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1	THE ASSOCIATION OF THE FEDERAL BAR	
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8	UNITED STATES JUDICIAL CONFERENCE	
9	FOR THE DISTRICT OF NEW JERSEY	
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11	LITIGATION IN AN AGE OF TERRORISM	
12	THE GUANTANAMO CASES AND YOUR	
13	RIGHTS IN TIME OF WAR	
14	and	
15	CIVILITY IN THE COURTS:	
16	VIEWS OF THE BENCH AND BAR	
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19	Mayfair Farms	
20	West Orange, New Jersey	
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22	March 22, 2007	
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25	Reported by Stanley B. Rizman, C.S.R.	



difficult circumstances. This sometimes happens for those of us who do this work. Even though we're providing essential legal counsel, we're not necessarily wanted or loved and he can tell you some of his stories in that regard. But he has been an outspoken advocate of maximum rights for detainees who are facing these military commissions and processes. He's an articulate and an experienced speaker.

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To my right is my friend, Bahar Azmy, professor at Seton Hall Law School. Bahar, with whom I've had the opportunity to work on many occasions, was the second person to my knowledge to have gone to Quantanamo in an effort to meet and to represent a detainee there, Guttierez, who wasn't able to be here today -- who was working for us at Gibbons at the time was the first. That detainee, whose name was -- what is it?

MR. BAHAR: Mubat Kurnaz.

MR. LUSTBERG: Mubat Kurnaz was a German national of Turkish decent.

After a number of years of advocacy Bahar obtained his freedom. He has been released from Quantanamo. Bahar has continued his advocacy working on the many appellate issues that have arisen that address questions of scope of habeas review, the

don't do this work -- and our firm has been honored to 1 do this work since its inception. I've been involved 2 in the civil liberties work around 9/11 issues since 3 4 9/12.

Judge Gibbons, as some of you may know, 5 my colleague and mentor in life, argued the Rasul case 6 which initially established the right of detainees to 7 seek habeas relief. But foremost -- we've been involved as amicus or as litigants in cases ever 9 since. We've represented three detainees. Two of whom are released and can talk a little bit about that 11 experience but that's not what I'm going to do. 12

I thought, though, for all of you that it would be useful, at the outset, to just get a five-minute primer on where the law is and how it has evolved in that regard. For that I will turn it over to Bahar and then comment to Greg about that.

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We will start about learning a little bit 18 about the applicable law with respect to these issues. 19 Bahar. 20

MR. AZMY: So, a little bit of background about Quantanamo and the status of the legal cases there. Everybody in Quantanamo has been designated an enemy combatant by the President. And about the 750 or so who have passed through Guantanamo and the 430

meaning of the suspension clause and the retention of our Constitutional rights in this day and age.

He's -- he runs the Constitutional --Civil Litigation Clinic at Seton Hall and teaches constitutional law focusing on civil rights cases in such areas as human trafficking, predatory lending, and the like. An extraordinary attorney.

And to his right is Andrew McCarthy. Mr. McCarthy is a former Assistant U.S. Attorney from the Southern District of New York where he prosecuted the terrorism case with regard to the 1993 World Trade Center bombing. Since that time he's no longer practicing law but is the Director of the Center for Law and Counterterrorism at the Foundation for the Defense of democracies, which is an independent nonprofit organization in Washington dedicated to defeating terrorism and promoting freedom. He is, again, outspoken with respect to many of the issues that confront us today. He believes that we should -that the balancing should weigh more heavily in favor of national security than civil liberties although I don't want to characterize his position and I think guarantees that will, in any event, have a very lively debate here today.

I thought that -- for all of you who

detainees still there only ten have been charged with any kind of crime or charged with the violation of the laws of war and designated for trial by military

commissions will remain; the balance the President claims the unilateral authority to detain indefinitely 5 until he believes the war on terrorism is over.

And it's one of those detainees, in that group, Mubat Kurnaz, that I represented. So why Guantanamo. I think having visited there five times it is one of the strangest, in my view, most harrowing places on earth.

I think Guantanamo was the choice driven more by policy than law. That is, the administration sought to find a place specifically outside the jurisdiction of the United States courts. There is a memo from December 2001 by an officer and counsel in the Justice Department which specifically argues that among the various places Guantanamo would be ideal for situating America detention policy because it would be outside the jurisdiction of the United States courts and preserve, quote, the system that has been developed, unquote.

22 I think that system is one in which the 23 administration wanted to conduct sort of endless 24 indefinite interrogations of terrorist suspects. And 25

3 (Pages 6 to 9)



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It also has legal consequences because although, frankly, none of us was particularly familiar with this as of September 2001 looking at what were the issues on our radar screen at the time. There is, in fact, a well -- a well established law of war and the fundamental decision of the President to treat these attacks as acts of war and to trigger the law of armed conflict has now been upheld and confirmed by both of the other branches.

Both by Congress, which authorized the use of military force shortly after September 11 and by the Supreme Court in the Hamdi decision which upheld the use of war powers with respect to these detainees.

So that aspect of this, it seems to me, is now well settled. Once we're in a law of war framework there is a settled law. We looked at this late 2001, early 2002, looking at with respect to detainees the kinds of things that nations have done during war throughout human history; namely, capturing

for detaining enemy combatants has always been not to 1 inflict criminal punishment but simply to prevent 2 people from returning to the battlefield during the 3 course of ongoing hostilities. 4

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So the detention aspect of things seem to us quite well established. With respect to interrogation and treatment of detainees, we started, of course, with a bedrock limitation that under both federal criminal statutes and United States Treaty commitments the United States will not torture and the 10 President made explicitly clear in all of the relevant military orders that that was out of bounds. 12

But with respect to interrogations, generally, one can obviously have a robust interrogation program that doesn't rise anywhere near the level of torture. And when one is confronting an enemy like Al Queda that seems particularly important because you need to prevent every attack before it happens.

And if you miss one, then there is another September 11. And the -- that's the operational urgency. The legal justification, as I said, no torture was an unquestioned rule throughout this. But the legal source of much more heightened protection for wartime detainees, of course, is the 25

enemy combatants, detaining them, interrogating them and trying them for war crimes.

We had what we thought was quite solid precedent for each aspect of that with respect to detention. We had a World War II era precedent called Johnson versus Eisentrager that held that aliens outside United States territory, which describes all of the aliens at Guantanamo -- and I'll drop a footnote about the status of Guantanamo and come back to that in a few minutes -- aliens outside sovereign U.S. territory, the Supreme Court said don't have statutory rights to habeas corpus; don't have Constitutional rights to habeas corpus under the suspension clause and don't have Fifth Amendment rights.

So there seemed to be no Constitutional impediment to detaining enemy combatants and, indeed, the laws of war and the practices of war had authorized that throughout American history and that is the basis on which this country could hold two million enemy combatants during World War II.

Critics of the administration like to say "without charges."

Well, that's true. We didn't charge any of the German or Japanese POWs. But the justification Geneva Convention. The Geneva Convention applies.

1 One simply cannot have an interrogation program where 2

the rule is name, rank and serial number, full stop, 3

and the Justice Department looked at the Geneva 4

Convention and concluded that -- not that it was wrong 5

in any way but that it simply didn't apply by its 6

terms for at least three independent reasons. 7

First, the convention most -- most provisions in the convention provide only to covered conflicts which are defined by treaty as conflicts between two signatory nations. So United States versus Germany was covered because each nation is

12 signatory to the convention and the basic logic of the 13

treaty is you secure heightened protections for your 14

soldiers at the cost of providing heightened 15

protections to enemy soldiers and all of that 16

presupposes that one fights by the laws of war which 17

include, most significantly, perhaps, not targeting 18 19 civilians.

Well, of course, Al Queda doesn't do 20 that. They exist for the very purpose of violating 21 those principles. They are not a signatory to the

22 Geneva Convention and we had what we thought was a 23

very strong basis for saying that the conflict, United 24 25

States versus Al Queda, was not a covered conflict

5 (Pages 14 to 17)

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rights. We prevailed on that basis in the D.C. Circuit last month.

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The other ambiguity with Rasul is whether the court's reasoning is or is not limited to Guantanamo. Parts of the opinion seem specific to Guantanamo. Parts of it seem more general. But I would like to disagree with the suggestion that Rasul effectively held that Guantanamo was sovereign United States territory.

Justice Kennedy, in his separate concurrence, would have pretty much said that. We think that is incorrect under the terms of the governing leases and treaties with Cuba which preserve sovereignty to Cuba. We think that is a fair description of the reality at Guantanamo which is that the United States can do one and only one thing on that piece of land and that is run a military base.

We couldn't put a civilian agency down there. We couldn't lease the land to the Ritz Carlton. We couldn't sell the land. If there were minerals on the land, we couldn't exploit them. We can run a military base pursuant to the terms of a treaty and a lease. And it would be shocking to think that a court could effectively annex for the United States territory of another sovereign against the

1 country. 2 That's why it is so good we're having it

here in New Jersey today. I do want to give 3 Lieutenant Commander Kuebler, first, a chance to talk

about one of the issues that Greg talked about. That

was the issue of military commissions and whether it

is his that view it is, in fact, the case that the

military commissions as constituted and which he is

practicing before and you can talk about your

particular case as well as more generally are, in 10

fact, more protective of rights than historically has 11

been the case and, indeed, whether they are 12 13 sufficiently protective of detainees rights.

LIEUTENANT COMMANDER KUEBLER: Thank you, 14

Larry.

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First of all, good morning. Thank you for allowing me the opportunity to be here. As Larry indicated, I'm a defense attorney with the Office of Military Commissions in Washington, D.C.

I've had the pleasure of being with the Office for about a year and a half now and being assigned to represent two Guantanamo Bay detainees Hassan Al-Ashrabi, a Saudi national, and from the

beginning of my time there and most recently within

the last month or so I've been assigned to 25

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wishes of the branch that conducts foreign policy.

So we don't think that the majority in Rasul did that. They treated Guantanamo as extraterritorial and they talked about the extraordinary territorial scope of habeas corpus at common law which was the fair justification for extending habeas.

But, in any event, Congress has also overruled that aspect of Rasul and we are very comfortable taking the position consistent with 60 years of settled law that aliens who are not in the United States and whose only possible connection to the United States is a desire to wage war against it, cannot invoke Constitutional rights against the United States.

MR. LUSTBERG: An equally neutral view of things.

(Laughter.)

MR. LUSTBERG: I'm going to allow Bahar a couple of minutes to rebut that. We're not going to have an appellate argument here. You all can appreciate each of these many issues that Greg has touched on have been the subject of volumes of briefing, dozens of Law Review articles, tons of Op Ed pieces and discussions like this all around the

represent -- one of the attorneys assigned to 1 represent Omar Kadr, who is a Canadian detainee who is over the age of 15, after allegedly killing a U.S. soldier in a fire fight in Afghanistan.

I'd just like, if I may -- I don't want to necessarily rebut Greg's very eloquent statement of the Military Commission's position. But I'd like to walk you through, I think, how that legal model looks from the perspective of somebody representing a Guantanamo Bay detainee charged with offenses before a 10 Military Commission.

What you have is the starting point --

12 13 actually, let's back up -- by detainees, Mr. Al-Ashrabi and Mr. Kadhr. One is what I'd like to 14 call sort of a post-paradigm-shift detainee and the 15 other one is what I like to call a pre-paradigm-shift 16 detainee. "Paradigm shift" referring to this movement 17 after 9/11 to, you know, reclassify terrorists as 18 nationalists. Three problem iterations as opposed to 19 20 law enforcement problems.

And so I've had a chance to sort of see 22 my clients', you know, rights under a couple of separate legal issues. So, you know, with respect to the, you know, sort of the -- and I should have said this at the outset, but I think it's already evident

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forward in October 2004 and was stopped by Judge Robertson's Order enjoining proceedings in the Handi case and then there was Military Commission 2.0, which was the second round which occurred in the winter and spring of last year and now we're on, of course, post MCA, 'm on Military Commission 3.0.

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During that renumeration process the accused was not allowed to represent himself. And that was part of the, I think, of a larger strategy employed by the government to have a trial system that would essentially exclude a defendant as much as possible without making the thing look like a complete farce.

And so what you had was a system in which not only did the detainee not have the right to see evidence but could actually be thrown out of the courtroom if the government wanted to introduce classified evidence. That just was half of it.

What you didn't see the way the government gained the process to have house conferences, chambers conferences with counsel and avoid having to close the proceedings at all, but I digress.

Mr. Al-Ashrabi did not have the right to self-representation. I was forced to represent him. working on behalf of detainees has been a subject of great debate and official statement over the last couple of months.

3 I wonder if you wouldn't -- I know that's something that you've also discussed and I wonder if 5 you would comment on that for the audience. And don't 6 hesitate to be a little controversial if you want to. 7

MR. MC CARTHY: Thank very much for inviting me here today. It is a pleasure to be here. There has been a lot of controversy about not only whether lawyers ought to work on these cases, but whether it's appropriate to comment on that. I think it's absolutely appropriate for lawyers to work on these cases. And I don't -- I don't regard this, having been intimately involved with this when it was -- when the Justice Department was not just

15 16 appointing us here but was actually the entirety of

17 this in the 1990s. There, obviously, is a significant 18

legal aspect to this. But I don't think essentially 19

what we're dealing with is a legal problem. I think 20 21

it's mostly a national security problem. 22

But to the extent that it has an important legal aspect, I think the bar does itself credit by representing people and certainly the

military people who are charged to represent these

He was forced to accept me as his lawyer whether he wanted that or not.

And so I spent the last year or so sort of working through the ethical and professional issues that would arise in that situation and ultimately advocating and, hopefully, ultimately successfully for his right to terminate my representation and to represent himself in a manner consistent with Ferretta v. California, which is the leading Supreme Court case on the subject. So that's my background. And then within the last month or so, as I said, I've been involved in the Cotter case. And I'll turn it back to you.

MR. LUSTBERG: Thank you.

You've heard now from two people. Bahar and from Lieutenant Commander Keubler, Professor Azmy and Lieutenant Commander Keubler about the role that lawyers have been playing in this process. As everyone, I think, is aware, that issue of the appropriateness of lawyers working on behalf of detainees and whether particular consequences should or could be visited upon those lawyers and their law firms as a result of that kind of work and, also, on the other side, even what the appropriateness of military counsel such as Lieutenant Commander Kuebler

defendants are doing their duty.

Where I part company with the lawyers is that I really don't see that it's inappropriate for people to comment on this and say that they would not be represented by lawyers who voluntarily lend their legal skills to the enemy in wartime. 6

I don't think the government ought to be taking an official position on that and I think that was the problem, mainly, with the Defense Department's spokesman who sort of spoke out of turn on that.

But I don't -- you know, I don't think it's inappropriate to feel that way, and, obviously, if's not inappropriate to feel that way, I don't think it ought to be the sort of thing that people can't 14 comment on.

Obviously, there's people who feel exactly the other way. Who feel that the most patriotic thing that lawyers can do is represent what they feel to be the values that make America America.

And for that reason they regard taking on the representation of the enemy combatants as a duty and an exhibition of patriotism at the highest level.

I don't subscribe to that view of the world, but I don't think it's a frivolous one. I certainly respect the people who have gone down and

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Given the type of due process that we want to give as a nation to criminal defendants is something that is very worthy and ought to be done in 99.9 percent of the cases. But giving it to the enemy in wartime is, in a word, nuts, because the underlying assumption of our criminal justice system is that we would prefer the government to lose. We'd rather see a guilty person walk away than run the risk of convicting an innocent person. That's our system. It is the envy of the world and I think it ought to be.

But if you accept it when we're at war and when we have an authentic national security crisis, then it's essential that government wins because it's the government that protects the system that all of the rights that we revere are dependent.

So I don't think that you can treat this threat with the underlying assumption of the criminal justice system.

Now, that doesn't necessarily mean that doing it the way we're doing it now is the right way. And I think part of the -- the biggest part of the problem that we have is that we have what Lieutenant Commander Kuebler called "a novel type of war" and we have two familiarity paradigms. We have a criminal justice paradigm and a law-of-war paradigm. They are

that it doesn't do us a lot of good if other nations

won't cooperate with us. If they think that it's too 2

much of an executive branch show, it's too 3

unilateral.. it, doesn't have sufficient checks and

balances. They are not going to extradite captured terrorists. And if you don't have a system where

they'll cooperate with us, you're basically

outsourcing your national security, which is also 9 unacceptable.

So I think we need to really grapple with a better way for us to do this going forward. That doesn't mean what we're doing with the GITMO people is violative of our law. I don't think it is at all. But I think going forward it is important that Congress step up to the plate and try to form a system 15

that our allies will cooperate with, that serves our 16 military necessity, but also affords people at least 17 the minimum amount of rights that you need to accord 18

people to make the trials and the detention worthy of 19 our system and our aspirations, et cetera. 20

MR. LUSTBERG: Bahar, how do you respond? Now you've heard twice we're at war. And because we're at war, forget about our fundamental rights; the entire existence of our nation is at stake. And so, therefore, there has to be at least some compromising

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familiar ones.

It's a natural human instinct to try to go with what's familiar when you have a problem, but I don't think they are a good fit necessarily for the kind of novel conflict that we have.

And while I think it's laudable that Congress has stepped up to the plate with the Detainee Treatment Act and the Military Commissions Act, there is more that has to be done going forward. Because anybody who has followed this conflict, whether from a legal aspect or any other aspect, knows that it may be a generational challenge and we may be at this war for a very, very long time. And the only way that we're going to succeed -- and success really is getting intelligence and preventing the next attack.

The only way that we're going to succeed in it is if we induce our allies, the nations where -whether they're allies or borderline friendly nations. The places where Al Queda operates. We need them to cooperate with us.

And even if the system that we've constructed here, the military commission system, the detention system -- even if it is completely satisfactory under our laws and under our Constitutional system -- and I agree with Greg about

of our due process freedoms, our procedural 1 protections and the Constitutional provisions that otherwise would govern in a straightforward criminal 3 4 case.

MR. AZMY: I agree that at this time of war we have to think carefully about particular balance, but also not to lose sight of the sort of basic fundamental principles that animate us as a country, which is the rule of law.

And here let me, sort of, jump off and take on and quibble a bit with a couple of comments that Greg and Andy made. First, Greg, you know, suggested that in World War II we held 2,000 enemy combatants in the United States. German and Italian prisoners

MR. LUSTBERG: Two million.

MR. AZMY: Two million. Sorry, but, of course, They weren't enemy combatants. They were prisoners of war, which is to say they were subject to law. And in Guantanamo there is no law.

And we talk sort of frequently about, you know, the rule of law and what does that mean. I think one way to think about is the opposite. Without law there is only willpower, discretion and frequently violence. And that's what is going on in Guantanamo

11 (Pages 38 to 41)



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So that's all the -- sort of process. I don't think anyone strategically or legally thinks that someone who has no connection whatsoever to terrorism should be in Guantanamo and should be subject completely to the discretion of the Executive. 46

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And that's all this process is, from my perspective, is to ferret out the innocent from the guilty. And I think you know -- I take in my clients case -- the Commander in Guantanamo, Harry Harris, was asked by the German press after my client was released, and it certainly demonstrated that a number of -- in a number of ways that he had no connections whatsoever to terrorism. Harris said, "Everyone there is a terrorist. Everyone there is an enemy combatant." Simply not accepting the possibility of innocence.

And I think that sort of denies the central -- really, the central narrative of America law; that is, the government can make mistakes and that innocent people can get swept up in those mistakes; and that there needs to be some process to prevent arbitrary detention of people who don't deserve to be detained.

MR. LUSTBERG: I'm going to give each

had been winnowed down from a population of over 10,000 battlefield captures in Afghanistan, and so on.

2 Of the 10,000, only about 750 were even 3 sent to Guantanamo. Of the 750, about 250 were released by the Defense Department before there was 5 Supreme Court intervention or the highly formalized CSRT process. Of the 500 remaining, there were status determinations which resulted in about 40 detainees 8 being released. 9

I think the fact that that number is a relatively low percentage of the population is what one would expect given that the population was winnowed from more than 10,000 to fewer than 500.

On the other hand, I think that there were 40 or so detainees released through the process. It is very good evidence of the good faith with which it was conducted.

After the Combatant Status Review tribunals, every detainee is entitled to another annual hearing at which the detainee, the detainee's supporters, the detainee's lawyers, the detainees home government can produce any new evidence that bears on whether the detainee should continue to be detained.

Let's think about a for a minute. Think about what happens in a garden-variety criminal

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person a couple of minutes to just comment on each other's position. And the way this is going, you can see that each person says something that the next person disagrees with. Brilliantly set up panel.

(Laughter.)

MR. LUSTBERG: I'll not going to share with you my views of this. But anybody who knows me knows those.

In any event, Greg, why don't you comment on what Bahar just said? And in particularly, the factual -- what he said were the facts that would seem to demonstrate that, indeed, a number of people, maybe even a majority, at Guantanamo are innocent and shouldn't there be a reasonable system in place that the government endorses, embraces and condones who decides who should be there and who shouldn't.

MR. KATSAS: Thanks, Larry.

There is a reasonable system in place. And every detainee at Guantanamo has been through a Combatant Status Review tribunal, a military tribunal established to determine whether or not that individual is an enemy combatant.

That process was set up to adjudicate status precisely for the reasons Bahar says with respect to a population of about 500 detainees which

conviction in this country. Right -- there is no --1

there is no Constitutional or other right to have a 2 periodic re-review every year of whether the 3

conviction was, in fact, correct based on new 4

evidence. That is what DOD provides right now to 5

every single detainee at Guantanamo. So the notion 6 that there -- these people are just there on a whim I 7

8 think is not supportable.

With respect to the robustness of the procedures. I think Bahar said, "Yeah, it's fine to 10 apply the law of war framework but we need to have some_kind_of_quick status determination; it can be run 12 by the military, but it should be consistent with what 13 the military has done in the past." 14

Now, the CSRT tribunals -- not only are 15 they consistent with what the military has done in the 16 past, but their procedures are more robust than the 17 military has ever applied with respect to status 18 determinations.

19 The genesis of the Combatant Status 20 Review tribunals was the Rasul and Handi decisions 21 which, you know, Rasul extended habeas at Guantanamo. 22

Hamdi addressed the extent of the process that would 23

be constitutionally permissible to detain an American 24

citizen in this country as an enemy combatant. 25

13 (Pages 46 to 49)



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Denbo has done an excellent study of the seizures.

When that is the frame of reference, it is clear this process comes nowhere near the protections we traditionally afford to these folks

And let me make one final point. I think there is almost tremendous agreement in principle on this panel. It appears that the one empty chair here is a true pre-thinker who thinks that the traditional criminal justice process as it existed before 9/11 is sufficient to deal with the threat to the country in international terror.

I mean, I don't think any of us subscribes to that point of view. And I think we all agree with the proposition that it would be appropriate to sit down and see whether you want to engage in this discussion. Is it a war? Is it not a war?

Certainly, everyone would agree that, you know, departures or deviations from the normal criminal process are appropriate. The question is what departures, how much, what's necessary, what's not necessary.

And if we had that discussion in, you know, the fall of 2001 in designing military commissions or the spring of 2002, I think we'd be in do you depart from the normal process that I don't think we would come to if we had this discussion, you know, five years ago.

And so, for example, we're talking about necessity. It's like if we need to interrogate people because we need intelligence, there's a ticking time bomb or there is some sort of a terrorist time plot that's ongoing and we need intelligence and we can't worry about Miranda; we can't worry about Article 3(b), et cetera.

Well, you know, to the extent we need to design a new rule, let's design that rule. I mean, you know, if we go back and do the research and it turns out military law already accounts for that situation -- there's a fairly well established body of military precedent that says that if you're conducting an interrogation for intelligence purpose, Article 31(b), Miranda, Tempe -- being Tempe the case that applies Miranda in the military system doesn't apply and you can conduct that interrogation; you get that information, get that intelligence; use it however you want, statements are admissible; you're good to go.

But instead of applying that rule, we decided these are people without rights, conduct interrogations for purely law enforcement purposes and

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a totally different situation than we are in today. We didn't.

Instead, the Executive branch went out and said: We don't need to have that discussion with Congress; we can rely upon our understanding of the President's war powers and the law of war and go out make a whole bunch of decisions about detention and interrogation without getting prior authorization from Congress.

And so now we find that there is a legal regime that applies and Congress is forced to act -forced to act. And we have a system that is designed -- around existing cases with existing evidence. And we know that if we adopt a certain rule on hearsay, we're going to not be able to convict a certain number of people. If we adopt a different rule on hearsay, then we will.

So, you know, this whole notion of the rule of law where you have standards that, you know, that you know are ahead of time and you apply them to cases as they come up, we've turned that on its head.

And so now we have a system that we are designing for a particular class of people in particular cases and we're coming to certain conclusions and answers about these questions of where

there are no rules that apply and we can use that 1 information. So we can't go back and undo that. 2

If we sort of try to come to that million course now and have a system that says intelligence interrogations are okay; no rights or warnings are necessary, but when interrogations are for law enforcement purposes we have to do something. If we elect that rule today, we can't convict the people we have there at Guantanamo.

And I think there are a number of particular examples that you can, you know, state when 11 you go through the trial rights, speedy trial, 12 compulsory process, confrontation, et cetera, we've already made the decision. We've created the necessity. And so now we have to create a system ex post facto and we have to rely upon the decisions 16 we've already made.

I mean, it wouldn't be the decision we would made five years, or we'd have to let the people go. It's like it's a horrible position and all, you know, Greg can do and folks do who created this process can do: Well, we weren't doing anything different; it was a war; it was like any other war. and they have to, sort of, create this mantra of, you know, we made decisions based on existing precedent

15 (Pages 54 to 57)



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rights. It's the same thing as reading a will and saying that somebody is not covered in it.

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What I think we're arguing is that there are -- I think there are these frameworks and particularly Geneva is a sort of opt-in framework. You have to conduct yourself in a way that qualifies for protections. If you don't qualify for them, that doesn't mean that you shouldn't have any protections.

But what we're talking about at that point is institutional competence. How do you want these protections to be brought?

And I would suggest that institutional regularity and procedural regularity is a matter that Congress ought to take on and figure out. And we don't really want it to be done by courts on an ad hoc basis stretching these principles that really don't apply because they want to avoid the possibility of a legal black hole.

So I think we want Congress to handle it. MR. LUSTBERG: I want to, of course, thank all these panelists. I hope this has given you just a sense of the scope -- the breath of the issues that are presented by the issues that -- by Quantanomo, indeed, by all of the civil liberties challenges that have arisen in the wake of 9/11,

prosecution of eight German saboteurs in a bizarre 1 Supreme Court proceeding. And now we're witness to 2 history with what has transpired in Guantanamo. 3

What we have witnessed today are the people that are making history on each side. I'm 5 really honored to be in their presence because we've had Professor Azmy and Lieutenant Commander Keubler on one side and Deputy Attorney General Katsas and Mr. McCarthy on the other side. 9

It is a great segue into our next program on professionalism because their views are so dramatically different but yet they're professional. That is a great statement of how we deal with issues in this country. We're going to take a 10-minute break.

Hurry on back and we'll have another 16 17 program. 18

(Recess.)

although we've really focused on Quantanomo here today.

In doing that, I think what you can see is that the argument is complicated and that they're being made by people who are very, very intelligent and, indeed, brilliant and are very committed to their positions.

And, really, that's a credit to our system of laws and to the good faith of everyone who is involved. Certainly, there are passions on both sides. And I hope this has just given you a sense of that, which is all we can do today. Obviously, we could continue this debate for hours are days. That is what goes on.

I want to thank the panel -- some of them who have traveled quite a distance to be here.

(Applause.)

MR. LUSTBERG: Thank you all for your attention. I know when I usually come to these, I usually outside by now. I appreciate your time.

MR. POPLAR: Prior to 9/11 we have been history on this topic of your rights in time of war. the Second World War, the Civil War, the suspense of habeas corpus in the Milgan case. The Second World War and the detention of the Japanese Americans and

MR. POPLAR: Larry goes back. We're 1 about to start the second half of the program.

Before we do, I'd like to call Doug 3 Alberts to say a few words for the New Jersey 4

Historical Society, a very vibrant -- a very 5

functional organization which is part of our District 6 7 Community right now.

MR. ALBERTS: Thank you. 8

(Applause.)

MR. ALBERTS: I try to be part of vibrant organizations as a rule.

Thank you, Carl, and the Association of the Federal Bar, for this opportunity to present a 13 brief report on the activities of the District Court's Historical Society.

Since its creation in 1984, the Society has enjoyed steady growth of membership and expansion 17 of its programs. Currently we have over 250 members and member firms and a year-round calendar of activities.

20 Last year the Society published the 21 first-ever written history of the United States 22 District Court. This book, which is still available, 23 is now in its second printing and has been nominated 24 for an award by the State Historic Commission.

17 (Pages 62 to 65)



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and move to South Jersey now. 1 (Noise from microphone.) 2 MR. ORLOFSKY: Judge, you screwed it up 3 4 again. JUDGE GREENAWAY: Now we're like in an 5 echo chamber. 6 Obviously, the first thing you do is turn 8 their microphone off. 9 (Laughter.) JUDGE GREENAWAY: No one can hear them 10 then and then there is no problem. 11 I have to say, earnestly, that I haven't 12 encountered the problem very often in my tenure. I 13 don't really employ the warnings that Judge Kugler, I 14 think judiciously, uses. I have maybe one sidebar. 15 Tell them this really isn't going to happen and then the one time that I did have a problem, I went back to 17 sidebar and I said "You will -- like your clients, 18 you'd like to win. But I will embarrass you in front 19 of the jury if this happens again." 20 21 That was the end of it. It may seem a 22 little heavy handed, I know. I think it is the best and most effective way to handle incivility quickly. 23 24 MR. ORLOFSKY: Thank you, Judge Greenaway. I may hesitate to call upon you again --25

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anybody hear me?

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More than once I've had problems with lawyers in court. It's funny reflecting on it right now. I think the three worst offenders that I had were all out-of-state counsel admitted pro hac vice.

How to deal with it? I think a series of warnings, incrementally more and more serious warnings. I remember one lawyer from Pennsylvania who I kept warning to stop his behavior, which was very disruptive, stamping his feet, yelling, raising his voice. I, finally, just threw -- literally threw him out of the courtroom and told him he could not appear for the rest of the day until he calmed down and made his local counsel continue the trial in front of the jury.

It is a difficult problem. Fortunately, it doesn't happen very frequently. I think the way to deal with it is to start slow and just keep warning them and warning them and warning them and giving them an opportunity to change their behavior. When they don't, I think it is incumbent upon the judge to do something about it.

MR. ORLOFSKY: Judge Greenaway, have you encountered Rambo and Ramba in your courtroom?

JUDGE GREENAWAY: We're going to adjourn

(Laughter.)

MR. ORLORSKY: -- until I have more control over the microphone in front of you.

Mr. Poplar, what about lawyers' relationships with lawyers? You were fond of telling me how you're a simple country lawyer. You keep telling juries that for 30 years. You're fond of telling me that and how large law firms take advantage of you in a variety of different ways.

Tell us about some of your experiences, particularly with respect to requests for extension of times -- extension of time to answer or do other things or conduct at depositions.

MR. POPLAR: I find every day that I have a difficult lawyer-adversary to deal with. I find in the big firms sometimes they inundate you with papers that are unreasonable in requesting continuances in a greater degree than it ever happened before.

I think that there is a value to being unprofessional. I think there is a value to being discourteous because there seems to be no remedy for it. It makes it very, very difficult to litigate.

As recently as yesterday a large Philadelphia firm refused to grant a postponement for a matter of -- a deposition on Monday which we got

19 (Pages 70 to 73)



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professionalism seminar required by all in-house counsel seeking limited licenses to practice in New Jersey. To date we have had four seminars. We have two to go and we've reached over 1200 in-house counsel.

The Superior Court judges, which we call the young baby judges, the Municipal Court judges, receive seminars by us. I participated in them myself. They're well received.

We have also developed a model seminar for all County Bar Associations that can be used. We're in the process with the Mason Gross School in Rutgers in developing a DVD on ethics and professionalism which will be available.

And, finally, we continue to recognize the accomplishments of good lawyers on a positive basis with our annual professionalism Lawyer of the Year Award. Every County Bar, specialty Bar, participates in that. We've had 100 percent recognition by lawyers. And, of course, the overall Daniel Ahern Award recognizes the career achievement and commitment of the high standard of lawyers. It is a very active commission. We're working on it. We've seen improvement.

I do recommend everybody at their own

Certainly at the head of a classroom, at
the head of a courtroom, we possess tremendous power
to make the weather. So what is it that we are
demonstrating with our choice of words? What is it
hat we are demonstrating with our body language, with
our demeanor, with our level of preparedness, with our
own expectations for ourselves with regard to
punctuality?

For that matter I attempted to find that while sticks are sometimes warranted, carrots tend to work better. So I will always make a point of noting the examples of civility, of professionalism, of preparedness, of excellence that are demonstrated in and out of the classroom.

And I'll do that in class. Actually stopping to pause and commend a particular student. I'll also do that outside of class, sending an e-mail, sending a handwritten note.

If you treat people as they are capable of becoming because the inherent tendency for civility I am convinced, resides not just in some of us, but in all of us. In some it just needs to be drawn out a bit more. To the extent that we are guided, then, by what we admire, rather than what repels us, we really have the opportunity to be the change that we want to

firms address the problems and I don't think we'll see some of the stuff that Carl has elaborated on.

MR. ORLOFSKY: Thank you.

Paula, what are the law schools doing about teaching professionalism?

MS. FRANZESE: Yeah. We're mindful of it all the time. Mindful that it certainly starts with us.

At the start of every semester I share with my students an excerpt from Goethe who had written centuries ago, "I have come to the frightening conclusion that I am the decisive element. It's my mood that tends to make the weather because with each word, with each gesture I have the unique capacity, the inherent power to make a life either miserable or, alternatively, glad. I can always choose to humiliate or, alternatively, to transcend."

Here is the kicker.

"If we treat people as they are, we make them worse. If we treat them as they are capable of becoming, we help them to become just that."

I challenge my students to become the aspiration statement and I like to think that I assist by setting norms and appropriate baseline standards of expectations for what it means to be a professional.

1 see in the profession.

MR. ORLOFSKY: Thank you.

Dean Riccio, as a former Law School Dean, academic and now a practicing lawyer again, how does one reconcile the duty to zealously represent one's client with professionalism?

MR. RICCIO: I think you have to be guided by principles of professionalism and your own sense of integrity.

I think, perhaps. The best way for me to answer your question, Steve, is to ask a couple of questions and then give you my reaction to them.

The first is: Is more being done today to promote civility and professionalism than there was 10 or 15 years ago?

I think, after listening to Paula and Rich and knowing of my own experience, the answer is clearly yes, there's quite a bit being done. And you'll see issues of civility and professionalism cropping up in judicial opinions. You will see issues of professionalism and civility being integrated not only into formal law school events, but also into courses that get taught.

There is hardly a course in law school where you can't, during one or more classes, integrate

21 (Pages 78 to 81)



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extension of time to answer.

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MR. BADALATO: And I think that a lot of this is carried on by what we see. I try cases. You think the jury has an idea that what they see on television on some of these shows and some of these judge shows is the way it's really done. But, again, it all comes back to the firms.

If the firms are mentoring and teaching, if the law schools are mentoring and teaching, the young people will follow the good example and they will not be allowed to do things like Carl said; not grant an extension.

It's ridiculous getting into a case and not giving someone the first time they call -- "Of course, you can adjourn the deposition on Monday; let's work out another date.

I mean, that's just absurd. But it is fostered a lot by the O.J. trial. This last episode with the Nicole Smith and what people and young lawyers see on TV that they think that that's the way to go in there, with a gun-slinging operation, and that just simply is not the case.

MR. ORLOFSKY: Rich, how do you think unprofessional conduct plays in front of a jury? MR. BADALATO: I think, from my talking on that?

JUDGE THOMPSON: Give us an example. MR. POPLAR: Example of the disrespect?

JUDGE THOMPSON: Yes.

MR. POPLAR: I can recall asking the 5 young man if I could borrow an exhibit that he used on direct that I wanted to use on cross and he threw it 7 8 at me.

I, sort of, had this poker face because I was applauding this stuff. I thought it was a great 10 thing for me.

Then he would make faces and be surly with me and I thought it was -- I thought it was good for my ability to bond with the jury. Unrelated to anything I was doing.

15 MR. ORLOFSKY: Judge Kugler, do you have 16 a comment on that? 17

MR. KUGLER: Not on Carl's case because 18 his client awaits sentencing. 19

(Laughter.)

JUDGE KUGLER: Anyway --

MR. POPLAR: On a minor count. The major 22 count we went home on. 23

JUDGE KUGLER: The whole area of how a 24 jury reacts to unprofessional conduct by a lawyer? I 25

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to judges and having tried cases for over 40 years, it plays very poorly. I think the jurors pick it up. I don't think they're impressed at all. I think they like the people that are articulate and courteous at all times, standing up when the jury comes in, addressing the Court in a caring way even if you really are angry with the judge's decision, not displaying a temper, but holding it back. Maybe talking to him in chambers.

I think it plays very poorly. My experience is that there is very bad results with poor conduct.

MR. ORLOFSKY: Carl, what is your view of that issue?

MR. POPLAR: I agree with Richard. As recently as last year I was doing a case -- and I think the evidence was reasonably substantial -- in a criminal matter.

A young prosecutor from Washington was just disrespectful of me during the trial. I think that caused me to bond with the jury. I thought that alienated the jury.

I don't know -- it was a case before Judge Kugler. I don't know if he picked up on that. MR. ORLOFSKY: Do you think he picked up

think a lot depends on the tone that the judge sets in 1

the courtroom. I think the jury follows the judge's

lead. If the judge makes it clear that it is not 3

acceptable conduct, the jury will follow the judge. That is why I think the judges have to be very careful

about not putting up with that and putting an end to it very quickly. 7

I think Carl and Richard are both absolutely correct. If the jury understands it is unacceptable, the jury is going to hold it against the person perpetrating that kind of conduct. They tell me all the time that they do. They don't like these lawyers. It is pretty clear.

MR. ORLOFSKY: Judge Greenaway, how do you think unprofessional conduct plays with a jury?

15 JUDGE GREENAWAY: I'm not going --16 17

MR. ORLOFSKY: Don't touch the microphone please.

(Laughter.)

JUDGE GREENAWAY: I hesitate even to touch the base.

I think that my experience speaking with jurors after a trial is that they -- they're always taken aback by unprofessionalism and discourtesy -any kind of discourteous act among lawyers.

23 (Pages 86 to 89)



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MR. ORLOFSKY: What do you do, for example, if ultimately a lawyer or a law firm that has behaved unprofessionally or overzealously files a fee petition?

JUDGE KUGLER: Fee petitions are very difficult in the Third Circuit. The judge's -- mine and I know most judges I know, obvious reaction to those kind of fee petitions, there is something terribly wrong about this. It is too much. Because this was a lot of wasted time.

It is not that easy to do. You have to go through it line by line. It's very difficult in the Third Circuit precedent to just say: Well, I wouldn't have spent this much time on that.

And lawyers shouldn't spend this much time on that. It's a -- a fee petition is not a good way to attack that problem.

MR. ORLOFSKY: How do you think judges should address the problem?

JUDGE KUGLER: Well --

MR. ORLOFSKY: Do you think they should address it in opinions that they publish?

MR. KUGLER: Well, we do address it in opinions that we publish. I know I made a reference I'm not so sure what you expect us to do about it.

Carl and Steve alluded earlier to this 2 Third Circuit opinion by Judge Barry. It's Seldana 3

versus K-Mart. It makes it exceedingly difficult for 4 the courts to impose any kind of sanctions for

behavior that occurs at a deposition and not in front of a judge. It is a very difficult problem. 7

Obviously, you look to us for help. 8 We'll try to do what we can do. Please understand there is not a lot we can do. 10

MR. ORLOFSKY: Judge Kugler, what about this practice so many lawyers engage in of copying a Court on correspondence that they send to their adversary? Is that appreciated?

JUDGE KUGLER: No.

(Laughter.)

JUDGE KUGLER: Frankly, it's counter 17 productive. I characterize these things -- it's name 18 19 calling.

And, of course, it always generates -- it doesn't always. With good lawyers it doesn't generate any response. But, invariably, it generates a response from the adversary who then writes to me and says: Well, no, I didn't start this, you know, she

started it and she is a no good. It goes on and on. 25

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to some of my opinions to the Code of Professionalism. Although it's aspirational only and not to be used for disciplinary matters or litigation purposes, I, nevertheless, refer to that.

If it's particularly egregious and some kind of penalty needs to be assessed -- I know you've done it. I've done it. I think we have all done it. Requiring lawyers to attend some kind of CLE course on professionalism. I don't know it does much good. But I don't know what else we're supposed to do.

I think the Dean and Carl had a good point. Looking out over this room, there is not one of you in this room, I don't think, who would refuse to grant a continuance if asked by an adversary.

This is not really the audience for the problem. I think you're all here to find out what you should do when you're faced with these kinds of Rambo lawyers and what kind of remedies you have for that. I don't think we need to teach many of you anything about professionalism.

So it's a difficult problem. I'm not so sure the courts are the answer. I know a lot of you try to get the judges involved in this. We get all kinds of correspondence that goes back and forth between lawyers. Nasty stuff. Name-calling stuff.

It goes on and on. There is no end to it. 1

I'm not there. I don't know what's going on. I don't know who's generating this. 3

When I was a Magistrate Judge, I used to get them on the phone to find out what the crux of the problem is so it didn't get any further down the road or any worse. But, no, it is not appreciated because I'm not sure what it is you expect me to do about your problem.

MR. ORLOFSKY: Judge Greenaway, what's your view on that?

JUDGE GREENAWAY: That is really the key to the problem.

MR. ORLOFSKY: Don't touch the microphone.

JUDGE GREENAWAY: That's really a key to the problem. What is it you that you want us to do when we get letters, as Judge Kugler just alluded to. I basically get folks immediately on the phone.

But the worst is when either in those letters or however it's relayed to the Court, there are allegations of untruths. That's about as pleasant as I can put it. And I have no idea, earnestly, what you want us to do.

My general response is: Look, you're all

25 (Pages 94 to 97)



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MR. ORLOFSKY: Before I ask Judge Kugler to rule on something that is not before him and give you an adversary opinion, let me say all of us have been in that situation. And I think the way to deal with it is, first, to be patient; second, to create an appropriate record. And when you reach the tipping point, and that's really a matter of judgment, then I think you have to go to the Magistrate Judge or the District Judge for some relief.

Now, in most cases, you know, you may be going to the magistrate court, but if it's for a matter of scheduling you may be going before the Magistrate Judge to address those questions. And I think our magistrate judges are sophisticated enough to understand what's going on. But that's a difficult problem. It is not one that is easily resolvable. It's really a judgment call on your part. And you'll also have, you know your client with you looking over your shoulder and pressuring you to do something about

So, Judge Kugler, now that I've answered the guestion, what's your view of that?

(Laughter.)

JUDGE KUGLER: It takes incredible patience, which I think is part of your professional

MR. ORLOFSKY: What I like; a short, succinct answer.

It's a real problem, but one has to balance the issues of professionalism with one's duty to one's client.

And Jeff raises a valid point. When is enough enough? And that's really a judgment call. When you do go in -- when you do go in before the Magistrate Judge or the District Judge, you have to be able to present a pretty compelling record. So it is important for you to document it.

Now, in terms of scheduling. Obviously, the magistrate judges have -- in this district have fairly regular scheduling conferences. So you'll be in before them every 90 days or so and there will be scheduling orders in place and you're expected to comply with the deadline.

So, you know in most cases those issues are going to come before the Magistrate Judge in the first instance, and that's the point, the opportunity, if you will, to make your point.

One of the areas of professionalism that isn't often addressed, although it is certainly in every Code of Professionalism that has been adopted in this court and in other courts are courts -- judges'

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responsibility, is to be incredibly patient. And I think, as much as it pains me, I agree with Steve about it gets --

MR. ORLOFSKY: Did you get that down,

THE REPORTER: Yes.

JUDGE KUGLER: -- it gets to a tipping point where you have to enlist the aid of, probably, the Magistrate Judge to get the thing back on schedule.

I don't think it does you any good to write to the Court in a whiny way and say: This person is being mean to me.

Just say: Look, factually -- very neutral -- say: I've scheduled depositions on these days; this lawyer has canceled each and every one of them; judge, we need to get this thing back on scheduling; we may need an Order compelling depositions and we need a conference.

Leave it a that. That is the best we can hope for.

MR. ORLOFSKY: Judge Greenaway, do you want to comment?

> JUDGE GREENAWAY: No. (Laughter.)

duties to lawyers. Okay. So this is kind of a 1 2

sensitive subject, but it's worth -- I think worth airing in this District where the judges have a fairly 3 4 collegial relationship with the Bar and the Bar is

collegial with the Court and also with each other.

Judge Kugler, what about that, the Court's obligations to lawyers? What is your view of that?

JUDGE KUGLER: I think we all take it very seriously, obviously. I think it was a great idea to put this in this litigation conduct guidelines. If you look at the other ones in your package from all the various states, you're not going to see many that refer to the judges' responsibilities to the lawyers and the litigants. It's just New Jersey and in the Seventh Circuit that have adopted that. Ours is based on the Seventh Circuit one.

But it's a difficult problem. Maybe we ought to get into a discussion as to what you, the lawyers, should do when you have a problem with a judge and how to get that resolved. I don't know if you want to get into that at this point.

MR. ORLOFSKY: Well, we're talking about professionalism. It is part of our Code of Professionalism.

27 (Pages 102 to 105)



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If what we move towards is what we tend to talk about most and if what expands is what we tend to think about the most, then we've got to be talking more about this thing more about this and acting more about this.

MR. ORLOFSKY: Richard.

MR. BADALATO: I just want to tell you that just yesterday the Conference of Presiding Judges is looking over a proposal from the Commission on Professionalism of adding a component wherein, much like the lawyers, when a lawyer acts out in poor conduct, that can be reported to the County Bar, which then goes to the Assignment Judge, who brings them in, et cetera.

We're asking the Court to consider a similar procedure for state court judges because the biggest problem is lawyers don't want to blow the whistle for fear of reprisal. So the confidentiality factor is that they would report it to the County Bar. They would have a little investigation, report it to the Assignment Judge on an anonymous basis -confidential basis with no ethical problems or anything.

The judge would be brought in and it

And in my experience, when you make that presentation with most judges who care about what they do as judges, they will perk up.

4 MR. ORLOFSKY: Well, that is a good 5 point.

6 Of course, what Ron doesn't mention is that it takes a lot of courage to do that. It is not easy to do that sometimes, for all the obvious reasons.

Mr. Poplar.

MR. POPLAR: But this difference between a young lawyer in front of an intemperate judge, and so on, with the stature of Ron Riccio before an intemperate judge and speaking out, what does the young lawyer do?

If you walk into the courthouse, there are, maybe, 50 young lawyers in the courtroom and there are ten senior lawyers in the courtroom. The young lawyers can't stand up to an intemperate judge. They just can't do it.

MR. ORLOFSKY: We have about a minute or two left before we have to conclude.

23 Does anyone in the audience have a 24 guestion or comment they wish to share?

MR. BAIN: So many years ago there was an

111 would be discussed about his or her conduct. Hopefully, if we could get that, he could isolate some of these judges and get decisions before they retire.

MR. RICCIO: Steve, if I could weigh in on this for a second?

Implicit in your question is that the judge is not behaving appropriately and is doing so intentionally. If it is a repetitive situation -- if it is an egregious situation, it is one thing. If it is intemperance, impatience, perhaps not as attentive to an argument as he or she should be, it is perhaps because the judge doesn't even understand that he or she is not behaving as you would hope that he or she would behave.

I think in situations like that, if you're an effective lawyer and not a potted plant, you say something to the judge and you do it in a respectful, honest and open way.

At least in my experience, when I've had judges who were not giving the attention to the case either to the extent or in the manner that I hoped it would be given, I would in a very professional and gentle but, nevertheless, hopefully, effective way let the judge know that I don't think you're doing what you are supposed to be doing.

editorial in The New Jersey Lawyer. It suggested that 1

2 maybe the federal bench should be subject to peer

review similar to the state courts, as mentioned 3

4 before. That may require an amendment to the

5 Constitution. A decision of two panels of the D.C.

Court of Appeals that -- if they had been put together 6

7 would have held that any disciplinary action taken

8 against a federal judge could be only impeachment.

I suggest to you maybe we should consider some sort of peer review.

MR. ORLOFSKY: Judge Kugler, any 11 12 thoughts?

JUDGE KUGLER: You do have peer reviews for Magistrate Judges and Bankruptcy Judges because they come up for reappointment at the end of the term.

There have been Bankruptcy Judges, Magistrate Judges -- I am happy to say never in New Jersey, but in other states, who were denied reappointment because of the opposition of the Bar.

If that happens to Article III judges -you need to amend the Constitution. There is a statute where you can file a formal complaint against an Article III federal judge which goes to the Court of Appeals. The Chief Judge reviews it. He or she could dismiss it or refer it to a hearing. Then you

29 (Pages 110 to 113)



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16 17		
18 19		
202122		
23		
24 25		
		31 (Page 118)
		J1 (1 ugo 110)



Page 120 44:2,7 49:11 asking 88:5 110:16 available 65:23 barrier 2:22 53:19 56:18 55:20 56:19 57:1 aspect 14:20 15:4 78:14 Barry 75:2 96:3 61:20,20,21 63:5 62:17 68:2 16:5 23:9 32:19 avoid 10:2 30:22 base 22:17,22 73:19,20 74:19 89:21 applying 52:25 32:23 39:11,11 62:17 77:11 81:13,18 avuncular 75:22 based 49:4 53:7 56:23 aspects 20:7 81:21 82:4 83:1 appointed 93:10 aspiration 79:23 awaits 88:19 57:25 58:2 103:13 109:5 award 65:25 78:18 114:12 aspirational 76:25 105:17 believe 93:5 98:3 appointing 32:17 92:21 95:2 baseline 20:24 78:21 101:17 appreciate 23:22 aware 31:19 76:6 aspirations 40:20 79:24 109:20 **believed** 83:16,17 63:20 67:12 asserted 35:4 93:21 100:7 basic 11:2 12:1 83:19 appreciated 96:14 assessed 95:6 awareness 76:25 17:13 19:13 41:8 believes 7:19 9:6 42:9,10 43:6 97.7 101:8 83:1 Ben 35:23 36:18 assign 59:13 apprehend 37:7 away 38:8 44:6 58:21 37:21 basically 12:4 20:2 approach 19:20 assigned 5:21 59:1 115:22 bench 1:16 2:22 appropriate 32:12 24:22,25 25:1 Azmy 6:9 8:21 40:7 97:19 99:8 85:10 98:12 32:13 51:2 54:15 29:1 31:16 41:5,17 basis 11:4 15:20 107:9 113:2 54:20 79:24 Assignment 64:7 17:24 18:1 19:5 benefit 70:6 83:9 102:6 115:15 106:14 110:14 22:1 62:16 78:17 83:11 $\overline{\mathbf{B}}$ appropriately 110:22 110:22,23 benefits 2:15 assist 79:23 75:18 111:7 B 1:25 36:6 68:22 **batch** 29:3 best 72:22 81:10 ppropriateness Assistant 7:9 battlefield 16:3 baby 78:7 93:14,16 103:20 31:20,24 Associate 4:25 21:6 26:19 43:7 bet 70:19 back 15:9 21:14 Arabia 29:19,20 associates 90:14 48:2 52:7,9,10 better 40:11 80:11 25:13 31:12 arbitrary 42:17 90:14 52:11,24 between 17:11 34:22 35:15 46:23 Association 1:1 battlefield-like 37:22 51:21 70:5 91:24 93:13 archives 51:21 2:2 65:12 67:17 50:6 95:25 99:3 56:13 57:2 64:16 area 3:25 70:9 68:24 76:21 Bay 24:22 25:10 65:1 72:17 86:7 112:11 115:24 88:24 77:14 29:6,8,20 87:8 95:24 98:17 beyond 37:6 areas 7:6 69:21 associations 45:9 bearers 109:17 103:9,17 115:23 big 21:3 28:12 104:22 78:11 bears 48:22 73:16 74:12 backed 44:6 argued 8:6 10:14 Association's became 83:16 76:12 background 3:10 12:12 69:14 Becker 5:17 biggest 38:21 8:21 31:10 argues 9:17 assumption 38:6 bad 4:9 37:4 87:11 become 75:21 110:18 arguing 62:3 38:17 Bill 50:21 79:21,22 Badalato 76:4,9 becoming 79:21 argument 11:14 assumptions 58:20 binding 51:15 85:18 86:2,25 23:21 26:13 asymmetric 52:9 80:20 **Bissell** 77:21 92:20 107:15 27:17 28:21 34:5 atrocities 14:5 bedrock 16:8 110:8 115:13 34:7 50:21 53:19 attack 16:18 39:15 Badolato 69:3 before 4:19 16:18 bit 8:11,18,21 63:4 111:11 42:15 94:18 21:11,24 24:9 13:11,16 21:17 91:20 arise 31:5 attacks 13:21,24 25:10 35:13,24 41:11 80:23 baffled 34:5 arisen 5:3 6:24 14:12 Bahar 6:9,10,18 48:5 51:8,17 81:18 92:25 62:25 attempted 80:9 54:9 65:3 66:9 6:21,23 8:17,20 bizarre 64:1 armed 14:13 26:18 attend 95:8 68:3 73:18 87:23 black 58:21 61:11 13:7 23:19 31:15 attention 63:19 99:21 102:1,2,12 26:22 27:6,17 40:21 47:10,24 61:19 62:18 28:5 51:25 52:13 82:4 111:20 104:8,15,19 49:10 50:8 blow 110:18 117:19 blows 116:6,6,21 53:4 107:15 111:3 Bahar's 13:10 arms 18:6 52:16 attentive 111:10 **BAIN** 112:25 112:13,22 113:4 **board** 67:16 109:9 Army 50:5,11 attenuation 45:10 began 35:25 body 27:3 56:15 114:21 51:19 begin 13:15 61:11 45:12 balance 9:4 41:7 80:5 around 8:3 23:25 attorney 4:25 7:7 70:7 bomb 56:7 58:16 104:4 55:13 66:20 67:2 7:9 24:18 64:8 balanced 4:10 beginning 24:24 bombing 7:12 82:10 attorneys 10:22 58:23 **bond** 87:21 88:14 balances 40:5 arranging 29:19 25:1 66:8,8 99:7 begins 26:12 book 52:18 65:23 balancing 7:20 arrested 52:17,18 audience 32:6 83:3 Ball 67:5 behalf 10:22 31:20 borderline 39:18 83:6 95:15 Art 66:17 32:1 34:7 67:15 borrow 27:25 28:1 Band-Aid 74:17 **Article** 11:2 12:25 107:18 112:23 behave 84:9 85:9 88:6 Bankruptcy 18:15 19:5,10 August 69:16 85:13,21 111:14 **Bosnia** 52:22 113:14,16 26:8 42:7 51:10 authentic 38:12 bar 1:1,16 2:2 behaved 94:4 both 4:16 13:22 51:14 56:9,17 authentically 37:4 behaves 91:18 14:14,15 16:8 32:23 65:13 113:20,23 authority 9:5 behaving 85:14,24 37:14 63:10 66:9 67:18 69:14 articles 23:24 109:11 114:6 91:25 111:7,13 75:6 77:8 89:8 76:21 78:11,18 34:11,12 authorization 55:8 behavior 71:9,20 107:19 78:18 82:3 91:22 articulate 6:8 87:4 84:20 93:24 96:6 authorize 43:2 bother 74:6 105:4,4 109:18 aside 35:8 authorized 11:16 behind 2:22 **bottom** 109:4 110:13,20 being 19:18 24:20 asked 46:11 82:11 14:15 15:19 113:19 Boumedienne 5:9 95:14 43:16 24:21 34:1 48:9 12:23 52:20







30:16,18 37:8

extent 21:12,12

50:12,14 102:14

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fliers 45:21

ſ	
59:6,8 73:18	101:9 102:2
98:11	himself 30:8 31:8
happens 6:1 16:19	hinted 50:4
48:25 72:20	hired 100:23
106:17 113:20	historic 27:3 65:25
1	
116:16	historical 20:24
happy 113:17	43:24 65:5,15
hardly 81:24	historically 24:11
Harris 46:10,14	43:9
harrowing 9:10	history 13:14
	14.25.15.10
Harry 46:10	14:25 15:19
Harvard 5:16	18:23 19:23
Hassan 24:23 29:1	20:16,23 61:14
hat 80:5	63:22 64:3,5
hatched 19:18	65:22
hate 52:5 100:1,4	hoc 62:15
having 9:9 24:2	Hochberg 67:1
30:22 32:15	hold 15:20 43:4
30.22 32.13	
68:14 77:13 82:6	89:10
87:1 100:4 101:4	holding 11:15
	holding 11:15 20:19 21:16,20
115:9	
Hayden 115:19,20	21:22 87:8
	hole 58:21 61:11
head 55:21 80:1,2	11016 36.21 01.11
93:12	61:19 62:18
headed 114:12	Hollenbeck 77:8
Transfer and trans	
heading 61:19	home 21:7 48:21
hear 4:12 10:20	76:16 77:21
13:5 34:5 70:15	88:23
71:1 72:10 83:6	honest 85:8 111:18
99:4	honesty 84:6
heard 31:15 34:4	honor 4:22 68:5
40:22 58:16	Honorable 68:18
60:25 68:2	68:21
hearing 28:20 42:9	honored 8:1 64:6
48:20 113:25	hope 10:7 35:22
hearings 11:1,3	62:21 63:11
12:8 101:4	103:21 111:13
hearsay 21:2 55:15	hoped 111:21
55:17	
	hopefully 4:4 31:6
heavily 7:20	111:2,23
heavy 72:22	horrible 57:20
	hostile 45:8,11
Hedges 70:3	1108the 45.6,11
height 34:9	hostilities 16:4
heightened 16:24	hot 37:12
	hours 63:13
17:14,15 18:11	
held 5:10 10:14	hour's 83:9
11:24 12:24 15:6	house 30:20
22:8 41:13 50:16	huge 74:18,25
61:14 67:6 113:7	106:10
114:23	Hughes 66:12
	human 7:6 14:25
help 79:21 96:8	
her 91:15 111:1	39:2
115:11	humiliate 79:16
112.11	mummate / / . 1 O
1	1 4 1 4 . 4
hesitate 32:7 72:25	hunt 14:4
hesitate 32:7 72:25 89:20	
89:20	hunt 14:4 Hurry 64:16
89:20 Hey 93:2	Hurry 64:16
89:20	
89:20 Hey 93:2 Hi 3:18	Hurry 64:16
89:20 Hey 93:2 Hi 3:18 high 78:22	Hurry 64:16 I ICLE 77:25
89:20 Hey 93:2 Hi 3:18 high 78:22 highest 33:22	Hurry 64:16 I ICLE 77:25 idea 51:24 60:12
89:20 Hey 93:2 Hi 3:18 high 78:22	Hurry 64:16 I ICLE 77:25
89:20 Hey 93:2 Hi 3:18 high 78:22 highest 33:22 highlight 66:14	Hurry 64:16 I ICLE 77:25 idea 51:24 60:12 86:4 97:23
89:20 Hey 93:2 Hi 3:18 high 78:22 highest 33:22 highlight 66:14 highly 21:9 48:6	Hurry 64:16 I ICLE 77:25 idea 51:24 60:12 86:4 97:23 105:11 107:11
89:20 Hey 93:2 Hi 3:18 high 78:22 highest 33:22 highlight 66:14 highly 21:9 48:6 high-minded	Hurry 64:16 I ICLE 77:25 idea 51:24 60:12 86:4 97:23 105:11 107:11 ideal 9:18
89:20 Hey 93:2 Hi 3:18 high 78:22 highest 33:22 highlight 66:14 highly 21:9 48:6	Hurry 64:16 I ICLE 77:25 idea 51:24 60:12 86:4 97:23 105:11 107:11
89:20 Hey 93:2 Hi 3:18 high 78:22 highest 33:22 highlight 66:14 highly 21:9 48:6 high-minded	Hurry 64:16 I ICLE 77:25 idea 51:24 60:12 86:4 97:23 105:11 107:11 ideal 9:18

if's 33:13
toward 42.10
ignored 43:19
ignores 101:20 II 15:5,21 19:25
III 15·5 21 19·25
20.2 41.12
20:3 41:13
111 11:2 18:15 19:6 19:10 26:8 42:7
19:10 26:8 42:7
51.10.112.20.22
51:10 113:20,23
imagine 26:21
imagine 26:21 imbue 117:13
117.15
immediately 12:10
67:3 97:19
impact 75:11
01.10
91:10
impartial 12:6
impatience 111:10
impeachment
113:8 114:8
impediment 15:17
impediment 15:17 Implicit 111:6
Implicit 111:6
importance 82:1,2
02.7
83:7
important 16:17
32:23 40:14
42,22 50.10 52.4
43:23 50:19 52:4 59:3 83:13 84:11 84:12 90:15 92:2
59:3 83:13 84:11
84-12 90-15 92-2
02:2 104:11
92:2 104:11
impose 96:5
imposed 75:15
impossible 98:21
impressed 87:3
improvement
78:24
inappropriate
33.3 12 13 106.8
inappropriate 33:3,12,13 106:8
inception 8:2
inception 8:2
inception 8:2
inception 8:2 incivility 72:23 include 17:18
inception 8:2 incivility 72:23 include 17:18 69:10
inception 8:2 incivility 72:23 include 17:18 69:10
inception 8:2 incivility 72:23 include 17:18 69:10 included 29:18
inception 8:2 incivility 72:23 include 17:18 69:10 included 29:18 includes 45:12
inception 8:2 incivility 72:23 include 17:18 69:10 included 29:18 includes 45:12 including 43:10
inception 8:2 incivility 72:23 include 17:18 69:10 included 29:18 includes 45:12 including 43:10
inception 8:2 incivility 72:23 include 17:18 69:10 included 29:18 includes 45:12 including 43:10 69:8 106:3
inception 8:2 incivility 72:23 include 17:18 69:10 included 29:18 includes 45:12 including 43:10 69:8 106:3 inconsistency
inception 8:2 incivility 72:23 include 17:18 69:10 included 29:18 includes 45:12 including 43:10 69:8 106:3 inconsistency 91:24
inception 8:2 incivility 72:23 include 17:18 69:10 included 29:18 includes 45:12 including 43:10 69:8 106:3 inconsistency 91:24 inconvenience
inception 8:2 incivility 72:23 include 17:18 69:10 included 29:18 includes 45:12 including 43:10 69:8 106:3 inconsistency 91:24 inconvenience
inception 8:2 incivility 72:23 include 17:18 69:10 included 29:18 includes 45:12 including 43:10 69:8 106:3 inconsistency 91:24 inconvenience 68:7
inception 8:2 incivility 72:23 include 17:18 69:10 included 29:18 includes 45:12 including 43:10 69:8 106:3 inconsistency 91:24 inconvenience 68:7 inconvenient
inception 8:2 incivility 72:23 include 17:18 69:10 included 29:18 includes 45:12 including 43:10 69:8 106:3 inconsistency 91:24 inconvenience 68:7 inconvenient 28:16
inception 8:2 incivility 72:23 include 17:18 69:10 included 29:18 includes 45:12 including 43:10 69:8 106:3 inconsistency 91:24 inconvenience 68:7 inconvenient 28:16
inception 8:2 incivility 72:23 include 17:18 69:10 included 29:18 includes 45:12 including 43:10 69:8 106:3 inconsistency 91:24 inconvenience 68:7 inconvenient 28:16 incorporated
inception 8:2 incivility 72:23 include 17:18 69:10 included 29:18 includes 45:12 including 43:10 69:8 106:3 inconsistency 91:24 inconvenience 68:7 inconvenient 28:16 incorporated 69:11
inception 8:2 incivility 72:23 include 17:18 69:10 included 29:18 includes 45:12 including 43:10 69:8 106:3 inconsistency 91:24 inconvenience 68:7 inconvenient 28:16 incorporated
inception 8:2 incivility 72:23 include 17:18 69:10 included 29:18 includes 45:12 including 43:10 69:8 106:3 inconsistency 91:24 inconvenience 68:7 inconvenient 28:16 incorporated 69:11 incorrect 22:12
inception 8:2 incivility 72:23 include 17:18 69:10 included 29:18 includes 45:12 including 43:10 69:8 106:3 inconsistency 91:24 inconvenience 68:7 inconvenient 28:16 incorporated 69:11 incorrect 22:12 incredible 93:19
inception 8:2 incivility 72:23 include 17:18 69:10 included 29:18 includes 45:12 including 43:10 69:8 106:3 inconsistency 91:24 inconvenience 68:7 inconvenient 28:16 incorporated 69:11 incorrect 22:12 incredible 93:19 102:24
inception 8:2 incivility 72:23 include 17:18 69:10 included 29:18 includes 45:12 including 43:10 69:8 106:3 inconsistency 91:24 inconvenience 68:7 inconvenient 28:16 incorporated 69:11 incorrect 22:12 incredible 93:19 102:24
inception 8:2 incivility 72:23 include 17:18 69:10 included 29:18 includes 45:12 including 43:10 69:8 106:3 inconsistency 91:24 inconvenience 68:7 inconvenient 28:16 incorporated 69:11 incorrect 22:12 incredible 93:19 102:24 incredibly 100:7
inception 8:2 incivility 72:23 include 17:18 69:10 included 29:18 includes 45:12 including 43:10 69:8 106:3 inconsistency 91:24 inconvenience 68:7 inconvenient 28:16 incorporated 69:11 incorrect 22:12 incredible 93:19 102:24 incredibly 100:7 103:1
inception 8:2 incivility 72:23 include 17:18 69:10 included 29:18 includes 45:12 including 43:10 69:8 106:3 inconsistency 91:24 inconvenience 68:7 inconvenient 28:16 incorporated 69:11 incorrect 22:12 incredible 93:19 102:24 incredibly 100:7 103:1 incrementally 71:7
inception 8:2 incivility 72:23 include 17:18 69:10 included 29:18 includes 45:12 including 43:10 69:8 106:3 inconsistency 91:24 inconvenience 68:7 inconvenient 28:16 incorporated 69:11 incorrect 22:12 incredible 93:19 102:24 incredibly 100:7 103:1 incrementally 71:7
inception 8:2 incivility 72:23 include 17:18 69:10 included 29:18 includes 45:12 including 43:10 69:8 106:3 inconsistency 91:24 inconvenience 68:7 inconvenient 28:16 incorporated 69:11 incorrect 22:12 incredible 93:19 102:24 incredibly 100:7 103:1 incrementally 71:7 incumbent 71:21
inception 8:2 incivility 72:23 include 17:18 69:10 included 29:18 includes 45:12 including 43:10 69:8 106:3 inconsistency 91:24 inconvenience 68:7 inconvenient 28:16 incorporated 69:11 incorrect 22:12 incredible 93:19 102:24 incredibly 100:7 103:1 incrementally 71:7 incumbent 71:21 116:1
inception 8:2 incivility 72:23 include 17:18 69:10 included 29:18 includes 45:12 including 43:10 69:8 106:3 inconsistency 91:24 inconvenience 68:7 inconvenient 28:16 incorporated 69:11 incorrect 22:12 incredible 93:19 102:24 incredibly 100:7 103:1 incrementally 71:7 incumbent 71:21 116:1 indeed 15:17 24:12
inception 8:2 incivility 72:23 include 17:18 69:10 included 29:18 includes 45:12 including 43:10 69:8 106:3 inconsistency 91:24 inconvenience 68:7 inconvenient 28:16 incorporated 69:11 incorrect 22:12 incredible 93:19 102:24 incredibly 100:7 103:1 incrementally 71:7 incumbent 71:21 116:1 indeed 15:17 24:12
inception 8:2 incivility 72:23 include 17:18 69:10 included 29:18 includes 45:12 including 43:10 69:8 106:3 inconsistency 91:24 inconvenience 68:7 inconvenient 28:16 incorporated 69:11 incorrect 22:12 incredible 93:19 102:24 incredibly 100:7 103:1 incrementally 71:7 incumbent 71:21 116:1 indeed 15:17 24:12 37:20 47:12
inception 8:2 incivility 72:23 include 17:18 69:10 included 29:18 includes 45:12 including 43:10 69:8 106:3 inconsistency 91:24 inconvenience 68:7 inconvenient 28:16 incorporated 69:11 incorporated 69:11 incerect 22:12 incedible 93:19 102:24 incredibly 100:7 103:1 incrementally 71:7 incumbent 71:21 116:1 indeed 15:17 24:12 37:20 47:12 62:24 63:6
inception 8:2 incivility 72:23 include 17:18 69:10 included 29:18 includes 45:12 including 43:10 69:8 106:3 inconsistency 91:24 inconvenience 68:7 inconvenient 28:16 incorporated 69:11 incorporated 69:11 incredible 93:19 102:24 incredibly 100:7 103:1 incrementally 71:7 incumbent 71:21 116:1 indeed 15:17 24:12 37:20 47:12 62:24 63:6 indefinite 9:25
inception 8:2 incivility 72:23 include 17:18 69:10 included 29:18 includes 45:12 including 43:10 69:8 106:3 inconsistency 91:24 inconvenience 68:7 inconvenient 28:16 incorporated 69:11 incorporated 69:11 incredible 93:19 102:24 incredibly 100:7 103:1 incrementally 71:7 incumbent 71:21 116:1 indeed 15:17 24:12 37:20 47:12 62:24 63:6 indefinite 9:25
inception 8:2 incivility 72:23 include 17:18 69:10 included 29:18 includes 45:12 including 43:10 69:8 106:3 inconsistency 91:24 inconvenience 68:7 inconvenient 28:16 incorporated 69:11 incorporated 69:11 incorporated 102:24 incredible 93:19 102:24 incredibly 100:7 103:1 incrementally 71:7 incumbent 71:21 116:1 indeed 15:17 24:12 37:20 47:12 62:24 63:6 indefinite 9:25 indefinitely 9:5
inception 8:2 incivility 72:23 include 17:18 69:10 included 29:18 includes 45:12 including 43:10 69:8 106:3 inconsistency 91:24 inconvenience 68:7 inconvenient 28:16 incorporated 69:11 incorporated 69:11 incredible 93:19 102:24 incredibly 100:7 103:1 incrementally 71:7 incumbent 71:21 116:1 indeed 15:17 24:12 37:20 47:12 62:24 63:6 indefinite 9:25

infrequently 100:18 inherent 79:15 80:20 inherited 42:18 **initial** 27:10 **initially** 8:7 44:5 inject 10:4 42:2 innocence 46:17 innocent 36:23 37:1 38:9 44:14 44:15 46:8,21 47:13 innovatively 60:13 insanity 93:20 insidious 100:21 installation 66:24 installed 66:16 instance 21:1 104:20 instead 55:3 56:23 58:1 59:8 instinct 39:2 instituted 11:8 institutional 62:10 62:12 instrument 36:4 insufficiency 52:2 insufficient 12:9 integrate 81:25 integrated 81:21 integrity 81:9 84:6 intelligence 37:14 37:15 39:15 56:6 56:8,17,21 57:4 intelligent 63:5 intemperance 111:10 intemperate 74:19 112:12,14,19 intentionally 26:18 111:8 interest 85:15,23 interesting 3:9 117:22 interim 12:13 international 18:16,25 19:4 43:17 51:14 54:11 interns 90:13 interrogate 56:5

Jasna 67:7 Jeff 101:13,14 104:6 Jersey 1:2,9,20 2:3 2:6,11 24:3 65:4 69:3,9,13,20 70:20 72:1 76:21 77:3 78:3 90:18 93:14 105:16



identifies 37:11

30:25 37:22,24

71:11,12 87:9







think 4:5 7:22 9:9



systematic 61:15

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totally 28:4 55:1

18:10,22 19:5,12

