of improper contact? I'll take that on all day long. All day long. 13 14 The contact with Mr. Everts came about because we were reviewing these documents to see who was in the theater at the time. There is, 15 in fact, a book that was written by the OSCE which has two sections 16 to it. And what happened? What happened with regard to Mr. Everts? 17 18 There was no -- I don't want to even say this. There was no instruction from our client to contact Ambassador Everts. 19

20 We went through who the ambassadors and the internationals were, 21 and, guess what, Judge, we have a member of our team who worked in 22 the international community, Ambassador Prosper, and Ambassador 23 Prosper was the gentleman who contacted Ambassador Everts and we 24 started this conversation. Period.

25 JUDGE GUILLOU: That's noted. Thank you.

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MR. KUSCHNIK: I'm not at all making any allegations. I'm --1 MR. KEHOE: Yes, you are. Stop. 2 MR. KUSCHNIK: I'm just asking a question to understand your 3 submission, and you didn't answer the question. 4 MR. KEHOE: Don't ask a question like that if you're not trying 5 to level some personal allegation. 6 JUDGE GUILLOU: Please, please, please --7 THE INTERPRETER: Could the speakers please not overlap because 8 it's impossible to have an accurate transcript if you overlap. Thank 9 you very much on behalf of the interpreters. 10 11 JUDGE GUILLOU: It's very wise and I advise all the parties to follow this advice. 12 Now, let me, before we go into a short break -- do you want to 13 14 say something? If so, very quickly. MS. LAWSON: I do briefly want to respond on process because 15 what the Thaci Defence said --16 MR. EMMERSON: [via videolink] I'm so sorry. I've been trying to 17 get the floor for a while. 18 JUDGE GUILLOU: Sorry, Mr. Emmerson. Let me first give the 19 floor to Madam Prosecutor. I'll give you --20 MR. EMMERSON: [via videolink] Except she might want to deal with 21 the point I'm going to raise. That's it. 22 JUDGE GUILLOU: Madam Prosecutor, can I give the floor to 23 Mr. Emmerson? 24 25 Very briefly, Mr. Emmerson, please.

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1	MR. EMMERSON: [via videolink] Yes. It's a very brief point.
2	A number of the counsel for the accused, including Ms. O'Reilly
3	on behalf of the Veseli Defence, asked for a clear indication of how
4	much exculpatory material is still in the possession of the
5	Prosecution without having been disclosed. And it's crucial that we
6	know that because we're about to move onto an agenda item about
7	Defence preparation. And, you know, I'll be dealing with the volume
8	of material which we're having to deal with still yet to come,
9	particularly, as you're rightly say, the exculpatory material which
10	is vital for planning the Defence investigation.
11	We can't leave this Status Conference without a number from the
12	Prosecution. They must know what they've got.
13	JUDGE GUILLOU: Thank you, Mr. Emmerson.
14	Madam Prosecutor.
15	MS. LAWSON: Thank you, Your Honour. I did just briefly want to
16	respond in terms of process because what the Thaci Defence said is
17	not correct. The Rule 103 packages were prepared last week as part
18	of ongoing review and disclosure.
19	And as for its weight, as Mr. Kehoe said himself, they are
20	positing the views of one individual against a substantial body of
21	other evidence. Thank you.
22	JUDGE GUILLOU: Thank you, Madam Prosecutor.
23	So before we have a short break, first I want to invite the SPO
24	to continue its review of material as fast of possible. And as I
25	said earlier, it has to be the priority. Exculpatory material has to

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be the priority. It is essential for the Defence and it is also
 essential for the Court that these documents, items are disclosed as
 soon as possible.

I also ask the SPO to inform the Defence inter partes, and then 4 the Bench before the next Status Conference, of the state of review 5 of the material that the SPO has under its control or possession. It 6 is important for the Defence to know exactly where we are. I note 7 that you've indicated that 50 per cent of the material had been 8 reviewed. I don't think it fully answers the question of the Defence 9 in terms of number. So I invite you to continue the discussion and 10 to inform regularly the Defence on the quantity of material that 11 still needs to be reviewed. 12

And, finally, I note that the Thaci Defence indicated that one option could be to have a third party examining the material in order to determine if exculpatory material would be in the possession of the SPO. I invite the Thaci Defence for a written filing on this issue, if it wishes, especially on which legal basis and which modalities because this will have to be dealt with in written rulings given the complexities of such a proposal.

20 MR. KEHOE: Yes, Your Honour.

JUDGE GUILLOU: Thank you, Mr. Kehoe.

We are going to have a short break. It is 4.26. I remind the parties that, as usual, we have to finish at 6.00 p.m. at the latest, so I invite all the parties to be brief at the second part.

25 We are going to resume at 4.50 Hague time. 4.50 Hague time.

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The hearing is adjourned. 1 --- Recess taken at 4.27 p.m. 2 --- On resuming at 4.51 p.m. 3 JUDGE GUILLOU: So let us move to the last category of 4 disclosure, which is the Rule 107 material. 5 I note that, in its submissions, the SPO is continuing to 6 actively work to complete discussions with Rule 107 providers. 7 The SPO notably indicated that two filings would be soon be submitted 8 once relevant discussions with providers in relation to any proposed 9 counterbalancing measures to be proposed in those applications are 10 concluded. 11 I invite the SPO to make submissions on this category of 12 material. 13 14 Madam Prosecutor.

MS. LAWSON: We are very much working to complete discussions with relevant Rule 107 providers. For those with whom clearance decisions are outstanding, we continue to be in contact with many of them multiple times a week, often going through individual documents with them in a detailed manner. And as a result of these efforts, significant further progress has been made. And for the vast majority of items, clearance decisions have been reached.

Yesterday we submitted a Rule 107(2) request, which was notified this morning as filing 678, in respect of 21 documents which had ultimately been denied clearance by two providers. There are further Rule 107(2) requests that are being prepared, and for one we're

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1	completing discussions on possible counterbalancing measures, as you
2	mentioned.
3	The filing we submitted yesterday also contains an overview of
4	the providers that we remain in discussion with. So as the Court
5	will have seen, relatively speaking, this is not a large number of
6	items. We hope, and based on timelines that have been indicated to
7	us, we do, in fact, expect to conclude many of those discussions in
8	the coming weeks.
9	Should there be a need for any further application at that time,
10	we will do so.
11	Thank you.
12	JUDGE GUILLOU: Thank you, Madam Prosecutor.
13	Do the Defence teams want to take the floor on this category of
14	material?
15	Mr. Kehoe.
16	MR. KEHOE: We have nothing on this issue, Your Honour.
17	JUDGE GUILLOU: I don't see any requests for the floor.
18	Okay. So then I will move to the next item on our agenda, which
19	is the issue of translations of filings and evidentiary material.
20	I would first like to hear from the Registry on the progress
21	made with regard to the translation of these items. Notably, whether
22	the parties have made any further urgent requests for translation,
23	and whether the Registry can give an estimate for the translation of
24	the SPO pre-trial brief and related material, and Rule 109(c) chart.
25	I would also like to hear the parties on any further

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difficulties regarding translations, and if there are any filings that needs to be prioritised.

I will first give the floor to the Registry. Mr. Nilsson,
please.

5 MR. NILSSON: Thank you, Your Honour.

6 So as set out in our written submissions, translation of the 7 pre-trial brief is well on track and a revised Albanian translation, 8 both the strictly confidential and the confidential redacted version, 9 will be finalised by 18 February. By the same date, we will have 10 completed the unrevised translation of the witness list. And beyond 11 this, there are no outstanding prioritised requests before the LSU.

With regard to the Rule 109(c) chart that you had asked about as 12 well, Your Honour, we set out in the written submissions the 13 14 challenges with regard to this document. I will not repeat those submissions, but should -- just maybe to add, that should there be a 15 request for prioritising this document we would ask the parties to be 16 as specific as they can be when it comes to which pages and which 17 sections that is of most interest for them, and that will assist, 18 greatly to bring some focus to that translation task. Again, only if 19 there is a wish to make this a priority. 20

21 Thank you.

22 JUDGE GUILLOU: Thank you, Mr. Nilsson.

23 Mr. Kehoe, please.

24 MR. KEHOE: Yes, Your Honour, we have nothing further on this 25 topic. We understand the position of the Registry, and we, of

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course, will prioritise items as requested by Mr. Nilsson. 1 JUDGE GUILLOU: Thank you, Mr. Kehoe. 2 Mr. Emmerson, please. 3 MR. EMMERSON: [via videolink] Unless there is an indication from 4 either of my trial colleagues that there is any issue they wish to 5 raise, I don't think there is anything that we need to address, 6 Your Honour. 7 JUDGE GUILLOU: Thank you, Mr. Emmerson. 8 Mr. Young, please. 9 MR. YOUNG: No, thank you. 10 JUDGE GUILLOU: Thank you, Mr. Young. 11 Mr. Ellis, please. 12 MR. ELLIS: Your Honour, we would regard the Rule 109(c) chart 13 14 as a priority of ours. We'll consider the point made by my learned colleague for the 15 Registry as regards prioritisation. My initial view would be it's a 16 very difficult document for us to prioritise, and Mr. Krasniqi would 17 18 need to see all of it, but we will give that further thought, Your Honour. 19 JUDGE GUILLOU: Thank you, Mr. Ellis. 20 Mr. Laws, do you want to mention anything on that topic? 21 MR. LAWS: [via videolink] No, thank you, Your Honour. 22 JUDGE GUILLOU: Thank you, Mr. Laws. 23 24 Now let me turn back to the SPO to ask about the status of its ongoing investigations. 25

Since the last Status Conference, the SPO filed its pre-trial
 brief and related material pursuant to Rule 95.

3 It also filed its Rule 109(c) chart on 28 January 2022 as 4 ordered.

5 In its written submissions, the SPO indicated that SPO 6 investigations in fulfilment of its mandate are anticipated to 7 continue for the foreseeable future. However, the SPO did not 8 indicate whether investigations could be completed by 4 March 2022, 9 as I suggested in the Scheduling Order.

I would like to insist on the fact that the factual basis of the case of the SPO shall be set before trial and that SPO investigations in this case should largely be completed by the time the case is transmitted to the Trial Panel. General investigations should not continue throughout the trial. There needs to be a case file that is properly transmitted to the Trial Panel.

16 Rule 102(4) confirms that objective. Only under exceptional 17 circumstances can additional evidence be disclosed and subsequently 18 used at trial. The Defence cannot be expected to prepare a defence 19 on a case that is constantly evolving.

20 So I would like the SPO to indicate whether it can provide a 21 further update on the estimated date of completion for outstanding 22 investigative steps and the nature of these investigations. I also 23 invite the Defence to present their views on this topic.

- 24 Madam Prosecutor, please.
- 25 MS. LAWSON: Thank you, Your Honour.
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1	We have heard your direction just there, and we confirm we are
2	aware of that framework. However, I don't have much to add to the
3	submissions that we've made at previous Status Conferences. It
4	remains the case that it is the responsibility of the office to
5	continue to investigate within its mandate, and should such further
6	investigations result in material we seek to rely on we're aware that
7	judicial authorisation will be required; or, if the material is
8	exculpatory, that could obviously only assist the Defence, and we
9	would otherwise comply with any disclosure obligations.
10	Thank you.
11	JUDGE GUILLOU: Thank you, Madam Prosecutor.
12	Mr. Kehoe, please.
13	MR. KEHOE: Your Honour, consistent with Your Honour's statement
14	to finish this investigation. Obviously that has to be done. This
15	can't go on forever. And I remind the Court of our ore tenus motion
16	under Rule 47 to terminate the investigation, if they're out there
17	investigating some other matters. It's been going on for some a
18	significant period of time. The law in Kosovo permits it to go for a
19	very limited time. We are well past that.
2.0	So we reiterate our ore tonus metion, which well gladly put in

20 So we reiterate our *ore tenus* motion, which we'll gladly put in 21 writing, to terminate this investigation under Rule 47.

JUDGE GUILLOU: Thank you, Mr. Kehoe.

23 Mr. Emmerson, please.

24 MR. EMMERSON: [via videolink] Your Honour, first of all, we're 25 grateful for the instruction that Your Honour has just given, which

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at least provides the certainty that there will be an endpoint to 1 this exercise. Obviously all of this has an implication both for the 2 Defence investigation and for the process of referral to the Trial 3 Chamber, when that should be. And as Your Honour made the point a 4 moment ago, that process needs the transmission of a complete case 5 file with the substantive allegations properly clarified. 6 And I'm going to be saying something, as I said to you earlier 7 on, about what the case file is currently going to look like and 8 whose responsibility it is to prune it down. 9 JUDGE GUILLOU: Thank you, Mr. Emmerson. 10 Mr. Young, please. 11 MR. YOUNG: Your Honour, nothing to add. Your Honour may 12 remember that -- I think it was the first Status Conference -- yes, 13 14 you've got it. I used the guillotine word, a French word. And it's about time that we knew the date of the execution. 15 JUDGE GUILLOU: Thank you, Mr. Young. 16 Mr. Ellis, please. 17 18 MR. ELLIS: Yes, Your Honour. We agree with that. We've heard exactly the same submission from the Prosecution at probably every 19 Status Conference in this case. It cannot go on indefinitely, 20 Your Honour. 21 JUDGE GUILLOU: Thank you, Mr. Ellis. 22 Madam Prosecutor, do you want to add anything? 23 MS. LAWSON: No, thank you, Your Honour. 24 25 JUDGE GUILLOU: Let me just stress that we have a legal

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framework, and additional evidence will only be admitted with a very strict scrutiny from the Panel and really in exceptional circumstances. I think it has to be clear on the record.

Let me now move to the next point on the agenda, which is
Defence investigations.

Having received the SPO pre-trial brief and the Rule 109(c) 6 chart, as well as the majority of the Rule 102(1)(b) material, I 7 would be interested to hear the Defence regarding the status of their 8 investigations; in particular, whether they can provide information 9 on the status of their investigations, whether the Defence has any 10 11 intention to make requests concerning unique investigative opportunities, whether the Defence can provide information on any 12 intention to give notice of an alibi or grounds for excluding 13 14 responsibility, whether the Defence can provide a best estimate of when it would be prepared to file its pre-trial brief. 15

I note the Defence submissions that difficulties remain with respect to investigations. However, even if the Defence is not in a position to give details on their investigations and upcoming requests, I invite the Defence to provide an estimate on the expected length of their investigations and when it anticipates being in a position to file its pre-trial brief and related material.

And I also invite the Defence to indicate if they do not wish to file a pre-trial brief, according to Rule 95(5).

24 Mr. Kehoe, please.

25 MR. KEHOE: Yes, Your Honour. You outlined some of the problems

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there are extant with regard to this investigation, not the least of 1 which is the ongoing COVID pandemic, but also take into consideration 2 the extensive amount of information we have received over the past 3 month or so, not the least of which is on January 31st. Take that on 4 top of something I highlighted previously, which was there are 326 5 proposed witnesses, 106 are anonymous, that we don't even know who 6 they are. And we may get some prior to trial. It looks like we're 7 going to get some in the middle of trial. 8

It makes this investigation extremely difficult. That's not 9 saying that we're not in the field attempting to investigate this, 10 Your Honour. We are. But it is much more time consuming with those 11 type of constraints, because if we knew what the information was 12 concerning many of the allegations, certainly these crime-based 13 14 allegations, we could dispense with them somewhat quickly in many instances, I'm sure. But we're in the unfortunate position of trying 15 to guess exactly what transaction they're talking about and going 16 from there. Extremely time consuming. Extremely time consuming, 17 that in conjunction with the trial brief, with the amount of 18 information that was in the 109(c) chart. I'm sure Your Honour can 19 understand exactly how long it's going to take. 20

21 Can I give you an estimate at this point as to how long that 22 investigation is going to be? I can't. I maybe will try to revisit 23 that during the next Status Conference, Your Honour. I will give you 24 my word we will go through the investigative team and try to talk to 25 them as to how much time they think they need. I think that their

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1 estimate is going to be quite extensive, but I don't want to speak
2 for them before I get a firmer or more definitive statement as to how
3 long it's going to be.

With regard to the Rule 99(1) issues and taking testimony from individuals, we are in the process of attempting to do that now, and I think that is going to come before Your Honour, or maybe a three-Judge Panel, or the Trial Panel, I'm unsure, relatively soon, because given that the Prosecution has put 18.064 hours on the table, as far as how long this case is going to be, and I know Mr. Emmerson is going to address that issue.

Some of these individuals are not -- with all due respect to 11 them, are not young. And not Mr. Young. I meant in ages. In years. 12 So some decisions are going to have to be made in the very near 13 14 future concerning some of those witnesses that are of advanced age. I wish them a long life, Judge. I don't wish then any ill. But the 15 practicalities are such that if this trial is going to go on which --16 what looks like years, then we're going to have to take some measures 17 to secure that testimony. We have not done that definitively yet, 18 but I just want to put it on the table so that Your Honour can 19 consider that we will, in fact, do it. 20

21 With regard to the alibi Defence, I can tell you that much --22 again, we go back to amount of redactions and we go back to all the 23 information that's in the indictment that we don't know.

24 What I can tell Your Honour at this point is that my client was, 25 Mr. Thaci was out of the country for long periods of time throughout

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the 1998/1999 period when, I assume, because we don't have dates, that some of this activity took place in Kosovo. So to the extent that that comes into play, when we have a more definitive date timeframe from the SPO, I am sure that we will be putting forth an alibi Defence on various transactions. I am sure of that. I just don't know which ones they are. JUDGE GUILLOU: Thank you, Mr. Kehoe.

8 Mr. Emmerson, please.

9 MR. EMMERSON: [via videolink] Yes, I'm going to ask Mr. Strong 10 to present our submissions on the Defence investigation. He is, as I 11 said earlier on, here -- there, rather, in court with counsel 12 Kujtim Kerveshi who is also heading up the Kosovo-based investigation 13 and advising on that.

14 JUDGE GUILLOU: Thank you, Mr. Emmerson.

15 Mr. Strong, please.

16 MR. STRONG: Yes, thank you, Your Honour.

The Veseli Defence has started its investigation, as we've stated at previous Status Conferences. We face similar issues as the one my colleague, Mr. Kehoe, outlined.

And I think, more importantly, the investigation is proceeding in fits and starts where we'll start down a road with an issue, and then we'll get a batch of disclosure that's 2.000 documents and we'll have to stop and process it, and it reshapes how we're thinking about the issue. So that's a challenge. Along with just the scope of the case.

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I am sure Your Honour has seen with the pre-trial brief there are 16.000 proposed exhibits that we're currently working through. As you just heard with Rule 103, we're still waiting for, I believe, about 50 per cent of the material that they still need to review. And we still don't have an estimate as to when we can expect to have that material, which is going to form the foundation of our Defence case and our Defence strategy and our investigation plan.

So we will make all efforts to continue this investigation under 8 those circumstances. But given that reality, we're not in a position 9 to provide an estimate in terms of when we could reasonably expect it 10 to end. We don't see a need at the moment for a special 11 12 investigative opportunity; however, we reserve the right that that could change should the need arise. And I think with the other 13 14 issues, just we can wrap them up all in one submission here, that the position remains largely the same. 15

16 Until we see more of the 103 material and have had more time to 17 go through the volume of the Prosecution's disclosure, we're not in a 18 position to put a reasonable estimate in front of you.

19 Thank you.

20 JUDGE GUILLOU: Thank you.

21 MR. EMMERSON: [via videolink] Can I just add one point of detail 22 which --

23 JUDGE GUILLOU: Mr. Emmerson.

24 MR. EMMERSON: [via videolink] -- I just wanted to ensure that 25 Your Honour had in mind. Which is that you've asked us to do our

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best to give you an estimate of how long the investigation is liable to take, and obviously we're keen to do that at the earliest possible moment.

But if you take the issue that you have just earlier on ruled 4 upon in relation to the witness protocol - in other words, written 5 submissions, possibly followed by an oral hearing on the 22nd - the 6 outcome of what is agreed on in that respect is going to have a 7 massive impact on how long things take. Because if you -- I'm sure 8 you're very familiar with the process that's envisaged by the 9 protocol, but it involves us writing to the Prosecution, who will 10 write to the witness, see if they've got any objection, and then make 11 an assessment and, if appropriate, organise a meeting where the 12 witness has to travel at their own expense to The Hague, and then 13 14 finally can meet us in the presence of the Prosecution.

Well, that's an extraordinary handicap for any Defence to be 15 under. I've never heard of anything remotely resembling it anywhere 16 with no evidential basis. Just a presumption that that is the 17 approach that's going to be taken. You know, the Prosecution have 18 interviewed all these people on their own and have made decisions, 19 apparently, about which ones they were going to sit on, like the 20 ambassador's witness statement. But the Defence must play their hand 21 entirely open. Well, that's going to have an impact on whether we 22 23 have a fair trial because it's going to have an impact on whether we think it's appropriate to interview a witness if we have to have the 24 Prosecutor sitting in on the Defence case. And, you know, clearly if 25

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there were real concerns about a witness, then there could be 1 alterations made. 2 But my point is a simple one. Is that, you know, the 3 investigation might be one that takes nine months or 12 months if 4 there was no such argument. But if we're going to work in that 5 protocol, I would have thought you're looking at a two and a half 6 7 year investigation. A massive impact on the pre-trial period. JUDGE GUILLOU: Thank you, Mr. Emmerson. 8 Mr. Young, please. 9 MR. YOUNG: Yes, Your Honour, very briefly. 10 In relation to Defence investigations, as I mentioned on the 11 last occasion, and we've commenced investigations. All I can say is 12 they will clearly be -- this will clearly be a lengthy process, and 13 14 it's very difficult to give an estimate as to how long Defence investigations will take, particularly given what we mentioned 15 earlier, that there's still -- one, there's still a huge amount of 16 material to analyse and digest. 17 18 We just received, as Your Honour knows, the pre-trial brief. So we are diligently reviewing the pre-trial brief. The underlying 19 materials, that task in itself will take months, frankly. And in 20 relation to disclosure generally, Your Honour knows that there's 21 still a massive amount that we still don't have. And if we're going 22 to be given the 102(3) materials that we've asked for, that's another 23

25 difficult to say at this stage. All I can say is we are very

42, 43.000 additional materials, sets of materials. So it's very

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diligently going through everything we can as quickly as we can. 1 And as far as a Defence pre-trial brief is concerned, frankly, 2 it's difficult to say now in the light of what I've just mentioned as 3 to when we'd be in the position to draft one. 4 JUDGE GUILLOU: Thank you, Mr. Young. 5 Ms. Alagendra, please. 6 7 MS. ALAGENDRA: [Microphone not activated]. JUDGE GUILLOU: Microphone, please. 8 MS. ALAGENDRA: Your Honour, our investigations have commenced. 9 They're ongoing. But it's too early for us to give any estimate as 10 to how long it's going to take and as to when we'll be able to submit 11 12 our pre-trial brief. Our position remains as has been submitted by counsels for the 13 14 other three teams. For this reason, we are unable to give any update at this point. Probably by the next Status Conference, Your Honour. 15 JUDGE GUILLOU: Thank you, Ms. Alagendra. 16 I invite the Defence teams to try to give their best estimate at 17 the next Status Conference, as proposed by Mr. Kehoe, taking into 18 consideration the constraints that you all explained in your written 19 submissions as well. 20 Madam Prosecutor, do you want to say anything on this topic? 21 MS. LAWSON: Only very briefly, Your Honour. 22 We provided the Defence with a list of over 300 proposed agreed 23 facts in March 2021. Excluding translations, we disclosed 24

approximately 95 per cent of Rule 102(1)(b) materials over five

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months ago. That is, on or before 18 August. All of which was 1 subcategorised in Legal Workflow. We provided a provisional witness 2 list, including summaries, in October 2021, and we provided our 3 pre-trial brief, witness, and exhibit lists in December 2021. 4 And we remain available to the Defence teams to discuss any 5 points of agreement. 6 7 Thank you. JUDGE GUILLOU: Thank you very much. I don't see any request 8 for the floor. 9 Let us now move to the date of the next Status Conference. I 10 confirm to the parties --11 MR. EMMERSON: [via videolink] I'm so, sorry, Your Honour. 12 But --13 JUDGE GUILLOU: Mr. Emmerson. 14 MR. EMMERSON: [via videolink] -- as I indicated to you earlier 15 on, I have a significant matter to raise with you under any other 16 business. 17 18 JUDGE GUILLOU: I know, don't worry. MR. EMMERSON: [via videolink] Oh, okay. 19 JUDGE GUILLOU: This will be after the date for the next Status 20 Conference. I haven't forgotten. 21 Now, I just want to confirm that I intend to schedule the next 22 Status Conference on Thursday, 24 March 2022, at 14.30 Hague time. 23 So I invite the parties to confirm their availability. 24 Madam Prosecutor. 25

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MS. LAWSON: Yes, Your Honour. We will be available. Thank 1 you. 2 JUDGE GUILLOU: Thank you, Madam Prosecutor. 3 Mr. Kehoe. 4 MR. KEHOE: Yes, Your Honour, we will be available. And as for 5 the 22nd of February, we will be available for that date as well. 6 JUDGE GUILLOU: Thank you, Mr. Kehoe. 7 Mr. Emmerson, please. 8 MR. EMMERSON: [via videolink] Yes, we'll be available. 9 JUDGE GUILLOU: Thank you, Mr. Emmerson. 10 Mr. Young, please. 11 MR. YOUNG: Yes, we'll be there. 12 JUDGE GUILLOU: Thank you, Mr. Young. 13 14 Ms. Alagendra, please. MS. ALAGENDRA: We are available, Your Honour, on 24 March, as 15 well as 22 February. 16 JUDGE GUILLOU: Thank you, Ms. Alagendra. 17 Mr. Laws, please. Mr. Laws? 18 MR. LAWS: [via videolink] Your Honour, yes, we're available 19 then. Thank you. 20 JUDGE GUILLOU: Thank you, Mr. Laws. 21 Mr. Nilsson. 22 MR. NILSSON: Thank you for asking, Your Honour. I will 23 certainly be available. 24

JUDGE GUILLOU: You are administering the courtroom, so if you

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Procedural Matters (Open Session) Page 941 are not available, we cannot organise any hearing. 1 You will receive a Scheduling Order that will include an agenda 2 before the next Status Conference, as usual. 3 Now at this point I would like to raise the parties and 4 participants whether they have any other issues they would like to 5 raise. 6 And Mr. Emmerson already indicated that he wanted to raise a 7 specific point, but let me go through the usual order. 8 Madam Prosecutor. 9 MS. LAWSON: No, thank you, Your Honour. 10 JUDGE GUILLOU: Thank you, Madam Prosecutor. 11 Mr. Kehoe. 12 MR. KEHOE: Your Honour, just the two items that I had talked 13 14 about before, the pre-trial detention issue and, obviously, the 22 February hearing are the two issues that I wanted to address. The 15 most important, of course, being guidance from Your Honour on 16 pre-trial release. 17 18 JUDGE GUILLOU: Thank you, Mr. Kehoe. Mr. Emmerson, you have the floor. 19 MR. EMMERSON: [via videolink] Can you hear me? Yes, good. 20 Well, I'm grateful to Your Honour for ensuring that there is 21 sufficient time for me to address this question. I think it is a 22 rather important question now that we have the Prosecution's 23 pre-trial brief, and, as has just been said by the Prosecution, a 24 significant sense of the shape of its case, there is important stuff 25

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still outstanding. But there is sufficiently disclosed to enable me
 now to take stock of the situation and to make some general
 submissions about the scope and scale of the Prosecution case.

Your Honour will remember that at an earlier hearing I had -perhaps, I think, on more than one occasion - anticipated that we were heading towards an unmanageable trial and that a solution needed to be devised for whether it is your responsibility to impose discipline on the Prosecution or the responsibility of the Trial Chamber. But one way or another, something has to give.

And because the Tribunal is working out its own processes for the first time, there isn't a track record of experience. At the ICTY, generally speaking, the Trial Chamber would impose a limit on the number of hours and would require a general timetable that no witness should take more than half an hour unless the party wishing to question them had made an application -- or raised an application to the Judge.

So there are various things that can be done and, importantly, 17 were done at the ICTY to maintain some sort of control. Now, 18 obviously, as you know, in some of the cases even that was 19 insufficient. So, for example, Milosevic died during his trial 20 because it had generally gone on so long because the prosecution in 21 that case decided to try all three countries - in other words, 22 Serbia's crimes or Milosevic's alleged crimes - in relation to 23 Croatia, Bosnia, and Kosovo in one joint trial. 24

25

But with that introduction, and I anticipate that the

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submissions I make are going to be met with the response, well, this 1 isn't the ICTY. We are deliberately set up to do better than the 2 ICTY. Which was the submission they made, if you'll remember, when 3 arguing that they would trial-ready in June 2020. I drew your 4 attention to the timeframes that were taken in pre-trial proceedings 5 in a whole range of cases at the ICTY and ICC, and I predicted that 6 we would get to the end of last year and not be ready to start a 7 trial, and based on the careful analysis of the practices and the 8 time taken in the other cases. Well, this is water under the bridge 9 now. We've moved through the pre-trial period -- we're moving 10 through the pre-trial period. My only concern is that these accused 11 were denied provisional release on the basis of a false 12 representation to you of what the pre-trial period would be. 13

I am inviting you and the Prosecution not to make the same mistake again, because it's undeniable that the Prosecution has failed to get a grip on its case and, as a result, it's completely out of control. It's partly the consequence of them not having any direct evidence of crimes committed, incited, or participated in by any of the accused. It's all built on inference and argument from events that none of the accused were actually involved in any way.

21 And I think that does make it a more difficult case for the 22 Prosecution to advance and, therefore, a tendency is to throw in 23 everything, including the kitchen sink, the baby, and the bath water, 24 and throw it all in one big mosh and hope that it lands. But the 25 result of that process? Just let's look at it for a moment.

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1 The Prosecution has put time estimates for oral testimony on the 2 witnesses that it is intending to call. I think I'm right in saying 3 that cumulatively those time estimates come to something over 1.300 4 hours on Prosecution direct examination only. Right? So to put that 5 in perspective, in the Milosevic case the Prosecution used a total of 6 360 hours to present its case, which included Defence examination of 7 Prosecution witnesses.

8 So unlike the Prosecution in our case, which is asking for 1.300 9 hours for only direct examination. In the Milosevic case, the 10 Prosecution used 360 for direct and cross-examination of their case, 11 and the case as a whole took two years. Right? So we're beginning 12 to see 1.300 hours for this Prosecution, 360 hours for Milosevic, and 13 that case took two years before Milosevic died, but he died during 14 the defence case.

In the Prlic case, the Prosecution used a total of 296 hours, so 15 less than Milosevic, to present its case over approximately one year 16 and nine months. And one of the best timed cases was actually the 17 18 Kosovo crimes against humanity case in which five Serbian political military, paramilitary, and policing leaders were all put on trial 19 for jointly committing crimes against humanity in Operation 20 Horseshoe, which was the Operation by which Serbia encased the Kosovo 21 Albanian population with a horseshoe of armed forces and then 22 travelled through the country -- this is in the immediate aftermath 23 of the NATO bombing, travelled through the country, driving Albanian 24 civilians across the borders to Macedonia -- Macedonia, Montenegro, 25

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1	and Albania. So a very, very significant trial in the same territory
2	that we are talking about. And the lead case in that is Sainovic or
3	Milutinovic case in the Prosecution used 166 hours, so one-tenth of
4	what the Prosecution is asking for here, across approximately ten
5	months. So they did very well in that case. I accept that.
6	But the [indiscernible] interestingly, in those three case, is
7	consistent, there is a pattern. With the very tightly managed way
8	that the ICTY handled these cases, there's a broadly consistent
9	pattern with a relationship between the number of witnesses, the
10	number of hours, and how long the trial takes.
11	And at that rate, if you apply to the witnesses that the
12	Prosecution have put forward in this case, it would last something
13	like 120 months. The Prosecution case would last approximately 120
14	months. So, you know, somewhere near 10, 11 years for the trial.
15	And supposing that there is a Defence case, cut to its absolute
16	minimum, that would be likely to be 18 months, two years. So you're

17 talking about a 15-year potentially, 14-, 15-year trial.

Now, in addition to the witnesses on their list, the Prosecution 18 has proposed 16.000 exhibits and the total number of witnesses being 19 345. But the figures I gave you in hours were for those they have 20 21 indicate they intend to call viva voce. And it's no good the Prosecution saying, "Well, if the Defence was prepared to agree all 22 this, then we wouldn't need to call any of the evidence in the case. 23 24 We'd just do it on paper." Well, we're not and that's not going to happen. So the Prosecution needs to be in a position to buckle up 25

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1 and prove its case.

If the case it's trying to set out to prove now is one that is 2 permitted to go to trial, it will last at least ten and probably more 3 than 12 years. Now, that cannot be in the interests of justice. 4 Ιt undermines international criminal law fatally. It undermines 5 anything good that this Court is trying to do. It undermines the 6 justice for the accused as well as justice for the victims as well as 7 justice for the witnesses. It's a disastrous proposition and it 8 makes the Court a laughing stock. Let's be honest. There's already 9 serious concern about the way the Court is conducting itself, but 10 that would make the Court a laughing stock. 11

So somebody is going to have to tell the Prosecution how to run their case and how to cut it down to a manageable level. This is meat and drink for Judges in international criminal courts. They do it all the time. That's the way the system works. And if it doesn't work that way, these trials are not achievable. So, Your Honour, unless you do something about this, this will be the last international criminal tribunal that is set up.

And as far as that's concerned, we've begun the process of trying to see how you would edit the Prosecution case. But the problem is that what they are putting forward as their case -- and bear in mind, as I said at the outset, none of these are witnesses who make any direct accusations against any of the accused; they are just random people who have been picked out to give evidence about specific crimes that have no connection to the accused.

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And if you listen -- remind yourself about the comment made by 1 the ambassador that Mr. Kehoe was talking about earlier on, you can 2 see there are two points of view; that certainly the point of view 3 that's been taken by the ICTY in all of the Kosovo cases and the 4 judgements, if you read them, and by the ambassador and many other 5 people very deeply familiar with Kosovo, is that the crimes that were 6 being committed on the ground had no central control whatsoever. 7 This was just the product of a lawless situation and lots of weapons 8 around and people settling old scores and the outpouring of anger and 9 fear in the context of an arguably genocidal Serbian campaign, but 10 certainly one that could have depended on crimes against humanity 11 village by village as the Kosovar Albanian population were massacred 12 and forced, those who remained, closer and closer to the border so 13 14 that the whole place could be ethnically cleansed of its Kosovar Albanian population. That was what we -- the context in which these 15 allegations are being made. 16

So, you know, we know what the territory of the arguments at 17 18 trial are going to be, but for the consequence of that to be that the Prosecution just has put anything into the case to the point there's 19 no regard being given to how long the trial is going to take, at the 20 end of the day, you know, the question is -- let's take Mr. Veseli. 21 You know, we look at the sentences that were passed down to the 22 Serbian conspirators who themselves had ordered the killing of 23 thousands and thousands and thousands of Kosovar Albanians, and the 24 driving of the remainder out of Kosovo so that they could never 25

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return, the destroying of their homes and their crops and their animals, and the removal of their documents and the filing of their car number plates, the removal of anything that could establish a connection with the right of return, they were all convicted of crimes against humanity in that period. And the sentences that they were given, you know, varied from sort of ten years to 15, more or less.

So, you know, essentially what you -- if you don't step in and 8 act, and, you know, the history - I'm sure you won't challenge me in 9 saying this - is that you have been, generally speaking, giving the 10 Prosecution enormous latitude so far and that's why we're in this 11 mess, right? That's why we're in this state because you haven't held 12 the Prosecution to a tight enough -- a series of rules. And, you 13 14 know, when they choose to do what they want to do, just in complete violation of the rules, you never hold them to account. 15

16 So this is an opportunity to do something about the situation. 17 You, I suggest, cannot properly send a case to the Trial Chamber 18 which is technically due to last ten years to try. So we have to 19 decide next what is the procedure for resolving this. Are you going 20 to send a ten-year trial to the Trial Chamber and let them have to 21 deal with it, or are you going to do something about it now?

Now, I'm happy to put -- obviously, I am not suggesting you make any decisions on this on the basis of oral submissions, but I don't want to waste a lot of time putting a written submission to you if you're going to turn around and say, "This is not my function." So I

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would like you to give an indication today whether you accept it as part of your function to give the Prosecution a limit in terms of time, in terms of volume, in terms of number of witnesses, in terms of categories of case, in terms of how they are going to make this case work or not. Because if you don't accept you have that jurisdiction, let's not waste any time. I'll appeal your ruling and we'll go that way.

8 So I'd like a ruling in principle today, if possible, but not 9 necessarily a ruling, about whether you consider yourself to have the 10 jurisdiction to impose limits on the number of witnesses and the 11 number of hours that the Prosecution is entitled to claim for 12 purposes of presenting its trial. Every other tribunal does it. If 13 you don't do it, you will create this case as an absolute car crash. 14 It already is in this situation.

It is an extraordinary situation where a Prosecution has broken 15 all the rules and broken all its deadlines and lied to the Court 16 about what was going to happen in terms of how long the case was 17 going to take pre-trial, deliberately categorising underestimates in 18 flagrant violation or in flagrant opposition to the known facts and 19 to experience of other courts, because I'm sure the Prosecution think 20 they're better than the prosecution in every other court, but they're 21 not good enough to put a case forward that can sensibly and 22 realistically be tried. 23

24 Why should Mr. Veseli even go for trial? At the end of the day, 25 if he's going to serve ten years in prison, you might as well just

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let him get on with it, because whether he's convicted or acquitted, you'll get ten years of his liberty or more, because he's already two years in prison.

This is a travesty, and so I would invite you to accept your true responsibility to hold this case to -- to put it in some sort of order. And, obviously, if you choose not to do that, then it's your responsibility that this situation is completely out of control.

8 So could you please give us an indication how you would like 9 this dealt with?

10

JUDGE GUILLOU: Thank you, Mr. Emmerson.

I will continue the round. Just on your question, I'm not going 11 12 to make any ruling on this today, especially in the "any other business" category of a Status Conference. This is a very serious 13 14 matter for which there will need to be written rulings, as you just mentioned. There are ways to streamline proceedings. These 15 responsibilities are shared between the Pre-Trial Judge and the Trial 16 Chamber, and everybody will have to take his or her responsibility on 17 this. But this cannot be done --18

19 MR. EMMERSON: [via videolink] Yes, but we need to know --

20 JUDGE GUILLOU: -- done at 5.34 --

21 MR. EMMERSON: [via videolink] I am not inviting you to do that. 22 JUDGE GUILLOU: -- in a Status Conference.

23 MR. EMMERSON: [via videolink] I would --

JUDGE GUILLOU: But these matters are definitely going to be addressed and streamlining the procedure, and efficient procedures

1	are definitely an important part of our function
2	MR. EMMERSON: [via videolink] It's not streamlining.
3	JUDGE GUILLOU: and this will be
4	MR. EMMERSON: [via videolink] It's ten times larger than the
5	JUDGE GUILLOU: addressed. Thank you, Mr. Emmerson.
6	Let me give the floor to Mr. Young, please.
7	MR. FERDINANDUSSE: Your Honour, I'm standing for a point of
8	order, please, and it will be brief.
9	JUDGE GUILLOU: Can you wait for the last Defence team? I will
10	give you the floor and you can make your point once I finish with the
11	other Defence teams, please. Thank you.
12	Mr. Young.
13	MR. YOUNG: Nothing to add.
14	JUDGE GUILLOU: Thank you, Mr. Young.
15	Ms. Alagendra.
16	MS. ALAGENDRA: Nothing to add, Your Honour.
17	JUDGE GUILLOU: Thank you, Ms. Alagendra.
18	Mr. Laws, do you want to add anything?
19	MR. LAWS: [via videolink] Nothing from me. Thank you,
20	Your Honour.
21	JUDGE GUILLOU: Thank you, Mr. Laws.
22	Mr. Prosecutor, you have the floor. Thank you for waiting.
23	MR. FERDINANDUSSE: It is just a very brief point of order, but
24	I have noted before that we sometimes find ourselves in the situation
25	that the Defence teams are making increasingly wild allegations,

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allegations that they know not to be true, but we then run out of time or are about to run out of time and therefore we are required to be swift in our responses.

I would like there to be a situation that if we have to listen to allegations of these kind that are not on topic, that go on for longer and longer and are completely beside the point, that certainly there will be enough room to respond because this is no way to run a Status Conference if there is no limit as to what is done and what is discussed. Thank you.

10

17

JUDGE GUILLOU: Thank you, Mr. Prosecutor.

I invite the parties to mention in advance when they want to raise specific topics. And in such a topic, which is the efficiency of the proceedings, we have a legal framework. This will be dealt with by written rulings. They are powers of the Pre-Trial Judge, notably, in the hand of a document; they are powers of the Trial Chamber, so that procedures are managed efficiently.

Madam Prosecutor, you wanted to add something.

MS. LAWSON: Thank you, Your Honour. Just my colleague responded on the point of order there. I would like to respond in substance.

21 What I would say is that purely mathematical comparisons of the 22 type presented by the Veseli Defence in their written submissions and 23 again here today are of very limited assistance.

The Defence named some specific cases by way of example. One of those was the Sainovic case. Even a cursory look at the Sainovic

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trial schedule shows that between July 2006 and May 2007, the ten 1 months during which the Prosecution case was being presented, there 2 were four entire months when it appears that the court did not sit at 3 all and other months in which the court sat very few days. For 4 example, in April 2007, it was only three days of the entire month. 5 Therefore, for five of the ten months the court essentially did not 6 sit. So what I would say is a significant degree of care is required 7 in attempting to make any such extrapolations. 8

9 As for the ICTY generally, different Chambers took different 10 approaches to trial management. However, the submission that, 11 generally speaking, no witness at the ICTY could take more than half 12 an hour is not an accurate reflection of ICTY practice.

With regard to this case, the scope of evidence and manner of 13 14 presentation are matters which the Trial Panel will be empowered to address in due course in accordance with Rules 117 and 118. However, 15 let me be clear. The SPO will be presenting an efficient case. 16 We need to balance factors, including the burden of proof and the 17 interests of victims and witnesses in getting to give their account 18 of events to the Court. However, we will do so in a manner which is 19 balanced and efficient, as we have done in other cases before this 20 Court to date, and will certainly not be the range of years being put 21 forward by the Veseli Defence. 22

23 More fundamentally, however, matters are being taken here in the 24 wrong order. The SPO is not in a position to assess ways in which to 25 make the trial more efficient without knowing what it is that the

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Defence agrees to and what it disputes. We provided proposed agreed 1 facts in March 2021. That's almost a year ago. And we understand 2 from the written submissions the Defence teams are still considering 3 4 these, and we're very happy to discuss them. Similarly, should the Defence teams choose to file pre-trial 5 briefs, we would want to carefully review them. So we hope that 6 relevant information will be available for the Trial Panel to make 7 decisions pursuant to Rule 118. 8 Finally, now is not the time or place to debate the merits of 9 the case. That will again be determined at trial before the 10 Trial Panel. However, contrary to the Veseli Defence submissions, 11 the evidence disclosed and summarised in the Prosecution's pre-trial 12 brief is clear about the responsibility of the four accused for the 13 14 crimes charged. It includes contemporaneous statements of intent and knowledge, both written and oral; it includes clear evidence of 15 contribution and participation; and in respect of Mr. Veseli in 16 particular, there is also evidence of the very central involvement of 17 18 the intelligence bodies over which he presided in implementing the

19 common criminal purpose.

20 Thank you.

21 JUDGE GUILLOU: Thank you, Madam Prosecutor.

I don't see any requests for the floor, so -- Mr. Kehoe, just briefly.

MR. KEHOE: Just one very, very brief comment which is a comment on the efficiency and their call for agreed fact, et cetera.

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Let me remind the Prosecution that 106 witnesses are anonymous. 106 viva voce witnesses are anonymous. Again, a rhetorical question: Does the Prosecution think that makes it difficult, on behalf of the Defence, to assess agreed facts? What do they think? Of course. We have an indictment that is redacted on events and dates and times and people for which we cannot put our arms around that. I

7 can't even discuss it with my client.

8 It's an absurd proposition, with all due respect, Judge, to say 9 that we are ready to do this trial, we have thrown these facts and 10 circumstances out, and that the burden is on the Defence, given what 11 they presented to us. Thank you.

12 JUDGE GUILLOU: Thank you, Mr. Kehoe.

I don't see any requests for the floor, so this concludes today's hearing. I thank the parties and participants for their attendance. As usual, I thank the interpreters, stenographers, audio-visual technicians, and security personnel for their assistance.

We will meet on 24 March, and I will also inform you if we convene for a hearing on 22 February once I've received the written submissions of all the parties.

21 The hearing is adjourned.

--- Whereupon the Status Conference at 5.42 p.m.

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