UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT FOR THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

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TRANSCRIPT OF MOTION HEARING
BEFORE THE HONORABLE BERYL A. HOWELL,
UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT CHIEF JUDGE

APPEARANCES:

FOR THE CORPORATION: BRIAN BOONE

KARL GEERCKEN
EDWARD T. KANG
LEE DENEEN
Alston & Bird
90 Park Avenue

New York, NY 10016

FOR THE GOVERNMENT: DAVID B. GOODHAND

ZIA M. FARUQUI PETER C. LALLAS

U.S. Department of Justice Washington, D.C. 20530

FOR THE MOVANT: THEODORE J. BOUTROUS, JR.

LEE R. CRAIN KATIE TOWNSEND

Gibson, Dunn & Crutcher LLP

333 South Grand Avenue Los Angeles, CA 90071-3197

Court Reporter: Elizabeth Saint-Loth, RPR, FCRR

Official Court Reporter Washington, D.C. 20001

Proceedings reported by machine shorthand, transcript produced by computer-aided transcription.

1 PROCEEDINGS 2 THE DEPUTY: Matter before the Court, grand jury matter 18-41 in regards to grand jury subpoena No. 7049, 3 Counsel for the interested party, corporation; Government; 4 5 movant, Reporters Committee For Freedom of the Press. 6 Please come forward and identify yourselves for 7 the record. MR. BOUTROUS: Good morning, Your Honor. 8 9 Theodore Boutrous for the Reporters Committee For Freedom of 10 the Press. I am joined by my colleagues Lee Crain and Katie 11 Townsend from the Reporters Committee. 12 We are pleased to be here. Thank you, Your Honor. 13 THE COURT: Yes. Good morning. 14 The Government -- well, Mr. Boone. 15 MR. BOONE: Brian Boone from Alston & Bird for the 16 corporation. With me today are Karl Geercken, Ted Kang, and 17 Lee Deneen, also from Alston & Bird. 18 THE COURT: Yes. Thank you. 19 MR. GOODHAND: Good morning, Your Honor. 20 David Goodhand for the United States. With me at counsel's 21 table is Zia Faruqui and Peter Lallas.

THE COURT: All right. Well, welcome, everybody.

Let me just begin by reviewing where we are in the case because the Reporters Committee has before me a motion to unseal redacted versions, by my count, of the briefs, the

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record, transcripts and orders in this action, as well as the identity of the corporation, that is, the contemnor.

And let me just start by making clear or summarizing what's already been made public in this case at multiple levels of the federal judiciary.

In the District Court, I have already released a redacted copy of the docket sheet as of January 31, 2019; redacted copies of six memoranda, including the contempt order in this case, which is docketed at ECF 30. The D.C. Circuit has made the docket public, as well as redacted forms of its opinion, the parties' briefs regarding unsealing.

And my understanding is that the parties before the D.C. Circuit are in the midst right now of an ongoing effort to redact the parties' substantive briefs so that redacted versions of those briefs can be made public.

The Supreme Court has made the docket itself public, as well as redacted versions of the parties' briefs regarding the stay of the contempt order in this case; redacted versions of the parties' briefs regarding the petition for certiori; and unredacted versions of the parties' briefing regarding the Reporters Committee's motion to unseal before the Supreme Court. Neither the D.C. Circuit nor the Supreme Court has revealed the identity of the contemnor.

So part -- from where I sit, part of the Reporters Committee motion seeking redacted versions of the briefing is, in some ways, just to have this Court catch up with the redacted versions of briefing that is already available on the Supreme Court docket, and I think is going to be made available on the D.C. Circuit's docket.

Mr. Goodhand, is that a fairly accurate summary?

MR. GOODHAND: Yes, that's my understanding, Your

Honor.

THE COURT: Okay. Do you know when, before the D.C. Circuit, all of those redacted versions of briefs will be made available?

MR. GOODHAND: Your Honor, actually -- I'm sorry.

I communicated this morning with the assistant to handle this matter in the D.C. Circuit. And I actually asked if the redactions had been completed of both briefs, and the transcripts of the oral argument. He emailed those to me. And I actually didn't follow up -- I didn't have time, actually, to follow up and see whether they had been filed. That suggests to me, however, if they haven't already been filed, it is very soon.

THE COURT: All right. Well, I think, from my review of the docket there, the corporation doesn't have to respond until March 27th. So I don't think that any of them have been actually filed yet. You are just still in the

1 process of going back with redactions. Is that correct, Mr. Boone? 2 3 MR. BOONE: That's correct, Your Honor. THE COURT: All right. Okay. 4 5 So I am going to -- just so everybody understands 6 the structure of how I'm going to conduct the hearing this morning, I am going to start with some clarifying questions 7 to Mr. Boone on behalf of the corporation, and then I will 8 9 turn to the Reporters Committee. 10 So just to begin, Mr. Boone, on behalf of the 11 corporation, the corporation is aware that it had the right 12 to request that the contempt proceedings in this matter be 13 open to the public; is that correct? 14 MR. BOONE: That is correct, Your Honor. 15 THE COURT: And just to confirm, no such request 16 was ever made; is that correct? 17 MR. BOONE: That's right. 18 THE COURT: The Reporters Committee highlights the 19 fact that the corporation has taken no position on its 20 unsealing request, suggesting that the corporation has no 21 interest in preserving secrecy here. Is it correct that the 22 corporation has no interest in preserving secrecy here? 23 MR. BOONE: That's not correct. 24 My client would prefer not to have its identity 25 disclosed to the public.

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                 THE COURT: Do you want to articulate any reasons
       in a public hearing for why that is?
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                 MR. BOONE: I'd prefer not to at a public hearing.
                 THE COURT: All right. Is the corporation willing
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       to participate in the task, should I order it, of -- that is
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       already being undertaken before the Circuit of redacting the
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      briefs, transcripts, and other orders for public versions to
      be made available to the public?
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                 MR. BOONE: We're happy to participate in that
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      process.
                 THE COURT: All right. Thank you. You may be
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       seated.
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                 MR. BOONE: Thank you, Your Honor.
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                 THE COURT: All right. Mr. Boutrous.
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                 MR. BOUTROUS: Thank you very much, Your Honor.
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                 Thank you, again, for hearing us today, because I
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       think these are very important issues. I know the Court has
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      been focused on transparency. We really appreciate the
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      Court issuing the redacted orders --
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                 THE COURT: Just so the record is clear:
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       corporation is excused.
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                 MR. BOONE: Thank you, Your Honor.
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                 (Whereupon, counsel for the corporation exit the
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       courtroom.)
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                 MR. BOUTROUS: We hate to see them go. You are
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welcome to stay, though.

We spent on the briefing -- I think you captured it exactly right. Our first line request to the Court is to, basically, catch up. A lot has been disclosed, and the Court summarized it, I think, perfectly.

We have briefed First Amendment issues and common-law issues. But I don't think the Court really needs to reach those because Rule 6.1 of this court and Rule 6(e)(6) regarding the unsealing of documents in the D.C. Circuit's decision in *Dow Jones* and *In Re Sealed Case*, this Court's decision in the *CNN* case regarding the *Starr* investigation all demonstrate that just -- basically, the test is whether sealing is necessary to protect --

THE COURT: Mr. Boutrous, are you telling me that you spent so much of your brief talking about the First Amendment right of access and the common-law right of access; but you are telling me now that I really don't have to worry my mind with those more interesting constitutional issues?

MR. BOUTROUS: Only if you don't go with me on the first part. Because I think that they do provide -- since it is a contempt proceeding, the contempt proceedings which are called out by both rules as potentially being open, and Rule 65 says that it's subject -- closure subject to any right to open this; it doesn't limit it to the witness's

rights. I think that adds a First Amendment dimension.

Again, there is a long history of contempt proceedings being open, both to --

THE COURT: Let me just -- let me start with one of the more troublesome aspects of your request and see if we can just get that resolved right now.

One of the things that you requested is that the contemnor be identified, which is why I felt it important for the corporation to make clear it does not want to be identified.

So from my reading of *Dow Jones*, the D.C. Circuit's decision in 1998, it says in no uncertain terms that the First Amendment does not provide a right of access to the identities of witnesses or jurors in grand jury proceedings. So doesn't that opinion foreclose disclosure of the corporation's identity here?

MR. BOUTROUS: I don't think so, Your Honor, because it is a contempt proceeding. I think the public has a particular interest in scrutinizing a contempt proceeding. And this Court's decision on the *Lewinsky*, *Starr* matter held that there is an inherent power of the Court to release grand jury information beyond the exceptions to the rule -- that are contained in Rule 6(e). Here we really have --

THE COURT: That is a matter that's not pending in front of the D.C. Circuit. It's not my case, but in another

case -- whether I have that inherent authority.

MR. BOUTROUS: Correct. But I think the Court's decision is absolutely correct. The Court relied on the decisions from other circuits that are correct.

I think the key here is the unique circumstances that we are in, that this is not an ordinary witness. This, according to the contemnor's counsel, is a country, a nation. We have foreign policy issues here where this country has been taking the position in this court, to the Supreme Court and back, that they're not even subject to the grand jury --

THE COURT: No. Let me make sure you are understanding correctly. The contemnor in this case is a corporation that is owned by a foreign sovereign. It is not the foreign sovereign itself.

MR. BOUTROUS: All right. That was what I understood, Your Honor. But then I noticed that the briefs that the contemnor filed in the Supreme Court referred to itself as "Country A" as opposed to the company. I'm, of course, working at a disadvantage; I'm reading between the lines.

What I inferred from that is that they were seeking to persuade this Court and other courts that they really were one and the same as the country. And one of the core issues for the public to be able to understand what

this case is all about is to know what the facts are and who the company is.

It seems to me that here where Special Counsel

Mueller has submitted his report to the Attorney General,

the Attorney General has submitted a four-page summary -- we

don't really know what the conclusions really are; that this

is a time for this Court, consistent with the rules, its

inherent authority --

THE COURT: And that is -- just so you know, that is one of the questions I will ask the Government to explain, why are we still here, in terms of the fact that the special counsel's report has been delivered and whether this contempt proceeding continues or not.

MR. BOUTROUS: I was wondering what that -- what was the status of that myself because it certainly seemed the report is in. In reading all of the public materials, including this Court's order --

THE COURT: And the reason that that question is important, I think, is to clarify whether there is a closed grand jury investigation now or whether this is a grand jury investigation that is continuing. Because I think you would concede, wouldn't you, Mr. Boutrous, that if it is an ongoing grand jury investigation that the redactions and the amount of information that can be publicly disclosed has to be measured against the needs of an ongoing grand jury

investigation, correct?

MR. BOUTROUS: Yes, Your Honor. I agree with that. It was interesting. On Friday we filed our reply brief. And then, suddenly, your decision in the CNN, Independent Counsel Starr decision became much more relevant, because we were -- at least, from a public perspective, it seems that the grand jury investigation that was working with Special Counsel Mueller is done. At least that's what it looks like.

If there are strands -- and I guess this contempt proceeding would be one of them -- that needs to be wrapped up, but I think that the arguments for coercing -- I don't mean to make their argument for them -- but coercing the witness now changes, that is something I think the public should be able to scrutinize in how this all plays out with Special Counsel Mueller having wrapped things up and made the report.

So I do think that the arguments for disclosure are even stronger -- much stronger for greater disclosure if, in fact, the grand jury investigating the Russia matters and related matters has completed.

THE COURT: But if, in fact -- and we'll hear from the Government -- the grand jury matter is continuing robustly, then that is a significant consideration in terms of the response that may be available to your motion,

correct?

MR. BOUTROUS: I agree with that, Your Honor.

I think it would -- nonetheless, disclosure -- at least to the extent that has already occurred in the Supreme Court, the D.C. Circuit, this Court's prior orders -- would still then be appropriate because the local rule and Rule 6(e)(6) contemplate disclosure during ongoing grand jury investigations, but the considerations -- the balance would be different; I agree with that, Your Honor.

THE COURT: All right. So is there anything else that you would like to add to your papers?

MR. BOUTROUS: If I could, Your Honor, on the witness issue. I do want to -- I think it really is a special situation because we have the public scrutiny and the public attention to this matter which the Court noted in one of its orders.

We have the fact that we have a company owned by a foreign nation litigating in our courts all the way to the Supreme Court, briefing things fully. And the core issue — in order for the public to understand this Court's ruling, that's the one thing we don't know. We don't know what the facts are regarding this company, who is this company.

We know so much about the Mueller investigation. Even without seeing the report, we know a lot. We know what the focus was. We know many, many things about it.

public interest for exercising the Court's discretion for considering First Amendment considerations about disclosing the witness's identity -- and I know Mr. Boone said that they would rather their identity remain secret, but it wasn't like they were fighting tooth and nail. They asked in the D.C. Circuit for permission to file their response to our motion on the record, and then their response was: We take no position, which I took to mean they weren't exactly viewing this as a crucial thing to keep secret. They didn't argue there was a reason --

THE COURT: And that's why I had the corporation clarify --

MR. BOUTROUS: Yes.

THE COURT: -- what you thought was being suggested by their notice of no position I thought was not an unreasonable perception of that position; but I knew it was incorrect, which is why the corporation clarified and corrected the impression that you thought had been suggested by their no position on your motion.

MR. BOUTROUS: And I appreciate that, Your Honor.

But I would say that even now that I understand their position, it's a farer cry from any sort of compelling reason, any sort of, you know, need to keep it secret.

Now, the United States, in their briefs, they --

this is the other point I wanted to make, Your Honor.

In the D.C. Circuit and the Supreme Court, I argue, yes, we agree; redacted materials can be released in a way that protects grand jury secrecy. We really appreciate that the transcripts and the briefs in the D.C. Circuit, as you know, are on the verge of coming out.

And they told the D.C. Circuit that as to this Court's records, this Court's past position -- now, in their briefs, they seem to be taking the position nothing else should come out because all of this other information has come out; that's, of course, not the standard. The more that's made public, the less reason there is for secrecy.

So we would ask the Court to release as much as possible the entire record in this case. We know it's all a big task for everyone, but the D.C. Circuit has said that as important as that is --

THE COURT: And you appreciate, as the D.C.

Circuit certainly does, and has talked about in *Dow Jones* and in the sequel to *Dow Jones*, proceedings before the

Circuit can be far more controlled and measured and certainly take more time than proceedings in front of the District Court in grand jury proceedings. And, consequently, redactions of transcripts, let's say, or briefing submitted in the course of ancillary grand jury proceedings like contempt proceedings, which are fast

moving, have to get a lot of detailed facts in front of the Court and the witness, and vice versa to the Government, on a prompt basis and fulsome basis in order for the Court to make a fair evaluation of the parties' arguments. But because of all of those circumstances, which are characteristic of the nature of grand jury proceedings, including ancillary proceedings like contempt proceedings before the District Court, makes redactions a lot more complicated to make.

Do you understand that?

MR. BOUTROUS: I do understand that. I know the D.C. Circuit noted that it is a different inquiry, so we appreciate that.

The Court, in its orders -- I think it was very helpful for us to see the Court's analysis. But we respectfully request -- and notwithstanding the differences in the inquiry -- that the Court release as much as possible in redacted form because we do know a lot about the case; and it would be interesting to see how it played out with Your Honor and what led the Court -- I mean, contempt is a serious thing. We know the Court is careful in holding someone in contempt, so we'd like to see what their arguments were before this Court.

They seemed -- again, I'm sort of in the peanut gallery here, but I'm fascinated to read how it played out.

It seemed like their arguments were shifting; they were coming up with new arguments before the Court. Some of them seemed -- for a company owned by a foreign nation -- kind of out there on the edge, and they're saying we don't have to listen to the U.S. courts. That's something the public should be able to see in an investigation like this, and how it unfolded within this Court, the judge who had to hold them in contempt -- I think it's even more important to see what was being argued to you by both sides and what led the Court to its decisions so we can understand what really the Court was basing its decision on.

We really appreciate the Court hearing us. And we hope the Court would release as much as possible, including the identity of the witness. I mean, a foreign country comes here, goes into contempt, goes to our Supreme Court, cert is denied, the investigation is over -- we should know who that country is and the company and what it's all about so we can scrutinize their behavior and how our judicial system and the justice department handled it.

THE COURT: And I appreciate the fact that the Reporters Committee has taken the time and engaged quality counsel to come forward and bring these issues teed up for the Court's consideration. Transparency, particularly when it comes to judicial proceedings, is very important. There should be no secret law.

1 MR. BOUTROUS: Thank you, Your Honor. THE COURT: So I appreciate your efforts here. 2 MR. BOUTROUS: Thank you very much. 3 THE COURT: Thank you. 4 5 Mr. Faruqui. Mr. Goodhand. 6 So let's start with the first question. Is the 7 grand jury investigation over? MR. GOODHAND: No, it is continuing. I can -- in 8 9 the Court's words, I can say it's continuing robustly. 10 THE COURT: All right. So this is a situation 11 where the Court must evaluate the Reporters Committee 12 request for unsealing in the context of a robust and ongoing 13 grand jury investigation; is that correct? 14 MR. GOODHAND: Exactly. 15 THE COURT: All right. 16 Notwithstanding the fact there is an ongoing grand 17 jury investigation, given the fact that there are redacted 18 versions of briefs in front of the Supreme Court, redacted 19 versions of the briefs that are in the process of being done 20 for posting on the D.C. Circuit's docket -- although there 21 are a lot more briefs in front of the District Court, and that makes the administrative work that much more in front 22 23 of the District Court, why is it that the Government is 24 taking the position of "no" as opposed to allowing for

redacted versions of at least the briefing and, if not, some

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of the transcripts in this matter to be made public?

MR. GOODHAND: Sure.

We thought we saw a little bit of schizophrenia in the Reporters Committee's motion, and that's why we did launch an opposition. When I say that, what I mean is this -- and, in particular, I'm directing the Court's attention to page 13 where the Reporters Committee says:

The public has the right of access to contempt proceedings.

There can be no doubt that the public has a right of access to the orders, briefs, transcripts, and underlying record in the proceedings before this Court.

We were a little concerned that that was a suggestion that -- this is a contempt proceeding, number one, and that means everything gets opened; that was our concern.

We understand the mandate of Dow Jones. And we are perfectly willing to work within the confines of both those constructs to get to roughly the same place that the D.C. Circuit and the Supreme Court has reached with this massive caveat. There's been a lot of discussion about the identity of the witness. You know, number one, we have heard from the corporation about that.

Number two, I think, in contrast to the Reporters Committee's arguments, Rule 6.1 itself recognizes,

consistent with *Dow Jones*, that: All hearings on matters affecting grand jury shall be closed except for contempt proceedings in which the alleged contemnor requests a public hearing.

To my mind, I understand Rule 6.1 to be this:

It's an embodiment of the rule -- Rule 6(e), 6(e)(5) and

6(e)(6) that the advisory committee has said is consistent

with the First Amendment.

So Rule 6.1 is sort of a perfect distillation of the balance, on the one hand, of grand jury matters and, on the other hand, the First Amendment. So we are willing to work within the confines of Rule 6.1, and we will. It will be a burden. We will endeavor to do that, just as things have already done -- others have done that at other levels.

But we were concerned about, sort of, the blanket suggestion that the First Amendment puts this category of proceeding in a different posture than a typical ancillary grand jury matter. This is an ancillary grand jury matter. It is not a contempt proceeding and, thus, all bets are off. I think that answers the question that has been raised with respect to the identity of the contemnor.

So, with that said, of course -- with those caveats -- again, that was the basis, essentially, for our opposition here. We're willing to work with the Court and the Reporters Committee.

THE COURT: All right. And how much time do you think that the Government would need, beginning with -- I think what would be easiest is the redaction of briefing in the matter, in cooperation with the corporation's counsel, before turning to looking at whether any transcripts can be redacted in a way that leaves anything intelligible left to be read.

MR. GOODHAND: Sure. Sure.

THE COURT: How much time would you need?

MR. GOODHAND: I would like -- I think I understand the Court's general timetable to be a month. I would appreciate that for a couple of reasons.

As the Court and indexed newspapers outlined, when you have voluminous materials, there are risks attendant, sort of, inadvertent disclosures; we don't want to go down that road. There are great consequences attendant to inadvertent disclosures. So if the Court was willing to grant us the luxury of that time, we would greatly appreciate it because of the volume.

THE COURT: All right. I am going to be issuing a memorandum, an order on this matter and this particular motion, to make clear what is being done and what my order is; and I will take the month-long request into consideration.

I think you are also going to have to be

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       consulting with the corporation's counsel.
                 MR. GOODHAND: Yes.
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                 THE COURT: So I think a month may be even, you
       know, too tight a time frame; but I will let you work that
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       out with the corporation. Thank you.
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                 MR. GOODHAND: Okay. Thank you, Your Honor.
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                 THE COURT: Mr. Boutrous.
                 MR. BOUTROUS: Yes, Your Honor.
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                 THE COURT: You have won a huge chunk of your
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       motion --
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                 MR. BOUTROUS: Yes, so I am going to say very
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       little.
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                 THE COURT: -- with the Government; and I will
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       take under consideration your request for the additional
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       disclosure of the contemnor corporation's identity.
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                 Is there anything you would like to respond to?
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                 MR. BOUTROUS: Really just --
                 THE COURT: You won. You might just want to sit
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       down.
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                 MR. BOUTROUS: With that, Your Honor, I would like
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       to wrap up. Thank you, Your Honor.
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                 THE COURT: Thank you. You are all excused.
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                 THE DEPUTY: All rise.
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                 (Whereupon, the proceeding concludes.)
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CERTIFICATE

I, ELIZABETH SAINT-LOTH, RPR, FCRR, do hereby certify that the foregoing constitutes a true and accurate transcript of my stenographic notes, and is a full, true, and complete transcript of the proceedings to the best of my ability.

Dated this 27th day of March, 2019.

/s/ Elizabeth Saint-Loth, RPR, FCRR
Official Court Reporter