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THE MEDICO-LEGAL SOCIETY OF VICTORIA

MELBOURNE

SATURDAY 13 OCTOBER 2007

"THE CRIMINAL JUSTICE SYSTEM - FAIRNESS FOR ALL?"

PRESENTED BY: Mr Lex Lasry QC

1	"THE CRIMINAL JUSTICE SYSTEM - FAIRNESS FOR ALL?"
2	MR HURLEY: Good evening fellow members and guests. This
3	evening we are privileged to hear Mr Lex Lasry QC address
4	the Medico-Legal Society of Victoria and I expressly
5	welcome him to the Society.
6	Firstly, two points of housekeeping. I'd like to
7	remind you that mobile phones should be switched off
8	within the club and that gentlemen's jackets should
9	remain on throughout the evening.
10	Tonight we are very fortunate to hear an address to
11	the Society on the top of "The Criminal Justice System -
12	Fairness for all". There is always broad interest in the

the Society on the top of "The Criminal Justice System - Fairness for all". There is always broad interest in the criminal justice system reflected by its frequent reporting in the national media. I think it is fair to observe that in recent times there has been renewed interest in the criminal justice system due to a number of high profile cases and the associated commentary that these cases have generated.

I also think it fair to state that our guest speaker, Mr Lex Lasry QC is pre-eminently placed to address the Society on the criminal justice system and I am pleased to thank both Rob Nave for bringing this topic to the committee's attention and to Mr Michael Wheelahan for securing Mr Lex Lasry to present a paper on this topic. I expect that many of you in the audience will either know Mr Lasry or be familiar with a number of cases that he has been involved with over the 34 years of his extraordinary career to date as a barrister.

By way of introduction I would like to remind the audience that not only has Mr Lasry much experienced in the criminal justice system but he also has broad

1	experience beyond this area. Included in his extensive
2	curriculum vitae is his role as junior counsel assisting
3	the Costigan Royal Commission into the Federated Ship
4	Painters & Dockers Union in the early 1980s; temporary
5	counsel assisting the National Crime Authority;
6	Australian defence counsel for Van Nguyen in Singapore
7	(2002-05); senior counsel assisting the Coroner in her
8	inquiry into the 2003 Canberra bush fires; defence
9	counsel in Canberra in the murder trial of Singh and Rau;
10	defence counsel for Jack Thomas in his terrorism case;
11	defence counsel in the terrorism case concerning members
12	of the Tamil community in Australia; independent observer
13	for the Law Council of Australia at the trial of David
14	Hicks at Guantanamo Bay; member of the Council of
15	International Criminal Bar for counsel practising before
16	the International Criminal Court.
17	Mr Lasry has been awarded the Inaugural President's
18	Medal by the Law Council of Australia for his
19	contribution to the law. We are extremely fortunate to
20	have Mr Lex Lasry QC address us on what promises to be a
21	fascinating topic for all of us here tonight.
22	MR LASRY: Thank you very much, Michael. Ladies and gentlemen,
23	just while I'm getting my notes out, I have to make a
24	confession about this particular room. The last time I
25	was here I was sitting right down "that" end of the room
26	and I tell you confidentially it was as the drummer in a
27	rock 'n roll band at a wedding and the rock'n roll band -
28	and you are not to mention this beyond this room - the
29	rock 'n roll band was known apparently by others in the
30	band as the "Lex Pistols".

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So when Michael Wheelahan asked me about this speech

some considerable time ago he said it would be at a sophisticated Melbourne club (there's no doubt about that) and this speech would have to be made wearing a dinner suit and I immediately got edgy. I've made plenty of speeches over recent years but this is the first time I've actually made one with a dinner suit on. I don't know whether that's important or not. Perhaps it's not.

The topic for tonight is obviously one of general interest these days - "Criminal Justice System - Fairness for All?" - and it was Michael Wheelahan who suggested the topic and I agreed to it because primarily as a criminal lawyer for the last 34 years I do have some views about the state of the criminal justice system and I want to say at the outset that I think by and large the state of the criminal justice system is pretty satisfactory, which is not to say that the system cannot be under threat from time to time and particularly in these times.

Of course the "fairness for all" aspect of the topic is important because it creates a tension because, to put it in its most simple terms, a criminal trial usually is preceded by some sort of human conflict and that means that those involved in the case, those who are interested in the outcome have pretty diverse interests. There are the accused (there might be several of them) and a victim and perhaps several of those.

The system is always tested in the difficult case.

Often the conduct that the court has to deal with is conduct that repulses us. Perhaps the most recent cases include the case of people like Peter Dupas and his trial for the murder of Mersina Halvagas and the recently

concluded trial of Robert Farquharson who was found quilty recently of the murder of his three children.

It is because people look at those cases and just can't believe the conduct that the system comes under pressure and it comes under pressure because watching all this is the community but, by and large, the community are watching through the eyes of the media and sometimes, therefore, what they're seeing is the media's account of what is happening coupled with the media's opinion about what's happening and not only that but what should happen. So, there's another pressure. The community's role, apart from looking on and watching what's happening and wondering about how on earth such conduct could occur, the community also have a very important role in the criminal justice system, of course, as jurors.

I had always been told by the people who wanted to express their opinion to me as a law student and beyond that trial by jury was one of the great virtues of a fair criminal justice system and after 34 years I am convinced that that's right. Juries, by and large, have their advantages and disadvantages but there's no question, in my opinion, that juries bring to the criminal justice system the reality and a sense of commonsense, if you like, that is invaluable to the system.

There are those who would abolish it and it has been abolished in other countries in the criminal system.

Recently, on an ABC program called "The Law Report", which is not one I listen to all the time, although you'd think perhaps I would, Justice Betty King of the Victorian Supreme Court got herself involved in a debate about the jury system and she launched a very spirited

defence of it and if you can ever listen to the program it is worth listening to because it's an interesting discussion about the pros and cons but for what it's worth I thought Her Honour defended the jury system extremely well and I agree with pretty much everything that she said.

It is important because our system, the credibility of the criminal justice system is dependent on its fairness and its independence and history, of course, is a great teacher in this regard and a place that you can start just to think about the principle is at the Nuremberg trials in 1945 at the end of the War when ultimately the senior German officers were put on trial at the insistence, of course, of the United States and, as I follow it, over the objection of Winston Churchill.

In opening that case in Nuremberg, Justice Robert Jackson who was of the U.S. Supreme Court and who took leave in order to prosecute these cases said this - emphasising the need for fair trials -

"We must never forget that the record on which we judge these defendants is the record on which history will judge us tomorrow. To pass these defendants a poison chalice is to put it to our own lips as well. We must summons such detachment and intellectual integrity to our task but this trial will commend itself to posterity as fulfilling humanities aspirations to do justice".

I think that is an outstandingly appropriate quote for any consideration of the criminal justice system. So that's the standard. The standard is a standard of detachment and intellectual integrity.

Our system here in Australia does its best and it does it a great deal better than many other countries.

There's a lot of pressure on the system, as I said out the outset, by the public scrutiny of the system and no one complains about public scrutiny, it's absolutely appropriate. But in these days criminal lawyers will tell you, and you can see it for yourselves in the media, that we do have now often in the particular case a régime of, in a sense, media pre-judgment of cases. We will always have the Herald Sun headline that talks about the monster or the sex fiend and we will always have commentators, several of whom write for that newspaper, who will want to not only describe what's happening but to say what should happen and I'll come back to that a bit later.

But when you look back over the history of criminal cases that have attracted that kind of attention of course they are not hard to think of. The yardstick is the trial of Lindy Chamberlain. And it is often said by lawyers in a particular case where there's been a lot of publicity "My client's got about as much chance of a fair trial as Lindy Chamberlain and what they mean is that if there is media saturation about the crime and the character or lack of character of the person charged with the crime then by the time the person charged gets before a jury there won't be a person empanelled on that jury who doesn't have a view about the case. That's not quite the idea.

You can think of other cases, of course, that get that kind of saturation coverage. The Mohamed Haneef case is a recent case in point which was saturation coverage. And it's an interesting set of circumstances to dwell on now, the Commonwealth DPP having come to the

view that Haneef never should have been charged and yet if you look back over the media coverage of that case and you look back over the comments made by people like the Foreign Minister and the Immigration Minister you'd be forgiven for thinking in the earlier stages that Haneef was on the phone as the bomb went off at Glasgow Airport.

And there are others and there are others of course in history. Charles Manson no doubt you will remember; OJ Simpson, an excellent an example. If you were to Google OJ Simpson you would see an endless supply of information about him and that case and you've no doubt heard the old "knock knock" joke about OJ Simpson which goes something like "Knock, knock, who's there? OJ. OJ who? Great, you can be on the jury".

Ivan Milat, a serial killer here in Australia with something like seven victims. You will remember, of course, Greg Domaszewicz acquitted of the murder of Jayden Leskie. You will remember Timothy McVeigh, the Oklahoma bomber. Julian Knight for the Hoddle Street murders and Martin Bryant in Port Arthur. Those are the cases that test the system and they test it because people are of course immediately offended by the very conduct and ultimately it is the way the system deals with those cases that tests the credibility of the system.

The primary object and exercise as far as the criminal justice system is concerned is to have a jury system and to have a jury trial where the jury can make a decision about the guilt or lack of it of the accused without being influenced by the media and by other extraneous considerations. So a great deal of care is

taken to make sure that the jury is kept away from influences that might divert them in their deliberations. They are regularly warned by trial judges about not discussing the case with other people.

It's always a very homely little direction that you hear from the trial judge who usually in a fatherly way says "Now, members of the jury, you will go home tonight and of course your friends and loved ones will be most interested to know what you've been doing and of course you can tell them that you've been to court and that you were involved in a criminal case but you mustn't say anything else". And there are judges and there are times when it sounds just like the first day at primary school.

But it has a purpose and it obviously has a purpose and at the end of that warning the purpose is, of course, explained and the judge will say "The reason for this is because those people who are offering you their opinions about the case haven't been in court as you have, haven't heard all the evidence, haven't heard the lawyers cross-examining the witnesses, haven't had the lawyers making submissions. You are the ones who have been here. You know the story. You are best placed. You should not be influenced by those outside with an opinion to express which is ill-informed". And I think in many ways that is the problem about a great deal of the media coverage.

But I started by saying that I thought that the criminal justice system was in pretty good condition and there are lawyers here who may or may not agree with that. Pat Tehan I see here. Pat no doubt as a very senior member of the Victorian Criminal Bar will have a view about it and I don't know what that is. But my view

is coloured by what I've seen out of Australia over the last few years. For various professional reasons I've travelled quite a bit and those travels have taken me to places like Singapore where not only do they have a mandatory death penalty for those who deal in drugs above an amount of 15 grams but in the cause of producing government-approved results, in my opinion, they abolished trial by jury.

Mandatory death penalty, of course - and you'll forgive me but this is a topic very close to my heard - mandatory death penalty, we shouldn't get too sanctimonious about it, we had it here until the 1970s. The mandatory penalty for murder in those days was death although ordinarily it wasn't actually carried out. But "mandatory" means once the judge determines that a person is guilty of the crime (as the judge did in our case in Singapore) then there's no other penalty to be imposed but death. Here, when someone is found guilty of an offence there's another phase in the case, the Americans call it "the penalty phase". We call it "making a plea".

We then get to present to the judge as a separate part of the hearing material which enables him to make an informed and independent view of what sentence should be imposed on the accused. You don't have that in Singapore. They replace it with presidential clemency. Okay - well, we compiled 80 or so pages of submissions saying why our client shouldn't be hanged and put both legal and personal material in there in a very detailed way. That was our way of conducting basically the sentencing submissions. And the response to that was a one paragraph letter that said "Your application is

rejected. Please make funeral arrangements". So, it's an example (Singapore) of a country that has many of the trappings of democracy; the courts have many of the trappings of the British common law but the reality is something quite different.

I have also been to Sierra Leone in the cause of Peter Halloran's case, the Victorian policeman who found himself in some bother over there and the thing that struck me about that trip was that I was in a country where a usual part of the process is to bribe the judges and I don't know who was more surprised - me, when it was suggested that a payment of \$10,000 to one of the judges of the Court of Appeal might do the trick or the lawyer watching me who was shocked at my surprise. After 33 or 32 years, I think it was then, here I am in a situation that thank God I've never come anywhere near anywhere in Australia.

All I can say about that place is that it is - I mean Sierra Leone - I suppose you'd expect that kind of thing in a country where the unemployment rate is something in excess of 80 per cent. But this is obviously a country in crisis. This is a country that has been devastated by the civil war, the war that involved neighbouring countries and war over diamonds and God knows what else and they are trying to rebuild themselves and the stress and the pressure on the criminal justice system in that country is just phenomenal.

Then, twice I had the pleasure - I think it was a pleasure - to go to Guantanamo Bay Cuba. For me it was a pleasure because it was a great adventure and I see

yesterday that Major Mori of the US Marine Corps has been given the Australian Lawyers' Alliance Civil Justice

Award for his efforts on behalf of David Hicks. And the reason that that trip was important was not to do with David Hicks.

As I said many times during the course of that case, my interest as the Law Council's observer was not in David Hicks, he had his own lawyers. My interest was in the process. And what we saw in Guantanamo Bay was basically a mock-up of a criminal justice system created by the Pentagon, totally lacking in independence. Again, it had all the trappings and you can always tell in these sort of circumstances that it's not going to be fair because the senior military officers keep telling you "This will be full and fair". And they say - it's a bit like Joe Hockey. I think Joe Hockey should change his name to "Joe Union Bosses Hockey" because he gets those words into every phrase he utters and some of these military officers do the same: "full and fair" gets in to every sentence and the fact that they keep saying it is an early indicator that the process isn't going to be fair.

I had a client in Mauritius charged with drug offences. She has been in custody now for in excess of two years and in Mauritius there is no trial by jury and there is absolutely nothing we can do from this distance to expedite her case. I have with Julian McMahon and some others two members of the Bali nine, Myuran Sukumaran and Andrew Chan, facing the death penalty in Indonesia. And the death penalty in Indonesia is carried out by firing squad rather than hanging. But that case

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is occurring again in circumstances where the country is in the process of being, as it were, a developing democracy and trying to renovate its process after past years and trying to bring itself into the modern human rights era and that's a bit struggle for that place and our clients' lives, in a sense, depend on the outcome of that discussion in that country. So, it's very good to get home and it's against that background that I'm able, I think, to make some judgment about the Australian criminal justice system.

In May of last year I delivered the Law Week Oration and I used one of my favourite quotes from Martin Luther King in relation to the topic which was to do with defending and unpopular causes and the quote I started with was that the ultimate measure of a man is not where he stands in moments of comfort and convenience but where he stands at times of challenge and controversy. And I was making the point during that lecture that much of the challenge now in the post-September 11 era is a challenge which has to be taken up by the legal profession.

Whenever an unpopular cause is to be defended then inevitably it's left to lawyers to defend it and how the cases are defended is a critical part of the barometer by which we can measure the standards of our community and the legal profession obviously is a crucial pillar in the whole process. And I gave some examples in that case to perhaps highlight the point and I referred to an American by the name of Stephen Bright who in 1994 was the Director of the Southern Centre for Human Rights in Atlanta Georgia and he was the visiting lecturer and the Yale Law School and he'd been involved in the trials,

representation of many people facing the death penalty since 1979. And he wrote an analysis about the quality of representation in some of those cases and the title of his analysis was "Counsel for the poor - the death penalty not for the worst crime but for the worst lawyer".

At the end of his article he concluded as follows - he said this: "So long as juries and judges are deprived of critical information and the Bill of Rights is ignored in the most emotionally and politically charged cases due to deficient legal representation the court should not be authorised to impose the extreme and irrevocable penalty of death otherwise the death penalty will continue to be imposed not upon those who commit the worst crimes but upon those who have the misfortune to be assigned the worst lawyers"...

An English lawyer by the name of Clive Stafford-Smith went over to Louisiana several years ago and was telling me on one occasion of his first death penalty case and it appeared that part of the appeal which he was then involved in concerned the fact that trial counsel slept through the better part of the trial and he smiled and said "I knew then that I only had to stay awake to do a better job".

But the point of all this is that the effectiveness of our system depends on the commitment of lawyers. And I want to put that as clearly as I can because I think it's important that it be understood. There's no question the commitment of defence lawyers has to be a commitment to their client. The role of a defence lawyer in the criminal justice system is to defend their client

to the utmost within the rules that prevail and subject, of course, to the lawyer's duty to the court. The role of a prosecutor is not to win the case. The role of a prosecutor is to conduct themselves independently - in the old-fashioned language - as ministers of justice and who should be indifferent to the case. And I think, unfortunately, that's changing.

Some of the great prosecutors that I can remember over the years and others who have been in the criminal law will remember them have been people who have been committed to that principle. So, it's not just the defence counsel, the prosecutor's role is important. It's a role that involves being candid with the court, it's a role that involves being fair and it's a role which involves presenting effectively and strongly the evidence available.

One example which perhaps many of you will remember which is still talked about is the trial of Ronald Ryan and Peter Walker now something like 40 years ago. You will remember no doubt, if you're of sufficient age to have been around at that stage and I certainly was, that Ryan and Walker broke out of Pentridge prison and a warder by the name of Hodson was shot dead in the middle of Sydney Road in the course of the escape. The details and the arguments in the case perhaps don't matter.

The important thing for the purpose of this discussion perhaps has two elements. I remember as an 18 year old the level of hysteria that prevailed in Melbourne when that happened. I lived down in the southern suburbs and I think everyone thought that Ryan and Walker were holed up in the back shed because that's

what we were being told, that they were extremely dangerous, they could pop up anywhere and "Lock your doors, shut your windows" and so on and so forth and people were absolutely terrified. And in the midst of all that Phil Opas and Brian Bourke, two very well known members of the Victorian Bar, defended Ronald Ryan and Jack Lazerus (equally well known) defended Peter Walker.

The pressure on those people in that case was phenomenal and part of the pressure they were dealing with, of course, was pressure from the government. The Premier, Henry Bolte was making it clear what he thought should happen; the media reported the case in an hysterical and sensational way and if you read any of the books - and I do commend Mike Richards' book to you about this - you will get some sense of the pressure that was on those three barristers in defending that case.

There's another unpopular cause, of course, which is now to be defended perhaps more than ever and that is what might be described as the rule of law, the rule of due process and the independence of the judiciary. And as I have already said, I think the role of lawyers now has changed quite dramatically because we're now, unfortunately, without enough politicians as leaders who will take an idealistic risk and who are prepared to lead this country on human rights issues and on civil liberties issues. And what we are now centrally concerned with is the economy, of course; a continuing fear of terrorism and border security. And Federal politicians on both sides now have a very well-developed carefully spun instinct for job preservation and they watch the public mood with great care and they react to

it by the development of policy which they hope will meet with electoral approval. And the security of political incumbency is underpinned to some extent by the existence of a climate of fear of terrorism and, unfortunately, a continuing fear of the other, whether the "other" be Somalian, Muslim or whatever, and that fear developed as it is developed usually on religion, race, ethnicity or perhaps political beliefs.

Lawyers - criminal lawyers particularly and Julian Burnside as well - have a very important role in the debate because the community needs to be reminded of the importance of due process. Another example, which I will just mention briefly because I think the times are not dissimilar, was the role of lawyers back in 1950 in the Communist Party dissolution case. Lawyers Ted Hill, Ted Laurie and others who argued the case in the High Court in December 1950 and it was the case that challenged the constitutionality of the Communist Party Dissolution Act.

In the modern climate it's interesting to note to look back at that case and just be reminded that if the Communist Party Dissolution Act had survived the challenge it would have instantly dissolved the Australian Communist Party and it would have provided a procedure by which groups of people possessing communist affiliations or connections could be the subject of an application to the Governor-General in Council to be declared an unlawful association. And if you read about the case I think you'll see some interesting parallels between the criteria for the selection of organisations that might be subject to such a declaration and some of the modern efforts that arise from the criminal code to

criminalise organisations to be designated as terrorist.

The other unpopular cause that I want to talk about in the criminal justice system context which is integral to maintaining the fairness and independence of the system is the independence of the judiciary. In the modern media, in my opinion and in the opinion of others, there is now what might be described as an outrage industry, the kind of thing I was talking about before and one of the results of this outrage industry is that comments about the criminal justice system which would normally attract condemnation are forgiven and often pass without comment, signifying acceptance. It is particularly so in the United States but I think it is also the case here.

In the United States there's an organisation called "Justice at Stake" and it's run by a man called Burt Brandenberg and he refers to the US Criminal Courts and suggests that the courts are in a cycle of public criticism of judges and I think we're in the same sort of cycle here. Criticism, he says, is not a bad thing. Judges are public servants, they're not beyond criticism. But now there is an outrage industry in the tabloid newspapers and the cable news services and this is something that I think we have to be careful about.

The outrage industry in any particular case is usually triggered by a particularly bad case where a horrible crime has been committed and a judicial decision has either excluded some important evidence or imposed a lenient sentence. The outrage will be usually manifested by complaints about the sentence imposed or the fact that an alleged criminal has been allowed to go free and

rather than reporting the detail of how the decision or sentence came to be passed and exercising their editorial judgment by educating the public about the importance of an independent judiciary, the media solution can often be to turn the judge into the villain and the idea is to exclude him/her from the mainstream and to accuse the judge of being unaccountable.

These attacks on judges in criminal cases are, in my opinion, very harmful. They undercut the credibility of the courts and, importantly, they pressure and perhaps empower governments who are inclined to do so to reduce the powers and the discretion of judges. Unfortunately, this debate is often led by victims' groups and, of course, victims - there is no question victims have an important central role and interest in the process.

But the usual allegation is that judges are out of touch with the community and no doubt sometimes judges and magistrates who are the subject of this sort of pressure and criticism are affected by it. But I have never really understood the argument because judges are very much in touch with the community. Every day in criminal courts judges are doing the community's business. Every day in criminal courts they're doing the community's hardest business. But the problem is that often these pressures will be applied to government in order to contract the discretion or the powers of criminal judges and criminal trial judges and perhaps even appeal judges.

One way of doing that is, for example, for governments to impose in particular cases - and this is often called for - mandatory sentencing. I will just

remind you that the sentence imposed in our client in Singapore was also a mandatory sentence. And it's what the community don't know about this complaint and this process that is perhaps important.

In April 2005 the Chief Justice of the Victorian Supreme Court wrote a paper under the heading "Sentencing Issues" and she made the point that - in fact she said this: "Of the thousands and cases dealt with in higher courts each year most appeals against sentence complain that they're too severe". She went on to make the point that those cases are rarely reported in the media and, of course, inevitably create a distorted impression of sentencing practices in Victoria.

Now these days, of course, you can look at what's happening. You can go on to the internet and you can look at the legal sites, you can find the work of the courts, you can find the work of judges in Courts of Appeal in Victoria and the Supreme Court and read the judgments if you want to and you will see that that is so, that the vast majority of criminal appeals are - of course, there are appeals against conviction and the appeals against sentences are appeals against the sentence as being excessive. There are occasionally appeals by the prosecution against what they say is a manifest inadequacy.

So what we're left with is a picture being painted which suits the particular argument and the argument always is an argument based on a particular case. A judge is always said to be out of touch because of what happened in one particular case. You will never hear the argument about criminal trial judges being out of touch

based on any kind of survey because the survey won't support the argument. So, conveniently it suits the critics to take the particular case, to listen to the criticism, to say the sentence is too lenient therefore the judge is out of touch.

It is perhaps stating the obvious but the independence of our judiciary is absolutely crucial to the process and when you're reading the criticisms of the kind that I've been talking about, please bear that in mind. The independence of the judiciary, apart from anything else, is the most important means of preserving the rule of law. Political interference with the process is obviously undesirable and what I've seen in other countries tells me that if we're not careful about this and if we don't protect our processes and if we don't understand the value of our individual protections and freedoms within the criminal justice system then we at least risk that in a climate of fear, particularly a climate of fear of terrorism, that the occasional change will be made which will never be able to be recovered.

You have to ask yourself whether when politicians are saying "We want to give the police more power and we want to reduce the rights of the individuals under investigation or on trial by taking away their right to silence" or whatever the process happens to be, are you as members of the community satisfied that the argument is not an emotional argument? Are you actually satisfied that we will be safer as a result? I think if you look at the history of Singapore you will see that one of the reasons that Lee Kuan Yu and his family so easily gained acceptance was that they promised the Singaporeans after

the last war that they would never be brutalised like that again and they made some fundamental promises about food in their stomachs and a roof over their head and I think the compact was "Just give us that extra bit of control and we will ensure your security" and I think although the security is there the control has gone way too far.

There are a huge range of causes to be defended within the criminal justice system which are unpopular. When you're looking at the reports of the difficult cases bear in mind my argument at least that the system depends for its survival and for its credibility on the quality with which those cases are defended and the fairness of the trial that is given to the particular individual.

The conclusion that I have come to is that the fairness, a propos of the topic "Fairness for all", the fairness extended to all the participants in the Australian criminal justice system is satisfactory. It's not perfect but it's good. And I think the benefits of that are reflected in the quality of life we enjoy and I think they're reflected in the reasonably high confidence we have in the system but the system needs defending and we should all be interested in that, I think.

There's a quote which Benjamin Franklin seems to have donated to the Northern Territory Criminal Law Association for their T-shirts at their annual conference, which I'll come to in a moment. But when I was first going back to look for it I found another one which as the years go by I must say it's completely irrelevant to what I'm talking about tonight but I'm going to tell you anyway what it is. He apparently said

1	"I wake up every morning at nine and grab for the morning
2	paper then I look at the obituary page. If my name's not
3	on it I get up". The quote that is relevant to the topic
4	is "Any society that would give up a little liberty to
5	gain a little security will deserve neither and lose
6	both". Thank you very much.

7 In his inaugural address to the nation on Sunday, MR HURLEY: 8 4 March 1933 Franklin Delano Roosevelt famously said to a 9 pained and fractured nation, which of course at the time 10 was gripped in the vice of the terrible suffering of the Great Depression, "The only thing we have to fear is fear 11 itself. Nameless, unreasoning, unjustified terror which 12 13 paralyses needed efforts to convert retreat into advance". Of course the criminal justice system at its 15 root is a fundamental tool in the machinery of the operation of a civilised society by which society itself seeks to advance and not retreat into an abyss of lawlessness and chaos. We must at all costs treasure and 19 nurture it. We must be assiduous to guard our well won liberties. Uninformed alarm and baseless criticism has 20 21 been outlined in part tonight of this system only serves 22 to mark a retreat in what otherwise ought to be an 23 advance.

> I've had occasion over the years to look at the Victorian Government Gazette and some of you - perhaps many of you - may tonight wonder how in my chosen occupation I can or do or how any of my colleagues fit in to some of the things that Mr Lasry tonight has spoken so eloquently about in terms of capital punishment. If one opens the Victorian Government Gazette one can see, at least before the last hanging, in an entry perhaps under

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a road closure notice or before a notice concerning infectious diseases or the like an entry which is the final marking of the State of the taking of the life of an individual. And recorded in that Government Gazette are the essential facts of what had happened but who subscribes their name under that Government Gazette notice? Not the Premier, not the Attorney-General, it's a medical practitioner employed for the purpose. That person might have been employed by the State - one presumes so. So when one looks at that entry and it strikes me, of course, as a member of the younger generation as to how stark such an entry appears, my mind has often wondered about what went through the mind of that medical practitioner when they were simply doing the job they were employed to do.

Now we on our committee have repeatedly received requests for a paper to be presented which outlines some of the rationales, bases and details of the criminal justice system, particularly for those who are neither versed or practised in the ways and details of the criminal justice system in this country in order that some of the myths and abnormalities which may seem to present on the surface be explained and understood.

And, of course, how wonderful it has been tonight to hear what can be described, if I may say so, as a masterly display of principal reason and commonsense.

We, of course, are most grateful to you, Lex, for taking so much time and trouble to present to us tonight, to be with us and present in such a learned, practical and illuminating way. So before the floor is open to questions and I ask all of you to partake as vigorously

1	as you can because Lex is happy to receive them, may I
2	ask on behalf of the members and guests of the Society
3	tonight to thank you, Lex, very much and I ask you all to
4	show your appreciation in the usual way.

The proceedings have been recorded for the purpose of the publication of the proceedings, so if there is a microphone - and I'm not sure that there is - I would ask that the person who is asking a question take possession of the microphone before they address their question and perhaps for the sake of the transcript if you could say who you are and what your chosen call is. Thank you.

MR KENNEDY: Ian Kennedy, lawyer. I was having dinner in

Canberra with the Law Council on Grand Final eve. I only

mention Grand Final eve just to make the point that my

team Geelong was successful the next day, which was the

sole purpose of the question.

17 MR LASRY: Congratulations.

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18 MR KENNEDY: Not really. And I was talking to a very old 19 friend who is a senior Federal judge, not a criminal lawyer, in another State and I asked him how he managed 20 21 to get the day out of court and get to Canberra. He said 22 he actually had been in court, although no one would ever 23 have known that because he was not listed as sitting. 24 The case that he was hearing no one would ever know that 25 he was hearing because it was not mentioned anywhere, but 26 he had to deal without the assistance of counsel and had 27 no help on it, he was clearly quite distressed about it. I found it extremely disturbing and I wondered whether 28 29 you have a sense of how in our community these issues under terrorism law are going to play out politically and 30 in terms of where we're going in that direction and can 31

1	we	expect	any	change	one	way	or	the	other	in	resolving
2	tho	se issu	ies.								

MR LASRY: Have you got another hour? The terrorism laws and the way already they're working are already a problem, obviously for a variety of reasons and, Ian, you've mentioned one of them. Under the legislation that applies in terrorism cases it is now possible for the prosecution to be presenting evidence in a criminal court which an accused person won't be able to hear and which in particular circumstances his counsel won't be able to hear and even if they can't they won't be able to tell him about it and it may be evidence that is crucial in the case and it may be evidence on which he is found quilty and the unfairness of that is obvious.

There are a string of other measures in relation to terrorism laws generally as to the way in which people can be questioned, the way in which they can be held without being charged. And you saw the Haneef case, that was an excellent example of that. I mean the thing about that was an aspect of those terrorism laws, Ian, which just amazes me that in the end the prosecution can arrest someone and hold them for weeks while they work out whether there's a case and then get the decision wrong and there's no comeback as far as Dr Haneef is concerned.

So, yes, there are a series of problems in the terrorism laws which give enormous power to the Australian Federal Police and to ASIO which reduce the entitlements of people charged in particular cases and which impose requirements on people to be able to have access to information which usually of course an accused person won't be able to fulfil.

1	It was the case in Guantanamo Bay. The rules under
2	which the military commissions were conducted were
3	conducted on that kind of basis that at particular points
4	in the process it would be necessary for the accused and
5	possibly the accused's civilian lawyer to leave the
6	hearing room. I mean I laughed when I saw that that was
7	happening because it hadn't really hit me that the same
8	possibility can occur me. It's obviously a matter of
9	concern.
10	MS JOCKEL: Maria Jockel. I'm an immigration lawyer, Lex.
11	Your comments in regard to the importance of due process
12	and the need to be very concerned about politicisation
13	and following on from the Haneef case are even more
14	important because as we know the Minister for Immigration
15	has extraordinary powers under the Migration Act to, in
16	effect, usurp the role of the courts and due process and
17	determine that somebody is someone of bad character and
18	proceed to cancel their vehicle and as in the case of
19	Haneef actually require them to depart Australia so that
20	in fact you bypass all possibility of the legal system.
21	One of the things that really concerns me is that we who
22	profess to be really concerned about a democracy and the
23	importance of having proper processes, particularly where
24	it's alleged that you're a criminal, why we allow this in
25	the case of the Migration Act and that we do this both
26	for permanent residents and both for temporary residents.
27	I mean Dr Haneef is the most recent example of a
28	temporary resident where this has happened but it's also

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happened in regard to permanent residents. I'm just

wondering whether you'd like to make some comments given

your extensive experience in criminal law as to how it is

that we've allowed this rather anomalous process to occur
where a politician in a given point in time can determine
who and who isn't actually a criminal for the purposes of
cancelling their visa and then ousting them out of a
country and what can we do about it, besides changing the
Migration Act and overhauling the entire political
system?

8 MR LASRY: One of the great immigration experts of course is
9 here with us and he did give me some warning you might
10 ask me a question like that and I did tell Julian
11 Burnside that I would handball the question to him and I
12 see he's got the microphone.

I think the most offensive thing about - to deal with Haneef first - was that it always seemed to me and I think I said so because I was asked by the media to comment and it just seemed to me that the timing of the cancellation of Dr Haneef's visa, which wasn't for the purpose of getting him out of the country at all, it was to negative the effect of a magistrate's decision to grant him bail was just phenomenal. I don't know whether I'm wrong about this but it seemed to me then that that was simply an abuse of executive power and I don't think I've had any reason to change my view about that. The timing was just phenomenal.

Because politicians these days are so driven by their perception of what the electorate thinks you can assume that politicians do this because they think it's what the electorate want and, regrettably, opinion polls in relation to things like immigration and terrorism support that. And for a while I thought that the mood of the electorate was changing. I believed for a while that

1	people - and I don't just mean people to the left. I
2	think there are people - genuine true conservatives both
3	in this country and in the United States who are just
4	appalled by the way these things are occurring. And I
5	think there are a lot of people in the electorate on both
6	sides of the old-fashioned left, right wing divide who
7	would love to see leaders come on to the political scene
8	who could show some genuine idealistic leadership and my
9	feeling about it is that until that happens it's going to
10	be very difficult to shift public opinion and until
11	public opinion is shifted these kinds of executive
12	interferences and declarations of guilt, as you refer to,
13	are going to continue because they think it holds their
14	job for them and, unfortunately, I think in many respects
15	they're right about that.
16	MR BURNSIDE: Julian Burnside, barrister. Just a footnote to
17	Ian's question. I recently did a two-day case in which
18	my client and I spent most of the two days sitting
19	outside the hearing room because the Attorney-General had
20	certified that neither my client nor I was entitled to
21	hear the evidence or hear the submissions. It was a very
22	disarming experience. But my question is this. In the
23	trial that David Hicks was to face the Commission was
24	allowed to receive evidence obtained by coercion. Two
25	recent High Court judgments have held that confessional
26	evidence which has been obtained by trickery, whether by
27	the police lying to the accused and saying falsely that
28	the evidence will not be used against them, that evidence
29	is held to be admissible and I wonder if you'd like to
30	comment about the effect on the system of confessional
31	evidence obtained whether by coercion or trickery being

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MR LASRY: I should get Pat up here to help me answer this question. I haven't read the judgment although I heard someone talking about it in the last few days. I think the simple answer to the question, Julian, is that - and it was the way on a slightly topic we argued the case in Jack Thomas's case - that when people are under interrogation by police in whatever circumstances then there is no place for the use of force, the overbearing of their will or deception, because once those people have been asked the question and given the incriminating answer they're stuck with it for the process.

The High Court now take - I think they take in that case what they regard as a realistic view and I think they probably also have done an analysis which suggests that in the end in the particular case which I think was a case of a rather violent home invasion or two home invasions the violence displayed was - and they don't say it in these terms - but the violence displayed was such that the police really have to have the complete support of the courts to do whatever they can do to obtain the evidence that they need to get guilty people convicted.

And I think that does bring us to some of the tension in the debate about how far are we prepared to go and I don't think the guilt of lack of it of the person under investigation is the test. I think the test is how far do we want our law enforcement agencies to be able to go to extract what might be incriminating evidence. In the end do we think that it's much more important to get that evidence than to maintain the standards by which we've lived up until now and I think the answer to your

- question is that those decisions are obviously a
 departure from that general principle.

 MR NAGLE: My name is James Nagle and I'm a guest here tonight.
- I was listening with interest to an interview of 4 Mr Downer I think on ABC radio a.m. program in the last 5 few days and he was being asked to distinguish his 6 position or justify his position - the government's 7 8 position from that of Mr McLelland in his speech about 9 the death penalty and making applications on behalf of the Bali bombers. The gist of what Mr Downer was saying 10 11 was that we can't be expected to waste taxpayers' money as advocates for foreign nationals who are subjected to 12 13 the death penalty but if they're Australians at risk 14 we'll do everything in our power, you know, even go so 15 far as to say we'll act very robustly to defend 16 Australians. I thought, well hang on, there are two cases that you've been involved in in recent years that 17 18 don't sit comfortably with that. There was the Van 19 Nguyen case where it seemed only got out to the public arena very late in the piece but apparently there was 20 some mechanism where the Federal Government could have 21 22 laid charges that would have been - put Van Nguyen in a 23 position where he would've been - the Singapore
- 26 MR LASRY: Would have required him as a witness against others, 27 that was the idea.

Government would have been advised to extradite him to

MR NAGLE: And Mr Howard and Mr Downer encouraged that they'd
done everything they could for Van Nguyen and he was
still hanged. And the other case was that in the Bali
nine case Mr Rush would've been convicted - it doesn't

Australia.

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1 seem to get the publicity it deserves, but his father apparently got wind of this and went to the Federal 2 police or went to the police, he wanted his son to get a 3 4 good shaking up but expected that they'd treat his information with due sensitivity and I mean there's 5 something really smelly about that whole case. 6 MR LASRY: Yes, there is. 7 8 It seems they've basically set up where rather than MR NAGLE: 9 being arrested in Australia on the basis of informant 10 information, they've subjected to the death penalty in 11 Indonesia. I don't expect you to comment on that latter case but in those two instances it seems to me that 12 13 there's not a lot of difference between the Federal 14 Government's position and that of the Bush administration on the torture of suspects where they say "We're opposed 15 16 to torture" but they're not opposed to (indistinct) to some other country where they'll be subjected to all 17 18 sorts of terrible conduct. What I was saying to you in 19 the Van Nguyen case - Mr Moloney said you're happy to be questioned vigorously. What happened with that issue 20 21 about the witnessing where he could be extradited as a 22 witness? Was that only an afterthought that only 23 occurred to the defence team late in the day or was it 24 always an issue where it only emerged in the public arena 25 so late that it didn't really get much - - -26 MR LASRY: No, it emerged in the public arena late. Van had 27 given a lot of information to the AFP over a period of time and in the end what we were dependent upon was a 28

willingness by the AFP to lay a charge effectively
against the man who procured his trip and in the end they
wouldn't do it, they said there wasn't enough evidence.

And, indeed, we were endeavouring to persuade the DPP about that right up until the last weeks. It would have meant that we would've been able to say to the Singaporeans "You're going to now execute the main Crown witness in a case in Australia" and we thought that that probably would have at least gained some time. So that's what happened in that case.

Can I just say very quickly what I think the problem is, because this debate has been totally diverted by, I think, in a sense mischief on the part of the government. Australia has legally an international position of opposition to the death penalty. We ratified the second optional protocol in 1990. Our position is we're opposed to it in all circumstances. It's absolutely right to say that the only diplomatic representations we can make is for Australians who are in that situation. That's the government's role. It's not for the government to make diplomatic representations on behalf of the Bali bombers. No one is suggesting they should do that. But the other point that's made is that what Australia should do, consistent with its now 17 year old position, is to in effect lead a debate and a campaign in South-East Asia for the abolition and to be uniformly against it so that when politicians are asked "What do you think about the execution of the Bali bombers" they would say "We are opposed to the death penalty in all circumstances, in every case we're opposed to it". The rest of this business about representations is a diversion. And I must say, I read with horror - and I really mean that - I read with horror today that the Prime Minister is quoted in this morning's Age as observing that a movement away

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1	from the death penalty has been "festering". I think
2	that's a most unfortunate comment to make in the present
3	circumstance.

DR ZUBOVIC: John Zubovic. I'm an anaesthetist. I joined the Medico-Legal Society to see how much share insight there was and I'm very pleased by the talk you've given tonight because I'd like to say welcome to a road much travelled. As medical practitioners we've faced a lot of the things that you're now starting to face and I'm glad - and I hope that gives you insight into our position. instance, the way we deal with terrorism is to immunise the population and what's frustrating is that you give individual rights to people who want to become non-immunised and therefore potentially able to spread the virus and so that's the insight we have as medical practitioners.

And so you mentioned Betty King and her comment about having a jury. Well, she made comment also, if I may add to it, is that she said "It's too much pressure on one judge to make these decisions and after a year they get burnout". Well, as doctors we've had to suffer that for quite a considerable number of years and not had any sympathy given to us at all.

But to get back to your topic, the thing that fascinates me recently is reading the Jerilderie letter and it would be very fascinating to use that as an example of the - Ned Kelly believed he was being accused of the wrong crimes and not being accused of the horses he did steal. Is that what the justice system is all about as I hear the press talk about professional criminals. I can't understand in my own mind that there

1	are professional criminals. Why aren't they in gaol.
2	And I can only assume that we can't nail them for the
3	crimes that they are done. Is that what the justice
4	system is about, that you want due process to show that
5	while we all have appendices we can't operate on one that
6	isn't infected, so we're in the same category you are as
7	far as criminal justice, we can't operate on every
8	appendix to make a living, we've got to prove that it's
9	infected and therefore we have a mandatory right
10	therefore to move it and that's what mandatory rights are
11	about. We have to, for instance, report child abuse
12	because it's mandatory. That's to protect us from being
13	prosecuted by the parents who might think that we're
14	being out of place and I believe that this is what is the
15	case for mandatory death sentence. It's because - either
16	in the case of Sharia law it's mandatory because the
17	population must know that they can't go around killing
18	other people because they themselves will pay the price
19	and so there seems to be some confusion, as you've
20	indicated, that the people are accusing the judge of
21	making that death sentence but he's freed of any
22	responsibility on the basis that all he has to produce is
23	the fact is the patient's guilty and that's mandatory -
24	the government will then execute according to
25	legislation.
26	MR LASRY: Yes. Well, my complaint in Singapore - I think I'm
27	answering your question but I'm not actually confident
28	about this - my complaint is with the government not with
29	the judge and, indeed, I think there was always a
30	question about the independence of the judiciary anyway.
31	But if your question is asking whether or not mandatory

1	sentencing is some kind of an answer then of course it's
2	not because any individual case will have in it
3	circumstances which are completely peculiar to that case
4	and sentencing generally must be conducted on the basis
5	of all the facts and circumstances of the case. It is, I
6	think, impossible to effectively formulate sentences and
7	apply them fairly. The other theme I picked up from your
8	question was a theme which I think you were asking, in
9	effect, about the deterrent value of sentences and the
10	death penalty in particular and I'm happy to refer you to
11	the literature in relation to this but I think those who
12	have examined it in detail over the last few years have
13	come to the view that deterrence simply is not a
14	"benefit" from the death penalty, it simply doesn't deter
15	people and much better more effective research than I've
16	ever conducted seems to have come to that view and
17	therefore the use of the death penalty is diminishing.
18	MR MOLONEY: I've been told that we are out of time. Gabriel
19	Medley says there's time for one question so that means
20	there is.
21	MS STERN: Kate Stern. I'm not legal so I'd like to ask you
22	are there effective mechanisms within the legal
23	profession for you to help improve the situation with
24	respect to fairness for all with these issues with the
25	way terrorism law is being practised? Are you completely
26	impotent or are there ways of being able to improve the
27	situation?
28	MR LASRY: Can I use a different word? It's difficult, is that
29	all right? Governments have all sorts of parliamentary
30	enquiries and committees and so on and they say "And then
31	we're going to do this", they measure the electoral mood

1	and then they say "We're going to do this". And then
2	they put it out for discussion and people - the legal
3	community expresses an opinion. Inevitably, it's an
4	opinion contrary to - for example, the 2005 terrorism
5	laws. But in the end it's a political decision and once
6	the laws are in place then in a sense you're stuck with
7	them and politicians I think regard the public benefit of
8	dispensing lawyers to the boundary as one of the great
9	electoral advantages because they regard us as very
10	poorly regarded in the community so anything they can say
11	about the self interest of lawyers and the desire by
12	lawyers to promote themselves under the guises of public
13	debate they say. And, look, there won't be change until
14	there's a clear public mood for it, I suspect, not the
15	kind of dramatic change that ultimately will have to
16	come.
17	QUESTION: (indistinct) and I felt it was unfair to the victim
18	rather than to the person accused and (indistinct) made a
19	speech saying that she thought the pendulum swung too far
20	in favour of the accused but also that criminal
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21	barristers (indistinct) and criminals were clearly
22	barristers (indistinct) and criminals were clearly guilty. I wonder whether you could comment on that.
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22	guilty. I wonder whether you could comment on that.
22 23	guilty. I wonder whether you could comment on that. MR LASRY: This is an often asked question, isn't it, Patrick?
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22232425	guilty. I wonder whether you could comment on that. MR LASRY: This is an often asked question, isn't it, Patrick? In the end, it's important to know that as criminal defence lawyers it's not our job to make any judgment
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222324252627	guilty. I wonder whether you could comment on that. MR LASRY: This is an often asked question, isn't it, Patrick? In the end, it's important to know that as criminal defence lawyers it's not our job to make any judgment about the guilt or lack of it of our clients. It's just not something you have to think about. I mean you have
22232425262728	guilty. I wonder whether you could comment on that. MR LASRY: This is an often asked question, isn't it, Patrick? In the end, it's important to know that as criminal defence lawyers it's not our job to make any judgment about the guilt or lack of it of our clients. It's just not something you have to think about. I mean you have to think about it in a tactical and forensic sense but

whoever that person is the best defence they can have in
the particular case and if they're acquitted well they're
usually acquitted because the evidence wasn't sufficient
and that's the way the system should work. The verdict
is not guilty or innocent. The verdict is guilty or not
guilty. That is, can the prosecution prove beyond
reasonable doubt all the essential elements of the crime
and if they can't they should be acquitted.

There are all sorts of examples. Perhaps the Walsh Street shootings is a good example where those charged with that offence, you would think looking at the material, are almost certainly guilty of that offence but the Crown pinned its case to an informer who had no credibility ultimately in the course of the case and the jury said "not guilty" and it was exactly the right verdict because otherwise to convict people on the basis of speculation or information delivered in the media is obviously the wrong way to go about it. So, yes, it's satisfying when a client is acquitted but it's satisfying because apart from anything else it reinforces your feeling that the system works as it should.

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thanks again to Lex.

MR HURLEY: Thank you all. There's a lot of food behind those

doors I think waiting to come in, so thanks again and