

1 Monday, 8 November 2021

2 [Open session]

3 [The accused entered court]

4 --- Upon commencing at 9.30 a.m.

5 PRESIDING JUDGE SMITH: Good morning, everyone. Welcome.

6 Madam Court Officer, please call the case.

7 THE COURT OFFICER: Good morning, Your Honours. This is
8 KSC-BC-2020-07, The Specialist Prosecutor versus Hysni Gucati and
9 Nasim Haradinaj.

10 PRESIDING JUDGE SMITH: Ms. Bolici, will you please introduce
11 your team.

12 MS. BOLICI: Good morning, Your Honour. For the SPO are present
13 today Matthew Halling, Associate Prosecutor; James Pace,
14 Associate Prosecutor; Line Pedersen, Case and Evidence Manager;
15 Molly Norburg, legal intern; and I am Valeria Bolici, Prosecutor with
16 the SPO.

17 I want to anticipate, Your Honour, that Mr. Halling will have to
18 leave the courtroom after addressing the Court in relation to point A
19 because of other urgent work commitments.

20 Thank you.

21 PRESIDING JUDGE SMITH: No problem. Thank you very much.

22 Mr. Rees.

23 MR. REES: Your Honour, my name is Jonathan Rees, Queen's
24 Counsel. I appear for Mr. Hysni Gucati. I am assisted by co-counsel
25 Mr. Huw Bowden and Ms. Eleanor Stephenson; also assisted today by

1 team members Ms. Faye Wigmore, Mr. Vladimir Dashi, Mr. Joe Bowden,
2 and Mr. Remi Halilaj.

3 PRESIDING JUDGE SMITH: Thank you, Mr. Rees.

4 Mr. Cadman.

5 MR. CADMAN: Good morning, Your Honour. Toby Cadman for
6 Mr. Nasim Haradinaj. I'm joined today by Mr. Carl Buckley,
7 Mr. Jonathan Worboys, and Ms. Miriam Boxberg rejoins us today.

8 PRESIDING JUDGE SMITH: Thank you.

9 I also note that Mr. Gucati and Mr. Haradinaj are present in the
10 courtroom.

11 The Panel issued an order on Friday with the agenda for the
12 hearing today. We will start with the submissions on the
13 Prosecution's certification request, which was filed last Friday.
14 Then we will hear submissions from the Defence on the next steps in
15 these proceedings. We will then address some intervening matters.
16 And, finally, we will hear the accused's statements.

17 We'll start with the first point on our agenda.

18 On November 3, 2021, the Panel issued a confidential decision on
19 the pending Rule 102(3) matters and set as deadline for disclosure
20 for the SPO 5 November.

21 On 5 November 2021, the Prosecution requested certification of
22 that decision and the suspension of the deadline just mentioned. The
23 Panel extended the deadline for disclosure until the end of today.
24 The Panel will now hear oral submissions on the matter.

25 Each Defence team has 15 minutes to respond. Then the SPO will

1 be given 15 minutes to reply. The Panel may also ask some questions.

2 While the 3 November decision and the SPO certification request
3 were filed confidentially, the greater part of the issues raised can
4 be discussed in public session. The parties can ask for private
5 session if the specific content of any of the Rule 102(3) items needs
6 to be discussed.

7 No written submissions will be entertained for this filing. The
8 Panel will issue a written decision by the end of today.

9 Madam Court Officer will stand and let you know when there is
10 five minutes left on your allotted time so that we can keep that
11 schedule.

12 Mr. Rees, you have the floor.

13 MR. REES: Your Honour, I will do my best with the time. But I
14 am conscious that, of course, the SPO have already submitted a
15 written filing in relation to the original request.

16 We object to the request for leave to appeal. I begin with the
17 legal framework adopting what is set out in the decision of the
18 Pre-Trial Judge in this case, KSC-BC-2020-07 at filing F00169,
19 paragraph 10 onwards.

20 In summary, a right to appeal arises only if the Panel is of the
21 opinion that the standard for certification set forth in
22 Article 45(2) of the Law and Rule 77(2) of the Rules has been met.
23 Interlocutory appeals, which interrupt the continuity of the
24 proceedings, are the exception. Considerations that an interlocutory
25 appeal would address fundamental questions or would be to the benefit

1 of the Specialist Chambers do not, per se, warrant certifying the
2 appeal.

3 Mindful of the restrictive nature of this remedy, the following
4 specific requirements apply: A, whether the matter is an appealable
5 issue; B, whether the issue at hand would significantly affect, one,
6 the fair and expeditious conduct of the proceedings, or, two, the
7 outcome of the trial; and, C, whether, in the opinion of the
8 Pre-Trial Judge, or the Trial Panel, rather, an immediate resolution
9 by the Court of Appeals Panel may materially advance the proceedings.

10 Only an issue may form the basis of an appealable decision. An
11 issue is being described as an identifiable topic or subject, the
12 resolution of which is essential for determination of the matters
13 arising in the judicial cause under examination, and not merely a
14 question over which there is disagreement or conflicting opinion. An
15 appealable issue requires the applicant to articulate clearly
16 discrete issues for resolution by the Court of Appeals Panel that
17 emanate from the ruling concerned and do not amount to hypothetical
18 concerns or abstract questions.

19 The first prong of the certification test contains two
20 alternatives. The issue must have significant repercussions on
21 either: One, the fair and expeditious conduct of proceedings; or,
22 two, the outcome of the trial. Use of the term "significantly" in
23 the wording of the first prong of that test indicates that an
24 applicant must not only show how the issue affects, one, the fair and
25 expeditious conduct of proceedings; or, two, the outcome of the

1 trial. The applicant must also demonstrate the significant degree to
2 which these factors are effected.

3 The fair and expeditious conduct of proceedings is generally
4 understood as referencing the norms of a fair trial. Fairness is
5 preserved when a party is provided with the genuine opportunity to
6 present its case to be apprised of and comment on the observations in
7 evidence submitted to the Panel that might influence its decision.

8 THE INTERPRETER: The interpreters kindly ask the speaker to
9 slow down when reading. Thank you.

10 MR. REES: Alternatively, the first prong of the certification
11 test --

12 PRESIDING JUDGE SMITH: Mr. Reese, they've asked you to slow
13 down a bit. I know that's difficult but please do your best.

14 MR. REES: I will do. I'm conscious of that 15 minutes, but I
15 will do my best.

16 The first prong of the certification test may be met if the
17 issue significantly affects the outcome of proceedings. Thus, it
18 must be considered whether a possible error in an interlocutory
19 decision would impact the outcome of the case.

20 The second prong of the test for certification is an additional
21 limiting factor. Because of the test's cumulative nature, the
22 failure of an applicant to establish the first prong of the test will
23 necessarily exempt the Panel from considering whether the second
24 prong has been met.

25 The second prong of the test requires a determination that

1 prompt referral of an issue to the Court of Appeals Panel will settle
2 the matter.

3 Lastly, certification is not concerned with whether a decision
4 is correctly reasoned but whether the standard for certification has
5 been met.

6 Applying those principles, our first submission is that the
7 issues, as drafted in paragraph 2 of the request, are not appealable
8 issues.

9 They amount to attempts to manufacture appealable issues from
10 conclusions of the Trial Panel which the SPO simply disagrees with.
11 All of the issues raised amount to, in effect, mere disagreement and
12 in a number of respects misinterpretation of the decision, which is
13 impugned by the request. They are hypothetical and abstract
14 questions.

15 Paragraph 2.1 assumes, as the basis for its hypothetical
16 question, that materiality by the Trial Panel was assessed in the
17 abstract. It was not. And that is perfectly clear from the scope
18 and terms of the decision of the Trial Panel.

19 Paragraph 2.2 ignores the fact that both the Pre-Trial Judge,
20 the Court of Appeals Panel, and, indeed, this Trial Panel on earlier
21 occasions have agreed that the assessment as to whether entrapment
22 allegations are wholly improbable are matters to be determined at
23 trial, and disclosure is to be made where material is preparation --
24 is material to the preparation of the Defence or exculpatory for
25 trial. No other condition to disclosure is set out in the rules.

1 Paragraph 2.3 again is a wholly hypothetical question drafted on
2 the basis of an assumption that underlying allegations of entrapment
3 are unsubstantiated and wholly improbable to the point of being
4 fanciful.

5 I note in passing at this stage, and I will refer to this
6 shortly, that the question seeks to introduce new thresholds of
7 unsubstantiated and fanciful into the consideration of entrapment
8 without any authority for that proposition. The only relevant
9 assessment to be made at trial is whether a plea of incitement is
10 wholly improbable, even if it is unsubstantiated and/or fanciful,
11 which is not conceded in this case at all.

12 And if it is not wholly improbable, even if unsubstantiated or
13 fanciful, then the burden falls upon the Prosecution to prove that
14 there was no police incitement. But question at 2(iii) is a wholly
15 hypothetical question drafted on the basis of an assumption that the
16 allegation of entrapment is unsubstantiated and wholly improbable to
17 the point of being fanciful.

18 And paragraph 2.4 does not amount to a discrete issue. Indeed,
19 it's difficult to make any sense of the question as drafted.
20 Countermeasures are not an alternative to disclosure, as the SPO
21 appears to understand them. They are an alternative to
22 non-disclosure. In the event that non-disclosure under Rule 108 is
23 authorised, countermeasures are required to ensure fairness to the
24 defendant. The scope of those countermeasures can only be what is
25 required by fairness and not what is limited by the SPO.

1 The question about exceeding proposed countermeasures by the SPO
2 is, again, hypothetical and drafted on the presumption that the
3 entrapment claim is wholly improbable.

4 None of those hypothetical issues arise from the decision which
5 is sought to be impugned. They were, as hypothetical and abstract
6 questions, not essential to the determination made by the Trial Panel
7 on disclosure, which looked at the specifics, both circumstances and
8 facts as they were known, in relation to the present case.

9 The reference in paragraph 3 of the request to the
10 Pre-Trial Judge's previous decision denying disclosure and the
11 decision of the Court of Appeals Panel on that decision is a
12 distraction and no more than that, because the Pre-Trial Judge and,
13 indeed, the Court of Appeals Panel, never considered the material in
14 question at this stage.

15 THE COURT OFFICER: Five minutes left, Your Honours. You have
16 five minutes.

17 MR. REES: That's because the SPO had failed to include the same
18 on any Rule 102(3) notice. The Court of Appeal never considered the
19 material that the Trial Panel did.

20 The material concerned only appeared on a Rule 102(3) notice
21 following the ruling of the Court of Appeal that the SPO had applied
22 an inappropriately narrow approach to the issue of relevance.

23 At paragraphs 4 and 5 of the request, the SPO inaccurately
24 refers to the Trial Panel as determining that the internal report was
25 disclosable. As we read the finding of the Trial Panel, it ruled, in

1 fact, that the internal report was not disclosable, pursuant to
2 Rule 108, but ordered counterbalancing measures to be put in place.
3 The request is based on inaccurate submissions.

4 And in relation to paragraph 6 and the request for suspensive
5 effect of the impugned decision until the application for
6 certification is resolved. As we discussed on Friday, has no basis
7 in the rules. Rule 171 does not permit suspensive effect until the
8 application for certification is resolved but only provides for
9 suspensive effect to be granted at the time of certification.

10 Let me deal then with the detail of the first issue. And I do
11 so conscious that we are not, at this stage at least, in a position
12 to argue the merits. But I make some submissions because looking in
13 greater detail at these parts of the request, it demonstrates that
14 the questions posed are questions based on a false premise; namely,
15 it is asserted that the Trial Panel did not make a preliminary
16 assessment of how a piece of information might advance an asserted
17 issue in the case.

18 This is not correct even on the face of the request for
19 certification, which quotes from the Trial Panel specifically setting
20 out a detailed reason for the finding of materiality. That is set
21 out in paragraph 7.

22 The Trial Panel set out in that decision, considering the
23 circumstances of this case and the facts known, that the information
24 was material under Rule 102(3), interpreted in its relevant context
25 as it might suggest the SPO failed to take adequate investigative

1 steps to exclude the possibility that a member of its staff or
2 someone under its control entrapped the accused by disclosing the
3 impugned information. There is nothing abstract about that decision
4 at all.

5 Rule 102(3), as the Trial Panel found, of course requires
6 disclosure of all material which is deemed material by the Defence to
7 its preparation. And in the decision on disclosure, the Trial Panel
8 clearly set out how, in the circumstances of this case, the
9 information was material to the preparation of the Defence. This is
10 an example of the SPO attempting to manufacture an issue from a
11 conclusion that they simply disagree with.

12 Dealing with paragraphs 10 to 13 and the paragraphs in the
13 request dealing with what is described as the second issue. The
14 Trial Panel were right that the question as to whether a plea of
15 incitement is wholly improbable or not is a question of evidentiary
16 assessment to be made after the evidence has been called at the end
17 of the trial. The relevance of that question is not to disclosure.
18 It is solely to the issue of determination of the relevant burden of
19 proof. Where the plea of incitement is anything other than wholly
20 improbable, it falls upon the Prosecution at trial to have disproved
21 incitement.

22 I note, in passing, the assertion at paragraph 10 by the SPO
23 that entrapment was factually and legally impossible, of course,
24 makes little sense when the Trial Panel has already found that there
25 is material in the SPO's possession from which it can be inferred the

1 SPO have failed to exclude the possibility of entrapment.

2 Paragraphs 11 to 13 contain a further number of inaccuracies.
3 It is certainly not the case that on the accused's own version of
4 events there was no contact between any SPO official and the accused
5 and the process by which the batches were delivered to the KLA WVA.
6 On the accused's case, as the Trial Panel knows, and, indeed, the
7 SPO's case, the material was delivered by a person or persons unknown
8 to the accused.

9 The accused does not know whether that individual or individuals
10 was or were SPO officials or whether they were acting pursuant to
11 earlier contact with an SPO official.

12 Without citing any authority for the proposition, the SPO, at
13 paragraph 12, attempt to assert new requirements into the plea of
14 police incitement. They attempt to insert a requirement that there
15 was something other than a momentary exchange, a requirement that
16 there was direct contact between the accused and official, a
17 requirement that the will of the accused was overborne, and a
18 requirement that the accused were acting other than deliberately and
19 not of their own free will.

20 None of those purported requirements feature anywhere in any of
21 the European case law on the scope of the plea of police incitement,
22 and the SPO quotes no authority for those propositions. That they do
23 cite them without authority demonstrates, we submit, that the SPO
24 have no proper understanding of the nature of a plea of police
25 incitement.

1 In the present case, it is our submission, and we think it is
2 not controversial at all, that the alleged offences simply could not
3 have occurred without the delivery of these materials by an unknown
4 person or persons into the possession of the accused. And those
5 deliveries came with the express incitement to make material
6 available to the media.

7 If an official of the SPO was involved in that process, it is
8 just as capable of amounting to police incitement as if a police
9 officer had participated in the supply of a large quantity of Class A
10 drugs to an individual who had never been involved in drug
11 trafficking before. And where those drugs can be traced back to the
12 possession and custody of a police department, there is an obvious
13 question to be asked.

14 The proposition in paragraph 3 of the request that entrapment in
15 the present circumstances is theoretically impossible is both
16 nonsense and inconsistent with the finding of the Trial Panel that
17 the SPO are in possession of material which might reasonably suggest
18 they cannot exclude the possibility themselves.

19 Paragraphs 14 and 15 of the request state that the SPO is
20 mindful that the wholly improbable nature of entrapment must be
21 assessed differently when considering disclosure as opposed to the
22 merits of a case at trial. It is beyond our ability to understand
23 what the SPO means with that. Disclosure --

24 PRESIDING JUDGE SMITH: Mr. Rees, you're passed the limit a bit
25 now, so please wrap it up.

1 MR. REES: I'm going to ask if I can continue because I'm sure
2 that Mr. Cadman is going to be happy if I eat into some of his time.

3 PRESIDING JUDGE SMITH: Is that a fact, Mr. Cadman?

4 MR. CADMAN: I think that's a fair assumption to be made.

5 PRESIDING JUDGE SMITH: Okay. We will consider both of you
6 together then on those time limits.

7 MR. CADMAN: I will have, in all likelihood, some additional
8 remarks to make, but I'm quite happy --

9 PRESIDING JUDGE SMITH: You're close to the end, anyway, aren't
10 you, Mr. Rees?

11 MR. REES: I'm certainly getting through it, Your Honour. I'm
12 certainly getting through it.

13 PRESIDING JUDGE SMITH: That's not a very direct answer.

14 MR. REES: Well, I am trying to deal with an SPO filing in
15 writing.

16 PRESIDING JUDGE SMITH: I know.

17 MR. REES: And we haven't had the opportunity --

18 PRESIDING JUDGE SMITH: All right. Go ahead.

19 MR. REES: I am grateful for the Trial Panel's tolerance.

20 PRESIDING JUDGE SMITH: Go ahead. We will bear in mind the time
21 off of Mr. Cadman's limited time. Thank you.

22 MR. REES: Disclosure under Rules 102 and 103 does not require
23 any sort of *prima facie* test or threshold that the Defence must
24 establish in relation to any Defence or issue. It's not there on the
25 face of the rules, nor does it make any sense, because if that were

1 so, the Prosecution could hold on to material in its sole possession
2 which the Prosecution knew was, for example, exculpatory even though
3 the Defence was unaware of the exculpatory nature of that material.

4 Indeed, even though the Defence might not be aware of the
5 existence of the material and its possession in the hands of the
6 Prosecution or the issue that it goes to at all because, of course,
7 the Defence are not in possession of the material.

8 The conditions for disclosure under Rules 102 and 103 are those
9 set out on the face of the rules themselves.

10 We note that the SPO does not challenge the approach of the
11 Trial Panel that the credibility, reliability, and weight of the
12 information is not to be considered for the purpose of disclosure.
13 There is no challenge to that. What the SPO does challenge is that
14 the Court should recognise the contours of the case before it. Well,
15 I ask rhetorically: What on earth does that mean?

16 We are very conscious that there was a caution given to the SPO
17 for the use of sophistry, and we say that that is a perfect example
18 of sophistry in this case.

19 Paragraphs 16 to 18 of the request deal with what is described
20 as the third issue.

21 Again, without citing any authority for the proposition, the SPO
22 again attempts to assert new requirements into the plea of
23 incitement. This time a requirement that the plea must not be
24 fanciful or must be substantiated.

25 Well, authority establishes, and we have gone over these issues

1 many times now, that the plea of incitement, unless wholly
2 improbable, even if, although not accepted to be the case here, but
3 even if fanciful and unsubstantiated, the burden of proof falls on
4 the SPO to prove that there was no police incitement. Information
5 which could arguably suggest that the SPO failed to take adequate
6 investigative steps to exclude the possibility of the entrapment
7 allegations as the Trial Panel found is obviously material to that
8 issue.

9 And if the SPO cannot exclude the possibility of entrapment,
10 then the plea can hardly be aside to be wholly improbable. We note
11 as well that the request does not seek to argue that the Trial Panel
12 was wrong to conclude that the material arguably suggests that the
13 SPO cannot exclude the possibility of entrapment.

14 Paragraphs 19 to 20 then deal with what is described as the
15 fourth issue. Again, the approach of the SPO is founded on the
16 incorrect assertion that counterbalancing measures are an alternative
17 to disclosure. They are not. They are measures required when
18 non-disclosure of material, which would otherwise meet the disclosure
19 test, is ordered under Rule 108.

20 There is no suggestion in the request for certification that the
21 Trial Panel's conclusion that the counterbalancing measures proposed
22 fail to put the Defence in a position to ascertain the relevant
23 context of the SPO's efforts to exclude the possibility of
24 information having intentionally leaked by one of its staff being
25 wrong. The request does not say that that finding was wrong.

1 Instead, the SPO seeks an issue framed on the assumed basis that
2 the plea of incitement is wholly improbable. The issue is, again,
3 hypothetical as drafted. Even though the Prosecution case is not yet
4 finished and the Defence case has not even started, and it seeks to
5 frame that hypothetical question in circumstances where the SPO is,
6 and there is no challenge from them on this point, in possession of
7 material which can arguably suggest that the SPO cannot exclude that
8 possibility.

9 This is an attempt by the SPO to manufacture an issue from a
10 conclusion that they do not like. Even if they do not and cannot
11 disagree with it, this is simply attempt to manufacture an issue from
12 a conclusion they do not like.

13 We say the issues, therefore, are not appealable issues and
14 there would be no need to consider further the remaining limbs of the
15 test for certification. But for the purposes of completeness, in
16 relation to paragraphs 21 to 23 of the request, we say that this
17 request will only affect the expeditious conduct of these proceedings
18 adversely. The only consequence that this request will have, if
19 granted, is to introduce unnecessary and unwanted delay. Unwanted
20 and unwarranted.

21 The concern from the SPO as to the impact on other proceedings
22 of the Trial Panel's decision on disclosure in these proceedings does
23 not qualify for certification. Considerations, as the
24 Pre-Trial Judge had previously found and, indeed, was simply adopting
25 the decision of the Court of Appeals Panel in the earlier decision of

1 Thaci and others, in filing F00172 in that case. Considerations that
2 an interlocutory appeal would address fundamental questions or would
3 be to the benefit of the Specialist Chambers do not, per se, warrant
4 certifying the appeal.

5 The pursuit by the SPO for finality on disclosure, as referred
6 to in this section of the request, is inappropriate and again
7 unwarranted. It is clear, and has been clear for some time, that the
8 SPO finds its disclosure obligations burdensome, but Rule 112 of the
9 rules spells out that those disclosure obligations are continuing
10 obligations, and the SPO cannot reach finality on disclosure. It is
11 a concept that is alien to the requirements of a fair trial.

12 The concern, repeated again by the SPO, as they have done on
13 previous occasions, that they will be required to update the
14 Rule 102(3) notice whenever they obtain new relevant information is
15 only a complaint about the proper operation of Rule 102(3) as held by
16 the Pre-Trial Judge, as held by the Court of Appeals Panel, and as
17 held by this Trial Panel previously.

18 Simply repeating for, I think, the third or fourth time their
19 unhappiness with the requirements of Rule 102(3) only reinforces the
20 impression that the SPO regard their disclosure obligations as a
21 matter to avoid rather than to engage with.

22 Moreover, we submit, the quoting of their own previous
23 unsuccessful submissions as some form of authority, unpersuasive as
24 it is, reinforces the impression, we say, of an arrogant Prosecution
25 which simply cannot accept that the Trial Panel has rejected their

1 position and the request itself reeks of entitlement.

2 The only cause of delay in these proceedings has been the
3 failure repeatedly by the SPO to engage with and make timely
4 disclosure. Certification should be refused so that disclosure can
5 be made and the trial can proceed without any further delay.

6 In relation to paragraph 24 and the assertion that granting
7 leave to appeal would materially advance the proceedings, at the
8 Trial Preparation Conference the meaning and consequences of the
9 Appeal's ruling was not a contested issue. The meaning and
10 consequences were perfectly clear. The SPO had employed an
11 inappropriately narrow interpretation of relevance, which was roundly
12 rejected by the Court of Appeal, and the SPO was required to prepare
13 a new Rule 102(3) notice accordingly.

14 The SPO, on that occasion, attempted to manufacture an issue
15 before this Trial Panel from the conclusion of the Court of Appeals
16 decision that they simply disagreed with, and they are attempting to
17 the same again with this disclosure decision.

18 PRESIDING JUDGE SMITH: Mr. Rees, you have to wrap it up.

19 MR. REES: I am reaching the conclusion.

20 PRESIDING JUDGE SMITH: Okay.

21 MR. REES: A further opportunity for the Court of Appeals Panel,
22 as it's been described, to clarify the scope of disclosure
23 obligations at issue is not required in the remainder of this
24 relatively short trial. Whether it is required in other cases is a
25 matter for those other trials and other proceedings. Considerations

1 that an interlocutory appeal would address fundamental questions or
2 would be to the benefit of the Specialist Chambers do not, per se,
3 warrant certifying the appeal.

4 The conclusion, then. The assertion in paragraph 26 of the
5 request that the SPO has always been forthright about the evidence in
6 its possession is risible. The SPO has gone out of its way to avoid
7 the requirement in Rule 102(3) to provide a notice of all relevant
8 material in its possession. In the first instance, seeking to ignore
9 the requirement of a provision of a notice at all. Then the
10 provision of a 13-item notice, which the Defence correctly protected
11 at the time, was derisory. Then providing a further list which
12 contained no material relevant to the process by which the material
13 arrived at the KLA WVA. And then seeking to ignore the obvious
14 meaning and consequences of the Court of Appeals decision on
15 disclosure and relevance. This request is another example of the
16 employment of sophistries which the Trial Panel has cautioned the SPO
17 against employing.

18 The Trial Panel, in your decision, expressed concern about the
19 Specialist Prosecutor's Office; specifically, at paragraph 48 of the
20 decision, the Trial Panel said:

21 "The legal understanding advanced by the SPO in these
22 proceedings causes the Panel to be concerned about the SPO's full
23 compliance with its disclosure obligations."

24 This request, again, sadly reinforces that concern. It should
25 be refused. Disclosure should be made as ordered. And the

1 Trial Panel can proceed swiftly.

2 PRESIDING JUDGE SMITH: Thank you, Mr. Rees.

3 Mr. Cadman.

4 MR. CADMAN: Thank you, Your Honour.

5 I'll be as brief as I can be. And I'll just highlight a couple
6 of additional points.

7 Mr. Rees has set out the legal framework for certification and
8 he's also set out the applicability of the defence of entrapment, so
9 I don't need to go through that again. What I would say is that the
10 Defence submits that the appeal certification ought not be granted
11 and the application refused.

12 The application of the SPO is, in reality, just another example
13 of seeking to circumvent its disclosure obligations and adopt the
14 position or the position of an arbiter of what should or should not
15 be disclosed, a position that we have set out previously.

16 It's important to note that disclosure, and the lack thereof,
17 has been something that the Defence has had to fight and challenge
18 from the very outset of these proceedings. What we're dealing with
19 today is not something which is new to these proceedings. It's
20 something which has been argued from the very beginning.

21 It is our view that the SPO has sought to obfuscate at each and
22 every juncture and any delay that may have arisen in these
23 proceedings, as Mr. Rees has set out, has been solely down to the
24 actions or, rather, the inaction of the SPO. It's unclear as to the
25 substantive basis for the implication of the previous position of the

1 Pre-Trial Judge, as the issue at that stage was entirely different in
2 terms of the evidence being sought.

3 It must be recalled that the evidence, subject to the
4 application, is evidence that supports the position of the Defence in
5 that the defendants were entrapped in terms of the disclosures said
6 to have occurred.

7 The SPO, at paragraph 3 of its application, seems to suggest
8 that no evidence has been presented that would justify changing the
9 decision of the Pre-Trial Judge on non-materiality. Mr. Rees has set
10 out in some detail those points, and so I don't seek to rehearse them
11 now.

12 But I do say that the SPO seeks to advance an argument that
13 reverses the applicable legal framework and is effectively holding
14 itself out as the arbiter of materiality.

15 The first issue, as Mr. Rees has set out, and I will merely say
16 this: The submissions of the SPO are baseless, misconceived, and
17 without any foundation. The SPO has consistently maintained
18 throughout these proceedings that such matters are not relevant to
19 these proceedings, that is not relevant, they are central, and they
20 have been set out as being central from the outset of these
21 proceedings.

22 There is nothing that is set out by the SPO that submits under
23 the first issue demonstrating that the approach of the Trial Panel
24 was incorrect, incompatible with either the Rules of Procedure or the
25 established law. As Mr. Rees has said, they merely set out the

1 position that they disagree with the position that the Trial Panel
2 has taken.

3 The second issue. The SPO are seeking to second-guess the
4 position of the Defence prior to the defence being formally adduced
5 through evidence. Mr. Rees has again set out when is the correct
6 time for dealing with that point, and I won't labour on that now.

7 The third issue. The SPO have failed to acknowledge an
8 essential issue. We set out in the substantive application for
9 disclosure the position as set out in the case of Edwards and Lewis
10 in the United Kingdom. I can certainly provide a copy, but it was
11 set out in detail in our substantive submission on disclosure.

12 In particular, directing the Trial Panel to paragraphs 31
13 and 58, at paragraph 31, the Prosecution has a duty to disclose any
14 material which has or might have some bearing on the offence charged.
15 The position that the Defence takes now, and has taken previously in
16 the substantive submission, is that when the Trial Panel, as the
17 arbiter of fact, has seen that material, there is an obligation on
18 that to be disclosed to the Defence to ensure that the proceedings
19 are fair.

20 It is our view that it follows that the failure to disclose that
21 material now to the Defence would result in a violation of
22 Article 6(1) in this case.

23 The fourth issue. The SPO at paragraph 20 expresses their
24 concern that the decision may lead to further requests for
25 disclosure.

1 Let us remind the SPO that disclosure is an ongoing process and
2 one that the SPO are obliged to keep under constant review. They
3 seem to be oblivious to this particular obligation.

4 Whether further justified requests for disclosure are made is
5 not something that the SPO can seek to prevent before they happen.
6 And as per the submissions in the substantive request made by the
7 Defence, the SPO is seeking to hold the Trial Panel to ransom by only
8 agreeing to something if it is that no further applications can be
9 made. Such a position cannot be supported by the Trial Panel. This
10 runs entirely contrary to any principle of fairness.

11 The application ought to be refused. As we can say, no arguable
12 ground of appeal has been advanced, and the entire application, in
13 reality, is an example of the SPO merely disagreeing with a decision
14 of the Trial Panel. Mere disagreement is not enough to satisfy the
15 test of whether leave to appeal should be granted or otherwise.

16 And as Mr. Rees has stated, to grant leave at this juncture
17 would unnecessarily delay proceedings further, noting that, given the
18 issue, the trial would need to be suspended pending the outcome of
19 any appeal. The timetable for how these matters proceed is
20 relatively tight, as has currently been agreed, and granting leave
21 for this appeal will inevitably cause significant delay to how these
22 proceedings go forward.

23 Now, I merely conclude by adopting the remainder of these
24 submissions that Mr. Rees has made. I don't feel the need to advance
25 anything further at this stage. Unless there are any further points

1 Your Honours would like me to address, those are my submissions.

2 PRESIDING JUDGE SMITH: Thank you, Mr. Cadman.

3 Mr. Halling, you have the floor.

4 MR. HALLING: Thank you, Your Honours.

5 Just to hit a few general points off of those submissions at the
6 top of my own.

7 First of all, this is a question about certification of a
8 decision. It is not about whether the Trial Panel was incompatible
9 with the statutory framework or that it was incorrect. Those are
10 arguments that will be made on the substance of an appeal if it is
11 granted. There were many submissions that you heard just now about
12 the correctness of the impugned decision and whether the SPO didn't
13 address those aspects in its application. That's not the place for a
14 leave to appeal application to say those things. The merits of the
15 appeal are determined later.

16 We, obviously, understand our disclosure rules in a particular
17 way as an office, and we have been arguing throughout what those are,
18 and there are aspects certainly where the Trial Panel disagreed with
19 us in the impugned decision. We are entitled to seek leave to appeal
20 of that decision. We aren't doing it to be disrespectful. We aren't
21 doing it because we aren't going to comply with the ruling. We are
22 going to comply with the ruling. But we are also allowed this legal
23 avenue to challenge this decision on appeal.

24 Second. The finality of disclosure came up in the Defence
25 submissions. The SPO can't argue that disclosure is final.

1 Disclosure is not final as a general proposition. We are only
2 talking about disclosure of a specific type of materials and whether
3 or not the disclosure path for those materials should continue to be
4 kept open. And the finality of that is in question here.

5 So we aren't talking about a kind of this is the end of
6 disclosure in this case. No submission to that effect was made nor
7 should any be assumed on our application.

8 Third. Fundamental questions shouldn't govern whether or not
9 leave to appeal should be granted. That is true in that fundamental
10 or general questions can't be the reason why leave to appeal is
11 granted. It has to be indexed to the concrete circumstances of the
12 case, and the leave to appeal criteria set out a case-specific
13 assessment. But that is different from saying that fundamental
14 questions can have no relevance on whether it would, say, materially
15 advance the proceedings to grant an interlocutory appeal.

16 This issue, or issues very similar to this, were already found
17 to meet the leave to appeal criteria. An Appeals Panel judgement was
18 rendered confirming the Pre-Trial Judge's decision that these
19 materials were not material to the preparation of the Defence.

20 We appreciate that things have changed since then, but the
21 importance of the issue that justified granting leave to appeal
22 before is still present now, and it will have an impact on other
23 cases. And for the reasons we explain in our filing, that is an
24 additional reason to be considered alongside the standard criteria
25 being met.

1 On this question of disagreements, finally, before going into
2 the specific issues and the specific arguments made against them.
3 Every application for leave to appeal is a disagreement, on some
4 level. The mere disagreement language on whether or not something is
5 an appealable issue is, in our understanding, an assessment as to
6 whether or not it is a kind of general disagreement that was maybe
7 not essential to the determination of a decision, or not arising from
8 a decision, or for some other reason doesn't meet the criteria.

9 If disagreement alone were justification for rejecting leave to
10 appeal, then leave to appeal would never be granted, because the only
11 way you can meet the leave to appeal criteria is if there is an issue
12 that was essential to the determination of the decision that is
13 adverse. Because if it wasn't adverse, then the ruling would have no
14 impact on the filing party.

15 Turning to these appealable issue arguments that were raised by
16 the Defence.

17 Focusing on this first issue and about whether or not abstract
18 questions are coming into play here. This is not an abstract
19 question in our assessment. In paragraph 53 of the impugned
20 decision, the Trial Panel set out that it was premature to consider
21 the wholly improbable nature of an entrapment defence. It also says,
22 in the course of the materiality test, the considerations of weight,
23 credibility, reliability would not be considered. And when looking
24 at the way the test was applied in relation to the report and the
25 call data records at issue, there are findings that do not take into

1 consideration the potential viability of an entrapment defence.

2 And this is, in our assessment, the crux of the matter. We have
3 been arguing throughout that you can't just say the words
4 "entrapment" and receive disclosure. Whether or not this is assessed
5 in the abstract or in a facts and circumstances based way is, to us,
6 arising from the decision and is essential to its determination.

7 The same goes for the second issue. When talking about the
8 factual and the legal impossibility, the Trial Panel did not reach
9 these issues, and we are entitled to argue, in a leave to appeal
10 application, that it is arising from the decision and that it's a
11 potential error in that decision to be resolved on appeal.

12 As to the arguments of the Defence about how there's no proper
13 authority at all for the propositions on entrapment made in the
14 application, I would just draw to the attention of the Defence that
15 in paragraph 47 of filing F00287, it says the following:

16 "Per Ramanauskas versus Lithuania, Grand Chamber, where an
17 officer involved has exerted such influence on the subject so as to
18 incite the commission of an offence that would otherwise not have
19 been committed in order to make it possible to establish the offence,
20 then entrapment may have been established."

21 That is, in our assessment, the test that we were arguing for
22 entrapment in the leave to appeal application. That is a cite from
23 the European Court of Human Rights, and it was a cite from the
24 Haradinaj Defence in their submissions. And those Haradinaj
25 submissions are cited in footnote 24 of our application.

1 So we don't consider ourselves to be making an aggressive
2 argument in this application as to the definition of entrapment. Our
3 argument is that on any reasonable definition of entrapment, this is
4 wholly improbable and the wholly improbable nature of entrapment here
5 should form part of the disclosure inquiry. Obviously, the
6 Trial Panel felt differently. But the point now is whether or not
7 certification of that is warranted.

8 Going to the third issue. Talking about seeking to introduce
9 new thresholds, unsubstantiated or fanciful. And the Gucati Defence
10 said this twice. If it's not wholly improbable, even if it's
11 unsubstantiated or fanciful, it falls upon the SPO to prove no police
12 incitement. That is an amazing sentence.

13 If something is unsubstantiated and fanciful, how could it
14 possibly be wholly improbable? That is very revealing of the level
15 of threshold the Defence feels like they need to meet in order to
16 justify a finding of materiality to the preparation of the Defence.
17 And this is precisely the issue that we would like to appeal in the
18 decision as to whether that level, an unsubstantiated, fanciful
19 threshold, is enough to justify disclosure.

20 On the fourth question. Exceeding the countermeasures is not a
21 hypothetical question. The SPO set out an array of counterbalancing
22 proposes. They were partially accepted. We are not arguing, in any
23 way, that the Trial Panel can't exceed the SPO's counterbalancing
24 measures. Of course the Trial Panel is allowed to evaluate
25 counterbalancing proposals and exceed them as they see fit. It's how

1 and why those counterbalancing measures were exceeded in this
2 instance which is the basis for our fourth issue identified in the
3 certification application.

4 The Defence has argued that the SPO can't exclude the entrapment
5 possibility and that is why it is pushing so hard to resist any
6 disclosure of this material. The issue that we have had throughout
7 this trial is that the Defence is asking us to prove a negative
8 inference based on nothing. That is extraordinarily difficult to do.
9 It's like trying to disprove that there are ghosts in the courtroom.
10 If there is no indication of something happening, it is very
11 difficult to present information, even at the level of disclosure, to
12 prove that that didn't happen. And so this is the struggle that we
13 have had throughout and, in our assessment, that is not the proper
14 way to assess the materiality to the preparation of the Defence
15 looking at the facts and circumstances of this case.

16 THE COURT OFFICER: Five minutes.

17 MR. HALLING: Sure. And I'll finish up short of that.

18 The last point I wanted to address is in relation to suspensive
19 effect.

20 Now, on some level, the suspensive effect application, I think,
21 has almost been overtaken by the subsequent ruling that the
22 Trial Panel would rule on this matter today and that the disclosure
23 deadline would be extended to today. So if suspensive effect is
24 granted, it would be granted in the certification decision.

25 But I want to, in particular, highlight the Haradinaj Defence's

1 argument that this is going to suspend the trial until this appeal is
2 heard. There is no reason why the trial needs to be suspended in
3 order to hear an interlocutory appeal on these points.

4 The Trial Panel has already made previous findings that these
5 disclosure matters could be deferred as evidence was presented. In
6 the impugned decision itself, it acknowledged the possibility of
7 re-calling witnesses as being a measure to be possibly considered
8 once further disclosure was given.

9 The difference between deferring this for another month or two
10 in order to get an interlocutory appellate ruling need not stop the
11 progress of the trial and the fairness of it can be preserved. And
12 given the importance of the issue, the fact that there was an Appeals
13 Panel judgement on this already that seems to require further
14 exposition on appeal, that these issues are not final and that
15 they're not resolved, we think, justifies sending this up for another
16 interlocutory appeal.

17 But we have not asked for suspensive effect of the whole trial.
18 It wouldn't be warranted to do so, and it's not necessary. This is
19 something that would happen alongside the trial. The only thing
20 we've asked for suspensive effect for is the additional disclosure
21 ordered as a result of the impugned decision.

22 So unless there are any further questions from the Judges, those
23 are all of my submissions. Thank you.

24 PRESIDING JUDGE SMITH: Thank you, Mr. Halling.

25 There are some questions.

1 Judge Gaynor.

2 JUDGE GAYNOR: Thank you very much, Mr. President.

3 My questions are for the SPO.

4 The first question concerns the extent to which the SPO takes
5 issue with the impugned decision, and it's quite clear that the SPO
6 is not challenging all of the impugned decision. And your colleague,
7 Mr. Pace, last Friday, asked for suspensive effect in relation to
8 paragraph 95(b).

9 And I want to clarify with you, having read your request for
10 certification, do you object to disclosure of what's described as
11 extracts of item 191 as set out in the strictly confidential and
12 *ex parte* annex to the decision?

13 You object to that; is that correct?

14 MR. HALLING: Yes, Your Honour. We do.

15 JUDGE GAYNOR: Do you object to disclosure of the summary of
16 verifications in relation to items 195 to 200?

17 MR. HALLING: Yes, we do. And to anticipate, perhaps, your next
18 question: We presented the counterbalancing measures as a package of
19 measures. So in our assessment, in order to satisfy our alternative
20 request, they needed to be granted en bloc. The Trial Panel
21 obviously did not. They didn't have to. But that's why we're
22 seeking leave to appeal the counterbalancing measures as a whole,
23 rather than isolating them across.

24 JUDGE GAYNOR: And do you object to disclosure -- excuse me. Do
25 you object to the Panel's order to the SPO to implement the measures

1 proposed in relation to item 201 and report back to the Panel by
2 12 November 2021?

3 MR. HALLING: No, on that we don't because no further disclosure
4 is ordered as a result of that ruling, because item 201, in our
5 understanding, has basically been deferred pending further
6 information. In our assessment, there is no concrete issue to seek
7 any appeal at this time.

8 JUDGE GAYNOR: So the decision for which you seek certification
9 is the decision to disclose the *ex parte* annex to the impugned
10 decision, number one; and the summary of verifications, number two;
11 isn't that correct?

12 MR. HALLING: We are seeking leave to appeal of those things.
13 As you can imagine, we would resist the idea that this leave to
14 appeal is only about the differences in the counterbalancing proposal
15 of the SPO and the counterbalancing measures ordered by the
16 Trial Panel.

17 In our assessment, this is a disclosure path being opened or
18 closed as a result of this, and it has issues that spread far beyond
19 the differences in the counterbalancing proposals.

20 So for the reasons expressed in our filing, this has both
21 present and future consequences which, spun together, meet the leave
22 to appeal criteria.

23 JUDGE GAYNOR: But what you are seeking to certify is a
24 decision, and I'm trying to clarify the exact bounds of the decision
25 that you are seeking certification of.

1 In your certification request at paragraph 23, you say, and I
2 quote:

3 "The SPO has argued that the disclosure in question threatens
4 its mandate."

5 Is it your position that the Panel's decision to order
6 disclosure of the two items I've discussed - the redacted version of
7 191 and the summary of verifications - that they threaten the mandate
8 of the SPO?

9 MR. HALLING: If it was just those pages alone and nothing else,
10 we might have argued it differently. But that's not the scope of the
11 impugned decision. Your Honours actually did more than that. You
12 made a general finding on materiality for this kind of information on
13 the face -- of the level of substantiation given by the Defence, and
14 the scope of what becomes possible following that ruling is inherent
15 in the decision and, in our assessment, is part of why the leave to
16 appeal criteria are met.

17 JUDGE GAYNOR: But would you accept that the decision itself is
18 very restricted in terms of paragraph 95, where the disposition is
19 very clear as to the extent to which the decision orders disclosure?

20 MR. HALLING: Paragraph 95 orders disclosure of certain
21 counterbalancing information. As a predicate to paragraph 95, there
22 needed to be a finding that the information was material to the
23 preparation of the Defence. And those findings of materiality have
24 consequences beyond the counterbalancing measures in the decision.

25 So paragraph 95 in and of itself has certain legal

1 considerations underpinning it which, in our assessment, affect the
2 significance of the decision and its fundamental character for leave
3 to appeal.

4 JUDGE GAYNOR: I want to move now to paragraph 14 of your
5 certification request, and you state, and I quote:

6 "The SPO is mindful that the wholly improbable nature of
7 entrapment must be assessment differently when considering disclosure
8 as opposed to the merits of a case at the end of trial."

9 I want to focus on assessing the improbable, as you say, nature
10 of entrapment at the end of trial. Let's focus on that. On what
11 evidence do you wish the Trial Chamber to carry out that assessment?

12 MR. HALLING: My answer would be the totality of the evidence
13 submitted in the case, so we wouldn't classify it by type. But
14 whether or not it's wholly improbable would be based on a wholistic
15 assessment of all of the evidence before Your Honours.

16 JUDGE GAYNOR: And is it relevant that the SPO has taken steps
17 to rule out the involvement of its own staff in the disclosure of or
18 delivery of information to the KLA War Veterans Association?

19 MR. HALLING: I would say no but on the facts of this particular
20 case. I would never say never that the SPO's investigative methods
21 might become an issue in the trial that would justify disclosure and
22 would need to be addressed.

23 In the particular circumstances of this trial, there is so
24 little information that justifies that disclosure that, in our
25 assessment, that it can't possibly meet the material to the

1 preparation of the Defence threshold.

2 So we wouldn't say as an abstract proposition that the kinds of
3 considerations the Trial Panel has ordered wouldn't justify
4 disclosure. But if you do any sort of fact-specific assessment in
5 this case, even at a *prima facie* level, in our assessment, it
6 wouldn't be material.

7 JUDGE GAYNOR: Well, if the Panel is to carry out a
8 fact-specific assessment of the evidence concerning entrapment, do
9 you accept that that assessment should be based on adversarial
10 proceedings where both the Prosecutor and the Defence have the
11 opportunity to make submissions on the evidence in question?

12 MR. HALLING: Oh, of course. Yes. We definitely do. The only
13 thing that I would say to that is that our -- well, that what
14 Your Honour is asking is going to the merits of the impugned
15 decision.

16 So we haven't argued in this application that the Trial Panel
17 committed errors of law, abused its discretion in these terms. This
18 isn't, in our assessment, a matter for the certification decision but
19 rather a matter of whether all of the balancing interests were
20 evaluated for an interlocutory appellate ruling.

21 JUDGE GAYNOR: I want to move to another part of your
22 certification request, paragraph 20. And you stated, and I quote:

23 "Had the Trial Panel subjected the entrapment allegations to any
24 scrutiny, as developed under other issues, the SPO's counterbalancing
25 measures would not have been exceeded."

1 Now, the first question I have is: Is it the duty of the Panel
2 or the SPO, or both, to subject the entrapment allegations to
3 scrutiny?

4 MR. HALLING: It's an interesting question. My answer would be
5 everyone has some obligation in this disclosure context to engage
6 with the prospective viability of an entrapment defence when talking
7 about whether disclosure should be ordered.

8 So in our assessment, the Defence need to make at least some
9 basic *prima facie* showing. The SPO needs to talk, and the SPO did
10 make submissions throughout this litigation, on why that *prima facie*
11 showing wouldn't be met. And it would be for the Trial Panel to
12 evaluate whether that *prima facie* showing would be made.

13 JUDGE GAYNOR: Let me ask you this, Mr. Halling. In assessing
14 the entrapment or scrutinising, putting the entrapment allegations to
15 scrutiny, as you suggest, it seems from the jurisprudence of the
16 European Court of Human Rights, that Judge Mettraux will discuss in
17 further detail, that the preference is very strongly in favour of
18 hearing adversarial argument on the relevant material.

19 Now, is it not correct that the Panel can only hear adversarial
20 argument about material --

21 THE COURT OFFICER: Albanian on English.

22 Sorry, Judge, to intervene. Just the interpretation switched
23 channels. Thank you.

24 JUDGE GAYNOR: I'll start again.

25 Is it correct that the Panel can only hear adversarial argument

1 on material which is relevant to the question of whether the
2 entrapment allegations --

3 THE COURT OFFICER: Apologies, Your Honour. Again, please,
4 interpreters' attention, the channel is not going through.

5 JUDGE GAYNOR: If you can hear me now, I'll continue. And there
6 was a slight problem with the interpretation, Mr. Halling.

7 My point is: How can the Panel hear adversarial argument on
8 this material unless the SPO discloses it to the Defence?

9 MR. HALLING: Our understanding of this question is that it
10 depends on the disclosure threshold being met. We have no objection
11 to there being adversarial argument if a *prima facie* threshold can be
12 established. But the implications of Your Honour's question is that
13 without any basis at all, the Defence could just say the word
14 "entrapment" and be entitled to disclosure for purposes of making an
15 adversarial argument, even in cases where there was no such evidence
16 to this effect.

17 This is a kind of gateway argument of people just saying
18 anything that they would like in order to receive disclosure. Next
19 time it will be, "We want all evidence that the SPO have improperly
20 influenced witnesses. We have no indication that they have. We just
21 want all of the evidence." Or "We want all evidence that shows it's
22 suggestive prosecution. We have no basis for concluding that, but we
23 would like all of the information."

24 Adversarial hearings are entitled to have reasonable limits.
25 The disclosure framework at this court is setting limits on

1 disclosure. It's not open-book disclosure. There needs to be a
2 finding of material to the preparation of Defence when applying the
3 Rule 102(3) procedure.

4 So we would argue that, of course, it needs to be assessed
5 adversarially. It's just that the basic *prima facie* threshold that
6 needs to be met in order to have that adversarial conversation at the
7 level of disclosure still needs to be met.

8 JUDGE GAYNOR: I'll round off with one final point, and I want
9 you to correct me if my understanding is incorrect.

10 But from your certification request, we do not see that you
11 point to any particular sentence in the redacted version of item 191,
12 which is attached as an *ex parte* annex to the impugned decision, nor
13 do you point to any sentence in the summary of verifications which
14 would cause such catastrophic damage to the SPO either in this
15 investigation or insofar as it is relevant in any other
16 investigation.

17 That to me is an important point. You haven't really identified
18 with specificity even one single sentence.

19 I invite your observation.

20 MR. HALLING: You're correct, we didn't, and I can't write one
21 into the application now. But I would say that this is again going
22 towards perceiving this application as being about the sentences in
23 the counterbalancing measures.

24 We have been arguing throughout that this causes massive
25 disclosure consequences, potential ones, for our office, and that

1 investigative developments that could arise at any moment on any
2 number of topics might become potentially disclosable because of this
3 ruling. And this is the first time we've had an opportunity to seek
4 leave to appeal on these principles, because this is the first time
5 that it became not abstract, not hypothetical, and that additional
6 disclosure of some kind was actually made.

7 So we would ask the Court to consider the full consequences of
8 the impugned decision. This is not about a difference of two pages
9 between the SPO's proposal and what the Trial Panel ordered. It's
10 about the fundamental principles underlying the ruling and what it
11 could mean in this case and in other cases.

12 JUDGE GAYNOR: Yes, thank you, Mr. Halling.

13 Thank you, Mr. President.

14 PRESIDING JUDGE SMITH: Judge Mettraux has some questions.

15 JUDGE METTRAUX: Thank you, Judge Smith.

16 My first series of questions will go probably to you,
17 Mr. Halling, but it pertains to the first issue for which you seek
18 leave to appeal. And I will read paragraph 2 of your submission. It
19 is:

20 "Whether, as a matter of law, an assessment of materiality to
21 the preparation of the Defence can be done in the abstract or whether
22 it requires assessing materiality in relation to the facts and
23 circumstances of the case."

24 So I want to explore that a little bit with both parties. But
25 before I do that, I want to give a little bit of background to the

1 Defence, so that you can maybe address these questions in an
2 effective manner.

3 During the *ex parte* proceedings that we have had with the SPO,
4 the Panel reminded the SPO, repeatedly, of the need for a heightened
5 level of fairness due to the fact that the Defence was not
6 participating in the proceedings. The Panel also invited the SPO,
7 repeatedly, to focus its submissions on what this Panel was to decide
8 rather than on the prospective appeal which the SPO referred to
9 repeatedly as a possibility.

10 In that context, the SPO was asked on no less than three
11 occasions to identify in the forensic report any sentence or section
12 in relation to which disclosure was being challenged. Now, the SPO
13 disinclined to engage in such an exercise, and I take note of the
14 fact that, Mr. Halling, you have just declined to do so again in
15 response to Judge Gaynor's question.

16 Now, what I want to ask you is this first, Mr. Halling: Do you
17 accept that under Rule 102(3) the onus of establishing the
18 non-materiality of an item is upon you? And I mean the SPO. Do you
19 accept that?

20 MR. HALLING: For Rule 102(3), we are obliged to challenge
21 materiality when the item is selected. We disagree with the
22 Trial Panel's conclusion that this means that materiality to the
23 preparation of the Defence means something different at this court
24 than the other courts whose authorities we rely upon.

25 JUDGE METTRAUX: Just stop there, Mr. Halling. I really want

1 you to be as focused as you can to my question.

2 Do you accept that you have the onus of establishing
3 non-materiality? Don't go into the test of what materiality means.
4 Do you accept it is for you, under Rule 102(3), to establish that the
5 item being sought is not material. Do you accept that?

6 MR. HALLING: Yes, we have to substantiate our challenge.

7 JUDGE METTRAUX: Now, can you tell us where you say that you
8 have met that onus in relation to the item, the disclosure of which
9 you are now resisting? And, again, be as specific as you can,
10 please.

11 MR. HALLING: Just to make sure I am understanding Your Honour's
12 question. Is this where our showing that the item is not material,
13 where is it?

14 JUDGE METTRAUX: Yes.

15 MR. HALLING: Yes. It would be in the first challenge that we
16 made on materiality. It's F00316 where all of the arguments on
17 materiality are set out. That is our submission. And it was sort of
18 resolved in the impugned decision, so I think it's part of the same
19 record where all of our materiality submissions are mentioned.

20 I believe that's also the same filing where we indicated at the
21 *ex parte* level what parts of the report would cause particular
22 concerns if disclosed.

23 JUDGE METTRAUX: Well, let me read from the record, then. This
24 is *ex parte* hearing 21 October 2021. There is nothing confidential
25 there. And this is at page 1284, and it is me asking this of

1 Mr. Whiting:

2 "The question is whether there is information in there," and
3 that's the forensic report, "that you could safely, as Judge Gaynor
4 mentioned, take out if that gives you that concern, but that anything
5 that is taken out is both necessary and proportionate to what is
6 being attempted here? And, in particular, that section of the
7 report, which seems to be of potential interest and, therefore, of
8 potential materiality to the Defence."

9 Now the answer of Mr. Whiting, and I will paraphrase it, is
10 basically to say, number one, that the entire report should not be
11 disclosed "but we have come today and offer to disclose the part that
12 we think is pertinent to the Defence and would assist the Defence."

13 Now, I'll ask my question again. Where in this transcript, or
14 anywhere else in your submission, do we find an explanation from you
15 as to these sections, the disclosure of which you are resisting now?
16 Not any abstract, theoretical submission about the entire document.
17 The very part, the disclosure of which are now being subject to a
18 decision, where do we find that you have met your onus?

19 MR. HALLING: In terms of the onus on the potential issues with
20 the disclosing the parts of the report implicated in Your Honour's
21 question, this would be F00389, paragraph 15. And this was actually
22 the citation I was trying to recall earlier. That is a series of
23 points about the report that we consider to be damaging to our
24 investigation if it were disclosed.

25 JUDGE METTRAUX: Well, again -- I mean, I'm sorry, Mr. Halling.

1 But don't mix up things. We're asking not about consequences on your
2 investigation. I'm asking here about materiality. Those are two
3 different issues. Something can be material but have consequences on
4 your investigation, that's a separate issue.

5 What I'm interested in at this stage, and I'll come to the other
6 issue, is where do we find this onus? Where do we go to look that
7 you have made the case, that you've carried your onus under 102(3),
8 that the material is not or that the information is not material? Is
9 that the same place?

10 MR. HALLING: Those two filings, 316, 389, as well as the
11 Status Conference combined, includes our materiality submissions.

12 But implicit in all of Your Honour's questions is that the SPO
13 has an exclusive burden to prove the non-materiality of the
14 information. And in our assessment, and maybe this is part of the
15 disagreement that's causing the appellate application, is, in our
16 submission, the Defence still has a burden to establish materiality.

17 JUDGE METTRAUX: I will come to the Defence.

18 MR. HALLING: Yes.

19 JUDGE METTRAUX: Worry not. But before I'll go to them,
20 Mr. Halling, maybe I'll preface my question to the Defence with the
21 same question to you. How do you expect the Defence to establish
22 materiality in relation to items that they haven't seen? Do they
23 have to guess or is there any other way for them to establish that?

24 MR. HALLING: They don't have to guess.

25 The way these entrapment cases at the ECHR seem to be unfolding

1 is that you have clear indications of an undercover operation and
2 then the applicant challenges and wants disclosure and to present a
3 defence, and so on, in relation to it. There is some indicator in
4 the case.

5 By the way, an indicator that the accused should have, because
6 they would be ones who were in contact and would be potentially
7 influenced, and there is no such indication here.

8 So in terms of how can the Defence raise this defence, our
9 answer to that would be: If they could make a *prima facie* case for
10 disclosure, then this disclosure to present the defence could arise.
11 But because it fails at that very initial hurdle, no disclosure
12 should be ordered.

13 JUDGE METTRAUX: Back to my question, Mr. Halling. How do you
14 expect the Defence to establish materiality in relation to this
15 particular material, the disclosure of which you resist, since they
16 haven't seen it? How?

17 MR. HALLING: They can present their defence. They can question
18 Prosecution witnesses. And should any information arise which
19 justifies disclosure in relation to potential entrapment, then it
20 would be disclosed. But if there is no information anywhere, how
21 could it be material to the preparation of the Defence to prove a
22 negative based on nothing?

23 That would be my answer to your question.

24 JUDGE METTRAUX: Does the Defence want to comment on that? I'll
25 go into other questions, Mr. Rees, in a moment, but do you want to

1 react on the question of materiality of this material; and, in
2 particular, I'm interested to know whether, in your view, you are in
3 a position to make a determination and effective submissions on that
4 issue with the information that you have.

5 MR. REES: Well, of course, we're very conscious, and we've made
6 submissions previously, about our concern regarding the *ex parte*
7 hearings taking place. We are very alive, of course, to the use of
8 *ex parte* hearings in the course of the rules, but we have, on
9 previous occasions, referred to European Court authorities that refer
10 to the handicaps that are placed upon the Defence in such
11 circumstances.

12 I'm very grateful to the further information from Your Honour as
13 to the degree to which the SPO were asked not simply to make
14 objections in the abstract during the course of the *ex parte* hearing
15 but to press them to address the specific facts and circumstances of
16 this case and the material specifically.

17 We had suspected the same, because we can see that from the
18 decision of the Trial Panel, which makes it perfectly clear, contrary
19 to the proposed issue, as it's called, in paragraph 2(1) of the
20 request, that the decision of the Trial Panel was, of course, a
21 decision assessing the operation of Rules 102(3), 102, 103, and 108,
22 very much with the facts and circumstances of this case in mind and
23 not simply in the abstract.

24 The only other information that we have to address the Panel on
25 materiality, of course, comes from the decision itself, a decision

1 which contains the finding that there is material in the SPO's
2 possession that arguably suggests that the SPO cannot exclude the
3 possibility of entrapment. That's a finding on the evidence that has
4 been provided to the Trial Panel in an *ex parte* hearing, which the
5 Defence do not have, and it's a finding which does not appear to be
6 challenged. It's not challenged in the request by the SPO and nor is
7 it challenged orally by Mr. Halling today.

8 That is a further indication, it seems to us, that there is
9 material that is material to the preparation of the Defence, and it
10 should be ordered for disclosure -- it should be disclosed in
11 accordance with the decision on the Prosecution challenges to
12 disclosure of items in the updated Rule 102(3) notice.

13 JUDGE METTRAUX: Mr. Cadman.

14 MR. CADMAN: Nothing really further to add. Just to reinforce
15 the last point that Mr. Rees has made. The Trial Panel has already
16 determined that there is information that could support such a
17 defence.

18 JUDGE METTRAUX: Mr. Halling, I'm afraid I have more questions
19 for you.

20 MR. HALLING: As many as you like.

21 JUDGE METTRAUX: Mr. Rees has been, maybe unkindly, suggesting
22 that your submissions were a bit light on authorities for some of its
23 propositions, so I want to pick your legal brain on some of these
24 issues to tell us whether you can be of assistance here.

25 But are you aware of any precedent where an order for disclosure

1 was subject to successful leave to appeal? Are you aware of that, of
2 any such precedent?

3 MR. HALLING: I cannot think of one off hand. There are,
4 obviously -- oh, actually, the Banda and Jerbo OA 2 Judgement, if I
5 remember correctly, was a Prosecution appeal granted with leave. I
6 am not positive, Your Honour. But to mind, just thinking of examples
7 where most appellate litigation is, indeed, at the level of the
8 Defence seeking leave to appeal a decision denying disclosure. But
9 there is no reason why the test can't be met when the Prosecution
10 seeks leave to appeal a disclosure decision, and I believe that is an
11 example where it happened.

12 JUDGE METTRAUX: I'm grateful, Mr. Halling. We'll get to that
13 one.

14 There's something else that I want to explore with you. It's
15 the suggestion that is made in several parts of your submissions, the
16 written ones and the oral ones this morning, that the Panel, in
17 deciding whether to grant leave to appeal, should consider what I can
18 call, as a shorthand, extraneous considerations; other proceedings,
19 the mandate of the SPO in general, or future cases.

20 Now, again, the same question. Do you have any authority for
21 this proposition, that the determination on whether leave to appeal
22 should be granted, should take into account issues that are
23 extraneous to the proceedings in this case? Do you have any
24 precedent that you can think of?

25 MR. HALLING: Your Honours, to that one I would say that the

1 very first leave to appeal decision at the ICC is authority for this
2 proposition via -- this one I have the number. It would be
3 ICC-02-04-01-05 and then 20, and then USEXP. And it's since been
4 reclassified. That's 19 August 2005.

5 And at paragraph 54, it doesn't talk about how the impact on
6 future proceedings can be the dispositive consideration for granting
7 leave to appeal, but it does say that it can be considered as an
8 argument and it provides further authorities.

9 So I would say this is actually a relatively long-standing
10 proposition. Even the Gucati Defence's quoted authority said it
11 doesn't per se warrant certification.

12 JUDGE METTRAUX: And I'm grateful for your candour in this
13 matter, Mr. Halling. Can I take it that you accept the standard,
14 therefore, that the test is to be met in relation to the case in
15 question while, at the same time, extraneous consideration can weigh
16 in one way or the other?

17 Is that a correct summary of your position?

18 MR. HALLING: Correct, Your Honour.

19 JUDGE METTRAUX: And I want to ask you as well whether you know
20 of any precedent where leave to appeal was granted in relation to an
21 *ex parte* process where, effectively, the underlying basis on which a
22 decision was rendered was taken, for the most part, in an *ex parte*
23 fashion? Do you know of any such precedent?

24 MR. HALLING: Your Honour, this happens a lot, actually.
25 Whenever you have situations like an appeal against a decision on an

1 arrest warrant application, like the DRC-08 judgement at the ICC as
2 an example, or a jurisdictional question that may predate a defence
3 even existing, all of these would be potentially *ex parte*.

4 There are some appeals that might be confidential in the records
5 of these institutions where you have an *ex parte* appeal coming up,
6 but these are just some examples in the public record of how you
7 could have an *ex parte* appeal.

8 I guess for the jurisdictional one, it would be an appeal as of
9 right. But for other decisions of this kind, you might potentially
10 be able to have a leave to appeal.

11 JUDGE METTRAUX: The reason I ask, Mr. Halling, is simply to
12 figure out how an appeal in this case would unfold if leave was
13 granted. And in particular, may I take it that you would resist the
14 transcript of *ex parte* hearings being made available to the Defence
15 for that purpose; correct?

16 MR. HALLING: Your Honour, the question of whether the *ex parte*
17 hearing transcript can go to the Defence or not, we would say, is an
18 issue that is independent of the leave to appeal application. If
19 Your Honour was interested in considering that at any point, we would
20 ask for an opportunity to propose redactions to that transcript. But
21 that would be an issue that we can turn to, should Your Honours be so
22 inclined.

23 JUDGE METTRAUX: Simply to make, perhaps, the obvious point.
24 But you agree that if leave were to be granted, of course, the
25 Defence would have to have an effective way to participate in that

1 appeal; correct?

2 MR. HALLING: Yes. If Your Honours think that the *ex parte*
3 hearing transcript needs to be provided with redactions in order for
4 Defence to argue these matters on appeal, we can propose redactions
5 on whatever timetable the Court requires.

6 JUDGE METTRAUX: Now, I've been put on the spot by Judge Gaynor
7 to ask you a few questions on the ECHR, and I will come to that in a
8 second.

9 But simply as a preliminary question: Do I understand your
10 submission correctly that you are inviting the Panel, at this stage,
11 effectively to determine that the claim of entrapment advanced by the
12 Defence is "fanciful," your words, and that therefore disclosure of
13 the material should be refused?

14 Do I understand that premise correctly?

15 MR. HALLING: Yes. And I would further say we know that the
16 Trial Panel does not feel the same way from the impugned decision.
17 And so today, our application, we aren't challenging the correctness
18 or not of Your Honours' determination. Just that that determination
19 itself deserves an interlocutory appeal.

20 JUDGE METTRAUX: But let's assume for a second that you are
21 correct. Back to a question Judge Gaynor asked you. What evidence
22 would you say the Panel should consider to say that the claim of
23 entrapment is fanciful?

24 MR. HALLING: For that, I would give a variation of my answer to
25 Judge Gaynor. It would be all of the materials before the

1 Trial Panel.

2 Now, in this regard, we did not seek leave to appeal the
3 determinations that this kind of information needed to be noticed and
4 provided to the Trial Panel for a determination on disclosure. We're
5 only seeking leave to appeal now about providing that information to
6 the Defence. So the Trial Panel should always be in a position, even
7 on our understanding, to be able to determine whether or not an
8 entrapment allegation is wholly improbable on the basis of all
9 relevant materials to the case.

10 JUDGE METTRAUX: So that would be a finding we would be invited
11 to make before the Defence case, of course.

12 And may I perhaps ask you this: But in its pre-trial brief, the
13 Defence listed, I think, 13 indications or circumstances which they
14 considered to be relevant to that threshold. You are, therefore,
15 suggesting that these items are either insufficient or that they've
16 been disproven so that there is, in fact, no standard of wholly
17 improbable that has been met.

18 That's the practical consequence of your submission; correct?

19 MR. HALLING: Correct, Your Honour. Even as a whole, the -- I
20 mean, we've talked at points about sort of parts of these 13 points.
21 If you like, I can go through them one by one. But even combined, we
22 would say they don't meet the wholly improbable threshold for
23 disclosure.

24 [Trial Panel confers]

25 PRESIDING JUDGE SMITH: Just so everybody knows, we will run

1 over the normal break time to try to finish up the questions, and
2 then we'll take a break.

3 JUDGE METTRAUX: I just want to give you an opportunity also to
4 comment quickly on one thing, Mr. Halling, and it's about the
5 suggestion that you've agreed to, that we are basically inviting to
6 make a finding at this stage about the standard of entrapment. And
7 it's from a case Bannikova versus Russia. It's from a judgement of
8 4 November 2010. And it's paragraphs 57 and 58 that are of
9 particular interest here, and it says the following:

10 "Whatever form of procedure the domestic court follows, the
11 Court requires it to be adversarial, thorough, comprehensive, and
12 conclusive on the issue of entrapment."

13 And then at paragraph 58, it adds:

14 "As regards the principle of adversarial proceedings and
15 equality of arms, the case has found these guarantees to be
16 indispensable in the determination of an agent provocateur claim,
17 particularly in the context of non-disclosure of information by the
18 investigative authorities."

19 Now, do you accept that standard?

20 MR. HALLING: Certainly, Your Honour. It would go back to my
21 submissions to Judge Gaynor, that adversarial is something that is
22 not absolute and that there are limits that can be imposed by,
23 amongst other things, the KSC statutory scheme.

24 By the way, the Defence has had a full adversarial opportunity
25 throughout this disclosure litigation to make its points, to argue

1 it. Even if leave to appeal was granted, they would have a full
2 opportunity to make submissions. And as Your Honour foreshadowed,
3 additional information can be given to them as needed to make those
4 submissions.

5 JUDGE METTRAUX: But the part of adversarial, with respect,
6 Mr. Halling, you seem to be missing here, is disclosure. It's not
7 just adversarial in the sense of being heard. Isn't adversarial also
8 about having information that puts you in a position, A, to make
9 effective submission; and, B, as the case may be, to present your
10 case?

11 MR. HALLING: Yes. But adversarial alone can't be enough to
12 justify disclosure. If the only justification for disclosure was
13 that it is necessary for an adversarial process without anymore, then
14 Rule 102(3) wouldn't be written the way that it is. It wouldn't have
15 thresholds and requirements that needed to be met.

16 It is not enough just to say "We want it to fight the
17 Prosecution." There needs to be something beyond that. And that's
18 the part that we would say is missing, and it's the part, we would
19 say, the Trial Panel didn't consider in the impugned decision.

20 JUDGE METTRAUX: Let me give you another, and that's going to be
21 my last question for you.

22 It's, if you want a summarised version of that, Mr. Halling,
23 there's a guide to Article 6, Right To Fair Trial, (criminal limb),
24 usefully provided by the ECHR, and that's paragraph 250 and 251, and
25 it summarises the ECHR jurisprudence on the matter.

1 Paragraph 250, it says:

2 "In the application of the substantive and procedural test of
3 entrapment, the Court must first satisfy itself that the situation
4 under examination falls *prima facie* within the category of an
5 entrapment case."

6 And then, move on to paragraph 251:

7 "However, if the Court's finding under the substantive test are
8 inconclusive owing to a lack of information in the file, the lack of
9 disclosure or contradictions in the Parties' interpretation of
10 events, or if the Court finds on the basis of the substantive test
11 that an application was subjected to incitement, it will be necessary
12 for the Court to proceed, as a second step, with a procedural test of
13 incitement."

14 I'll spare you the rest of it. But, again, isn't disclosure an
15 integral part in this particular context of entrapment of the process
16 of adversariality? Isn't that the case?

17 MR. HALLING: It is the case. But I would feel like I need to
18 point out that Your Honours didn't actually do the assessment you
19 just read in the impugned decision. Had there been a finding to a
20 *prima facie* disclosure or consideration standard that it was
21 impossible to determine whether it was wholly improbable or not and
22 disclosure was justified on that basis, that would be a different
23 ruling than the one that Your Honours made.

24 The one in the impugned decision is that this is all premature
25 to be considered at this time. And so, again, it's not a matter --

1 Your Honours have made the ruling, so, I mean, I'm not going to
2 convince you to the contrary.

3 But all I would say is that that is an important question.
4 That's an important question worthy of an interlocutory appellate
5 resolution, to what extent these things need to be considered at the
6 disclosure level.

7 JUDGE METTRAUX: So we are, and I will summarise it here, we are
8 to decide, according to you, whether it's wholly improbable, this
9 defence, without you having disclosed material that could very much
10 meet that threshold? In other words, you're asking us not to order
11 the disclosure of what could put the Defence in a position to meet
12 that threshold; correct?

13 MR. HALLING: I would only agree with part of that, Your Honour,
14 if I may. It is disclosed to the Trial Panel. The Trial Panel has
15 all of the information necessary to decide whether or not it would be
16 wholly improbable that entrapment occurred here. That information is
17 provided.

18 The report, all of these things, they are provided to the
19 Trial Panel. So the Defence isn't able to make that determination.
20 That's kind of the nature of disclosure litigation, it's information
21 they don't currently have. But the Trial Panel had all the
22 information that the SPO had in order to make this determination.

23 JUDGE METTRAUX: Thank you.

24 PRESIDING JUDGE SMITH: Judge Barthe.

25 JUDGE BARTHE: Thank you, Mr. President.

1 My hopefully brief questions, two brief questions, are also for
2 the SPO.

3 Mr. Halling, could you please explain, maybe, once again, and
4 for the last time today, how the issues raised in your certification
5 request affect the fair and expeditious conduct of these proceedings
6 and/or the outcome of this trial as opposed to other proceedings,
7 investigations, or current or future trials, especially against the
8 background that you argue that the documents sought by the Defence
9 were not material to their case?

10 MR. HALLING: Thank you, Your Honour.

11 The answer to Your Honour's question would fall in paragraphs 21
12 to 23 of our application. We talk about both present and future
13 effects in this case. It is discussed that the immediate disclosure
14 that is ordered compromises the SPO's investigations. The fact that
15 it keeps open a disclosure path means that potential future
16 disclosure litigation would be caused whenever investigative
17 developments in unrelated cases prompt disclosure, and that these
18 issues combined, the present and future effects of the decision,
19 significantly affect the fair and expeditious conduct of these
20 proceedings.

21 So, indeed, the fact that it's not material to the preparation
22 of the Defence, in our assessment, doesn't affect the outcome of the
23 trial. And that is why, in our application, we didn't argue that
24 limb of the test. It's only at the level of fairness and
25 expeditiousness.

1 JUDGE BARTHE: Thank you, Mr. Halling.

2 My second question would be where, in the jurisprudence of the
3 European Court of Human Rights, referred to by the Appeals Panel in
4 its 29 July 2021 decision in footnote 115, can the Panel find support
5 for your submission that disclosure in entrapment cases presupposes
6 that the entrapment allegations are not wholly improbable or that,
7 and I refer to your request in para 14, I quote, "the accused shall
8 be required to make some *prima facie* showing of how entrapment could
9 have occurred before broad disclosure is ordered."

10 In Ramanauskas, if I may say so, the European Court of Human
11 Rights merely held that, and I quote, "it falls to the prosecution to
12 prove," to prove, "that there was no incitement, provided that the
13 defendant's allegations are not wholly improbable."

14 And further, the European Court of Human Rights made clear that,
15 and I quote, "... in the absence of any such proof, it is the task of
16 the judicial authorities to examine" to examine "the facts of the
17 case and to take the necessary steps to uncover the truth in order to
18 determine whether there was any incitement."

19 This is Ramanauskas versus Lithuania judgement, 5 February 2008,
20 in paragraph 70.

21 My question is: Do you agree, Mr. Halling, that the letter, the
22 letter is exactly what the Trial Panel is trying to do here?

23 MR. HALLING: Ramanauskas is, indeed, not a disclosure case.
24 And, truth be told, this often is the case with European Court of
25 Human Rights cases because they are from final judgements, and so the

1 disclosure issue is tied into whatever the ultimate resolution of the
2 case is.

3 But the fact that the Appeals Panel cited to that in a
4 disclosure ruling we draw meaning from, and the fact that the ICTY
5 and ICC and other tribunals applying identical phrasing, "material to
6 the preparation of the Defence," are interpreting it in the same way
7 is what justifies our submissions on this point.

8 Now, of course, the Trial Panel used different authority in the
9 impugned decision. But at the level of whether certification for
10 appeal should be granted, we didn't argue in the application that we
11 disagreed with Your Honours' legal interpretation. We just argued
12 that this difference is important enough to justify an interlocutory
13 appeal.

14 JUDGE BARTHE: Thank you, Mr. Halling. No further questions.

15 PRESIDING JUDGE SMITH: All right. We will take our regular
16 break. Please be back here at 20 minutes till 12.00. And so we are
17 adjourned until that time.

18 --- Recess taken at 11.11 a.m.

19 --- On resuming at 11.40 a.m.

20 PRESIDING JUDGE SMITH: So we now move on to the next topic.

21 The Panel asks the Defence to propose some estimates, to the
22 extent that they are willing to share, as to the following: When
23 they can file their respective motions to dismiss any or all charges;
24 when they can file their list of witnesses and proposed exhibits, if
25 the Panel finds that there is a case to answer; and when the Defence

1 Preparation Conference should be held.

2 The Defence was also invited to provide any details, as
3 appropriate, as to whether any material changes are expected to the
4 proposed witness lists and whether the Defence still intended to call
5 the accused as witnesses.

6 Before I give the floor to the Defence, the Panel wants to
7 clarify a matter. Pursuant to Rule 129, the SPO case is closed when
8 there are no more witnesses to be called and no more evidentiary
9 material to be presented as a part of the case of the
10 Specialist Prosecutor.

11 The Panel notes that the SPO has no more witnesses to call. The
12 Panel also recalls that on November 5, it issued an oral order on the
13 admissibility of exhibits through Witness 4841. The Panel still
14 needs to issue the written reasons on that, together with the
15 classification of a number of exhibits.

16 What is also pending is the admissibility of the lesser redacted
17 version of Batch 2, disclosed by the SPO on 5 November. The Panel
18 will hear submissions on that today.

19 Once the Panel issues the written reasons just mentioned and
20 rules on the classification and admissibility of Batch 2, all
21 evidentiary matters forming part of the SPO case are finished. The
22 Panel intends to issue a consolidated decision in this regard
23 tomorrow.

24 The pending Rule 102(3) matters refer to the preparation of the
25 Defence and not the SPO's case, so the Defence should keep this

1 timeline in mind when making their submissions.

2 So, Mr. Rees, you have the floor.

3 MR. REES: Thank you, Your Honour.

4 Can I just make a couple of observations. Very clear route
5 forward set out by the Trial Panel. And we are conscious that there
6 are ongoing disclosure issues, not least the application for
7 certification that's been made this morning in relation to
8 disclosure. And potential further cross-examination of three Crown
9 witnesses, SPO witnesses, having been reserved pending further
10 disclosure being made. And observing that, as part of the decision
11 of the Trial Panel, F00413, on the recent Prosecution challenges to
12 disclosure of items in the updated Rule 102(3) notice, at
13 paragraph 53, the Trial Panel held that the Defence must be permitted
14 to receive, as part of the disclosure process, relevant and
15 disclosable information that could assist the entrapment allegations,
16 to conduct effective investigations thereon, and to elicit evidence
17 from those witnesses capable of testifying thereto.

18 To the extent that the SPO, in due course, will seek to suggest
19 that they have met such a burden of proof as in accordance with
20 Ramanauskas they are required to meet, we say that the SPO's case
21 should involve, before closure, not only the opportunity to complete
22 cross-examination of those three SPO witnesses in light of any
23 further disclosure but also that the SPO ought to call, if only to
24 tender as a witness as part of their case, a person who is able,
25 capable of testifying to the investigations that have taken place

1 dealing with the entrapment allegations.

2 In that circumstance, we find it difficult to set out clear
3 proposals in terms of actual dates for the matters set out at
4 paragraph 4(b) and (c). But we do wish to be of assistance, so I
5 will set out, as far as I can at this stage, how we envisage the next
6 steps to be, even if it will fall to the Trial Panel to make the
7 determination as to where in timetable those next steps will fit, as
8 it were.

9 We do intend to file a motion to dismiss. We intend to file a
10 motion to dismiss in relation to Counts 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5. We are
11 conscious that the rules provide for the filing of any motion to
12 dismiss within ten days from the close of the SPO case. We remain of
13 the position that it's important for all parties, not least the
14 accused, that the evidentiary proceedings in this matter complete by
15 17 December, and we are, therefore, willing to consider a curtailed
16 period, if that is necessary, to allow that to happen. But we do,
17 nevertheless, ask for some time to prepare what will be a detailed
18 motion to dismiss. And a curtailed period, for example, to
19 Wednesday, the 17th, may assist.

20 I'm conscious in suggesting that that we had previously been --
21 had considered whether the dates of the 15th and 16th, which are
22 currently diarised for these proceedings, would be two days upon
23 which the SPO would be able to make available any of the further
24 witnesses for which cross-examination is to be concluded. And,
25 indeed, we would say at least a witness capable of testifying to the

1 investigation of the process by which the materials were delivered to
2 the KLA WVA would be made available to complete the SPO's case.

3 We are presently not sure where any proposed further
4 cross-examination is intended to fall given the amended order last
5 week. Obviously, there is, at present, at least, a hiatus on
6 disclosure, but there is also the further inquiries for the Crown to
7 make as part of the disclosure exercise for which they are to report
8 back on 12 November, and the oral order in relation to requests for
9 any further cross-examination of SPO witnesses was to provide some
10 five days notice from receipt of all outstanding disclosure.

11 We are conscious that, thereafter, the rules provide for a
12 provision of a file of lists of witnesses and proposed exhibits with
13 a Defence Preparation Conference to follow seven days thereafter.
14 Again, to assist the Court, it is our intention certainly to revisit
15 our proposed witness lists with a view to ensuring that they are as
16 short as possible, but it is difficult for us at this stage to give
17 any further indication until we know the outcome of any motions to
18 dismiss on the scope of the charges and, indeed, outstanding
19 disclosure.

20 On the part of Mr. Gucati, it remains the intention, at this
21 stage, at least provisionally, that Mr. Gucati will be called to give
22 evidence. But I make no bones about it. I am of the view that it is
23 inappropriate to require that decision from Mr. Gucati, final
24 decision on it, until he is aware of the scope of any case to answer
25 and full disclosure has been made to him so that he can take that

1 decision on proper advice with full knowledge of all matters that are
2 relevant to his decision.

3 PRESIDING JUDGE SMITH: And we want to stress that we are not
4 asking for a firm commitment from him at this time. We're just
5 asking for an indication.

6 MR. REES: I'm grateful. And I hope I've given that clear
7 indication.

8 PRESIDING JUDGE SMITH: You have.

9 MR. REES: So I suppose the best that I can do to assist in
10 terms of time-tabling is that we would wish to be in a position to
11 commence the Defence case on 2 December, which is the first hearing
12 date in December, with only the dates of the 15th and 16th in between
13 now and that date.

14 We will intend to make an opening statement. But, again, we'll
15 carefully address that to make sure that we are as short as possible
16 and appropriate in the circumstances.

17 How we reach the position from where we are today to 2 December,
18 we find it difficult to spell out, because it seems to us that there
19 are a number of matters of uncertainty that we cannot assist the
20 Court with.

21 PRESIDING JUDGE SMITH: Are you suggesting that you want to --
22 that you were thinking of calling witnesses on December 2? Or -- we
23 haven't discussed the 119 Defence Preparation Conference. That would
24 have to happen before that time, obviously.

25 MR. REES: It would. So clearly in order to assist, we are

1 attempting to give as much assistance today as we can to the overall
2 scope of the Defence case when we reach it. That obviously comes
3 with the qualification of our outstanding disclosure issues, it comes
4 with the qualification that there will be motions to dismiss five of
5 the six charges which, whether it's successful in whole or in part,
6 may change the scope of the Defence case. But we are attempting to
7 be as helpful as we can so that the Trial Panel can properly plan
8 forward.

9 If that's right, it does seem to us that a formal Defence
10 Preparation Conference can be done at relatively short notice, and it
11 can be relatively short. But I'm conscious that, again, because
12 there are a number of matters of uncertainty, and there may be issues
13 that the Prosecution wish to raise that they may have a different
14 view as to a Defence Preparation Conference and how short it needs to
15 be, for example. In order to try and finish the evidentiary
16 proceedings by 17 December, we would propose having 2 December as
17 that start date for, if necessary, a short Defence Preparation
18 Conference, to move then straight into Defence opening statement.
19 And then thereafter, into the calling of evidence for the Defence.

20 I hope that assists.

21 PRESIDING JUDGE SMITH: It does assist. And I appreciate the
22 fact that you're willing to look at shortened timelines, and I think
23 that's important given the circumstances, and we will do our best.
24 And we will try to make a decision. Obviously, we have some
25 decisions to make by today and possibly tomorrow, and we will keep

1 you advised.

2 MR. REES: We're certainly willing to look at shorter
3 timetables, but not too short please, Your Honour.

4 PRESIDING JUDGE SMITH: [Microphone not activated].

5 Mr. Cadman.

6 MR. CADMAN: Your Honour, I certainly wouldn't put forward any
7 different position as has been put forward by Mr. Rees. It's a
8 matter that we have discussed and taken instructions. Certainly, I
9 have taken instructions from Mr. Haradinaj who is obviously very keen
10 for the matters to proceed as expeditiously as possible from here on.
11 But as Mr. Rees has set out, there are still some matters that are
12 outside of our control in terms of setting a fixed timetable.

13 Having discussed the matter with Mr. Rees and with
14 Mr. Haradinaj, we certainly want to assist as far as we can. I
15 certainly agree with the proposed timetable set by Mr. Rees for the
16 filing of a motion to dismiss, and we certainly intend to fail a
17 motion to dismiss, and we will endeavour to do it by that time,
18 the 17th.

19 We are presently considering whether we will need to make an
20 application for an extension, as I believe it's a 6.000 word limit.
21 And based on the case presented so far, it will be a challenge to put
22 it within 6.000 words, but we'll certainly do our best. It is
23 certainly our intention, at this stage, provisionally also, to call
24 Mr. Haradinaj to give evidence. But again, much of that depends on
25 what happens from here on.

1 And certainly the current witness list, subject to the ruling on
2 which witnesses we are going to be entitled to call, will also depend
3 upon the outcome of certain matters being decided over the coming
4 days and weeks, but certainly we will assist as much as we can.

5 What we have always set out, that there is a joint Defence list,
6 and we will not -- and certainly we will not be replicating
7 witnesses. To the extent that one or other of us may call that
8 witness to serve the interest of both defendants, we will endeavour
9 to assist the Court in that way. But certainly there are a number of
10 matters that are outstanding, and it's simply impossible for us to
11 give any clearer guidance than has already been given.

12 And certainly, as Mr. Rees has set out, there are still matters
13 that need to be determined before the Prosecution case is formally
14 closed. I'm afraid I'm not really able to give any more than that at
15 this stage.

16 PRESIDING JUDGE SMITH: We appreciate your assistance, and we
17 will put together an order that tries to carry all that through.

18 We will now address the SPO's new request for admission.

19 On 5 November 2021, the Panel invited the SPO to disclose an
20 unredacted or lesser redacted version of P104 MFI, also known as
21 Batch 2, and resubmit that material for admission.

22 On the same day, the SPO disclosed a lesser redacted version of
23 six pages of P104 and requested their admission, together with
24 English translations. Given that the same six pages also appear in
25 Batches 1 and 4, the SPO also disclosed the corresponding pages from

1 these batches with identical redactions.

2 The SPO requests admission of these items for the same reasons
3 set out in relation to P104 MFI. The SPO requests that the newly
4 disclosed pages remain confidential.

5 I believe I've correctly stated that position of the SPO?

6 MS. BOLICI: Correct, Your Honour, thank you.

7 PRESIDING JUDGE SMITH: All right. And does the Defence object
8 to this request?

9 Mr. Rees.

10 MR. REES: We do. There is no bar table motion in relation to
11 these documents. They haven't been produced by a witness either.

12 PRESIDING JUDGE SMITH: [Microphone not activated].

13 MR. REES: There is no bar table motion in relation to these
14 documents, nor are these documents produced by a witness. We object
15 on that basis.

16 PRESIDING JUDGE SMITH: Mr. Cadman.

17 MR. CADMAN: We take the same position, Your Honour.

18 PRESIDING JUDGE SMITH: Does the SPO wish to respond?

19 MS. BOLICI: Yes, Your Honour. If it may clarify the matter,
20 this request relates to a request of admission through the bar table
21 for the same reasons highlighted at the last hearing, meaning that
22 the additional six pages that have been disclosed have been disclosed
23 pursuant to an order of the Trial Panel. The authenticity, thereof,
24 has been established through the testimony of Witness W04841, who
25 also highlighted all matters relevant to the authenticity of Batches

1 1 and 4, which contains the corresponding six pages to the pages of
2 Batch 2.

3 As such, both matters of authenticity and relevance have been
4 established; authenticity through the testimony of W04841, and
5 relevance considering these are confidential materials, which the SPO
6 alleges have been disclosed without authorisation by the accused.

7 [Trial Panel confers]

8 PRESIDING JUDGE SMITH: We will need to have new numbers
9 attached to the additional requests. We only have P104 MFI right
10 now.

11 [Trial Panel and Court Officer confer]

12 PRESIDING JUDGE SMITH: We will consider that request for
13 admission and rule on it with our consolidated decision tomorrow.

14 MR. REES: Your Honour, can I just raise one additional matter.

15 Again, we have been trying to assist with time-tabling by,
16 *inter alia*, giving an indication that, at present, we will be filing
17 a motion to dismiss in relation to Counts 1 to 5. Even though there
18 are ongoing disclosure issues, can I say that that indication is --
19 must be without prejudice to any -- to the right to file any motion
20 that might arise once disclosure is complete. So, for example, a
21 motion to exclude evidence under Rule 138(2) where evidence has been
22 obtained by means of a violation of the law or the rules or standards
23 of international human rights and any motion in relation to failures
24 of disclosure, again leading to an unfair trial.

25 In short, we're happy to proceed even though there are

1 outstanding disclosure issues provided that we are not estopped, as
2 it were, from -- at a later stage, once we receive full disclosure,
3 making any motion, for example, that Count 6 as well should be
4 dismissed on the basis that evidence in relation to these matters
5 should be declared inadmissible pursuant to the entrapment
6 allegations, for example.

7 PRESIDING JUDGE SMITH: You won't be precluded from making a
8 motion at any time because of the fact that you've given us a
9 timeline and we adopt it. So you may feel free to make those motions
10 when they come up.

11 MR. REES: I'm grateful. Thank you, Your Honour.

12 PRESIDING JUDGE SMITH: Anything else from anybody before we
13 proceed with the statements of the accused?

14 Yes, Mr. Cadman.

15 MR. CADMAN: Just to give Your Honours an update on the
16 additional expert report.

17 We're very grateful to Court Services for providing us with as
18 many of the transcripts as possible so the expert could consider
19 them. He has considered them over the weekend. He's doing his
20 utmost to get the report drafted by tomorrow. I will obviously check
21 in with him later today and will update the Panel on whether we are
22 still able to comply with the close of tomorrow, but certainly we
23 anticipate that it will be filed by the end of tomorrow, not by
24 4.00 p.m. but by the end of the day. But if there is any delay, I
25 will inform the Panel and the parties.

1 PRESIDING JUDGE SMITH: Please do that. Thank you.

2 MS. BOLICI: [Microphone not activated].

3 PRESIDING JUDGE SMITH: Say again?

4 MS. BOLICI: Yes, if I may just intervene a moment.

5 In relation to the Gucati Defence's suggestion that the
6 Prosecution brings additional witnesses as a consequence of any
7 Rule 102(3) disclosure, I can confirm that the Prosecution does not
8 intend to bring further witnesses, regardless of the results of the
9 pending matters under Rule 102(3).

10 PRESIDING JUDGE SMITH: Thank you. You do understand that they
11 may call some witnesses for further cross-examination though?

12 MS. BOLICI: Absolutely I understand. They were suggesting that
13 the Prosecution calls additional witnesses. It's not our intention
14 to call additional witnesses.

15 PRESIDING JUDGE SMITH: Thank you for that clarification.

16 MS. BOLICI: Thank you.

17 PRESIDING JUDGE SMITH: Mr. Rees, is your client ready to
18 proceed with his statement?

19 MR. REES: Yes, Your Honour.

20 PRESIDING JUDGE SMITH: And, Mr. Cadman, is your client?

21 So we will begin with the unsworn statements of the accused.

22 Each of you will be given, Mr. Gucati and Mr. Haradinaj, each of
23 you will be given 15 minutes to speak. These statements should focus
24 on and be limited to matters that are relevant to these proceedings.
25 So I ask the accused to refrain from any statement of a political

1 nature and to focus on issues that have a bearing on this case.

2 I also ask the accused to speak at a slow pace so the
3 interpreters can translate your statements for us.

4 Mr. Gucati, we'll begin with you. The floor is yours.

5 THE ACCUSED GUCATI: [Interpretation] Thank you.

6 Dear participants, Representative of the Embassy of Kosovo,
7 Yulka Geci, and members of the Trial Panel, I want to share my
8 personal history with you.

9 I was born in a freedom-loving place of Kosovo, Drenica, in the
10 village of Morine, Skenderaj municipality, a village that lost many
11 people during the war. In 1997 and 1998, together with my father, we
12 joined the ranks of the KLA to protect the basic human rights, such
13 as the right to freedom and free and life and dignity in our own
14 homes.

15 In 1999, during the NATO bombing, I was wounded by the Serbian
16 forces, military and paramilitary and police forces, and as a result
17 of the injuries sustained I am an invalid and unable to walk as all
18 others do. As a peoples of the Balkans, we did not provoke Serbia
19 and we did not occupy Serbia; but on the contrary, Serbia occupied
20 us.

21 We are here for a year being held in custody in an unjust way.
22 Just because we --

23 PRESIDING JUDGE SMITH: [Previous translation continues] ...

24 Mr. Gucati, I asked you not to go into details that we're not
25 dealing with in this trial specifically. I've given you a little bit

1 of latitude, but I want you to avoid the rest of that conversation
2 which I would characterise as political in nature. So just proceed
3 with your discussion of this trial.

4 MR. REES: Your Honour, we submit, as we have done, that, of
5 course, to use the shorthand, public interest is very much a part of
6 this trial as a relevant issue. Mr. Gucati does not have much
7 further to go with his statement, so I would ask for the Trial Panel
8 to bear with him while he finishes it. He will be much shorter than
9 the 15 minutes the Trial Panel has provided for.

10 PRESIDING JUDGE SMITH: Go ahead.

11 MR. REES: Thank you.

12 PRESIDING JUDGE SMITH: Sit down.

13 Go ahead, Mr. Gucati. But please bear in mind what I just said.

14 THE ACCUSED GUCATI: [Interpretation] Thank you.

15 We just used our right to freedom of speech and the rights that
16 we won with a lot of sacrifice. Just during March, April, May, and
17 June 1999, our people suffered more than 450 massacres committed by
18 the Serbs.

19 During the last war in Kosovo, more than 1.400 people were
20 killed, 20.000 women were raped, and many elderly who were unable to
21 leave their homes were killed. To this date, we do not know the fate
22 of 1.600 people. Not to mention the material damage that our nation,
23 my nation suffered, and that was caused by the Serbian forces.

24 Therefore, it is my legitimate right to protect the legitimate
25 rights of my nation, of the Kosovo Liberation Army, and of the

1 Republic of Kosovo, my state. And these values are all human. It is
2 my duty to defend them, to defend the right to freedom of my people,
3 the right to a free and rich life, just as the members of all other
4 nations enjoy.

5 Thank you for your time and thank you for hearing me.

6 PRESIDING JUDGE SMITH: Thank you, Mr. Gucati.

7 Mr. Haradinaj, the floor is yours.

8 THE ACCUSED HARADINAJ: [Interpretation] Thank you very much,
9 Your Honours.

10 Dear Panel members, dear representatives of my state that are
11 listening to me today, I am forwarding these short remarks as a proud
12 citizen of the Republic of Kosovo. I am being subject to a process
13 which is selective and unfair. I wish to appeal to the judges of my
14 country to give an end to this cause.

15 I have been treated with full humiliation by the Prosecution
16 office, and I have to say that over the last weeks and months they
17 have shown publicly that our hugest intimidation has, as a matter of
18 fact, been fulfilled. So the SPO does not deserve for me to be
19 present in this court of law. However, here I am, based on the
20 principle of telling the truth, and there should be no hesitation to
21 the truth at any time. Not only that, but we need to tell the truth
22 and we need to oppose those that humiliate my country.

23 I decided to come here to tell the truth for the public
24 interest, and I just wish to tell everyone that the behaviour of this
25 Prosecution office does not only show the attitude of this

1 Prosecution office, but I am being kept in detention for 14 months
2 while the SPO does not have a single evidence to substantiate the
3 plea against me.

4 So not only that, but the way in how the Prosecution office
5 wants to keep everything closed is also very embarrassing. This, in
6 itself, is a testimony that I was right in what I was saying about
7 the SPO and the KLA WVA.

8 I have always been on the side of justice, and I will never back
9 anyone that has committed a crime during the Milosevic time, and I'm
10 confident of the fact that those people have to be kept responsible,
11 if they have committed a crime.

12 At the same time, I wish to make sure that the process itself is
13 fair, is transparent, is not corrupt by politics and, above all, it
14 should not be addressed towards the ones that have no responsibility
15 in that matter. So it's the same persons that we are hearing in this
16 court of law, is those persons that have blood in their hands, is
17 those persons that the Prosecution office wishes to protect from the
18 public in order for it to hide itself.

19 The Prosecutor Jack Smith told you, Dear Panel, that this has
20 nothing to do with the KLA. So this is a lie. So we are talking
21 about the Kosovo Albanians, and the Prosecution office is telling us
22 that no case has been launched against the Serbians that caused the
23 death of 11.000 Kosovar nationals.

24 So we have been suffering for many years, and my people says
25 something that starts on a bad footing cannot end otherwise but on a

1 bad footing. Therefore, from the initiative for establishing these
2 Chambers, based on slander, on the so-called organ trafficking, and
3 Dick Marty, that was backed by Belgrade's government, a government
4 that is composed of authors and perpetrators of the crimes of
5 Milosevic, a series of crimes that have actually been identified by
6 the countries that you come from. And he has been identified as the
7 butcher of the Balkans.

8 So it's the same persons. So those have changed only the skin,
9 but it's the same persons that are heading these cases. I have to
10 say that they cannot hide the hatred of any other state other than my
11 state, and that has been something that has been testified from
12 generations. I think that there is no clear fact to testimony to the
13 fact that there have been five wars of genocide and wars that have
14 been staged all over the Balkans because of this nation.

15 It is exactly the same people today that have been accommodated
16 in the government of Serbia. It's the same people that have
17 provoked, have caused, and have led the war back then, and it's this
18 same Prosecution office that is thanking these people for
19 contributing to the proceedings of this Court.

20 I just wish to tell you that during the time that I was kept
21 here, I have had ample time and I have made a comparison between the
22 current Prosecutors and the Yugoslavia prisons back in 1980s. So
23 that is something that we have suffered as a family. So starting
24 with my father, my eldest brother, and even for me personally, before
25 I was 18 years of age, I saw my other family members, including my

1 sisters and including my other siblings that were minors, that had to
2 suffer of the Serbian authority.

3 So we were imprisoned, all of us, from the beginning to the end.
4 So we were prohibited to attend education. So we were sent to
5 torture premises, we were interned to prisons, and in documents that
6 you have shown us it was clear that you have data about these people
7 from the 1980s. So, therefore, it's clear, it's crystal clear on
8 what the aim of the Prosecution office is.

9 So the prosecutors of that time were pushed by the Belgrade
10 power authority, and they were given other ranks. So these are
11 chambers and these -- the Prosecution office has been promoted by
12 Dick Marty, and that was approved by the European Parliament.

13 And so on parallel, I have to say that the same was true in the
14 old days. This Prosecution office has tried as well --

15 PRESIDING JUDGE SMITH: Mr. Haradinaj.

16 THE ACCUSED HARADINAJ: [Interpretation] -- to ensure sentences
17 without making sure that light is put to the crimes that were
18 committed by the Serbs.

19 PRESIDING JUDGE SMITH: Mr. Haradinaj.

20 THE ACCUSED HARADINAJ: [Interpretation] Your Honours, I believe
21 that --

22 PRESIDING JUDGE SMITH: [Microphone not activated].

23 THE ACCUSED HARADINAJ: [Interpretation] That's what I'm talking
24 about.

25 PRESIDING JUDGE SMITH: Mr. Haradinaj, we've given you a lot of

1 latitude, but we want you to talk about this case. We want you to
2 talk about this case, not about --

3 THE ACCUSED HARADINAJ: [Interpretation] That's what I am talking
4 about.

5 PRESIDING JUDGE SMITH: No, you're talking about the -- you're
6 talking about history, and we'd like you to talk about the case
7 that's going on today. I don't want to have to stop you, but I will
8 if you continue on this line.

9 THE ACCUSED HARADINAJ: [Interpretation] I am talking about the
10 present.

11 THE COURT OFFICER: Sorry. The interpretation channel was again
12 over the English, so whatever you [indiscernible] ... the record
13 hasn't been recorded.

14 PRESIDING JUDGE SMITH: Can you hear me now, Translator? Yes?
15 All right, Mr. Cadman.

16 MR. CADMAN: Your Honour, I believe Mr. Haradinaj has about
17 another five minutes to speak. I think you should --

18 PRESIDING JUDGE SMITH: My directions were quite clear, and
19 we've allowed him quite a bit of latitude. He needs to talk about
20 the case that he's involved in. We don't want to have a discussion
21 about the war or any alleged actions by anybody else. Just about
22 this case. So please direct your client.

23 MR. CADMAN: Well, Your Honour, he's been given the opportunity
24 to give an unsworn statement. He doesn't have to present that in any
25 way dictated by the Court. I understand the position you're taking.

1 Mr. Haradinaj is setting out what he considers to be relevant to
2 what has happened to him.

3 PRESIDING JUDGE SMITH: The rules are -- look at the rule on
4 this statement. It has to be relative to the case.

5 MR. CADMAN: Which it is relevant to the case, Your Honour. If
6 he could be given another five minutes just to finish what he has to
7 say.

8 PRESIDING JUDGE SMITH: Please direct your client not to go into
9 the detail that he's going into and I will give him the other five
10 minutes.

11 You can use a normal tone of voice. You don't have to speak so
12 loudly.

13 THE ACCUSED HARADINAJ: [Interpretation] Your Honour, this is my
14 natural tone. This is my register of the voice.

15 PRESIDING JUDGE SMITH: Go ahead, Mr. Haradinaj. You've got
16 five minutes.

17 THE ACCUSED HARADINAJ: [Interpretation] Thank you.

18 So I hope that this Panel, at least, is different from those of
19 the past. At least I would ask for you to be patient and to hear us
20 to the end.

21 So I won't talk just in vein, but I will just tell you that the
22 same Prosecution office has got data from its coordinator in
23 Belgrade, gets the evidence and the names that have been processed in
24 the ancient times and after the law -- the war as well. And these
25 persons, be them former defendants or former witnesses, are mentioned

1 here in this court of law.

2 I just wish to say that those testimonies have been taken during
3 the wartime. So the Serbian prosecution office have put the knives
4 to their throat, but they have modified their evidence, but they have
5 approached their stance of providing asylum abroad or employment
6 privileges. So they have been provided with amnesty so that they
7 could have certain persons to give a testimony as witnesses of the
8 SPO's. We have people that have been part of the list that are
9 wanted persons from the Interpol.

10 So the SPO Prosecutors, so taking into account the high
11 professional performance, I'm telling you that the SPO officers,
12 those persons that they called here, they don't call those persons
13 normally but they intimidate those persons and they put those persons
14 under a lot of pressure.

15 So the Serbian prosecution office persecuted us because of two
16 conditions. First, we had to be mono-ethnic, we had to be Albanians,
17 and that is something that is shared with the SPO as well. And the
18 second one was that they were selective, that we would not comply
19 with robbery, and that's the same with the SPO again. So under the
20 Belgrade regime, if evidence were not in place, they would manipulate
21 those that they had in their hands just to make sure that their cause
22 was substantiated.

23 The data that you see from the offices, that have leaked from
24 your office, you have seen that the only documents are the Serbian
25 documents. It's with the same names. I mean, there is one

1 coordinator that organises, Milovan Drecun, which is officially
2 recognised as the most trustworthy persons of Milosevic. He is not
3 simply the son of an officer, a security officer, but at the same
4 time he has worked in those ranks as well, up until he got another
5 task, and now this person is the coordinator of the war in Kosovo.

6 At the same time, you have given testimony to the fact that you
have tried to collaborate with [REDACTED] Pursuant to Post Session -
Redaction Order F00425

7 that led to the
8 murder of many people, including the elderly, children, and many of
9 which are declared disappeared today.

10 I just wish to bring to your attention four cases that I think
11 are of importance. So just to testify to you the concrete actions of
12 Milovan Drecun, that there are at least two cases that he has been
13 present. I wish to also add other massacres, such as that of Qerez,
14 Likoshan, and hundreds of others all over Kosovo.

15 In Lubeniq village, in Peja commune, at least this place should
16 not be unknown to the SPO because systemic massacres have been taken
17 part there. In the 1980s, so someone called Mal Morina, was arrested
18 by the secret services to interrogate him and he underwent systematic
19 tortures, psychological pressure as well, just for him -- just
20 because of the fact that he wanted to express his free -- his
21 opinion, his free opinion.

22 So at the age of 23, this person was declared as having
23 committed suicide. But the fact of the matter was that no one gave
24 any explanation. There was no official saying anything about this
25 person, but just saying that this person had committed suicide.

1 In the same village, in Lubeniq, the first massacre happened
2 there where many villagers remained killed. However, no one ever
3 took an interest, despite of the evidence that have been submitted
4 and although the SPO has got evidence about this massacre in the same
5 village. Again, in the village of Lubeniq, in 1999, at the beginning
6 of 1999, there were elements with -- of genocide, of different
7 massacres, and burning while the lives of many people was -- of 61
8 people, including the elderly and the young people and children as
9 well.

10 Again, it was in this village in the commune of Peja in Lubeniq,
11 the same year, that is in 1999, the same method was replicated as in
12 the case of Mal Morina. The only difference in this case in question
13 was the way on how his life was put to an end. And I am referring to
14 Ukshin Hoti who - from Dubrava prison - was sent to this village and
15 was executed. So this is an event that was eye-witnessed by one
16 member of the Serbian forces.

17 Based on these facts and other facts, I am quite confident that
18 there are eyewitnesss that have given testimonies before the
19 international community that have told about the executors, and one
20 of these can be the official -- the official of this Prosecution
21 office, Mr. Milovan Drecun.

22 So he has said that the murder of the civilians was a normal
23 reaction in the village. It was the same person that said that this
24 is something normal, and this is someone that was named by Milosevic
25 to deal with war propaganda, and he is one of the persons that I've

1 dealt with myself in terms of my statements.

2 Now in order for me to close it, I just wish to tell you that --
3 I wish to illustrate this with something. I just wish to give you
4 this information. That is something that you can verify in five
5 minutes. The Independent Association of Journalists in Serbia have
6 filed a lawsuit against Mr. Drecun for manipulating the public
7 opinion, for a deviation of the facts in Decan, and this person never
8 went any problem or trouble, and we know that this person is a
9 culprit. And this is the reason why the SPO has accepted this person
10 as a coordinator. So the SPO is selective and this stems -- is not
11 something out of nowhere.

12 Thank you very much for your attention. I really hope that this
13 case will be dealt with as soon as possible by you, Your Honours.

14 Thank you.

15 PRESIDING JUDGE SMITH: Go ahead, Mr. Cadman.

16 MR. CADMAN: I'm just going to express my gratitude to the Panel
17 for allowing Mr. Haradinaj to say what he thinks is important to this
18 case.

19 PRESIDING JUDGE SMITH: No problem.

20 MR. CADMAN: I am grateful.

21 PRESIDING JUDGE SMITH: Thank you.

22 All right. As I said earlier, the Panel will issue a
23 consolidated decision tomorrow on the admissibility and clarification
24 of these items. Thereafter, the Panel will issue a Scheduling Order
25 for the next steps in the proceedings. And thank you all for your

1 guidance. We will do the best to accommodate everyone's wishes and
2 to keep the trial moving forward.

3 In this Scheduling Order, we will notify you all of the next
4 hearing date. There is no hearing for the balance of today or
5 tomorrow.

6 And this hearing is adjourned.

7 --- Whereupon the hearing adjourned at 12.31 p.m.

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