```
0001
01 UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
   FOR THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA
03 United States of America
                                   Docket No. CR 05-0394 RBW
04
                                   Washington, D.C.
05
                                   Friday, May 5, 2006
          vs.
06
                                   1:30 p.m.
07 Lewis Libby
0.8
              Defendant
09
   Transcript of Motion Hearing
10 Before the Honorable Reggie B. Walton
11 United States District Judge
12 APPEARANCES:
13 For the Plaintiff:
                             Patrick Fitzgerald, Esq.
14
                             Peter Zeidenberg, Esq.
15
                             Debra R. Bonamici, Esq.
16 For the Defendant:
                             Theodore Wells, Esq.
17
                             Jonathan Jeffress, Esq.
                             WILLIAM D. MC ALLISTER, CVR-CM
18 Reporter:
19
                             Official Court Reporter
20
                             Room 4806-B
21
                             333 Constitution Avenue, N.W.
                             Washington, D.C. 20001-8306
22
23
                             (202) 371-6446
24 Reported by Voice Writing and transcribed using SpeechCAT
25 Pages 1 through 82
00002
                       PROCEEDINGS
01
02
       (Defendant present.)
03
               THE CLERK: This is the case in the matter of
04 Criminal Action 05-394. United States of America versus Lewis
05 Libby.
06
               Counsel, will you please identify yourselves for the
07 record.
80
              MR. FITZGERALD: Good afternoon, Your Honor. Pat
09 Fitzgerald for the government, joined by Peter Zeidenberg and
10 Debra R. Bonamici.
              MR. WELLS: Peter Wells for Mr. Libby, and Bill
11
12 Jeffress.
13
               THE COURT: Good afternoon. I have reviewed the
14 papers that have been submitted in reference to the third
15 motion for Rule 16 and Brady discovery. I tried to assess how
16 I could try and group as much as I can together so we don't
17 have to address each individual item. I am going to address
   some issues that I think are the easiest to resolve and then we
18
19 can move on to some other issues.
20
               One of the requests that was made is a request for
21 all of documents and information generated or received by the
22 State Department, the CIA, the executive office of the
23 president and/or the National Security Council concerning Mr.
24 Wilson's trip to Niger.
25
               I have read the submissions as to why somehow that
00003
01 would conceivably be discoverable. I'm having some difficulty
02 I guess concluding that it is discoverable but for the
03 government deciding that they would be seeking to introduce
04 that information as the predicate for the alleged motive to
```

indicate the information about Ms. Plame was in retaliation for 06 what Ambassador Wilson said when he returned from the trip.

I don't know if the government intends to seek to introduce that evidence by way of seeking to show a motive.

MR. FITZGERALD: No, judge. The government's motive 10 will be what Mr. Wilson said in July 6, 2003, caused a

11 controversy and it is the responses to the controversy in 2003.

12 I believe all our witnesses are people who learned of Mr.

07

09

15

17

18

19

20

22

05

80

09

10

11

12

13

14 15

16 17

18

21 22

02

03

07

80

Wilson's trip in May of 2003 or thereafter. We're not calling 13 Mr. Wilson or anyone who was on the trip itself.

So the discussion of the trip will be in the context 16 post July 6, 2003, people saying who sent him on the trip, what's going on here, who is Mr. Wilson but not the substance of the trip.

THE COURT: I am having a real problem assessing how the substance of the trip would be relevant considering the nature of the charges that we have in this case.

MR. WELLS: Certainly, Your Honor. One on the 23 government's key witnesses will be Mr. Grossman, who at that 24 time was the Under Secretary of State.

25 In paragraph 4 of the indictments, it states that on 00004

01 or about May 29, 2003, in the White House Libby asked an Under Secretary of State for information concerning the unnamed 03 ambassadors travel to Niger to investigate claims about Iraqi 04 efforts to acquire uranium yellow cake.

The under secretary thereafter directed the State 06 Department's Bureau of Intelligence and Research to prepare a 07 report concerning the Ambassador and his trip. The under secretary provided Libby with interim oral reports in late May and early June of 2003 and advised Libby that Wilson was the former ambassador who took the trip.

Then in paragraph 6, also with respect to Mr. Grossman, it states that on or about June 11 or 12 the under secretary of state orally advised Libby and the White House in sum and substance that Wilson's wife worked at the CIA and that State Department personnel were saying that Wilson's wife was involved in the planning of this trip.

What I would like to do, Your Honor, is first talk about Mr. Grossman, using him as an example of one witness where there will be significant examination based on what his testimony is going to be and what the indictment alleges about what Mr. Grossman had been told about the trip, what took place on the trip and what he communicated to Mr. Libby.

23 I will try to establish that, in fact, that the 24 dates, in fact, may be wrong. But the indictment itself has, 25 as one of the key witnesses, him telling Mr. Libby about what 00005

01 he has learned about the trip.

Now, the documents --

THE COURT: I don't know if I'd let that in. though it may be set forth the indictment, I'm not sure I would be inclined to let that in. I don't see how that has anything 06 to do with this case.

MR. WELLS: To quote the government --

80 THE COURT: I could see the relevance of the request 09 allegedly having been made by Mr. Libby to Mr. Grossman to find 10 out information about who allegedly went on the trip and who 11 planned it but the substance of what happened on that trip and 12 what was reported once the Ambassador comes back, I don't see 13 how that is pertinent to the charges.

14

15

16 17

18 19

20

22

03

05

06

09

10

11

13

14

15

16

17

18

19

23

02

06

07

80

09

MR. WELLS: Let me step back rather than doing it by a particular witness. I'll come back to this in a second. Let me give you a big picture answer that hopefully will clarify this point.

What this entire case is about is how Mr. Libby and others in the government responded to the controversy that erupted after Mr. Christoph writes this article of May 6 and then Mr. Wilson writes his article about what took place on the

23 What the testimony will show is that it was Mr. 24 Libby's position and a position of the Bush administration, I 25 submit, to respond to the allegations made in the Christoph 00006

01 article and made by Mr. Wilson by telling the American public 02 and the press that what Mr. Wilson was saying was wrong and that what says since he did on his trip was false in many 04 respects.

For example, the suggestion that Mr. Wilson had discovered that there were forged documents or that Mr. Wilson had reported to the office of the vice president about what happened on the trip or that Mr. Wilson had been sent on the trip by the vice president.

Those are the facts of what Mr. Libby is doing. in terms of my saying to the jury let me tell you what actually 12 happened, the trip is what the whole controversy is about in many respects. Whether you characterize it as the 16 words or the Wilson controversy, the administration's response is all grounded in responding to what happened on that trip in part and also to the general issue of whether the Bush administration had lied to the American public about issues of weapons of mass destruction.

We have 400 pages of grand jury transcript and much 20 of the transcript involves Mr. Fitzgerald questioning Mr. Libby 21 about the administration's response. But it all revolves 22 around the trip and what started this controversy. The state of the union given back in January --

THE COURT: How does that have anything to do with 25 whether Mr. Libby made the statements to these various people 00007

01 about the relationship of Ms. Plame and Ambassador Wilson? MR. WELLS: Your Honor, the case is really in two 03 parts. You have the reporters piece of a case. That's a separate piece. Put the comments to the three reporters for a 04 05 moment to the side.

Then you have the piece of the case that deals with what Mr. Libby was told by government officials about Ms. Plame. That's a whole separate piece. They ultimately become interconnected.

10 And I am concerned because when we started -- because 11 we filed the reporters' piece first because we were concerned 12 about the Rule 17 issues and we didn't file it jointly, I have 13 always been concerned that we might have created some 14 misimpression on the court's part that the case was just about

15 the reporters.

16

2.2

03

06

07

80

09

11

13

16

19

21

22

06

07

80

10

11

12

13

09

The best way to look at it is put the perjury count 17 and the false statement count to the side. Just look at the 18 obstruction count. The obstruction says that the way the grand 19 jury was obstructed was Mr. Libby did not disclose to the grand 20 jurors how he learned about Ms. Plame and then what he said to 21 reporters.

So the first part is how he learned it. 23 government's brief at page 11, this is their brief. write, the central issue at trial will be whether the defendant lied when he testified that he was not aware that Mr. Wilson's 80000

01 wife worked at the CIA prior to his purported conversation with 02 Tim Russert about Mr. Wilson's wife on or about July 10.

So there is the reporters half of the case and then 04 there are six or seven government witnesses who are at the heart of the obstruction case and at the heart of the argument that Mr. Libby was told certain things about what happened on the trip --

THE COURT: So are you suggesting that a part of the defense is going to be I didn't talk about the relationship 10 between Ms. Plame and Ambassador Wilson because that was not the objective of the administration in disputing what the ambassador had said. I was talking about the inaccuracies of what Wilson was saying and that's what I talked to the 14 reporters about and they're off the wall when they say I talked 15 to them about the relationship of the two.

MR. WELLS: In some respects that is correct. 17 Another is not 100 percent. But there is no question that what 18 he testified to in the grand jury was that he was concerned about responding to the merits of the allegations in the 20 Christoph article and in the Wilson article about what Wilson had learned and what he told the people.

That is why I say in the brief when I wrote it that 23 the indictment really distorts what was going on because it 24 makes the wife look like she was central to what Mr. Libby was 25 doing or what the administration was doing because when you 00009

01 read the indictment, you really think a lot is revolving around 02 Mrs. Wilson. It was not and I'll be able to show that because 03 the response was on the merits.

That's why the NIE was declassified and disclosed. That's why people put together information to show that the 05 forgeries, that Mr. Wilson didn't know anything about the forgeries, that Mr. Wilson had not been sent by the vice president.

All of the effort is being directed at showing that what Mr. Wilson is saying is wrong with respect to the trip. You have to start with what blows everything up is the Christoph article which is about the trip. It doesn't mention the wife.

14 What starts everything is May 6 Mr. Christoph writes 15 the article talking about an unnamed ambassador who goes on a trip. That is what the response is to. Then Mr. Wilson adds fuel to the fire when he writes his op-ed piece talking about 18 what he did on the trip. So what the prosecutor has done in the indictment is set forth his version of the facts.

20 THE COURT: As I said, I may not be inclined to permit all that information to come out. Just because it's in the indictment doesn't mean it is going to be heard by the 23 jury.

24 MR. WELLS: Your Honor, our core defense, whether it 25 is in the indictment or not is that what Mr. Libby was doing

during this period of time when the government says he was 02 given information by Mr. Grossman and others about Mr. Wilson's wife that whether he was given that information or not, it didn't stick because it wasn't important because he was doing something else and that is responding on the merits.

It wasn't just him. He was involved in what was a multi-agency response. It was office of the vice president. It was the office of the president.

THE COURT: Assuming -- your theory is that he was focusing on the merits and not the nature of the relationship between Plame and Wilson. I mean I guess that would be relevant for you to bring in to show what he was focusing on and why the relationship would not be relevant.

If you do that, I don't think the government then 15 would be able to bring in something to undermine the substance of what he says he was focusing on. My suggest is that in actuality something other had in substance occurred as compared to what the administration was saying took place.

I don't think I would be inclined to let that in 20 because it seems to me that is another total issue separate and apart from the issues involved in this case. So I don't know. 22 So even if you do go down that path, I don't know if the government has information on how that would tend be material 24 to the development of the defense.

25 MR. WELLS: Your Honor, I'm not sure about what the 00011

01 government --

01

05

06

07

80

09 10

11

12

13

14

16 17

18

19

02

07

10

11

12

13

14

15

16

17

18

19

THE COURT: Let me ask. If Mr. Wells on behalf of 03 his client introduces evidence and says that, well, these are 04 the things that, in reference to this situation, Mr. Libby was concerned about and it wasn't the relationship. It was the substance of what Wilson was saying allegedly was the situation in reference to Niger, would you then be seeking thereafter to bring in evidence in rebuttal to try to show what actually, that what Wilson was saying was truthful as compared to what the administration was saying?

MR. FITZGERALD: No, judge. In fact, I think when, for example, Mr. Wells points out that it was the point of view of Mr. Libby that, for example, the vice president hadn't sent Mr. Wilson on the trip, we agree. That's what we framed in the indictment. There's no dispute about that.

We're not contending that the vice president or Mr. Libby knew about the trip before May of 2003. To the extent that Mr. Libby was telling reporters look, the vice president didn't send him on this trip, we will be agreeing with the jury. The vice president didn't send him on the trip. Mr. Libby didn't send him on the trip. The vice president and Mr. 22 Libby didn't know about the trip until --

23 THE COURT: Are you going to be seeking to introduce 24 any evidence about what Wilson discovered on the trip and what

```
25 he reported back?
00012
01
               MR. FITZGERALD: No, Your Honor. There will be
   controversies. But when Mr. Libby says, for example, he didn't
02
03
   approve forgeries, we won't disagree. We won't disagree that
   Mr. Wilson was not sent by the vice president.
               What will come up are the conversations were Mr.
06
   Libby says to someone did the vice president send him on the
07
   trip and he said no. The vice president asked a question.
   response to the question, the CIA sent him on a trip by
   themselves. He came back. He reported to the CIA and then in
10
   May of '03 this controversy breaks out.
11
               We are not going to dispute the substance. We will
12 dispute that he did talk to people about Wilson's wife and the
13 relevance will be the conversations, for example, the best one
   is Mr. Grossman when Mr. Libby asks him what he knows about the
14
15
   trip.
16
               Mr. Grossman didn't know about the trip either. He
17
   found out and came back and said, my understanding is that his
18
   wife works at the CIA and people are saying she was involved in
   sending him on the trip which is what he tells Mr. Libby which
   goes directly to the relevance of whether or not Mr. Libby's
20
21
   testimony is true.
22
               Mr. Grossman separately has a report prepared all
23 about the trip and the substance of it the so-called INR report
24 which Mr. Libby never sees. We don't intend to offer the INR
25 report. We produce it in discovery. But we are not going down
00013
01 the road of trying the case of whether or not Mr. Wilson is
   right or Mr. Libby is right or whose view of this. It is
   simply whether or not Mr. Libby told the truth.
03
04
               MR. WELLS: Now let's return to Mr. Grossman. Mr.
05
   Grossman is going to take the stand and he's going to say this
06
   is what I did. I asked for a report to be prepared. I met
07
   with Mr. Libby and I told him certain things.
80
               Now let's assume I want to show this jury that Mr.
   Grossman is not being totally truthful, that I want to show,
09
   for example, that Mr. Grossman went to college with Mr. Wilson
11
   and they were classmates and throughout their careers they
12
   traveled together through the State Department and the
   diplomatic arena from college right on through.
14
               I want to give you a sample of just two emails that
15
   are classified so you will see the importance of these
16
   documents for purposes of discovery and how they may permit me
17
   to materially advance my examination of Mr. Grossman and to try
18
   to show that he is not being totally candid and that there are
19
   relationships that should cause the jurors to doubt what he
20
   said to Mr. Libby, when he said it.
21
               THE COURT: These documents that the government may
22
   have regarding the Wilson trip, I don't see how that would
23
   advance that theory.
               MR. WELLS: Let me just show you the documents.
25 These are documents that I will assume --
00014
01
               THE COURT: These are classified documents?
02
               MR. WELLS: Yes, sir.
03
       (Pause.)
```

MR. WELLS: I will have to let Your Honor read them 04 05 because I can't talk about them. 06 THE COURT: Let me take a short break so that I can 07 take a look at them. 80 (Recess from 1:50 p.m. to 1:53 p.m.) 09 THE COURT: Mr. Wells. 10 MR. WELLS: Your Honor, maybe there is a disconnect 11 between how you are interpreting the request about the relevancy of the trip. If you break it up into two parts, to 12 the extent Your Honor is saying I don't think it's relevant 14 exactly what happened on the trip when he was in Africa. 15 THE COURT: Or what he reported back. 16 MR. WELLS: When he reported back, it may go to how 17 we cross-examine Mr. Grossman and other witnesses in terms of 18 what Mr. Libby was told by Mr. Grossman and when he was told it because I may try to show that it is impossible that he told 19 Mr. Libby certain things or that he shouldn't be believed and 21 that he has a relationship with Mr. Wilson. 22 THE COURT: It seems to me you could satisfy your 23 ability to develop your defense along those lines by making 24 specific Brady demands of the government in reference to the 25 information that would seek to establish that relationship or 00015 01 information which honestly I think the government already is on 02 notice of that, based upon what you just said, that if the 03 government has information inconsistent with what Grossman is 04 going to say, then obviously under Brady or Giglio they would 05 have an obligation to produce that. 06 MR. WELLS: I know. But it's not a question of just 07 inconsistent with what Mr. Grossman is going to say. The 80 administration's entire response is based on the fact that Mr. 09 Wilson has told certain inaccuracies. 10 If the government is going to stipulate, not just say 11 won't challenge, they're going to stipulate that there is no 12 dispute that Mr. Wilson at the onset stated a number of items that we can work out a stipulation that are just plain wrong --13 THE COURT: I don't think they're going to agree to 14 15 I think what they said they would agree to is that they that. 16 are not going to seek to refute Mr. Libby's representation if 17 he so represents that he was focusing on trying to discredit what Wilson was saying as compared to trying to out his wife. 19 I think that's what they said. 20 If he says, I was focused on trying to correct 21 inaccuracies that Wilson had come back from Niger and related, you said you're not going to seek to try and suggest that 23 Wilson was correct. 24 MR. FITZGERALD: On the points that Mr. Wells cited 25 yes. For example, we put in the indictment that the vice 00016 01 president didn't send him on the trip because that's one of the talking points that Mr. Libby was saying out there. So I am 03 not going to stipulate that Mr. Wilson was inaccurate on 04 everything. 05 THE COURT: Right. MR. FITZGERALD: I'm not going to stipulate that 07 anything Mr. Libby might have said about Mr. Wilson was

08 inaccurate. What I'm saying is if he is trying to establish

09 that the vice president didn't send Mr. Wilson on the trip, he 10 can look at the indictment. It says so. If he's trying to 11 establish, the witnesses will say that Mr. Libby was asking in 12 May '03, what about this trip, and they didn't know about it. 13 So my point being the substantive facts that they may

15

17 18

19

20

21

01

02

04

05

07

09

10 11

13

14

15

16

17

19

03

05 06

07

10

14 dispute about Mr. Wilson aren't in controversy, the relevance of the report. What is in controversy is what happened 16 thereafter and that's why when we see things, for example, the reason Your Honor has these documents from Mr. Wells is the fact that we turned them over.

We know when if there is something inconsistent or something that may be Brady or Giglio, we turn it over, and we are holding back Jencks material.

But if there are contemporaneous documents written by 23 witnesses or persons to the event about conversations they had around this, we have been turning them over. We will not be disputing who sent him on the trip at trial. 00017

THE COURT: I mean I just don't intend to have this case become a forum for debating the issue of whether Wilson was right or whether the administration was right. I just don't intend to have this case be that.

MR. WELLS: Your Honor, a key issue in the case from government witnesses, let's take Mr. Cooper. What Mr. Cooper has written -- he is a key government witness. He is on record as saying that there was a plot by persons in the White House to punish Mr. Wilson by outing his wife.

Implicit in that is that they had to punish him by outing his wife because they couldn't meet it on the merits. That is part of the motive why they are supposedly outing the wife because they had nothing to say on the merits so let's dump of the guy's wife. That is what Mr. Cooper, a key government witness, is going to say.

Similarly, Mr. Wilson is going to be a witness in this case, Your Honor. The government is not going to call 18 him. But I'm either going to call him or they are going to call him in rebuttal because the government knows I have about five witnesses who will say under oath that Mr. Wilson himself told them about his wife working for the CIA. Once they say that, the government is going to call Mr. Wilson on rebuttal to say it didn't happen.

That's why I probably will just go ahead and call him 25 as a hostile witness because I would rather just call him in my 00018

01 case and let's get it and get it over with rather than end it 02 with rebuttal.

THE COURT: But even if you can establish that he is a habitual, blatant liar, how would that bear on the issue of whether your client allegedly made these false statements?

MR. WELLS: Because the jury has a right to determine with respect to Mr. Wilson. If the government stays with this argument that his wife was classified and nobody knew about her outside of the intelligence community, and I want to take that allegation on, and I put Mr. Wilson on the stand.

First I put five people on the stand who say he told 12 me about his wife working for the CIA. I'm not involved in the 13 intelligent in any way. That was no secret. He's then going

14 to get on the stand and he is going to say they're not telling 15 the truth, it didn't happen. 16 At that point I have the right to try to show that he 17 is a habitual liar. One of the things I can use to show that 18 is that he lied on the trip and one of the things I can use are 19 government documents --20 THE COURT: It is somewhat collateral to the issue, 21 isn't it? 22 MR. WELLS: No. It goes right to the question of 23 whether he's telling the truth or not. 24 THE COURT: Not on this issue as to whether he 25 revealed information to other people prior to that about his 00019 01 wife's status. I don't see how the fact that he purportedly --02 because that ends up being a debate on, because I assume he's going to say no. These are, in fact, the truth, and you would 03 be seeking to show something different based upon the 05 administration's position so we're back in the same boat. 06 We are seeking to try to address the issue of whether 07 or not this information was true or not which I don't think really has any bearing on whether your client falsely made 09 representations to the grand jury and the FBI. MR. WELLS: Your Honor, if you step back and focus -- THE COURT: I don't mean to cut you off. I could be 10 11 12 wrong about tactics but I mean I don't know if that's a battle 13 you want to fight before a District of Columbia jury. 14 MR. WELLS: Your Honor, right now I am requesting 15 discovery so I can make tactical decisions based on what 16 documents I have because there is one thing I do believe in. 17 If I don't have the paper, I'm not going to be able just to do 18 it by force of personality or advocacy. I need the paper. 19 What I'm really asking Your Honor to do is to really 20 take the approach Judge Lamberth did in the George case because the prosecutor's core argument really has been, Your Honor, 22 this case is just about perjury and obstruction of justice and, 23 therefore, all we need to have is just what Mr. Libby saw and 24 that's all they need, and so we can give very restrictive 25 discovery. 00020 01 But in every obstruction case, in every perjury case, the key issue is motive and the underlying offense. Even though the underlying offense is not charged, in every perjury case the real question is did the person have a reason to lie. 05 So the underlying offense is always in play. 06 What took place in George was that George was only 07 charged with false statements and perjury. Judge Lamberth 80 ordered that Mr. George's lawyer, Mr. Hibey, get all of the documents, all of the documents from the North production and 10 from the Poindexter production. 11 Mr. Hibey got 2 million pages of documents based on 12 Judge Lamberth's order because Judge Lamberth recognized that 13 the underlying offense is really what's going to be in play 14 even though it is not formally charged. 15 In my case I've gotten a total of 13,000 documents of 16 which 10,000 are from the office of the vice president so I've 17 gotten 3000 documents --

THE COURT: If I understand, George was accused of

18

19 having made false representations about the substance of the 20 information that was ultimately disclosed. That is somewhat different than what we have here. He is not being accused of 22 having lied about the substance of the information you're 23 trying to acquire. He is accused of having lied about something collateral to that, i.e., the alleged relationship 25 between Plame and Wilson. 00021

01

05

07

0.8

10

11

12

13

15 16

17

18

21

22

23

0.3 04

05

06

07

09

11

13

15

17

MR. WELLS: What he is accused of lying about goes 02 right to what Mr. Fitzgerald was investigating from day one, whether somebody outed Ms. Wilson by improperly disclosing classified information and that goes right to the heart of what was taking place.

That's what I mean when I say the underlying offense is always in play and that is what Judge Lamberth recognized. What the government is trying to do by having the court take this extraordinarily narrow view of the case is not to give me the documents where I can show to the jury with documents the full picture of what was going on because I concur with you 100 percent.

I've got a tough haul in front of this jury and I 14 need paper. I just can't have my client say it. I need to be able to corroborate it. I need to show it through other witnesses. I need the paper. He doesn't want to give me the paper.

THE COURT: If he was accused of having lied about 19 what Wilson reports allegedly had occurred, then I think I 20 would totally agree with you. Everything about the Wilson trip would be fair game and would be material to the development of the defense. But that is not what he is accused of lying about.

24 MR. WELLS: He is accused of lying about in part what 25 he was being told by government officials about what occurred 00022

01 in connection with the Wilson trip, including the wife. key thing is the wife. That's what he's accused of.

THE COURT: Anything that the government would have that related to information that would have been related to him about the wife I would agree. That is fair game.

MR. WELLS: What I'm saying is you can't slice it that thin because what was going on in reality were discussions about the trip of which the wife was this piece and what the government is arguing is that I can't show the jury the whole That's what you are depriving me of, being able -picture.

10 THE COURT: If he wants to take the witness stand and 12 he wants to say, this is what the administration's tactic was, the tactic was not to out Mr. Wilson's wife; the tactic was to show that this is, in fact, the reality of what occurred as compared to what Wilson was saying occurred. As I understand 16 Mr. Fitzgerald's position, if he does that, the government would not be seeking to establish that what the administration's position was was correct as compared to what

18 19 Mr. Wilson had said.

20 MR. WELLS: But, Your Honor, not only could he say 21 it, I've got the right to get documents, as Your Honor wrote, 22 to corroborate his testimony.

THE COURT: I don't see how that shows whether your 23

24 client lied about the outing because if you can totally 25 established that Wilson was an habitual liar and lied about 00023

0.8

09

12

13

14

15

16 17

18

19

03

06

80

09 10

11

13

15

16

17

18

19

20

01 everything about what he saw in Niger and what he found out in 02 Niger, I don't see how that sheds any light on whether or not 03 your client lied about the outing.

04 MR. WELLS: Mr. Wilson would be relevant, if called, 0.5 to the question of whether his wife's identity was known outside the intelligence committee. So it is a different 06 issue. But one way for me to attack --

THE COURT: I think you would have a hard time convincing me that if Wilson gets on the stand and he says, no, I've never told anybody about what my wife's situation was with the CIA, that you then would seek to try to undermine his credibility by showing that what he said regarding Niger was false.

MR. WELLS: I wouldn't be trying to undermine his credibility. I would be undermining the allegation in the indictment that Mrs. Wilson's identity or her occupation at the CIA was not known outside of the intelligence community.

He has made the allegation. I can put five witnesses on the stand, without Wilson, to say, I knew about it, the husband told me, and then I can stand in front of the jury and 20 say that allegation is just plain wrong. What he would do 22 then, he'll call Mr. Wilson on rebuttal. Okay. But I have a 23 right to attack that allegation.

We kind of drifted into another lane, to a different 25 issue, but I have a right to attack that allegation. He made 00024

01 it. I don't have to accept it and I could call the five people 02 to challenge that allegation.

I'm sticking with the indictment. The indictment 04 says, on a particular date Libby had conversations with Mr. Grossman about the trip. He has put it in play.

THE COURT: Not the substance of the trip as I 07 understand it.

MR. WELLS: Yes, yes, the substance.

THE COURT: Again I don't know how you get into that. MR. WELLS: Mr. Grossman can't testify because that's

what the conversations were about. They were talking about the substance of trip. That's what they were talking about.

THE COURT: The government, as I understand it, is 14 only going to be seeking to introduce evidence that he made a request about the relationship between Plame and Wilson or made a request as to who was responsible for having Wilson having gone on the trip.

MR. WELLS: Your Honor, I have a right no matter how narrow the statement is. My first question will be tell me what you told him, how did you learn it, who told you. I can ask those basic questions. You can stick me with the answer. But it's like making me stipulate that it happened.

THE COURT: I never understood the law to say that just because people may have talked about something in the 25 context of something that is relevant to a case, that that

01 makes everything that was said during the course of the 02 conversation relevant regardless of how immaterial it may be to

03 the substance of what the case is about. MR. WELLS: Well, if I'm trying to show that Mr. 04 05 Grossman should not be believed and I can show that what Mr. Grossman says he told Mr. Libby that either he could not have 07 learned it by that particular date or it was wrong --80 THE COURT: If the government has any information 09 that would support that position, I will order that they turn 10 it over because I think that would qualify as Brady. MR. WELLS: But I have the right, Your Honor, not 11 just as Brady, I have the right to get the information in --12 13 let's just stick with Mr. Grossman's files for a minute. 14 Information in Mr. Grossman's files about the trip that he would rely on in any way for purposes of his communication with my client for purposes of cross-examining him. I can't see how 17 it could be denied, the documents that he had or emails showing 18 his discussion --19 THE COURT: You know they try some cases in some 20 jurisdictions, why it takes them a year to try a case that it 21 would take two weeks to try here but I'm not going to go in that direction. That's just not the way I'm not going to permit this case to be tried. 24 Otherwise I'll never get to any other business. 25 be trying this case for the next year and I don't plan on doing 00026 01 that. It's not that I would do anything to deny Mr. Libby a 02 fair trial. I'm going to do all I can. I'm just having a hard time understanding how, if you are able to establish that everything that Wilson said was false how in the context of any 05 issue related to this case that would be relevant on the issue 06 of whether your client lied about allegedly outing his wife. MR. WELLS: Because, Your Honor, they're going to put 07 08 newspaper articles into evidence. That's what I wanted. That's what they intend to do. You can ask the government --09 10 THE COURT: About what newspaper articles? 11 MR. WELLS: They are going to put the Christoph article in. They are going to put the op-ed article in. 12 13 suspect they going to put about five or six articles in because people are responding to these articles. Your Honor, we've got 15 to be able to tell --16 THE COURT: Not for the truth I assume. They might 17 seek to try and put it in to show what the motive for the 18 outing would have been but that truth of it, what is in those 19 articles it seems to be would not be relevant. MR. WELLS: Your Honor, if he stands up and says I'm 20 21 going to put the six articles in but they are not being put in for the truth, they are just for background and the six 23 articles suggest that my client is engaged in a conspiracy to out somebody --25 THE COURT: I may not let that in. They may have to 00027 01 redact those in some way so that only certain portions come in that would support their theory of what the motive is. I don't think I'd be inclined to let them bring in an entire article if 04 parts of those articles don't really relate to what the motive 05 was, i.e., the outing, and somehow would be prejudicial to Mr. 06 Libby.

MR. WELLS: The articles he wants to put in on the

07

08 front end of the case are not going to be about any outing. They're going to be about the Bush administration lying to the public of which my client is a part, and you're saying or the 11 government is saying, well, it's just not for the truth and 12 it's just going to float around there. I've got to be able to 13 respond to that stuff.

14

15

16 17

21

06

07

11

12

13

14

15

16

17 18

19

23

THE COURT: This is the first I'm hearing about these articles that you say the government is going to seek to introduce that would have all of this information I guess you are saying about what Wilson said he discovered in Niger.

18 MR. WELLS: Your Honor, the articles are cited in the 19 indictment. The indictment walks you right through the 20 articles.

THE COURT: I know it's in the indictment.

22 Does the government intend to introduce articles that would, in fact, be supporting or at least relating what Wilson 23 says he discovered on this trip?

25 MR. FITZGERALD: Yes, Your Honor, the one would be 00028

01 but not for the truth. The Wilson op-ed itself which started this sort of lift-off was achieved on July 6 where Wilson wrote what I found in Niger we will offer, and we can talk about one, redactions, and two, instructions to the jury that they're not offered for the truth. 05

But it is precisely what that article is that causes the events of June 14. On July 6 the article is printed. On 08 July 7 in response to that, the office of vice president sends some talking points to Mr. Fleischer about the vice president 10 didn't know about this trip before.

In response to that, Mr. Libby and Mr. Fleischer have lunch and that's when we allege the discussion about Wilson's wife was. It is responding to the criticism that resulted from the Wilson article that led to the events of July 6 to July 14 when most of the relevant events in this indictment took place.

In fact, we will offer an article that was sort of annotated by people who read it. And so my point being but it is not offered to prove the truth of the matter asserted. We can talk about redactions or instructions but that's what Mr. 20 Libby discusses. He says his article implies that we would 21 have known about it but he didn't. And we're not going to dispute the fact in 2002 neither Mr. Libby nor the vice president knew about it.

24 That's my point. That's why we plead in the 25 indictment that the trip was done at the CIA's behest and they 00029

01 reported to the CIA. So when Mr. Wilson's says, I assume the 02 vice president heard about it back then, we disagree. We agree 03 with Mr. Wells he didn't.

04 THE COURT: The only concern I have is obviously it 05 seems to me if information comes before the jury about what Wilson said he discovered during this trip which is inconsistent with the administration's position, obviously the 08 administration's position in that regard was a significant reason for why we ended up going to war in Iraq and that 10 obviously is a very, you know, hotly contentious issue in 11 American society today, that I could see how conceivably he 12 ends up being prejudiced because the jury starts to focus on

13 the issue of whether or not we appropriately went to war as 14 compared to the issue of whether or not he lied.

15

02

05

06

07

80

09

11

13

14 15

16

17

18

19 20

21

22

23

03 04

05

06

07 80

09

10 11

12

13

MR. FITZGERALD: The only thing I'll say to that, 16 Judge, is we agree that we don't want to try the war. We don't 17 want to spend nine months here, and a courtroom is not the 18 appropriate place to try the war. We will open and we'll close and we'll stipulate and Your Honor can instruct the jury that 20 they are not doing their duty if they sit here and try to 21 decide whether the war was appropriate or the reasons for the war was appropriate. That is not their job.

They are here to decide whether a man on trial is 24 proven to have lied beyond a reasonable doubt or not. But the 25 controversy to understand the importance of this particularly 00030

01 where the defense is going to be seeking to offer as much as they can about how important Mr. Libby's job was, it is important to know that an allegation was made that went to the credibility of the administration, that Mr. Libby took seriously and some people took very personally and he said that in a grand jury and understandably anyone would if they're accused of lying about something important.

That may shed the context for motive but we're not going to get in and try, you know, what did Mr. Wilson say, what did someone else say, who's right or wrong. But people will understand that an allegation was made by Mr. Wilson or 12 Mr. Wilson asserted facts. People were debating it.

In that context there was discussion about Mr. Wilson's wife in that month where he learned material. He passed on material. And then he gave statements to the grand jury and they will decide whether they were true or false.

MR. WELLS: Two points. First, as Mr. Fitzgerald said he is going to start his case with an article that says what I found in Niger. That's what the article is about. That's what starts the whole thing. That's the title of it.

The notion that he can say I can't get discovery on what underlies the article when he's going to put the article in, that's what the case is about, is about what happened on that trip, what he wrote.

25 My response, Your Honor, is the real problem with the 00031

government's indictment and how they want to try the case is they want to do and what I will call a quick and dirty way with the big stuff and focus on the wife because that makes the wife really important.

THE COURT: If the government introduces this article, are you saying that you then would be able to introduce evidence that would undermine the accuracy of the information in the article?

going, then the wife's role becomes --

MR. WELLS: Yes, Your Honor. THE COURT: That would be relevant to this case. MR. WELLS: Your Honor, all I want to tell the jury is what happened, and when you see what happened, the truth, not the distorted picture that I submit is told in the indictment. The wife's role becomes minor when you see what was really going on. But if you were to rule that I can't get into that, I can't really show what the administration was

THE COURT: No, I didn't say that because if the 18 government introduces the article, I would have no problem with 19 20 your client or any other witnesses who could shed light on what 21 your client's mental state was at that time, bringing out information that this was the administration's position about 23 the accuracy of the situation as compared to what was in that article, and that's what the administration went about the 25 process of disputing, the accuracy of what was in those 00032

01 articles, and that that was the focus of Mr. Libby's attention 02 and not this peripheral information that you say was minor 03 regarding the relationship between Plame and Wilson. No 04 problem with that.

And I would not be inclined to let the government, and I think the government is saying that they would not seek to come back after that to seek to try to establish the accuracy of the Wilson information.

06

07 80

09

11

13

16 17

18

19

21

23

05

80 09

10

11

12

14

15 16

17

18

21

22

MR. WELLS: What I'm asking for at this stage, at 10 Rule 16 discovery stage is for the documents that the government has in its possession. I modified my request. I said I don't want them to go do any search, just the documents they already have in their possession that relate to the trip and the discussions after the trip because this, what the case is about is everybody discussing the trip. Every witness is going to testify on the government's side about what they were discussing about the trip. It wasn't just the wife. He would like to make it seem like it was just the wife.

THE COURT: If those discussions took place before 20 this article was written which the government says is their theory of what the predicate was for the motive, I wouldn't be letting that information come in about those prior discussions.

22 MR. WELLS: Then, Your Honor, at a minimum I should 24 get the materials involving discussion about the trip from May, well, really from the Christoph article which is May 6. 00033

should get discussions from the, the Christoph article really 01 starts everything. He is the one who says an unnamed ambassador went to Niger and really discovered all these things. 04

This shows that President Bush lied during the State of the Union address in 2003. That's the article. That is the point, that I should at least get all of the materials in the government's possession -- I'm not asking for any additional searches -- about discussions concerning the trip from the date of that article forward because that's when it all starts.

THE COURT: Okay. I have to rule. I understand your theory. I just am not prepared to buy in on the proposition that the information that you are requesting would be material to the development of a defense.

As I said, if the government has information in its records that, based upon what you said, is exculpatory, then obviously the government under Brady would have an obligation to produce that. I'm just not going to let this case end up being a judicial resolution on the legitimacy of the war or the accuracy of the statements the president made at the State of the Union. I just don't see how that's important.

What I think is important it seems to me from the

23 defense perspective is what I indicated earlier, that if the government introduces that article in support of their theory 25 as to what the motive was for the outing, that Mr. Libby 00034 01 through his defense can present evidence to show what really

the administration was about in reference to that article and that was disproving the accuracy of the substance of the 04 information that was in it as compared to this outing which you 05 say from your perspective was a minor consideration of Libby.

I just don't see how that information to support the administration's view of what occurred as compared to what the 08 article or what Wilson said, I just don't see how that ends up being material to the defense.

MR. WELLS: Your Honor, before you rule, would you ask the government to tell you what articles they want to introduce and read the articles because I think if you read them you will see there is no way that the jury, no matter how strong a cautionary instruction you give about its not for the truth, that I am not going to be in a position where I've got to take this stuff head on. That's what was going on.

THE COURT: You want to try the legitimacy of us 18 going to war. You want to come in and bring in all of this evidence I assume on the theory that the administration's position was correct as compared to what Wilson was saying. 21 And I just don't see that that helps us and helps the jury 22 decide whether Libby lied when he talked to the FBI and when he 23 went before the grand jury.

MR. WELLS: Because if the evidence shows that the 25 administration, Mr. Libby saw the allegations by Mr. Wilson as 00035

01 going right to the integrity of the administration, let's say 02 they saw it as a crisis of integrity, and they decided they had 03 to respond to that crisis of integrity and I want to say to the 04 jurors, let me show you how they responded. And they just 05 didn't respond with Mr. Libby because he's been indicted.

A lot of people don't believe what the defendant says so you have to do it through other witnesses. You have to do it to the extent you can do it on cross within the scope. You 09 do it through witnesses who you may call. But you don't want your witness to carry the water so you want to show what was going on.

THE COURT: If the government has anything in their possession that shows that there were internal discussions within the White House as to what their strategy was going to be to meet the force of what Wilson was saying, I agree.

MR. WELLS: Well, that's all I'm asking for, Your Honor. All I'm asking for is that from the time of the Christoph article. That's what I'm asking for.

THE COURT: But only as it relates to any internal 20 discussions. Are you saying even if Libby wasn't a part of it? MR. WELLS: Of course, Your Honor, because it helps corroborate what Libby was doing because Libby may not have been a part of a discussion on a particular day.

24 THE COURT: But what if he was a renegade?

25 MR. WELLS: But he wasn't. 00036

06

07

09

10

11

12

13 14

15

16

17

19

06

07

10

11

12

13 14

15

16

17

18

19

21

01 THE COURT: I know that's your position. But just 02 because other people may have had discussions outside of his presence about what the strategy was going to be I don't see how that would shed light on whether or not he kept to the 05 company line.

06

07

10

11

12

13

14

15

17

19

20

21

06

07

11

13

15

17

18 19

20

21

25

MR. WELLS: Your Honor, I have a right to try to show he kept to the company line and that what he says was the company line which is really the important thing, was really the company line and look at what other people have. Mr. Libby was part of the team, Your Honor.

THE COURT: And if he was involved in discussions and the government has documentation of the discussions that indicated that this is what the administration's tactic was going to be to meet this, I would agree.

But if there were things that were said outside of 16 his presence by other people about what they were going to do and that was a part of the administration's effort, I don't see how that would help us or the jury to understand whether or not he complied with something he didn't even have a part of discussing.

MR. WELLS: Your Honor, just because you're not a 22 part of a particular discussion on a particular day does not mean that someone else's document or discussion corroborates just what you said was going on.

25 Part of my job, as Your Honor wrote, is to get 00037

01 discovery to help corroborate my position. What you just said 02 a minute ago that if they have information showing those 03 internal discussions to the effect of what the administration's 04 response was going to be, you would let me have that material. 05 That's really all I'm asking for.

THE COURT: I mean I think that initial statement was a little too broad because I find it hard to understand that if 08 he was not a part of a discussion when a coordinated effort was decided upon, how this separate discussion that he wasn't a part of, how would that shed light on whether or not he kept to the company line or did something totally off the reservation. I just don't understand that, how that would be relevant in showing what his actions were by showing what somebody else's 14 agreement to act was.

MR. WELLS: Your Honor, let's say I have a witness on the stand and I can show through Mr. Grossman or some other witness how Mr. Libby is part of the team and they are fighting this coordinated front. He is part of the team though he's not at every meeting.

To establish the factual predicate so I can tell the jury truthfully the wife is a sliver, a sliver, and what the government is doing is trying to create the impression that in this crisis of the administration where they were figuring out how to respond to these articles after articles after articles saying they had lied that the role of the wife was minor. 00038

01 But when you keep that piece out, Your Honor, you 02 keep that piece out, it makes it look like the wife was a big deal and how could Mr. Libby have forgotten what he was supposedly told by Mr. Grossman. That is their case. 05 THE COURT: That may be true as it relates to any

discussions that have been reduced to writing that Mr. Libby

07 was a part of, any strategy sessions or anything of that nature 08 where they talk about, you know, what their strategy would be counter what Wilson had said, I guess it would be appropriate 10 to have that and I guess if people were present when he was 11 present when what the strategy was going to be, maybe testimony from those people would be relevant in showing what his state of mind was and that may undermine the suggestion that would 14 have outed her as compared to doing what the company line was 15 going to be. 16 But if there were discussions and meetings that took 17 place that he was not a part of, I just don't see how that 18 sheds light on what his state of mind was. 19 MR. WELLS: I will try to put it --20

THE COURT: I think I understand your position. I've got to move on. I think my position has to be that, as I say, while I have no problem with him proving and introducing evidence as to what he was doing and what his objective was in 24 reference to refuting what Wilson was saying, it seems to me 25 that is fair game.

00039

01

02

06 07

09

10

11

12

15

18

19

20

16 17

21

And if the government has anything in reference to that that the record relates to his situation, I would conclude that that would be discoverable under Rule 16. And obviously if they have information that would inculpate him in reference to that that would be admissible.

Other thing that, I just don't see how that other information and how general information about what took place in Niger and what Mr. Wilson reported when he came, I don't see how that is material to the development of the defense in this case.

MR. WELLS: Thank you, Your Honor.

THE COURT: The next matter we need to go to is the, 13 which I think is an easy issue, is the CIA referral to the 14 Department of Justice to conduct this investigation.

In reference to this, I'm also having some problems with seeing how this is material to the defense. The referral.

MR. WELLS: I'm sorry, Your Honor.

THE COURT: The referral from the CIA to the DOJ for investigation. I'm having some concerns about how that information is going to be material to the defense and, therefore, discoverable.

MR. WELLS: The referral may go to the issue of 23 whether she was classified, whether she was covert, also may go to potential bias by CIA witnesses. We asked Your Honor to 25 review it.

00040

01

THE COURT: On the issue of whether she was, in fact, whatever her status, covert or whatever you want to classify it was with the CIA, whether she was or not is that really 04 relevant? Isn't what is relevant as to what he thought her 05 situation was?

06 MR. WELLS: No, Your Honor, because the indictment 07 that Mr. Fitzgerald drafted begins with the statement about the 08 nature of the CIA, how certain employees employment are classified and they are classified for the purposes of 10 protecting them and that if there are disclosures --

THE COURT: Is the government going to be seeking to 11

12 introduce evidence of that nature to suggest that she was in 13 some type of covert or secret status?

14 MR. FITZGERALD: Putting aside covert status which I 15 won't discuss, the only thing we would seek to offer about her 16 actual status was that it was classified as of the time of 2003 17 prior to her being public.

THE COURT: Are you taking the position that, in reference to her classified status, that you don't have an 20 obligation to produce any evidence you have in reference to

22 MR. FITZGERALD: I think what we did was we submitted 23 a Section 4 filing in which we proposed a summary of material 24 that we would suggest we give to the defense so they can 25 examine it.

00041

01

02

03

04

05

07

11

12

13

15

16 17

18

19

21 22

23

25

01

05

06

07

80

09

18

19

THE COURT: You're not opposed to the idea of having to produce information about her classified status but you would want to do it in a manner that doesn't reveal information that they don't necessarily need?

MR. FITZGERALD: Yes. When Your Honor sees the 06 proposed summary and reviews it, I just want Your Honor to understand that the proposed summary of what we are telling the 08 defense is a heck of a lot more than we would tell the jury so that in terms of being candid with them as to what they can 10 know about our background, it's not our intention, that's not our offer of proof in front of the jury. We would simply offer the fact that her status was classified.

THE COURT: I guess that's an issue we will have to 14 address at the Section 4 proceeding since you are conceding that they have a right to have information about that but in a form that is redacted or a summary. Then I think that issue is resolved. We just have to decide at the Section 4 hearing exactly whether the summary is, in fact, sufficient.

MR. WELLS: Your Honor, could you ask Mr. Fitzgerald 20 on this issue are they going to keep in the indictment and argue to the jury --

THE COURT: Let me just make one thing clear. indictment is not going to go to the jury. They are not going 24 to have it.

MR. WELLS: Okay. Thank you.

00042

Is the government going to argue that there was 02 potential damage to the national security by virtue of disclosing the identity of somebody with classified status? That's what the indictment says. I would like to know is that going to be part of the case or not?

(Pause.)

THE COURT: My clerk is reminding me that we have a Section 4 filing of reference to that issue too, and we may have to resolve that at that time but I don't know. Is the government going to seek to try to establish that there was 11 damage? I'm not asking you to go into what the damage was.

MR. FITZGERALD: I will say this. We will not offer 12 13 any proof of actual damage specific to Valorie Plame Wilson. 14 We are not getting into the fact specifics of her. The issue 15 of potential damage, the harm that causes from people being 16 outed will come up indirectly several times and I can point,

for example, one of the things that Mr. Wells actually looked 18 to was the articles.

19 One of the articles that came out in the New Republic 20 in June of 2003. There was some discussion in there. After 21 that article a witness spoke to Mr. Libby by telephone who was describing what it is that some of the problems were about Mr. Wilson's trip and the person said, can you make some 24 information public, and Mr. Libby said, we can't because there 25 are complications at the CIA which he didn't further explain, 00043

01 and he said, we can't talk about it on an open telephone line. So the issue of potential damage from discussing it 03 may come up. In a different conversation that Mr. Libby was 04 present for, a witness did describe to Mr. Libby and another 05 person the damage that can be caused specifically by the outing of Ms. Wilson. It was before the grand jury. It was back in July of 2003.

So it goes directly to his state of mind as to being is there a motive to lie. But we're not going to call specific witnesses about her. We're not going to call a specific witness to be an expert or an institutional witness from the CIA to say here's how it all works. We do have state of mind evidence of the conversations he had with witnesses that 14 averted to the issue of what happens when a person is outed.

THE COURT: How would his state of mind in that 16 regard be relevant to the charges in this case?

MR. FITZGERALD: The motive to lie. What I think 18 when you see the grand jury testimony saying that he learned information that, in his mind, he was attributing to a reporter and didn't know if it were true and passing it on makes it a non-crime or looks much more innocent than passing on what you know to be classified, and that goes to his motive to lie.

THE COURT: I've got you.

24 MR. WELLS: Your Honor, that article he referred to 25 is discussed in paragraph 13 and it doesn't discuss the wife at 00044

01 all.

02

06 07

80

09

10

11

13

15

17

19

20 21

22

23

02

03

07

80 09

10

11

12

13 14

15

16

17

THE COURT: I think we are going to have to address this in the Section 4 hearing that we're going to have because, as I say, the government is agreeing that they will turn over something in reference to her classified status but they want to turn it over in an altered form and I will have to assess whether or not that is adequate for your purposes.

MR. WELLS: Your Honor, could I ask that, and maybe you already said, it but I'm not sure now since you ruled if it is still going to be done.

Could I ask that Mr. Fitzgerald submit to the court and the defense the newspaper articles that he intends to offer in evidence so that Your Honor can see these articles because, Your Honor, some of the statements today are almost in the context of admissibility as opposed to discovery, do I have a right to get discovery. I would only ask if you look at these articles and you see what he intends to put in front of the jury and what's in the articles and they are about, I think 19 Your Honor might have a totally different view.

20 THE COURT: He can submit them to me and I will 21 review those.

22 MR. FITZGERALD: Could I make one suggestion in that 23 regard, judge? The bottom-line is we are talking about discovery and not admissibility today. To some articles I 25 would say that I would fight very hard to put the article 00045

01 itself in even with an instruction. As to others it maybe the 02 fact of the article.

I agree with Mr. Wells the New Republic article does 04 not discuss the wife. There is an ambiguity about what Mr. Libby and this person are discussing on the phone afterward as to what the complication is.

My point being if, at the time of motions in limine when we have a better sense of where we're going and what classified information is coming in, we can tee up the articles and Your Honor can rule that they are all coming in or nones coming in or somes coming in and redacted and instructions.

But if there's a problem with something in an article, let's fix it by redaction or an instruction or, worse yet for me, an exclusion, not changing discovery to put the war on trial because I think, for example, depending on where we go with the classified information, the more we focus on Mr. Libby's focus, there are articles that we otherwise would not put in that show that they were annotated and show how closely Mr. Libby followed it at times.

So I won't know which precise articles I'll be 21 putting in until we get closer to trial but I think that's a 22 motion in limine that can he addressed by redaction or an instruction but not one that I think should swing the gates 24 open to discovery about the war.

25 THE COURT: I haven't lost my way in the assessment 00046

01 of what is discovery. Maybe I've used the term relevance but 02 only in the context of whether that relevancy issue has some 03 impact on the materiality issue.

I understand that materiality is the issue I've got to focus on in deciding whether information is discoverable, whether it ultimately ends up being admissible or not. I fully appreciate that. And I don't think that the articles, I'll look at them, and the government should submit them to me. Obviously they not in a position to say which ones they are going to use but it might put into context the position that you are taking.

But again I didn't see how the articles themselves are going to have bearing on my determination as to whether the information you are seeking is material because it seems to me that the only way that that information ends up being material, and it does relate to, it seems to me, to the issue of relevancy is whether if you were able to discover information that would tend to undermine what Wilson was saying, whether that would end up being relevant in a trial where we are concerned with the issue of whether Mr. Libby allegedly lied about something that was really collateral to the substance of what was allegedly discovered in this year.

23 MR. WELLS: Your Honor, Mr. Fitzgerald said he knows 24 right now some articles that he would, quote, fight very hard. 25 THE COURT: He can let me know which ones those are.

03

06

07

80

10

11 12

13

14

17

18

19

2.0

04

05

06

80

09

11

12

13

14

15

16

17 18

19

20

```
01
               MR. WELLS: If he could give you, and not wait until
02 September --
03
               THE COURT: No. He is going to submit that to me. I
04 will require it be submitted and I will issue a final ruling in
05 reference to my rulings here today. It's not going to be an
06 extensive opinion but just a synopsis of what my rulings were
   but I will require within a week he submit those to me along
08
   with submissions to counsel indicating which ones he
09
   definitively will fight in favor of admitting and the other
10
   ones that he sort of is ambivalent at this point.
11
               MR. WELLS: If he could just put them in two piles.
12 Here are the ones I definitely want and here are the ones maybe
13
   I want, and if Your Honor reads them then perhaps --
14
               THE COURT: I'll read those before I make my ruling
15
   final.
               MR. WELLS:
16
                          Thank you.
17
                          In reference to, and I have tried to map
               THE COURT:
18 this out in my mind as to how we deal with this issue regarding
19
   the various witnesses. It would seem to me, and I think from
20
   my point of view is the easiest.
21
               If there are individuals who the government has
22 documentation on and those individuals had discussions with Mr.
23 Libby or Mr. Libby had discussions with them about the issue of
24 Mr. Wilson's trip and, in specific, Mr. Wilson's wife, and
   those individuals also spoke to the press about this issue and
00048
01
   the government intends to call as a witness, is the government
02 taking the position that if we have somebody who fits in that
03 category that the government would not have an obligation to
04
   produce documentation related to such individual?
05
               This is an individual who talked to Mr. Libby about
06 this whole issue, also made a statement to the press about this
07
   issue, and the government intends to call as a witness to
80
   testify during this trial.
09
               MR. FITZGERALD:
                               I think we have produced that.
   think the only thing we haven't produced is, putting aside the
10
   Jencks/Giglio, like the grand jury or 302s. But if there are
11
   documents or emails or things, showing, you know documents
12
13
   showing that Mr. or Ms. Ex spoke to Mr. Libby during the
14
   relevant time about the relevant topic and they are calling as
   a witness, we have produced that.
               THE COURT: Do you believe you have all of that, Mr.
16
17
   Wells? I know it is hard to say. He says he's given you that,
18
   anybody who would fit in that category, and it would be my view
19
   that obviously you have a right to have that.
20
               MR. WELLS: One second, Your Honor.
21
       (Pause.)
22
               MR. WELLS: Your Honor, could you ask Mr. Fitzgerald
23
   if he is saying with respect to a particular individual who is
24 the subject of a sealed affidavit by me, is he saying he's
   given us everything concerning that individual's conversations
00049
01 with the press?
02
               THE COURT: I don't know what individual you are
03 talking about and I'm not asking counsel to reveal that since
04 it is under seal but --
05
               MR. FITZGERALD: I'm not revealing Jencks Act
```

```
06 material or Giglio material so let me take a case removed from
   this case so I could just be vaguer. If there were a person
08 with a cooperation agreement or impeachment material and had a
   long rap sheet with six arrests and they gave a 302 for an FBI
10 interview and they went in the grand jury, I wouldn't turn that
11
   material over now.
12
               But if that same person was someone who had spoken to
13 Mr. Libby, spoken to the press and was being a witness and at
   the time they wrote down an email that said, just had a meeting
14
   with Mr. Libby, sent it off to someone and we looked for the
   email and we found it and we had it or they wrote a memo to
17
   file at a time which was not an FBI interview after the
18
   investigation started but a memo to file at the time or
19
   handwritten notes and we have that, we've given that over.
20
               We are not sitting on documents or emails or other
21
   things calling it Jencks because it was created at the time of
   the events. We would only sit on Jencks/Giglio.
23
               THE COURT: Mr. Wells, is that --
24
               MR. WELLS: He qualified it by emails that
25 specifically mention Mr. Libby. But we would take the
00050
01 position, Your Honor, that if that particular individual has
   emails concerning Mrs. Wilson, whether they are sent to Mr.
03 Libby, and if that individual also had discussions with the
04 press as part of how you described the situation, we are to get
   all of the emails or memos or notes or whatever that that
   individual has concerning Mrs. Wilson regardless of whether
   they went to Mr. Libby because it is highly relevant.
80
               THE COURT: You are saying that that would be Giglio,
09 right?
10
               MR. WELLS: No, not necessarily, Your Honor.
11
               THE COURT: It seems to me that would go to the issue
12 of whether they would have some motive to curry favor with the
   government because they also had revealed information that
14 conceivably they could be charged with.
              MR. WELLS: It also could lead to discoverable
15
16
   evidence and for purposes of cross-examination. It wouldn't
   necessarily mean just Giglio. That's all I'm saying. Perhaps
17
18 Mr. Fitzgerald didn't mean to carve out that piece.
19
              MR. FITZGERALD: It is moot. I agree with Your Honor
   it would be Giglio. But if we don't have it, where we had it
21
   we've given it over. We haven't held back if it's not
   testimony or not impeachment by a rap sheet or something else.
   It's not like we took the emails and said the ones that
   discussed topics X and Y from July 2003 he gets. The other
25
   ones we sit on until later. So it is moot.
00051
01
               THE COURT: Okay. If there are individuals, and
   again I don't know if anybody fits in this category, who also
02
   had discussions with Mr. Libby and had discussions to the press
   but who will not testify, where do those individuals fall?
05
               I assume the discovery request would encompass
06 individuals who would fit within that category also. Again I
   don't know if anybody fits in that category. But if so, what
   is the government's position about documentation regarding
09
   those individuals?
               MR. FITZGERALD: Your Honor, let me be general here
10
```

11 and I will rethink the remarks. If I need to clarify it, I'll clarify it to you with a copy to counsel. My understanding is 13 in those situations, not saying whether they are singular or 14 plural. I don't want too much read into my words. But we would give over documents reflecting the conversations with Mr. 15 16 Libby. 17 We would not be turning over materials if the person 18 is an innocent accused or a subject of an ongoing 19 investigation. We would not be turning over a conversation if 20 there was a document about a conversation with a reporter 21 necessarily as to what they said to the report. 22 But if there is a document that would be relevant to 23 the conversation with Mr. Libby such as an email saying I just spoke to Libby or even a calendar entry saying that they meet 25 with Libby, that sort of thing was turned over. 00052 01 MR. WELLS: I would submit that if Mr. Rove, for 02 example, who is likely to be a witness --03 THE COURT: The government said he won't but maybe 04 you will call him. The government said he will not be a 05 witness for the government. 06 MR. WELLS: If they don't call him, we're calling 07 him. With respect to Mr. Rove, we believe there is no exception in the case law that says Mr. Libby's discovery rights are diluted because the government has an ongoing 10 investigation. 11 The government controls the timing of its indictment. 12 It could have waited until it finished the whole thing. Just 13 because the government says there is a continuing 14 investigation, it cannot hold back on discovery materials. THE COURT: I guess it depends upon, and I assume 15 16 that Mr. Fitzgerald would not disagree with that but, I assume, 17 would take the position that once the investigation is complete which I would assume would be sometime in the foreseeable 19 future, that then maybe the landscape changes. And we're far 20 off from the trial at this point. 21 So it seems to me as long as it is turned over 22 sufficiently an advance of the trial so that it can be used 23 that that would be adequate but I don't know if you agree with 24 what I just said. 25 MR. FITZGERALD: I would disagree in the following 00053 01 respect. We are not withholding evidence or discovery on the grounds that we think that Rule 16 has a continuing 03 investigation exception that dilutes his rights. 04 Our point is much of what they're asking for is not 05 Rule 16 material. Rule 16, as Your Honor has found, is material to the preparation of the case in chief. 07 If a witness is not being called by the government in 08 the case in chief and isn't part of the substantive case and doesn't have, doesn't shed light on whether Mr. Libby lied 10 about his conversations in the grand jury, that is not material 11 to the preparation. Sometimes, often in this case, we've taken material that's not discoverable in the benefit of the doubt

THE COURT: But what if a witness is going to be

15 called, you know ahead of time based upon what Mr. Wells just

13

14

and given it to the defendant.

16 said regarding Mr. Rove, you know that the defense intends to 17 call a witness.

18 The government has information about that witness and 19 there is clear case authority that says that if that witness 20 then testifies and the government is able to then catch him in a lie, knowing full well that they have this information at 22 their disposal, that that is a problem as it relates to Rule 23 16.

24 For example, I mean if you had, you know that he's 25 going to call Mr. Rove to say X and you have information that 00054

06

07

80

09

11

12

15

17 18

20 21

06

07

10

12

13

14

15

17

01 would indicate that actually Mr. Rove previously said something 02 that was Y, and then if he testifies, you catch him in a trick 03 on cross-examination and discredit his credibility, the law 04 says that they have a right to know about that so that they 05 don't, you know, step in that mine field.

MR. FITZGERALD: Let me just be clear that whatever I say in my remarks, I'm not talking about Mr. Rove one way or the other.

THE COURT: I understand. I only use that as example 10 because he did.

MR. FITZGERALD: Okay. If the defense is calling a witness and, with all due respect, he's not bound to call a witness so at a pretrial discovery phase defendants often 14 decide to call lots of witnesses that don't appear.

My understanding is that under the law, 3500, Jencks 16 and Giglio, we don't have obligations to turn over materials pertaining to defense witnesses and so my point is --

THE COURT: I have to go back and look at this case 19 but I just looked at a case before I came out on the bench I think, and it is a case out of this circuit. I have to find it, where Judge Sentelle said something I believe totally 22 different than that.

23 I think what he said in that case, if my memory is 24 correct, it was, in fact, a witness that the government knew 25 about, having information on, did not reveal that information 00055

01 to the defense. The defense called the witness and then the 02 government used that adverse information against him on cross-03 examination, and my recollection is Judge Sentelle said that 04 was a Rule 16 violation. I've got to go back and look at the 05 case. I know it was cited in the reply.

Does the defense have the name of that case? I know you cited it in your reply. It was not Lloyd because it was a new case I think. I think it is the U.S. versus Marshall which is 132 F.3rd at page 63, specifically page 67 and 68. I'm going to give the reporter a break. We'll take a 10-minute 11 recess.

(Recess from 2:52 p.m. to 3:02 p.m.)

THE COURT: You are good, Mr. Wells, because you actually got me to take a position that's totally incorrect. The witness in Marshall was actually a government witness, not 16 a defense witness.

There are cases and I looked at those last night 18 where the courts have specifically held that the information 19 that you are requesting that would help you in reference to a 20 witness that you intend to call is not discoverable under Rule

21 16. 22 MR. WELLS: Your Honor, putting the Marshall case to 23 the side, as I understand Rule 16, it applies to material that permits the defense to respond to the government's case-in-25 chief including what I put on in my case. 00056 01 THE COURT: The United States versus Presser, which 02 is a Sixth Circuit case at 844 F.2nd page 1275, specifically at 03 1286, the court said, further the government need not disclose 04 impeaching material in its possession relating to any potential defense witness where that impeaching material does not meet 06 the Brady test of being material and exculpatory. 07 MR. WELLS: That case, I'm not familiar with the 08 particular case but the concept there, Your Honor, is that with 09 respect to Jencks and Giglio, they do not have to give me in advance what we would call Jencks and Giglio material on 10 11 witnesses who I recall. 12 But with respect to Rule 16 discovery, be it emails 13 or memos or documents, they have to give me that material. 14 There is a line of cases that says, in essence, I don't get the 15 FBI 302s. When I say Giglio, I mean impeachment. I don't get 16 impeachment material. But if they have, let's take Mr. Rove, if they have 17 18 emails and other documents dealing with Mr. Rove's activities, 19 I have a right to get that material. 20 THE COURT: What case specifically says that? 21 not familiar with any cases that says that but maybe there are 22 some. If you can get me those since I'm going to reserve the 23 ruling for a week or so that would be helpful. MR. WELLS: The concept, Your Honor, is cited in your 24 25 own opinion and in the government's case. I didn't think we 00057 01 were arguing about the principles. Rule 16 doesn't just apply 02 to evidence I can use, say, to cross-examine one of their 03 witnesses. Rule 16 applies to documents that may be material 04 to helping me respond to the government's case which could even 05 mean in my case-in-chief responding to there's. THE COURT: Their case-in-chief though.

MR. WELLS: No. If I put my case on and respond, 08 that is Rule 16. Putting Giglio and Jencks to the side, that is the carve out. But to the extend there are documents that would be relevant to what I put on in my case or make sure I don't have a pitfall.

In other words, if you think about the pitfall argument, that is the law of this circuit, the pitfall is really to make sure in great part that when I put my evidence on or when I open or close, well, really open, and set forth a theory that I just can't prove, I shouldn't even go down that road because he has material. That's why I should get that material. I'm not even sure Mr. Fitzgerald disagrees with me.

THE COURT: During the government's case-in-chief or 20 during your case?

MR. WELLS: Either one.

07

10 11

12

13

14

15

17 18

19

21

22

THE COURT: Do you agree with that?

MR. FITZGERALD: Not at all. I'm responsible for the 24 government's case and Brady and turning over my obligations. I 25 am not responsible for preparing the defense case. And the

00060

00058 01 case law, and Your Honor cited it. It is material defined by the indictment and the government's case-in-chief. You just can't say I'm going to call 20 witnesses so give me everything about them. We then would have effectively open-file discovery 05 or beyond that and I don't agree with that reading of the law. 06 THE COURT: As I say, there is going to be probably a 07 week or so before I issue because I'll wait until I get the 08 government's submission regarding those articles. But it will probably be a week and a half or two weeks before I issue a 10 definitive ruling. If you have cases that specifically support 11 that, I would like to see them. I am just not familiar with 12 that. 13 MR. WELLS: Okay. Thank you. 14 THE COURT: Okay. MR. WELLS: Your Honor, on a different point, with 15 16 respect to the classified material, you indicated that we'd 17 deal with that in a Section 4. 18 THE COURT: I made a mistake on that. There have 19 been Section 4 filings submitted to me that you all haven't 20 received; and as I understand, the government is going to be 21 getting me the entire documents and I will compare those with the substitution or the redacted documents that they would 23 propose to provide to you and I will have to make a call as to 24 whether those redactions or substitutions are adequate. 25 MR. WELLS: At some point are we going to have an 00059 01 opportunity be it in camera or in open court to actually 02 discuss with Your Honor what is taking place on this classified material and the issue of potential harm which is 04 extraordinarily important to us? 05 THE COURT: As I indicated in my supplemental ruling 06 regarding the CIPA question, I would hope that most issues 07 regarding classified documents could be done, albeit outside of 08 the presence of the public, in an adversarial setting. 09 However, as I indicated in that ruling, I can 10 understand that there may be situations where even though counsel has security clearances that the government may, 11 12 nonetheless, have reasons that would justify that information 13 not being made available to the defense. I would have to make 14 the call independent of defense participation. 15 I don't like that. But I think that's exactly what 16 CIPA envisions under certain circumstances. I assume since the 17 government -- I may be wrong -- has submitted to me this 18 information ex parte and has not provided it to the defense, 19 that they are of the view in reference to these particular 20 items that these are items I should only see in making this 21 decision. 22 MR. WELLS: With respect to the issue potential harm, 23 Mr. Fitzgerald expressly said a few minutes ago that on that issue he's not even claiming that there was actual harm concerning Ms. Wilson. Potential harm is more in the abstract.

01 So I don't understand why we would be in a position 02 where the defense could not participate in discussion of that 03 issue. Perhaps the classified issue might be different though. 04 I don't want to concede that.

05 THE COURT: I don't know if the government because I just issued this supplement to the opinion and indicated that 07 if the government was going to be submitting information to me for me to review ex parte without defense involvement that they 09 would have to articulate why that particular item was such that 10 its mere disclosure to the defense would not be appropriate. 11 MR. FITZGERALD: Your Honor, I think that was 12 submitted ex parte appropriately on notice to the defense. think when Your Honor rules, if Your Honor rules against us 13 they'll get more. We have a right to appeal if we wish to take 15 it. 16 When they get the materials, it may make more sense. 17 I didn't say there was no actual harm. I didn't say there was actual harm. What I said is the issue at trial was we are not 19 calling a witness as to actual harm. 20 THE COURT: Are you going to provide this information 21 to them or not? 22 MR. FITZGERALD: That's Your Honor's ruling. 23 ruling, I mean the filing we submitted is a proposed disclosure 24 to the defense. So if Your Honor approves it, Mr. Wells and 25 his team will have more information and then it seems to me we 00061 01 can have a further discussion. 02 THE COURT: I guess Mr. Wells' position is that since 03 they have security clearances the whole thing could be 04 presented to them and then we would debate the issue as to 05 whether what you are proposing as a substitute that would be I 06 guess then used during the trial, that we would use that 07 process. And I assume you are saying that what you submitted 08 to me you didn't think that they should be able to see. 09 MR. FITZGERALD: Yes, Your Honor, but I will say, 10 getting to the question of what comes out at trial, if Mr. 11 Wells sees this material and wants to offer some of it more 12 than we offer or impeach it or cause disclosure of classified 13 information, then they would file that in their Section 5 14 notice. Or it would come up if we indicated something, it 15 would be resolved in a CIPA hearing. I think it will be easier for everyone to tackle it if Your Honor agrees with the 17 disclosure. When they have it, they'll be in a better shape to 18 assess where we are at. 19 THE COURT: I don't think I can preclude the 20 government under CIPA from submitting information to me ex parte and requiring that I make a call as to whether the 22 substitution or the redactions are adequate for the defense 23 purposes. 24 I mean, as I indicated previously, I would like for 25 it to be addressed in an adversarial setting but I don't think 00062 01 I can demand that. I think CIPA envisions something different 02 than that under certain circumstances. Okay. I know we have this issue regarding Mr. 04 Libby's grand jury testimony and what documentation the 05 government may have that relates to that and whether that should be produced. I think that's the only issue in reference 07 to the defense discovery request and this third request. 08 think we've addressed everything else. If not, Mr. Wells, let me know. I think the rulings 09

10 I've made would encompass everything other than the issue of 11 the grand jury testimony.

12

13

14

15

17

19

20

21

03

05

07

0.8

09

12 13

14

15

16

17

18

19 20

05

07

09

MR. WELLS: I think that is correct, Your Honor. THE COURT: Okay. In reference to the grand jury testimony, the government I assume from what I understand is going to be seeking to introduce the entirety of Mr. Libby's grand jury testimony?

MR. FITZGERALD: That is the intention, judge. 18 Obviously in a motion in limine if the defense comes in and points out particular sections they think are irrelevant or problematic, we'll go through them line by line.

There are two portions of days he testified and we 22 would offer the transcript so the grand jury would know what the testimony was. Obviously it is subject to motions in limine if there are particular attacks by the defense on things 25 that they think shouldn't be in there. We will consider them 00063

01 but by and large, absent a motion from the defense, we were 02 just going to offer the two transcripts.

THE COURT: Are you of the opinion that, if you have 04 documentation that relates to the substance of what he said before the grand jury whether exculpatory or inculpatory, that you don't have an obligation -- obviously I guess -- that you don't have an obligation to produce that one way or the other?

MR. FITZGERALD: No. That's not my opinion. I think we've turned over anything materially relevant to it. For example, I think the dispute under that category of document, we have turned over every document in the office of vice president that we have from the office of vice president including anything about it declassification issues of the NIE during that week.

We've gone beyond that and given over some other declassified documents in other offices. But anything Mr. Libby would have come in contact or the people he spoke with, we've turned it over. We turned over sort of the whole file from the office of the vice president.

So I'm not so sure what isn't being turned over that 21 he's seeking. But we're not holding it back on the basis that 22 we're saying that it is irrelevant because it is his grand jury testimony and we've given over all the exhibits referred to and it discusses sort of the whole case.

So the documents referred to in the grand jury have 25 00064

01 been given to him and documents relating to that other material 02 have been given over.

03 THE COURT: Mr. Wells, what do you believe you don't 04 have?

MR. WELLS: Your Honor, with respect to the issue of 06 the NIE, as Your Honor knows, Mr. Libby testified that he had discussions with Ms. Miller concerning the NIE based on expressed instructions from the vice president and with the understanding that President Bush had declassified the 10 document.

11 This is a case that concerns unauthorized disclosure 12 of classified material. To the extent that Mr. Fitzgerald is 13 in possession of documents or grand jury material or interviews 14 that establish that, in fact, the vice president and the

15 president were aware that those documents had been 16 declassified, he should turn them over because I do not want to 17 be in a position during this trial that there is some question that Mr. Libby, in disclosing that material to Ms. Miller, did 18 19 anything wrong. 20 THE COURT: But the government is not alleging any 21 violation of the law regarding that. 22 MR. WELLS: Well, I asked the government specifically 23 in a letter, I said, is this coming in just for background 24 material, and they said, I don't want to commit. That was the 25 response. 00065 01 MR. FITZGERALD: Judge, I am not alleging that there 02 was anything illegal about giving over material in the NIE that 03 was declassified by direction of a superior. But when someone says commit that it is background 04 05 material, I don't know what that means, background. We're not 06 alleging that he committed a crime when he talked to Ms. Miller 07 about the NIE on July 8 and was told you can tell her so much 80 and was told so much. That's not an issue. 09 THE COURT: You are not challenging whether there was 10 a declassification of that information at the time it was 11 produced? 12 MR. FITZGERALD: We're not challenging the 13 declassification authority as of July 8. What he is asking now 14 is Jencks. And that's what we kept writing in our briefs, we 15 don't turn over Jencks material before trial. Now we're asking for grand jury testimony. It is not 16 17 an issue. The NIE is not mentioned in the indictment. We are 18 not alleging to the jury that Mr. Libby is guilty of disclosing classified information and committed a crime that they should 19 20 vote on by discussing the NIE. So I don't see why we should 21 then turn over whatever material that might exist that would 22 fall under the category of Jencks. 23 MR. WELLS: I couched the request as Brady, and Brady 24 trumps Jencks. But if the government is representing that they 25 are not going to challenge what will be my strong 00066 01 representations to the jury that he was authorized by the vice 02 president with the understanding that the president also had 03 declassified the document and he did nothing wrong but 04 following instructions, if he's not going to challenge that, 05 then I don't need it. That's why I want it. That's what you're saying. You're not 06 THE COURT: 07 going to challenge that. 80 MR. WELLS: No. What he said, he put in there, he 09 slipped something in. He said as of July 8, because the 10 government knows that one might make it --11 THE COURT: But that was the conversation that he had 12 with Ms. Miller on July 8. 13 MR. WELLS: Right. But the government knows there 14 may be, there is certainly an argument that the government 15 could make that there was an earlier conversation with somebody else maybe 10 days earlier. My math may be off. THE COURT: Is the government going to be seeking to 17 18 introduce the earlier disclosure?

MR. FITZGERALD: Your Honor, I'll say this and I'll

19

20 be very clear. I think there may have been two earlier 21 disclosures that we're not alleging or a crime that's not the 22 focus. We didn't charge it. But what I want to be clear is --23 THE COURT: Are you going to seek to introduce any 24 type of evidence regarding that even though it's not charge? 25 MR. FITZGERALD: Yes. Let me explain how it came up. 00067 01 In a meeting I think six days before July 8 Mr. Libby testified 02 that he recalled that he was given the specific authority for identification and that he checked, in fact, he checked with 04 the vice president because he was concerned. 05 He checked with someone else as to the lawfulness but 06 said that this was the first time that he was authorized to describe particular language in the, a particular quote. It 08 didn't turn out that he had talked to a reporter I think six 09 days before and it came up and he testified and it's not going 10 to be a big focus but it is in the grand jury. 11 He said, well, either the declassification occurred 12 earlier than I recalled it because he said it was before July 13 8th or I made a mistake or it was someone else out there. was in the grand jury and he was examined about it. It wasn't 15 followed up upon. We're not charging a violation. THE COURT: How is it relevant then? 16 17 MR. FITZGERALD: Only to the extent that if Mr. Libby 18 had an instruction to tell information to Ms. Miller on July 8 19 and he's saying the instruction reflected in his notes to tell 20 me Judith Miller refers to the NIE. He says he did not discuss 21 Mr. Wilson's wife that day. To our understand both were 22 discussed. 23 THE COURT: Both were discussed at the earlier? 24 MR. FITZGERALD: On July 8. 25 THE COURT: Oh, July 8. 00068 01 MR. FITZGERALD: Right. The earlier one which was 02 July 2 only the NIE was discussed, and that's not particularly 03 relevant but also in I think an earlier conversation we're not 04 getting into it may have come up once before then. It is not a focus of things. I think when we go through the grand jury 06 transcript I'm sure that there maybe something that Mr. Wells 07 raises as --0.8 THE COURT: I understand you're saying it's not a 09 focus. But I think I need to understand whether you are going to seek to introduce evidence about it because I'm having a 10 11 hard time understanding how that would be relevant. 12 MR. FITZGERALD: I will come back to that. Let me 13 jump ahead. There's no other discovery we have on it so it's not like we're sitting on documents or exhibits that --14 15 THE COURT: It is a moot issue. You don't have 16 anything on it. 17 MR. FITZGERALD: Right. What I'm saying is that, 18 look, that is not the focus of what we are doing and I'm not 19 going to dispute that he was authorized on July 8. I don't 20 know what happened before so I am not going to stipulate that 21 he was authorized on June 23 or July 2. But that's not what 22 the trial is about. The trial is about what happened in the 23 grand jury, you know, lying about the wife.

THE COURT: Since the trial is not about those

24

25 earlier occasions, that's why I'm asking, are you going to seek 00069 01 to introduce evidence about those earlier events? 02 MR. FITZGERALD: I think, Your Honor, we may or may 03 not. Let me be straight. I don't know what the defense is 04 going to be asking about that conversation, whether we're going 05 to be talking about whether he had a conversation with Mr. 06 Woodward or not. 07 We are not calling Mr. Woodward. Mr. Libby had a 08 conversation with Mr. Woodward. I don't know if we're going to 09 get into that or not. And in the grand jury -- I don't know 10 how Mr. Wells is going to open or what he's going to say. 11 The earlier disclosure to NIE isn't the crux of the 12 case. I will be honest. I am a little afraid of tying my hands 13 by saying this isn't important, this isn't important. Then all 14 of a sudden at the trial I'm hearing an opening and I've given away everything that might be responsive. 15 16 THE COURT: These conversations that took place 17 earlier, has all the information you have regarding those 18 earlier conversations been turned over? 19 MR. FITZGERALD: Yes. 20 MR. WELLS: I started out making what I characterized 21 as a Brady request to the extent that either the vice president 22 or the president have testified that they did authorize 23 disclosure. 24 THE COURT: Testified? 25 MR. WELLS: I'm making a Brady request. 00070 01 there is testimony. I believe there is testimony or 02 interviews. 03 THE COURT: I didn't know they had testified. 04 MR. WELLS: I don't know the procedure whether they 05 talked to somebody in somebody's office. But to the extent he 06 has statements from either the vice president or the president, to the extent that disclosure of the NIE was authorized and I 08 believe that maybe that the testimony does not tie it down to a 09 particular day, only that it did take place, I believe I'm entitled to that. 10 11 All I asked Mr. Fitzgerald from the beginning is are 12 you going to put this stuff in just because of background, 13 because it happened. If you're not contending that there is 14 anything wrong with it, I don't need the Brady. I can open on 15 it with comfort. 16 But if he's laying back and going to say, ah, got 17 you, I have a right, I believe, if such testimony exists, to 18 know it. 19 THE COURT: I'm sympathetic with you on that point 20 because it does seem to me that conceivably you might want to tactically decide to bring out these discussions that took 21 place earlier with Ms. Miller for the purpose of showing that at that time Mr. Libby said nothing about Ms. Plame and what he 24 said earlier to Ms. Miller would be consistent with what he 25 would have said before or at least it would suggest that really 00071

- 01 was important to him and not the outing of Ms. Plame. And
- 02 therefore, the jury should not accept the testimony by Ms.
- 03 Miller that Mr. Libby did, in fact, say something about Ms.

04 Plame on this third occasion when on the two earlier occasions 05 he did not. 06 I would agree that it creates a problem for you if 07 you go that way and the government has information that they 08 then would bring out to undermine the suggestion that he would 09 have done that at a time when he had authorization to do so. 10 MR. WELLS: Correct. Your Honor, it is even further 11 because the first conversation is with Mr. Woodward before 12 either of the Miller conversations. There is no dispute that during the conversation Mr. Libby did not mention Ms. Plame though Ms. Plame may have been mentioned by Mr. Woodward. That 15 is why I want to know is the government contending, because those facts are going to come out but I want to know --17 THE COURT: I think it would be material to the 18 defense for the government to let you know any information they 19 have about the declassification process for this information. 20 MR. WELLS: Thank you. 21 THE COURT: So I would require that that information, 22 if the government has it, be produced pursuant to Rule 16. 23 MR. WELLS: Thank you. 24 THE COURT: Any other matters on the motion to 25 disclose? I do have some other things I need to discuss with 00072 01 you. 0.2 MR. FITZGERALD: Your Honor, one quick question. 03 what form because I don't want to come back? In other words --THE COURT: Obviously if you think that there is a 05 CIPA issue in reference to it, I guess we would have to do it 06 through a Section 4 filing but it seems to me that they do have 07 a right to know because if they decide to go down that path to 08 bring out information about those other events. Even if you 09 decide not to, they should know the mine field that they might 10 be going into. 11 MR. FITZGERALD: Your Honor, I think they already 12 do. Let me see if I can -- in other words, if I summarize the information and disclose it as to what we know about this 13 information, I mean there was an authority to declassify it. We don't know when. 15 16 So I don't know what more there is to that in the 17 sense that I'll scrub it. But it's not as if we're sitting on -- we have turned over relevant documents and items but that's the way it is. 19 20 THE COURT: Very well. MR. WELLS: Your Honor, what Mr. Fitzgerald just said 21 22 that he doesn't know what is important because I gathered that 23 he was saying like it happened magically on July 8th so 24 anything before was wrong. 25 THE COURT: I don't think he's saying that. 00073 01 MR. WELLS: If Mr. Fitzgerald is saying he's not going to argue that Mr. Libby did anything wrong in discussing the NIE with either Mr. Woodward or Ms. Miller before July 8, 04 then we don't have anything to argue about. That is all I want 05 to know. THE COURT: Do you agree with that or you don't? 07 MR. FITZGERALD: I don't know what he's going to be 08 arguing. If he's going to say that he was always strict by the

09 book and never ever disclosed anything classified and never 10 ever strayed over the line --

11

15

16

17

19

05

07

08

09

10 11

13

14

15

16

17

18

19

20

07

THE COURT: I don't think he said that. I think he's 12 being precise and he's talking about this information regarding 13 the declassification of this particular information. I think 14 that's what he is talking about.

MR. WELLS: It is, but if he's going to say as he just suggested that if I were to say that when he talked to Mr. Woodward he did it with the understanding that he had been authorized and he is in possession of material from either the president or the vice president to the effect that it was 20 declassified and that they know they did it but they're not 21 sure of the particular date but it was in that general area, I 22 think I should have that material.

23 THE COURT: I do disagree with that because it seems 24 to me that if he, as I said before, decides to go down that road and then once he does that the government brings out 00074

01 something during cross-examination or otherwise that would 02 suggest that he wasn't, in fact, being honest when he made that representation, then I think he is entitled to know that before 04 he goes down that road.

MR. FITZGERALD: Your Honor, I will stipulate that the declassification happened. I don't know when. The notion that we're laying low in the tall grass and weeds I think is unfair.

THE COURT: I'm not saying that.

MR. FITZGERALD: I know. I'm saying in the grand jury transcript we asked him there. There was no focus or following up on what happened on July 2 and he says maybe he disclosed it before he had the authority. Maybe he had the authority. And that's not a big issue.

THE COURT: But as I understand, Mr. Wells' concern is that if you are in some way going to suggest that when these earlier conversations occurred that there wasn't or potentially wasn't declassification and suggest something sinister as a result of that that he has a right to know that, and I agree.

MR. FITZGERALD: All I am saying is that's not where 21 we are going but my fear, as much as he lays awake at night 22 worrying what I'm going to say, I worry that I say, well, we're 23 not going there and then people stand up and say the government 24 agrees X, Y and Z and start tying our hands.

25 THE COURT: I understand that he might open the door 00075

01 in some way that would cause you to have to bring in some 02 information but it seems to me that, if you have any 0.3 information right now that you know would potentially undermine Mr. Libby's credibility or suggest something sinister on his 05 part if he brings out information about these earlier events, 06 then it seems to me he has a right to know that.

MR. FITZGERALD: And he has it. It is the grand jury 80 transcript. It is not a big deal. It is his client saying I'm not sure if I had the authority when I talked on July 2nd or 10 not, and he has it. But it is not a focus.

THE COURT: You don't have anything that would 12 definitively show that he did not have authority.

13 MR. FITZGERALD: As to the timing, no, I don't have 14 anything that sets the date other than before, my belief is it 15 is before July 8th. Besides saying July 8 it happened by, I 16 can't move the date into June or July, a specific date. 17 MR. WELLS: Just so the record is clear what the 18 grand jury testimony is. He said that the disclosure of the 19 material was a go, then it was a stop and then it was a go. Then he is asked at some point was it possible that you went 21 too fast. He says I could have made a mistake but I know I was 22 supposed to go, then I was told to stop, and then I was told to 23 go.

24 THE COURT: The government is not going to make, as I 25 understand, an issue of that. They're not going to suggest 00076

01 that he did anything inappropriate when he revealed that.

02 MR. WELLS: Fine.

03

05

07

10

14

15

16

17

18

19

20

21

05

06

07

10

11

THE COURT: Anything else on the motions to compel or 04 disclose? Okay. There are a couple of other things. I did issue an order to show cause as to why I should not issue a gag 06 order in this case.

As I indicated previously, in my 22 plus years on the 08 bench, I have never issued a gag order and I don't like to have 09 to do that. I think it should only be issued in the extreme circumstance where counsel is making public statements that will potentially undermine the ability of either side to 12 receive a fair trial. Obviously if I were of the view that we 13 had reached that point and if I do reach that conclusion at some point, I would not be hesitant about issuing such an order.

However, in light of the submissions that were made to me, I would conclude that we have not reached that point yet and I would obviously hope and encourage counsel not to make public statements.

We have, in fact, put in place a process whereby when information is submitted to the court that's not submitted 22 under seal that that information will be made available to the 23 public. I don't want to try this case in a manner where we're trying to do so in secrecy but I do have an obligation to ensure that both sides receive a fair trial, and in my view 00077

01 there can be circumstances were public dissemination of 02 information can be detrimental in that respect but as I say I 03 don't think we've reached that point at this time so I will 04 vacate the order to show cause and not issue a gag order.

This is far out but it is something that we will need to think about. As I understand, it is anticipated this trial will take about a month; and with a trial of that length, we do 80 have to get a special jury panel because our jury panels sit for two weeks. When we sit beyond that period especially if it several weeks beyond that period, we try to screen out those people who clearly cannot be here for that length of time and we will probably sometime in the early fall be notifying the 13 jury office and they will send out the appropriate notice so 14 that we will have a sufficient number of jurors come January 15 who can sit for the length of time it is anticipated this trial 16 will take.

17 I would anticipate only sending a questionnaire to 18 that panel or potential panel that would be addressing the

19 potential length of the trial. I have not and would not -- I 20 am always available to be convinced otherwise -- would not be 21 inclined to send out a written questionnaire in reference to 22 this case. 23 I don't find it to be, on the issue of potential 24 prejudice, any more prejudicial than the problem that I deal 25 with on a daily basis regarding guns and drugs and the 00078 01 destruction that guns and drugs to do this community. 02 It's very difficult especially in drug cases to 03 sometimes pick a jury especially when it is drugs and guns and 04 we're able to pick fair and impartial jurors in that case, and 05 I guess one of the concerns I have about written questionnaires 06 is that I think it disadvantages those people who do not read 07 and do that write well, and as a result of that, many times I think those individuals end up being screened out of the 80 process and don't have an opportunity to sit as jurors because 10 they aren't articulate. They don't relate in a way that inures 11 to their favor, and as a result of that, it has always been my experience that, and I'm very liberal when it comes to 13 permitting counsel to ask a full range of questions that would 14 seek to elicit whether someone would potentially be prejudiced 15 against one side or the other. 16 So I do ask a set of questions and I give counsel on 17 both sides a full opportunity to ask additional questions 18 outside of the presence of the other jurors to assess whether 19 jurors do, in fact, qualify. 20 But again I stand to be convinced otherwise. But my 21 inclination would be not to use a written questionnaire to seek to elicit whether jurors are qualified to sit in this case. 23 Does the defense intend to issue any additional 17(c) 24 subpoenas? 25 MR. JEFFRESS: Not to reporters, if that's your 00079 01 question, Your Honor. THE COURT: 02 Yes. 03 MR. JEFFRESS: It may well be that we need to issue 04 additional 17(c) subpoenas to agencies that the prosecutor is 05 not responsible for for specific items. I can't tell Your 06 Honor what they are at the moment. 07 THE COURT: Okay. 0.8 MR. JEFFRESS: May I just point out one more thing, Your Honor. There are, just to give you a heads up on this, we 09 10 are receiving just as late as this week new information 11 obviously from the special counsel that is marked classified. 12 A great deal of it is information that we think 13 should not be classified and I'm sure it's been provided as classified in an excess of caution. But notes, for example, of the public affairs person at the CIA of his conversations with 15 16 reporters or others are given to us as classified. We have 17 other documents where, practically from the CIA, where the 18 author of the document, the recipient of the document, is 19 redacted. I am told that's done at the request of the CIA 20 before it is given to us. It very much hampers us in conducting our 22 investigation to have these kinds of things done. I think it's

23 probably better that we do a meet and confer with the

24 government on these issues and come back to Your Honor but I 25 wanted to alert Your Honor that is a discovery problem that has 08000

01 not yet been addressed to Your Honor.

02

03

06

07

10

11

13

15

16

17

19

05

06

07

80

10

12

15

16

17

18

20

THE COURT: Besides the potential motion to compel that would be specific to that issue, do you anticipate 04 submitting any additional motions to compel other than what 05 we've already submitted?

MR. JEFFRESS: Not unless they are focused Brady issues and I'm not saying we won't think of something else but clearly there would be focused Brady issues later which we understand can be filed at any time if the need becomes apparent.

But we also have this Jencks problem that we have 12 discussed that with the special counsel and he has indicated that Jencks would be provided, I believe I'm quoting accurately, a matter of weeks not months. Am I quoting that accurately? But we really don't know when we're going to get that and that may cause a flurry.

THE COURT: Obviously the appellate courts have 18 clearly said I don't have the authority to order the government to turn over Jencks prior to the direct testimony of the 20 witness, completion of the testimony. I assume we're not going to be that posture. That the government will provide the 22 Jencks in some fashion sufficiently in advance of the witness's 23 testimony so that the defense will be able to review it and 24 effectively use it during cross-examination.

25 MR. FITZGERALD: Absolutely, judge, and we've already 00081

01 began talking about how we're going to do it and I'm actually 02 having a meeting next week about the logistics of that. But we 03 are also talking to the defense about getting reverse discovery 04 to make sure we get anything timely from the defense that we need to work on because it may cause us to do things.

Also getting a witness list from the defense and any defense 3500 material in advance. So we're having active discussions in good faith and you will not be watching Jencks act material being handed over to the defense after the witness testifies on direct. That's not how we operate. They will 11 have it in advance.

THE COURT: As I understand, we had previously 13 addressed the issue of the Speedy Trial Act and I assume there 14 is no issue in reference to the Speedy Trial Act being waived until such time as we are able to reach this case for trial in January.

MR. WELLS: That is correct, Your Honor.

THE COURT: And I think, Mr. Libby, I addressed you previously in reference to this and I am sure you understand that you have a right to a speedy trial under the Speedy Trial 21 Act which means you have a right in your case to go to trial within 70 days after the indictment was returned but I understand that you, consistent with what your counsel has indicated, you are willing to waive or give up your right to 25 that speedy trial until we are able to reach this case in 00082

01 January because you realize that is necessary to have that 02 amount of time to adequately prepare your defense. Am I

```
03 correct in that regard?
04
               THE DEFENDANT: That is correct.
               THE COURT: Very well. I would conclude that it is an
05
06 interest of justice, if I didn't previously do so, to permit
   Mr. Libby to waive his right to a speedy trial so that counsel
07
   can be in a position to adequately provide representation to
10
               I don't think there is anything else. Anything else?
11
               MR. WELLS: No, Your Honor.
               MR. FITZGERALD: No, Your Honor.
12
13
        (Proceedings concluded at 3:38 p.m.)
14 CERTIFICATE OF REPORTER
15
            I CERTIFY THAT THE FOREGOING IS A CORRECT TRANSCRIPT
16 FROM THE RECORD OF PROCEEDINGS IN THE ABOVE-ENTITLED MATTER.
17 WILLIAM D. MCALLISTER
18 OFFICIAL COURT REPORTER
```

19