PROCEEDINGS AT HEARING OF NOVEMBER 20, 2020

COMMISSIONER AUSTIN F. CULLEN

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1	November 20, 2020
2	(Via Videoconference)
3	(PROCEEDINGS COMMENCED AT 9:30 A.M.)
4	THE REGISTRAR: Good morning. The hearing is now
5	resumed. Mr. Commissioner.
6	THE COMMISSIONER: Thank you, Madam Registrar. Yes,
7	Mr. Davis.
8	MR. DAVIS: Yes, Mr. Commissioner. The next witness
9	will be Dr. Michael Levi of Cardiff University,
10	Dr. Levi previously testified in the overview
11	portion of the commission hearings by way of a
12	panel on June 5th and 8th, 2020.
13	And, Madam Registrar, I can advise that
14	Dr. Levi will affirm.
15	THE COMMISSIONER: Thank you.
16	MICHAEL LEVI, a witness
17	called for the
18	commission, affirmed.
19	THE REGISTRAR: Please state your full name and spell
20	your first name and last name for the record.
21	THE WITNESS: Michael Levi. M-i-c-h-a-e-l L-e-v-i.
22	THE REGISTRAR: Thank you.
23	THE COMMISSIONER: Yes, Mr. Davis.
24	MR. DAVIS: Thank you.
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EXAMINATION BY MR. DAVIS:

- 1 Q Dr. Levi, can you see and hear me okay?
- 2 A Yes, I can. Thank you.
- 3 Q I'd like to start off with a quick review of
- 4 your experience and education.
- 5 MR. DAVIS: Madam Registrar, if I could ask that you
- 6 please pull up exhibit 21 onto the screen,
- 7 please.
- 8 Q And do you see the document displayed there,
- 9 Dr. Levi?
- 10 A I do.
- 11 Q And does this still reflect an accurate copy of
- 12 your CV?
- 13 A Yes, it does.
- MR. DAVIS: Thank you, Madam Registrar. I won't need
- that displayed any longer.
- 16 Q I don't intend you -- to take you through your
- 17 CV in its entirety, Dr. Levi, as commission
- 18 counsel conducted a more thorough review on the
- 5th of June, 2020, but could you begin by
- 20 summarizing your educational background for the
- 21 Commissioner, please.
- 22 A Okay. Well, a long time ago I studied as
- Oxford, then Cambridge, then Southampton, where
- I did my PhD in 1972 on the organization and
- control of bankruptcy fraud. I then got a job

1		at Cardiff University in 1975 as a lecturer, and
2		I subsequently obtained a higher doctorate for
3		my for the corpus of my work on economic
4		crime in 2007, which is the degree is called
5		a DSc(Econ), a Doctor of Science in Economics.
6	Q	And you've been a professor at Cardiff since
7		1991; is that right?
8	А	Yes, that's correct. Yeah.
9	Q	And what are your main areas of research?
10	А	My main areas of research are fraud, money
11		laundering, corruption and terrorism, terrorist
12		finance and transnational organized crime.
13	Q	Thank you. And you are a member of the academic
14		advisory group of the law commission proceeds of
15		crime project; is that right?
16	A	That's one of the things that I have done. It's
17		now terminated because the commission recently
18		published its report about over 700 pages,
19		even longer than the ones that I prepared for
20		this one.
21	Q	Well, instead, then, Dr. Levi of asking you what
22		are your responsibilities I'd ask what were your
23		responsibilities in that role, and could you
24		tell us briefly about the paper that was
25		produced.

1	А	Yeah, the my role in that was relatively
2		modest. I have been involved in proceeds of
3		crimes research since the '90s. And I was on
4		the cabinet office performance and innovation
5		unit team that produced the precursor to the
6		Proceeds of Crime Act 2002 and my role on the
7		law commission's project, which was to look at
8		the adequacy or otherwise of the law on proceeds
9		of crime since that POCA 2002 legislation and to
10		see how, if at all, it should be updated in the
11		light of the experience with it since. So I
12		brought my periodic acquaintance with proceeds
13		of crime efforts in the interim period and I
14		suppose a reasoned skepticism about the likely
15		impact of any changes that may be brought about.
16	Q	Thank you. And
17	А	And we've been having some hearings since the
18		publication of the report we've had a couple of
19		general hearings and also specialist hearings
20		earlier on this week with the law society's
21		criminal law committee, which I was a
22		representative on.
23	Q	Thank you. And, Dr. Levi, you also serve as the
24		co-chair of the Wales branch of the British
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Society of Criminology; is that correct?

- 1 A That is correct.
- 2 Q What are your responsibilities in that role?
- 3 A Well, we hold seminars and -- with invited
- 4 speakers on selected topics. These days like
- 5 this hearing, remotely, but in normal times we
- 6 hold in person meetings on a variety of
- 7 subjects. For example, I'm due to talk on a
- 8 project I've just done which is looking at the
- 9 relationship between fraud, economic crises and
- 10 pandemics.
- 11 Q Thank you.
- MR. DAVIS: And, Madam Registrar, if I could ask that
- you please display the document titled "Lawyers,
- 14 Their AML Regulation and Suspicious Transaction
- Reporting," report for the Cullen Commission
- 16 2020, from the list of documents, please. Thank
- 17 you.
- 18 Q And, Dr. Levi, can you see this document on your
- 19 screen?
- 20 A I can.
- 21 Q And do you recognize it as a report on the
- 22 anti-money laundering of lawyers that you
- 23 prepared for the commission?
- 24 A I do.
- MR. DAVIS: Mr. Commissioner, I'd ask that this

1	please be marked as the next exhibit.
2	THE REGISTRAR: Mr. Commissioner, the next number is
3	244.
4	MR. DAVIS: You may be muted, Mr. Commissioner.
5	THE COMMISSIONER: Thank you. Yes. Thank you, Mada
6	Registrar. 244.
7	EXHIBIT 244: Report entitled "Lawyers, their
8	AML regulation and suspicious transaction
9	reporting" Professor Michael Levi, Cardiff
10	University, for the Cullen Commission, 2020
11	MR. DAVIS: Madam Registrar, I won't need that
12	document displayed for the time being. Thank
13	you.
14	Q Dr. Levi, could you explain to the Commissioner
15	the context in which this report was prepared.
16	A Yes. I was asked to look at a range of
17	countries' experiences in regulating the legal
18	profession in relation to money laundering,
19	which, as my report suggests, and is still
20	alive and an evolving issue in many
21	jurisdictions with the general aim that the
22	commission might look at those experiences, and
23	some of the respondents to the commission might
24	as well, and see what, if any, lessons could be
25	drawn from those varied experiences for you to

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- make up your own mind about ways forward.

 And what jurisdictions are covered in your report?
- 4 Α They are mostly European jurisdictions, which 5 includes the UK -- they're no longer a member of 6 the EU -- but it also includes Australia briefly 7 and the US briefly. I was not asked to look at 8 the Canadian experience, and you will have more knowledge of that yourself, but the -- I looked 9 10 in more detail at the UK's experience than that of other jurisdiction but also not only because 11 12 of the Quebec analogy with France, but I looked 13 in some detail at the French experience and at 14 the Dutch, Italian, Spanish and Swedish 15 experience.
 - Q Thank you. And before we get into more specific questions, I'd ask, Dr. Levi, what cautions or caveats the Commissioner should have in mind applying the analysis or the lessons learned to Canada in light of the fact that, as you've just stated, the report relates predominantly to the EU, the UK and the US.
- 23 A Well, I think that the comparative work is 24 always difficult. When I was on the Royal 25 Commission on Criminal Justice, we had

1	discussions, and one Commissioner said to me, I
2	don't know why we look at other jurisdictions;
3	we never actually really learn very much from
4	them. But I remain hopeful because, after all,
5	to the extent that money laundering is a global
6	phenomenon and to the extent that the Financial
7	Action Task Force and other bodies, including
8	the UNODC and OECD, try and have some
9	transnational purchase on their policies and
10	claim that this is a kind of international body,
11	it would be odd if other countries' experience
12	told us nothing about steps to avoid.
13	Now, I think it's fair and as a lot of my
14	work is comparative, I would always say this.
15	It's fair to say that we need to take into
16	account the particular history and situation and
17	in some cases constitution of different
18	countries when we try and work out what lessons
19	we should adopt and what we should avoid. But I
20	think it would be a retrograde idea to say that
21	we can never learn from any other countries'
22	experience simply because they are not us.
23	The temptation historically is only to look
24	at Anglophone jurisdictions. That, for example,

has been the history of the British parliament,

1		or the UK parliament, typically goes to the US,
2		very occasionally Canada and Australia, but
3		seldom to mainland Europe. But I do think that
4		the variety of the jurisdictions which I looked
5		at in some brevity because I had not done that
6		previous to being asked to write this report, in
7		the same level of depth I did a small study in
8		the 2000s of the UK, the Netherlands, France and
9		Italy and the way that they were then regulated
10		at a time when there was far less pressure. But
11		in general people haven't looked in a
12		comparative way, and I think that you can learn
13		a lot, provided that you take into account the
14		specifics of the country and any constitutional
15		issues that might be relevant.
16	Q	And on that point, Dr. Levi, are there any other
17		limitations that you can advise the Commissioner
18		regarding the scope or depth with which you were
19		able to examine the countries in your report?
20	А	Yes. Without being either too modest or too
21		arrogant, I mean, this was a rapidly conducted
22		exercise. I tried to uncover what I could from
23		the published documents in the different
24		countries, not just Financial Action Task Force
25		evaluation reports but also the documents that

1		the bar associations produced, any academic
2		research, most of it descriptive, that I could
3		find, and the legislation.
4		So within what could be achieved in a fer
5		weeks, I think I've done a fairly thorough job,
6		but it's not but whereas in many of my
7		research projects I may spend many months
8		or years researching before I produce something,
9		I would describe this as a light touch review.
10		So there may be areas that I have failed to
11		uncover, but I would defend myself on the
12		grounds that I spent a good deal more time than
13		I anticipated or the commission probably
14		anticipated in preparing this document.
15	Q	And with that, Dr. Levi, my first area of
16		questioning relates generally to the
17		international response to the threat of legal
18		professionals' potential involvement in money
19		laundering.
20		And with reference to page 1 of your report
21		what are the three issues you describe with
22		respect to legal professionals that anti-money
23		laundering legislation and rules attempt to
24		address?
25	А	Well, they're really and in my previous answer I

1	probably omitted that I do have a lot more
2	intensive involvement in the UK regulatory scene
3	as far as lawyers is concerned.
4	First of all, lawyers can be primary
5	offenders. They commit fraud, they on their
6	own or in active combination with others,
7	usually for financial benefit but sometimes
8	because they're being blackmailed or because
9	they're faced with financial ruin and they
10	decide that crime is their way forward. Those
11	crimes are mostly fraud, but they can be other
12	things. But in the course of that, they can
13	also launder money.
14	And the second area is lawyers as crime
15	facilitators. Providing legal services to the
16	establishment of corporate and other legal
17	instruments, fronts for crime commission and all
18	money laundering with various degrees of
19	consciousness or suspicion of the purposes. And
20	it's not possible sometimes to know how
21	conscious they were that they were helping a
22	criminal scheme. But nevertheless they
23	facilitate crime even if they're not conscious
24	of the fact that it is a crime.

And the third area is lawyers as victims or

1		neutral intermediaries who are hacked. For
2		example, there's been a lot of discussion about
3		business email compromise in which lawyers
4		somebody thinks that they're sending money for a
5		house purchase to their lawyer but actually
6		they're sending it to a scammer who has
7		impersonated the lawyer who's got control over
8		the accounts and has switched the accounts so
9		that they are not actually sending it to the
10		lawyer's account; they are sending it to the
11		scammer's account. That's one kind of thing.
12		Or they're hacked, you know, either for exposé
13		journalism, like Mossack Fonseca, or as an
14		unwitting counterparty in some form.
15		So I think I've tried to focus on the first
16		two of those areas in this report.
17	Q	Thank you. And looking I'm jumping ahead a
18		bit here to page 37 for reference. You describe
19		several of the principal ways that lawyers
20		become involved in money laundering and I you
21		know, it doesn't have to mirror the report, but
22		what are some of the ways that lawyers do become
23		involved in money laundering?
24	А	Well, if you're under pressure and of course
25		in a way lawyers' incomes have been often

1	declining in the COVID period, just to take an
2	example, or in times of economic crisis then
3	people are tempted we know from general
4	white-collar crime research that people try and
5	avoid a deterioration in their lifestyle.
6	Obviously not many lawyers turn to fraud or
7	money laundering when that happens; otherwise
8	the rate of money laundering and fraud would be
9	much greater than it is. But the but some
10	are attempted.
11	Others get involved in perhaps yeah,
12	there's been a lot of concern about gambling,
13	not just in the kind of context of the Cullen
14	Commission but in the terms of both online
15	gambling and gambling in casinos. And some
16	people really enjoy, they get hooked on gambling
17	and they develop debts, and lawyers are included
18	amongst the people who fall victim to that kind
19	of addiction.
20	And they get blackmailed or perhaps they
21	have a taste for fast women and slow horses or
22	perhaps they get blackmailed because of
23	homosexuality in those countries or extramarital
24	affairs.

So for all of those reasons people can get

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Right.

drawn into a criminal web, and sometimes there's 1 also a personality affinity. People like the 2 3 company of criminals. It's more exciting than 4 the normal world they live in and unfortunately 5 that affinity can sometimes lead them on the 6 road to ruin. 7 Q And what can you tell the Commissioner about why 8 organized crime would want a lawyer to be involved in a money laundering scheme? What's 9 10 the utility from the perspective of an organized crime group? 11 12 MS. HERBST: May I just -- I do apologize for the 13 interruption. This is Ludmila Herbst for the 14 law society. Just for the benefit of 15 participants following along, is there a 16 reference that Mr. Davis could provide to the 17 report for that? 18 MR. DAVIS: Yes. It's at page 2 of the report. And, 19 Mr. Commissioner, I will continue to provide 20 citations where I can. Thank you. 21 THE WITNESS: Sorry, was there a question? MR. DAVIS: 22 23 Q Yes, there was, Dr. Levi. Looking at page 2 of 24 the report.

1	Q	I'm wondering if you can tell the Commissioner
2		about the utility of lawyer involvement in money
3		laundering schemes.
4	А	Okay. Well, it's very useful for lawyers to
5		have lawyers fronting up an operation because
6		lawyers justifiably have a reputation for
7		respectability, not just in Canada but around
8		the world. So it's a good idea to try to
9		recruit them. So if you can get them as a
10		director of a scheme, then that's even better.
11		Or if you can get them to testify that the
12		scheme is honest, then that's another good
13		technique. They may also be needed to or
14		notaries as well depending on the
15		jurisdiction to transfer property, to buy up
16		property. I mean, real estate is one of
17		remains one of the most common and simplest
18		areas into which proceeds from crime are
19		laundered that we know about. And so a lawyer's
20		signature may be necessary for those kinds of
21		things.
22		And lawyers are able to establish
23		corporations and other vehicles of ownership.
24		They're not the only ones. For example, you can
25		buy off-the-shelf companies in many

1		jurisdictions without necessarily having a
2		lawyer there. And as assistance to launderers
3		by introducing criminals to financial
4		institutions. People often see this as a way of
5		legitimating whereby in the know your customer
6		process of customer due diligence. If you're
7		introduced by a lawyer you're still supposed to
8		do your due diligence, but this is often
9		regarded as some kind of fiat of respectability
10		to the client.
11	Q	And turning gears for just a moment. Looking at
12		page 6 of your report, you discuss some of the
13		work done by the FATF with respect to legal
14		professionals. I'd ask what can you tell the
15		Commissioner about the recent work done by the
16		FATF with respect to legal professionals?
17	А	Yeah, well, the FATF produced a quite long
18		document in 2019 and basically, unlike some of
19		the earlier typologies which had very little
20		professional involvement from the private
21		sector, what this represented a kind of
22		change in FATF thinking, so there was quite a
23		bit of mostly European legal involvement in the
24		preparation of those guidelines. And it
25		certainly improved the sophistication of its

before.

1	guidance, partly due to being more open to
2	private sector submissions but also through
3	learning a lot more about how lawyers go about
4	their business.
5	I don't actually cite the 2019 guidance much
6	in detail because I didn't think it was
7	necessary, but recommendation 22, for example,
8	provides that customer due diligence and
9	recordkeeping requirements apply to legal
10	professionals when they prepare for and carry
11	out certain specified activities for their
12	clients, namely buying and selling real estate,
13	managing of client money, securities or other
14	assets, management of bank savings or security
15	accounts, organization of contributions for the
16	creation, operation or management of companies
17	and the creation, operation or management of
18	legal persons or arrangements and buying and
19	selling of business entities.
20	So it gives quite a lot of detail about the
21	kinds of things that lawyers should do and
22	should not do, should be aware of the risks of
23	doing in that guidance, which is much fuller and
24	more sophisticated than anything they did

1	Q	And, Dr. Levi, you've gone a little bit ahead of
2		me here, but I'll jump ahead to ask. That list
3		of transaction types that you've just discussed
4		pursuant to the guidance, what is your view on
5		the scope of those transactions for so I
6		suppose I'll phrase it this way: in your view,
7		is that list of transactions adequate to address
8		the risk that you see might arise from lawyers
9		becoming involved in money laundering?
10	A	Yes, I think it is. Perhaps if I may evolve
11		the question a little bit.
12	Q	Please.
13	А	There's always an issue in anti-money laundering
14		about how far any regulatory process should go.
15		As somebody who has been involved in money
16		laundering research since 1988, it's expanded a
17		lot from those early days when it was seen very
18		much in terms of drug dealers putting cash from
19		drug sales into the system and finding ways of
20		hiding it and becoming respectable. Like the
21		movie The Godfather. So and perhaps not just
22		from drugs, from extortion, from racketeering,
23		et cetera.
24		So the question about what are the proper
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limits of anti-money laundering is largely

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1	played out in the political arena and there
2	hasn't been very much conceptual analysis of the
3	costs and benefits of the extension of the AML
4	remit. And it's not for me as a mere academic
5	to state what those limits should be. I'm not
6	sure that my view about its limits are worth any
7	more than any of the people listening to this
8	session, but the so in a way you've asked me
9	a normative question about the proper limits.

I would say empirically that those areas cover the kind of areas in which lawyer abuse has been identified, either willing lawyer abuse or unwilling lawyer abuse, and there are various subsets of that which we may get into later about trusts and various other legal constructions, but it was intended to cover those without going too far in FATF terms. But in a sense the kickback for FATF is what the -what its member states will tolerate. And the same thing applies to the European Union's anti-money laundering policy.

Like many areas of crime control, it expands to or contracts depending on what the political market will bear. So there's both a political realism component and a "to what problems might

1		this be a solution" component in this. But to
2		the to what problems might this be a
3		solution, I think it goes far enough until
4		different kinds of abuses might get exposed in
5		the future, in which case they'll re-evaluate
6		the application.
7	Q	And, Dr. Levi, what is your view on the utility
8		of the sorts of broad guidance documents like
9		the guidance to legal professionals that you
10		just discussed?
11	А	What the FATF tried to do and I think the
12		involvement just not just of Anglo-Saxon
13		jurisdictions but of civil law jurisdictions in
14		the formulation and the review of their
15		importance, when I was involved in reviewing the
16		whole evaluation process, the country evaluation
17		process of anti-money laundering in the early
18		part of the last decade, one of the points that
19		was sorry, I'll just for some reason my
20		phone is on.
21		When I was involved in the in reviewing
22		the evaluation of anti-money laundering process,
23		one of the things that many people said to me
24		is, ah, but the trouble is the FATF has become
25		a and its evaluation process has become very

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1	Anglo-Saxon, and it doesn't take into account
2	enough of the continental European processes
3	which are different. I don't think that's as
4	true now as it was then, and I don't think it's
5	as true of this guidance, which does try to look
6	at legal professional privilege or professional
7	secrecy as the continental jurisdictions
8	generally refer to it more.

But the point is that can't cover, without being totally incoherent, every nuance of different countries; otherwise it would be prescribing a total system. The way I like to think about it is that OECD and the transnational bribery convention had this concept of functional equivalence whereby it didn't matter so much whether you -- for example, you had corporate criminal liability for transnational bribery because many European continental jurisdictions thought this was completely improper, so long as you had a method of punishing corporations so they didn't have an incentive in France or Germany or Austria or Switzerland for violating the rules. So you looked at -- not so much at the form as the concept.

1	Q	And that leads me to my next question, Dr. Levi.
2		And you noted at page 6 of your report that
3		there are and plausibly remain many national
4		differences in the implementation of FATF
5		principles. And you cite politically exposed
6		persons and enhanced due diligence; is that
7		right?
8	А	That is correct.
9	Q	And my question to you is what risks, if any, in
10		your view does a lack of harmonization
11		whether that be between countries or, in the
12		case of Canada, between provinces, what risk
13		does a lack of harmonization present for the
14		legal profession?
15	А	Well, one thing I mean, one risk that it does
16		present is that people can forum shop for
17		lawyers. So they might find lawyers in less
18		regulated jurisdictions or, in the case of
19		Canada, less regulated provinces to do their
20		business for them. It's difficult to assess how
21		often that happens. There aren't any studies of
22		that that I have seen, but I think one of the
23		constraints on that is that having a lawyer from
24		a different jurisdiction doing it can raise
25		people's suspicion. Like, you know, why are

1	they getting a lawyer from there rather than a
2	lawyer that is more local to do the job? So
3	people in a sense have to have a rationale for
4	that process, if anybody asks. But the but
5	that kind of, if you like, it's not quite forum
6	shopping, but it's the equivalent of that.
7	Now, some of the international bodies,
8	policing bodies say organized crime moves
9	mellifluously across borders and will likely
10	employ lawyers to do that if they're frustrated
11	somewhere. There's a kind of displacement
12	theory of everything. It's not as easy as that,
13	in my opinion and from the research that I and
14	many other people have done, because you need to
15	have a lot more local knowledge and a lot more
16	local contact to be able to do that. But there
17	is a risk that that can happen and there's also
18	a collateral damage risk which may be different
19	from a crime risk, which is that the
20	international community through the FATF and
21	through other bodies may punish the jurisdiction
22	and in a sense thereby indirectly punish the
23	legal profession for failing to adhere to its
24	international norms. I mean, that is the

whole -- ever since the FATF discovered and

1		created the its blacklisting and greylisting
2		process, that is what has been happening. It's
3		mostly poorer countries that have been punished,
4		but in general it's bad for countries'
5		reputations if they fall short in some respects.
6		Some countries can survive that more easily than
7		others.
8		So there's both the assisting laundering
9		component and there's the political and economic
10		consequences for the reputation of the country
11		that may be affected.
12	Q	Thank you, Dr. Levi. And the next portion of my
13		examination, I'll ask you about some of the
14		general themes that you saw through your review
15		of the various countries' anti-money laundering
16		regimes with respect to legal professionals and.
17		And I'll start by asking you about a quote
18		at page 2. And I'll read here that:
19		"Obviously any analysis of the adequacy of
20		lawyer regulation is predicated upon what
21		has been investigated and therefore is
22		known about, and this in turn is affected
23		by the powers of the investigative
24		authorities as well as their priorities."
25		Can you unpack that statement for the

1		Commissioner. Sorry, I appreciate I didn't give
2		you a chance to find it.
3	А	Yeah, it's okay. I think that is a perfectly
4		reasonable question. I apologize for the
5		denseness of my expression.
6		The I mean, what I'm getting at is
7		something that hasn't been addressed adequately
8		in the international sphere, in my personal
9		view. You know, whatever we know about money
10		laundering is influenced by the cases that we
11		dealt with. And not necessarily the cases that
12		have led to conviction, but at least the cases
13		that have been investigated, written about,
14		internally communicated within enforcement
15		bodies, banks, the legal profession, et cetera.
16		So if something hasn't been investigated
17		properly, perhaps because of legal professional
18		privilege, perhaps because, quite rightly I
19		would say, lawyers' offices can't be bugged as
20		easily as my office could be. And you can see
21		from its state of tidiness that it would be
22		pretty easy to hide a bug in my office except
23		that I do occasionally have it swept.
24		But the because it's not allowed for
25		lawyers' offices to be bugged in most parts of

1	the world and certainly even if it's done
2	improperly, they know that that evidence, that
3	intelligence can't be used in evidence.
4	Therefore we don't know as much as we might
5	otherwise do about what malfeasance lawyers have
6	been up to, the extent to which they have
7	actively conspired with offenders or whether
8	they are just mugs in some cases. And very
9	smart people as we know, and I speak as an
10	expert in fraud, very smart people become
11	victims of fraud. It's easy to be taken in by
12	smooth criminals and to believe that you're
13	assisting a brilliant scheme that will make
14	everybody rich that turns out to be a Ponzi
15	scheme. Look at the people who lost not just in
16	Bre-X and other historic Canadian cases but in
17	Madoff and cases like that.
18	So we don't know to the extent to which
19	people actively participated or were victims,
20	and that's because lawyers' premises are
21	regarded as off limits to most law enforcement
22	organizations in most countries. So that's
23	really what and if you add to that the fact
24	that the money laundering components of most
25	crimes, whether they be fraud or drugs

1		trafficking or human trafficking or whatever,
2		are not thoroughly investigated for their money
3		laundering component because what most
4		prosecutors want to do is to get people
5		convicted for substantive offences and the money
6		aspect is often an afterthought in that process.
7		Then that's what I mean by our knowledge
8		depends on what powers the agencies have
9		we'll probably get to that at a later stage
10		as well as what priorities there are. I mean,
11		for example, in most jurisdictions, including
12		Canada, okay, marijuana is now a different in a
13		different category, but drugs offences or
14		terrorism are a much higher priority than fraud
15		and fraud has been historically a bigger
16		priority than, say, environmental crimes, so we
17		know a lot less about environmental crime
18		laundering than we do about fraud laundering and
19		we and know less about fraud laundering than we
20		do about drugs laundering.
21	Q	Thank you. And turning to some more specific
22		questions, Dr. Levi, I'm looking at page 7 of
23		your report where you cite the American Bar
24		Association model rule of professional conduct.
25		What obligations do the model rule of

1		professional conduct or sorry, does the model
2		rule of professional conduct impose on lawyers?
3		Sorry. That was page 7, Dr. Levi.
4	А	Oh, yes, the 2013 one. Yeah. It's mostly
5		they're expected to know who they're dealing
6		with. They are expected to develop some
7		outreach in professional training. There's
8		it doesn't really go very far beyond that.
9		There's a stress on the duty of confidentiality
10		that they owe to their clients, but basically
11		it's know your customer. It's the same kind of
12		obligations that they have to that banks have
13		had for a very long time, but they're not
14		expected to do very much enhanced due diligence
15		in that.
16	Q	And that was my next question is what can you
17		tell your Commissioner about your view of
18		relying on those sorts of ethical obligations or
19		rules of conduct in order to combat potential
20		money laundering through legal professionals?
21	А	That is a very important and very difficult
22		question to answer. In a sense if we had enough
23		information about the level of ethical behaviour
24		that lawyers apply in their everyday life, we
25		might either go for more regulation or tougher

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-	1	external scrutiny or less. If you take the
4	2	principle that any extra obligations imposed on
	3	lawyers need to be justified by hard evidence
2	4	that they're not behaving ethically, then we can
Ţ	5	only do that in the following sort of way, by
(6	looking at cases like for example, the
-	7	permanent subcommittee of investigations in the
8	3	US has exposed many abuses in the abuse of
(9	charities in some of which lawyers have been
1(0	involved with.

Another kind of approach we might take would be a kind of mystery shopping approach which was what Global Witness did in its report -- it's not cited in my report, but I can kind of fill that in -- "Lowering the Bar" where they pretended to be corrupt politicians and they approached US lawyers to ask them to help with their scheme and only one of the dozen people approached -- including the president elect of the American Bar Association, only one of them turned them away. And one of them gave very active advice as to how they might get around the rules. Of those 12, two were disciplined, to my knowledge. And there were no other consequences, to my knowledge, for any of the

1 other firms involved.

2 So in that kind of mystery shopping 3 exercise, then, we can deduce something about 4 how ethical constraints work in practice. That 5 is not a good test for relationships between people who know each other well because if you 6 7 know each other well, you don't need to -- you 8 know, it's not a question of strangers 9 approaching you; it's a question of favour 10 trading or believing that the person you're dealing with is a good person and therefore 11 12 isn't a crook and therefore you don't have to 13 devote as much scrutiny as you otherwise do. 14 So that's a rather long-winded answer to 15 your question, and I'll just add a couple of 16 more points. The -- so if we think it's easy to 17 assert that ethical rules are -- guide our 18 behaviour, it's difficult to falsify, but it's 19 also difficult to prove that it does control 20 your behaviour. And so in a world in which 21 skepticism is applied to claims by professionals

23 to professional lawyers, people want a higher

degree of external accountability than they have

generally, including my own profession but also

done in the past.

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1	So the fact that you've got an ethical rule
2	tells us nothing or very little about the
3	conditions of its application. To find out we
4	need to test it in some way or ask for evidence
5	that it's working. Actually, people very seldom
6	collect data on how many clients they've turned
7	away and there's very seldom except in some
8	rare cases very seldom any requirement to make
9	suspicious activity reports on people you've
10	turned away, even in those jurisdictions where
11	they are making SARs.

And it's easy to see -- it's hard to see how it could be massively improved over the lifetime of this report. All I would say is that the demand for external skeptical scrutiny remains whatever the claims of professionals. We all regard ourselves as virtuous, but how do we demonstrate that in practice?

And responses to mystery shopping. There have been a couple of other examples of that in research studies as well, and they are not encouraging. For example, one study found that in financial services, financial intermediaries in the US were far more likely than those in

1		stigmatized jurisdictions in the Caribbean to
2		bypass know your customer requirements for them.
3		So in a way the more elite the jurisdiction,
4		perhaps the more people feel they can get away
5		with. I don't make any claims to knowledge of
6		whether that happens in Canada or not.
7	Q	Thank you. And you mentioned SARs, suspicious
8		activities reports; is that correct?
9	А	Yeah.
10	Q	I'm just wondering what you can tell the
11		Commissioner about your takeaway regarding the
12		variety of reporting obligations in the
13		countries you examined with respect to
14		suspicious transactions, please.
15	А	Well, in relation to lawyers, I think we have to
16		see this as a work in progress or regress, as
17		some might see it. The different countries in
18		Europe and the European Commission is currently
19		taking proceedings in the European court of
20		justice against Hungary and Poland for their
21		failure to implement European rule of law but
22		also anti-money laundering efforts.
23		So different jurisdictions grew up at a
24		different pace. The UK was the first, I think,
25		to undertake regulation of the legal profession

1	for anti-money laundering purposes and certainly
2	to have any external scrutiny of that. Other
3	jurisdictions Sweden was one of the most
4	recent. But it's important to bear in mind that
5	in Sweden anybody can buy a house. You don't
6	need to use a lawyer or a notary to do it. You
7	can contract a house purchase as a private
8	citizen or as a corporation. And so real estate
9	agents are, you know, possibly the more
10	important group, whereas in the UK real estate
11	agents are relatively unimportant even though
12	the FATF mandates that they be regulated.
13	So I would say that there's a big range from
14	those whose legal professions are regulated
15	almost entirely at a kind of local level to
16	those that are regulated by the bar associations
17	nationally but using a kind of networked
18	approach as in France. And the to countries
19	like Switzerland where they're still fighting
20	over the regulation of the legal profession for
21	a wide range of activities and the government is
22	trying to implement the FATF principles but the
23	legal profession so far is resisting it in many
24	respects and successfully in parliament.

So it's a political process in which the

1		UK and I'm not selling the UK here, but the
2		UK is at the end of the larger number of reports
3		and the larger government scrutiny of those
4		reports. And other jurisdictions are I won't
5		say far behind because that assumes a kind of
6		moral superiority of the British position, but
7		are reporting far less, and it's difficult to
8		see what the impact is of those different
9		systems.
10	Q	On that point, you noted at page 29 of the
11		report that Switzerland in particular requires
12		"significant internal development" before filing
13		an SAR. What can you tell the Commissioner
14		about the Swiss approach and namely your
15		language of "significant internal development"?
16	A	Yeah, well, there remains an active argument
17		about whether more is better in the number of
18		SARs. Some the FATF is generally and many
19		NGOs have taken the view that more is better.
20		And the legal professional is merely one
21		profession that is being pressurized to report
22		more often. And the absence of or relative
23		absence of reports from lawyers is seen as a
24		negative sign of compliance with the system.
25		But in the case of Switzerland partly

because once a report is made, the account is automatically frozen for a few days while the prosecutor decides whether to take the case on or not. So that creates much more of a time pressure on the authorities to do something but also to restrain themselves in their reporting behaviour. And it's part of the cultural norm in Switzerland that they really have to, if you like, be convinced that there is something to the suspicion before they report it to MROS, which is their financial intelligence unit.

That being said, there are -- and it's not in my report, but there are 6,000 reports to MROS that at the end of last year were waiting to be looked at and acted on, which in a relatively low reporting jurisdiction is quite a significant proportion. So in a sense the more pressure we put on bodies to report, the more pressure there may be. It's a hydraulic system. The American satirist and mass professor Tom Lehrer once said life is a like a sewer: what you get out of it depends on what you put into it. And without introducing too much levity into this process, unless you follow up the reports and you have the resources to do that,

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1 then there isn't that much point in getting 2 people to report more.

3 I can talk about the benefits and costs of more reporting. It's not just investigation to 5 prosecution. Reports may usefully tell you where assets are, what -- you know, accounts are 7 fruitful to look into, what aren't. So there are various other benefits from having a lot more reporting, but there are advantages in the 10 Swiss approach but there are also disadvantages. One of which is that a lot of people are 12 reasonably or unreasonably suspicious that the 13 Swiss are hiding a lot of money laundering cases, which in the UK certainly would be 15 reported and the FinCEN files show that not much 16 happened to a lot of the reports. You can't 17 deduce how many from the FinCEN leaks, but not 18 much happened to a lot of the reports that were 19 made.

> And then the banks get criticized for not doing enough to stop it, but actually also the public authorities ought to be criticized for not following up the reports that they received enough.

25 Thank you. And again jumping around a bit here. Q

1		You noted at page 6 of your report that one of
2		the Financial Action Task Force, the FATF,
3		interpretive notes contemplates that legal
4		professionals report not to a financial
5		intelligence unit but to a self-regulatory
6		organization. Is that right?
7	А	Well, that's one of the possibilities that
8		perhaps I expressed myself wrongly, but they're
9		not saying that they shouldn't be reporting to
10		the financial intelligence unit. What they're
11		saying is that in jurisdictions where they don't
12		report to a financial intelligence unit, there
13		should be a process for dealing with stuff.
14	Q	Right. And one of those jurisdictions, which
15		for the record starts at page 11 of the report,
16		is in France. Is that correct?
17	А	That is correct.
18	Q	And what can you tell the Commissioner about the
19		French reporting system?
20	А	Well, the French process is an evolving issue as
21		well. They have changed their system this year.
22		In fact, almost as we speak there are changes
23		going on, and I can forward to the commission
24		the latest changes as of this month in the
25		French system.

1	So the <i>bâtonnier</i> is a central figure in the
2	French profession elected by their peers,
3	endowed with wide disciplinary prerogatives,
4	powers to resolve disputes between advocates,
5	fee disputes with clients. They are
6	intermediaries, but they're more than that.
7	They're rather the most senior professional
8	authority in each bar. In a sense it's a
9	successor to a medieval guild.
10	Generally speaking we now have a third
11	guidance by the Conseil national des barreaux in
12	hand. It's more detailed than the previous
13	guidance and addresses some of the 2020
14	novelties, for example. Expansion of customer
15	due diligence, CDD. Measures to all lawyer
16	activities, in particular in connection with the
17	two reporting safe harbours, which are legal
18	advice and contentious proceedings. This
19	guidance is issued, as I say, by the Conseil
20	national de barreaux which is the overarching
21	federation of the 169 regional bars and control
22	is effected by the regional bars under which
23	each of which is a bâtonnier.
24	Now, the French reporting obligation
25	requires that communication be sent to the head

1		of the regional bar. This is referred to in my
2		half decent French as the filtre du bâtonnier.
3		The bâtonnier's filter. The French profession
4		places a lot of stock on it, referring always to
5		the European Court of Human Rights decision in
6		Michaud 2012. The bâtonnier has to be an
7		advocate who is elected by his peers in each
8		regional bar. Under law advocate suspicious
9		transaction reports cannot be filed directly to
10		the financial intelligence units, though the
11		financial intelligence unit perhaps would like
12		them to, but must be sent to the bâtonnier. The
13		only exception where direct reporting to the FIU
14		is allowed is when the advocate acts as a
15		fiduciary, which is the closest French
16		equivalent to a trustee in Anglo-Saxon
17		jurisdictions, and a very specific situation
18		governed by a very specific type of contract,
19		the fiduciaire. This is probably quite rare but
20		I don't have any data about how common it is.
21	Q	Thank you, Dr. Levi. And just to be clear, how
22		does the intermediary in France address issues
23		of professional secrecy and privilege that might
24		be communicated to it by its members?
25	А	Well, it retains the professional secrecy. It

1		is understood, as actually in a number of
2		jurisdictions, that communication between the
3		would be reporter and the <i>bâtonnier</i> are covered
4		by legal professional privilege themselves and
5		that therefore the, if you like, French
6		government investigators are not allowed to get
7		the information unless the <i>bâtonnier</i> passes it
8		forward for them to be investigated.
9		There's been quite a change. I think in
10		France as in some other jurisdictions, the
11		Netherlands, for example, the Tracfin, the FIU
12		of France, has done a lot of kind of outreach
13		seminars and discussion, so a lot more lawyers
14		feel kind of more confident, as far as I
15		understand it, to report material than used to
16		be the case. And they're also more aware of
17		their responsibilities than used to be the case.
18		But people tell me, and I cannot assess whether
19		it's true or not, that the role of lawyers in
20		French everyday commercial life is less than it
21		might be in, say Canada or the US or the UK.
22	Q	Thank you, Dr. Levi. And you go on at page 10
23		to describe some of the statistics that are
24		provided by the French FIU with respect to legal

professionals. And, Dr. Levi, the Commissioner

1		has heard evidence this week from some witnesses
2		about statistics and/or reports that may have
3		had a mention of lawyers.
4		I'd ask you what qualifications should the
5		Commissioner have in mind when he looks at that
6		sort of FIU data that might have a mention of
7		lawyers in the abstract?
8	А	This is where we get into the difficult issue of
9		evaluation. Those jurisdictions and the UK
10		is one. We've just had the most recent SARs
11		reports this week, over 3,000 reports by lawyers
12		in the latest suspicious activity report data.
13		The nobody knows, and I certainly don't, what
14		the right number of reports is. The I would
15		say that when looking at different countries and
16		trying to make that judgment, first of all you
17		need to take into account what kind of economy
18		is it and how you know, where are lawyers
19		used in that system, where might they be used
20		for money laundering. And that is not a simple
21		blanket answer.
22		But the points I started out by saying
23		suggest that lawyers would be useful in any
24		jurisdiction for money laundering. Less useful
25		in France because of the special role yeah,

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because lawyers don't have clients' accounts in

the same way that, say, British lawyers do and

office accounts because those are dealt with by

a separate organization. And the -- you have to

take that into account.

I don't -- it would be -- one way of interpreting the data generally would be to get evidence from the different jurisdictions. But I would say well, under what conditions do they suspect; what do the few studies of mystery shopping tell us about their willingness to do that in different jurisdictions? The evidence, as I say, is not very strong about the particular role of lawyers in that, and lawyers might well say, well, we approach -- we didn't do that much due diligence initially, but we would have done more at a later stage if they had proceeded with the investigation. So that -- what that might tell you is perhaps they don't do the know your customer initial customer due diligence as much as they should do, but that doesn't mean to say they would be willing to lend themselves to money laundering.

What the British data tell you is that -- I

think British lawyers take their duty seriously

1	and there's a pretty wide coverage, including
2	suspicion of tax fraud. We had a lot of
3	discussion that yeah, if you were acting for a
4	client in a divorce case and you found a little
5	bit of income that hadn't been disclosed to the
6	other party, did you have an obligation to
7	report that. Well, eventually it was decided
8	that no, but there's no the whole area of
9	de minimis reporting is still an active
10	discussion in many jurisdictions. But if we
11	say, well, what is the overall goal of
12	anti-money laundering? It's to focus in general
13	on the important stuff, on the big stuff, rather
14	than on whether somebody is doing some minor
15	social security fraud. Not belittling social
16	security fraud as an issue but it's different
17	from major drugs trafficking, major fraud, major
18	transnational bribery cases.
19	So I would say I would look at it that
20	way. I would say to myself, well, what are the
21	major crimes that we know about in those
22	different countries and how many cases do we
23	is it plausible that the lawyers might have
24	known about that and didn't report they should
25	have had suspicion. Whether they did have

1		suspicion, that is a more difficult question and
2		I'm not sure how we can address that. But if
3		the facts of the situation suggest that the
4		lawyer was involved, well, why weren't they
5		prosecuted? Was that because the prosecutor was
6		scared to take them on? Too much hassle? Those
7		are questions that don't leap out from the data
8		as such and you are asking me about the data.
9		All I'm saying is that in general, if we
10		look at the number of referrals historically
11		to bar associations in those countries that have
12		a self-regulatory system have not been public.
13	Q	Sorry. Dr. Levi, that's referrals for
14	A	The number of referrals to bar to, say, the
15		bâtonnier in the French system
16	Q	Thank you.
17	A	or to its equivalents in Spain, et cetera,
18		have not been public data. But under the new
19		French system, as I understand it, as of this
20		month or last month, they will be made
21		available. In other words, the bâtonnier will
22		have to will be expected to report the number
23		of cases that they have handled kind of
24		internally. But it also makes a difference if
25		you if you are expected under the bar rules

1		to get rid of your client once you've made a
2		suspicious transaction report or activity
3		report, then you can say well, in a sense no
4		harm was done. So yeah, maybe that shows the
5		system is working. What we don't know is
6		whether they went to another lawyer and got
7		their satisfaction from them, and they didn't
8		report.
9		So to come back to Don Rumsfeld's famous
10		known knowns, known unknowns and unknown
11		unknowns, we're in the realm of known unknowns
12		here, and I'm afraid that neither my research,
13		extensive though it's been, nor that of many
14		other people can throw a lot of light on that.
15		So you'll just have to make a reasoned judgment
16		as best you can.
17	Q	And the Commissioner heard evidence this week as
18		well, Dr. Levi, about the feasibility of
19		reporting by lawyers in British Columbia to an
20		intermediary in an environment where lawyers
21		would be expected to withdraw before any such
22		report was made. What thoughts do you have, if
23		any, on that dilemma?
24		And I can rephrase if that's not clear, but
25		I think I've got my question across.

1	А	Yeah. Well, if the system were working well
2		enough, then we wouldn't have many lawyers
3		assisting crime. I mean, the let me try and
4		deal with that conceptually at the risk of
5		boring you.
6		We have there are a series of attrition
7		processes here. Has the lawyer actually
8		suspected anything here? Yeah. Sorry, has the
9		lawyer tried to do their customer due diligence
10		in the way that they are supposed to do it? If
11		they have, did they suspect there was anything
12		dodgy, to use a colloquialism, about the client?
13		If they were fooled, well, yeah, that may be bad
14		for their reputation, but there's no crime here
15		by them.
16		In the case of beneficial owners, how much
17		effort did they put into finding the beneficial
18		owner? And there may be a consensus about how
19		much is enough. In many of the FinCEN files
20		cases, the a lot of the cases had dragged on,

effort did they put into finding the beneficial owner? And there may be a consensus about how much is enough. In many of the FinCEN files cases, the -- a lot of the cases had dragged on, then adverse media appeared about the beneficial owner or some intermediary, and then the bank re-evaluated the situation -- and there weren't, as far as I know, not many lawyer cases in there -- and they came to a different

1	conclusion. So, in other words, initially they
2	thought it was all right and then they realized
3	it wasn't, and then they made their report. So
4	this process can take years.
5	So there may be professional standards that
6	may be imposed as to how much effort and what
7	processes you should do. And there are enough
8	consulting companies ready to advise that kind
9	of thing. You should do into that KYC
10	process. Sorry about the acronyms.
11	The did you suspect if you didn't
12	suspect them, of course you wouldn't make a
13	report, and that's one of the weaknesses in a
14	lot of the discussion about it. But if you did
15	and you're expected to refuse to act for your
16	client, then in a way the job has been done.
17	Unless you've done something for them before you
18	develop that suspicion, in which case, you know,
19	have you reported what you did for them before,
20	and to whom?
21	That I think is the grey area in the system,
22	as you've described it to me, in Canada because
23	if you thought that they were all right, you'd
24	acted for them and subsequently something
25	happens to make you change your mind, you know,

1 without, without -- let us assume -- and I won't 2 name the company. Let us assume you were doing 3 transactions on behalf of a major Canadian 4 construction company and you later found out 5 there was some negative things about that construction company. Do you refuse to act for 6 7 them as of now but perhaps make reports? Do you 8 re-evaluate the things that you did for them in 9 the past and then report that? What's the 10 process by which we come to know about that. So I think it makes a difference how long 11 12 you've -- that they've been your client for or 13 whether this is the early stage of a 14 relationship. Have I explained that --15 You have. And if I --Q 16 -- coherently? Α 17 Yes, you have. Thank you, Dr. Levi. And I go Q 18 on to look at page 48 of your report. Just let 19 me know when you're there so I'm not jumping 20 ahead. 21 Yeah. Α 22 You write that "refusal to act alone," and I'm 23 going to insert here for persons to launder 24 money, "is little deterrence or prevention." 25 And so this ties into the discussion we're

1		having now. Why do you believe that to be the
2		case?
3	А	Well, refusal to act for someone obviously
4		disrupts them and that's a gain. If you turn
5		someone down and they find somebody who is
6		willing to act for them, then that gain is a
7		very marginal gain. It has protected you as a
8		lawyer, it's also denied you. Not you
9		personally, counsel. The it has denied you
10		some income which otherwise you might have got.
11		It's protected your reputation, if it comes out,
12		and only if it comes out. It's protected your
13		reputation, which may be important to you or it
14		may not be. But let's assume for the sake of
15		this argument it is important, so it's protected
16		your reputation. It's denied you some income,
17		but it hasn't denied the criminal the
18		opportunity to launder their funds. And unless
19		they think and this is perhaps something that
20		I didn't I wasn't explicit enough in the
21		phrase that you've quoted about. If it's the
22		case that they try lots of lawyers and lots of
23		lawyers won't act for them, then that is a
24		deterrent. And then we don't know what happens
25		in that situation.

1	So basically it's a bit like with
2	corruption. If you live in a society where you
3	expect most people to be corrupt, you'll make
4	more offers. If you live in a society where you
5	expect most people to be honest, you won't make
6	many offers. And the same applies to
7	approaching lawyers to launder money. So you
8	either refine your approach technique. You
9	learn from the rejection and think well, I need
10	a better explanation for why I'm coming to them.
11	And that's what some criminals do.
12	Some criminals are not smart enough or don't
13	have a good rationale. Others learn to find a
14	better rationale or they may find some third
15	party to give them a rationale. Some
16	professional intermediary consigliere, in
17	Italian, who will give them the advice that they
18	need. No, no, you dumb ass; you should have
19	done X and Y when you should've said X and Y
20	when you approached them, and then they would
21	have taken you on. So they to become more
22	ingenious and more devious.
23	A lot of assumptions are made that money
24	laundering is very complex. A lot of it isn't.
25	Some of it is. But in way you're forcing people

1		to become more sophisticated if they're going to
2		launder their money. But that was what I was
3		getting at. I perhaps expressed myself too
4		cryptically there, but certainly if you just
5		turn someone away and nobody knows you've turned
6		them away, all they've done is lost that one
7		opportunity. There may be others around in
8		their environment. And it's only if they're
9		rejected by lots of people that perhaps they'll
10		realize, well, I can't launder my money; is
11		there any point in continuing to commit crime,
12		or perhaps I'll go to a different country.
13	Q	Thank you. And, Dr. Levi, I'm going to conclude
14		my questions on this report by asking about a
15		few more general questions regarding your
16		analysis. First, what can you tell the
17		Commissioner more general generally, pardon
18		me, about the variation in the anti-money
19		laundering regulation of lawyers that you saw in
20		the countries examined?
21	А	Well, what I saw was that, on the one hand, the
22		FATF and other bodies and yet many
23		jurisdictions have been panned for this. The
24		FATF and particularly anti-corruption
25		organizations like Global Witness, Transparency

1	International, will complain that lawyers are
2	not reporting enough. It's never clear how
3	often that is, but I think it's a fair point to
4	me that if you are a kleptocrat and you want to
5	buy houses or you want to buy businesses in a
6	foreign jurisdiction, then you're probably going
7	to use a lawyer or a notary for and/or a
8	notary for some of those jurisdictions sorry,
9	for some of those transactions. You'll want to
10	keep some money in your home jurisdiction
11	because you need to bribe people locally,
12	sweeten them for elections, if there are any,
13	et cetera. But you'll want to have property and
14	other assets abroad and a lawyer of some kind
15	by "lawyer" I include notaries, and that won't
16	offend for those transactions.
17	And so if we look at the public scandals
18	that there have been, how have the jurisdictions
19	lawyers behaved in those cases, whether or not
20	they've been blamed publicly. I think that's a
21	reasonable question to ask. And Canada hasn't
22	had as many of those scandals as some other
23	jurisdictions my own, the US, Australia
24	but it has had real estate purchases by
25	criminals aplenty, and so that's one of the

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1 questions that you'd address yourself to.

2 So the FATF wants you to do more. Is that a reasonable request? Well, that's for you to 3 4 decide. I think that the jurisdictions that have put the -- some of the jurisdictions that 5 have placed the pressure on lawyers' ethics I 6 think make a reasonable case, but that's only my 7 8 personal view with very limited information. 9 But there have been some very major French 10 scandals involving the corruption of major political figures and corporations that have --11 12 that suggest that the system -- yeah, who is 13 picking up on these scandals? Whose job is it? 14 Is it banks? Is it the lawyers? Who has been 15 disregarding what we now might regard as 16 suspicion in those cases.

So I don't think the French have done a perfect job at all, and the Swiss haven't either, but I think they've done something of a job. It's just very difficult to know how good a job in what proportion of cases that we know about. I think Swiss lawyers, particularly since the country's scandalization starting with Marcos and onwards, yeah, have behaved with more propriety and so have the banks than they used

1	to do in the olden days. But it's very hard to
2	evidence that and I'm I suppose what I'm
3	saying is the jury is out. And it depends how
4	skeptical one wishes to be of the profession's
5	claims and for that you probably need to do
6	which I wasn't asked to do and I didn't do
7	the you might want to look at some of your
8	scandalized cases and say and retrospectively
9	say what was the role of lawyers in those cases?
10	Should they have done or what would it take to
11	get them to do more?
12	But it's not mutually exclusive. You can

have an ethical bar rules and a pressure on internal self-discipline at the same time as having a reporting system. And the final point I'd like to make on that is that, yeah, even if you have a formal reporting system to the financial intelligence unit, that doesn't guarantee that they're are going to do a lot with it. So in a sense the -- FINTRAC and the RCMP in the case of Canada are also on the hook for -- yeah, are they doing enough with the cases that do get reported to them, or the cases where they know about or believe they know about lawyer involvement and they are frustrated in

1		their investigations by.
2	Q	I think that connects nicely with my last
3		question on this report. And if I could ask
4		that you turn to page 48 of the paper. It's the
5		top paragraph, last sentence starting with "some
6		metrics." Let me know when you are there,
7		please, Dr. Levi.
8	A	Yeah.
9	Q	If I could read that for you. It says:
10		"Some metrics of efficiency and
11		effectiveness are more visible than
12		others, but none of the jurisdictions (or
13		the FATF and EU themselves) have grappled
14		successfully with the problem of how to
15		judge effectiveness (or cost-effectiveness)
16		in assessing lawyer performance in money
17		laundering and crime reduction of
18		different kinds."
19		And as my last question on this report, I'd ask,
20		can you explain to the Commissioner what this
21		quote means as he considers recommendations with
22		respect to the legal profession in British
23		Columbia.
24	A	Well, I suppose it was a fancy way of saying,
25		what does good look like, which has been the

thrust of your previous questions as well. And the answer is that we don't really know what --good for what? But we don't really know what "good" looks like. The FATF has its model, and I'm not against, by the way, reporting. I think that lawyers should be held to account for their behaviour as citizens, as academics should, but nobody is trying to do a lot via me as far as I am aware. The -- lawyers do play an important role and it's right that that role should be held to account, but it's not clear what "enough reports" would look like.

The FATF -- I mean, I don't have the answer.

I can't tell you what the metric should be. If

I had, I'd be selling my consultancy services to

the FATF. The -- or giving it because I'm that

kind of person.

But they haven't -- yeah, the temptation has been, and this is true of NGOs as well, we want more. But it's not clear what would be enough, what's adequate. I think if you had a situation where there was no evidence that lawyers were putting much effort into detecting or making themselves as suspicious as they -- as we now think they should be of their clients -- just

because somebody is rich doesn't mean to say

they are honest. Just because somebody doesn't

come from Russia or China doesn't mean to say

they are honest. That's a caricature, but it's

a reasonable one, I think.

So the case for the prosecution is that lawyers have not really wanted to put much effort into that. And even the most recent American Bar Association approach of this year basically -- partly a reaction to the FinCEN files, partly a reaction to other -- to the "Lowering the Bar" exposé, even the latest American Bar Association files, one can be said, okay, you are now talking a much better fight, but are you walking the walk, is a reasonable question.

So the -- asking people how do you evidence the fact that you're now walking the walk is, I think, the right way of approaching this. And if you're not making reports -- and of course, even if you are making a lot of reports, are you making reports on trivial stuff but not on big stuff that is more socially important? Are you reporting on local drug dealers buying small houses but not on kleptocrats buying large

1 mansions?

So for that we need some qualitative insight into the process, and the data don't speak for themselves in terms of numbers. We need to look qualitatively at the kind of reports that are made, if we're legally allowed to, and assess whether that indicates that people are doing their job in all the spheres that they should be doing their job. You know, a senior person in a foreign jurisdiction once said to me, you know, if decriminalizing drugs is the price that we pay for maintaining secrecy, it's a price worth paying.

You know, so we have to think about this question in the round. And what I'm criticizing FATF and the EU for doing -- for not doing is the same that I haven't done either, which is to say what counts as good; give me a set of circumstances. They've done this much better with their 2019 guidances of when I should be picking this out and when I shouldn't. Because otherwise you're in a sense blaming someone for not seeing that there's a risk. It's a bit like legal debates about recklessness and the mental element in crime.

1	I could go on, but I think I've probably
2	expressed myself long enough on that issue.
3	Unless you want to ask a followup question.
4	Q No. Thank you, Dr. Levi. I think that's good
5	for my purposes.
6	MR. DAVIS: And, Mr. Commissioner, I'm about to move
7	on to another report. Would now be a good time
8	for the morning break?
9	THE COMMISSIONER: Yes, thank you, Mr. Davis. We'll
10	take 15 minutes.
11	THE WITNESS: By the way okay. I'll stop there.
12	THE REGISTRAR: Please go on, Dr. Levi.
13	THE WITNESS: I will supply the commission with an
14	update on the French situation and a little bit
15	more detail on the American and Australia
16	situation afterwards when I have finished my
17	other duties. Okay.
18	THE COMMISSIONER: Thank you.
19	THE REGISTRAR: This hearing is adjourned for a
20	15-minute recess until 11:25 a.m. Please mute
21	your mic and turn off your video. Thank you.
22	(WITNESS STOOD DOWN)
23	(PROCEEDINGS ADJOURNED AT 11:10 A.M.)
24	(PROCEEDINGS RECONVENED AT 11:23 A.M.)
25	MICHAEL LEVI, a witness

1	for the commission,
2	recalled.
3	THE REGISTRAR: Thank you for waiting. The hearing
4	is now resumed. Mr. Commissioner.
5	THE COMMISSIONER: Thank you, Madam Registrar. Yes,
6	Mr. Davis.
7	MR. DAVIS: Thank you, Mr. Commissioner. Madam
8	Registrar, if I could ask that you display the
9	document titled "The Legal and Institutional
10	Infrastructure of Anti-Money Laundering in the
11	UK: A Report For the Cullen Commission" from
12	the list of documents, please.
13	EXAMINATION BY MR. DAVIS (continuing):
14	Q Dr. Levi, do you see the document on the screen?
15	I believe you may be muted, Dr. Levi.
16	A Yes, I am. Or was. Yes, I do see it.
17	Q Thank you. And do you recognize this as the
18	second report you prepared for the commission?
19	A I do.
20	MR. DAVIS: I'd ask that this please be marked as the
21	next exhibit, Mr. Commissioner.
22	THE COMMISSIONER: Very well. That will be 245.
23	THE REGISTRAR: Exhibit 245.
24	EXHIBIT 245: Report entitled "The Legal and
25	Institutional Infrastructure of Anti-Money

1		Laundering in the UK: A Report For the Cullen
2		Commission," Professor Michael Levi, Cardiff
3		University
4	MR.	DAVIS: Madam Registrar, I won't need that
5		document displayed any longer. Thank you.
6	Q	Dr. Levi, could you explain to the Commissioner
7		the context in which this report was prepared?
8	А	I was asked by the commission staff to prepare a
9		review of the how the UK system was working
10		and in some respects not working to help
11		again help assist, as far as comparative work
12		can, your deliberations as to how to change or
13		not change your own system.
14	Q	Thank you. And what can you tell the
15		Commissioner about the of the scope of what
16		the report covers?
17	А	Well, the report tries to cover the system in
18		the round of how anti-money laundering
19		legislation developed in the UK. The variety of
20		different bodies that have developed over
21		the years to combat it and what we know about
22		the effects of what they have done.
23	Q	Thank you. And early on in the report I'm
24		looking at page 1. The paragraph under the
25		subheading "Criminalization of Money

Laundering." 1 2 Α Yes. 3 The last sentence that begins with "what Q 4 follows." Are you with me, Dr. Levi? 5 Yes. Α And you write: 6 Q "What follows is a review of how the UK 7 8 approached these control issues and what 9 we know about the effects of these 10 controls, which are mainly input and output efficiency rather than 11 12 effectiveness measures." 13 What is input and output efficiency? 14 Right. Well, it really reflects some of the Α 15 thinking that I and some of my colleagues have 16 been doing over the last few years as to what 17 AML is all about. And what it's all about, and 18 this relates to the question of effectiveness, 19 is reducing crime or reducing organized crime or 20 providing public reassurance that members of 21 society in more controlling positions in the 22 economy and society are doing their best to 23 combat crime. 24 Now, personally I think the most important 25 of those is having some impact on underlying

1	criminal behaviour. Now, we can say we can
2	have a discussion about what forms of criminal
3	behaviour are more important than others. And
4	we've already had a little bit of that
5	discussion and this is not a criminology 101
6	class, so I'll spare you that. But crime can be
7	and often is used as just a coherent thing to
8	reduce, but actually very often we're more
9	bothered about some crimes than others.
10	Terrorism being one kind of crime that we
11	typically more bother about than anything else.
12	And organized crime, whatever that is, we're
13	also more bothered about.
14	So if we say, well, what do we know about
15	the impact of anti-money laundering generally on
16	levels of criminality or how harmfully criminals
17	organize themselves to attack our society I
18	gave evidence to the Charbonneau Commission, for
19	example, about one specific feature of crime in
20	Canadian society. But, you know, one might look
21	at drugs trafficking organizations. You can
22	so working out what crimes cause the most harm
23	is itself an issue which I don't expect to be
24	digressing onto very greatly in this session,
25	but it seems to me reasonable for the commission

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1 to concern itself with.

2 But if we say well, what evidence do we have 3 that AML has reduced any type of crime at all, 4 we have to say that evidence is wanting. It's difficult to work out the chain of inferences 5 you need between AML and those various things. 6 7 So if we found, for example, that AML was used 8 to lock up king pins in Canada or elsewhere, then we might say well, what's getting -- what 9 10 effect did getting rid of those king pins have? 11 It may produce some greater public reassurance, 12 but it didn't actually reduce crime because 13 somebody else came and took their place in the 14 criminal organization, which is a depressing 15 truth about much of what we know about crime. 16

But giving public reassurance is -- you could call that a goal, you could call that an effectiveness goal, if it does that, but then we'd have to measure it to show it. So even if crime itself wasn't reduced, if the number of dangerous organizations that can really have a toxic effect in our society -- and it needn't be across the whole of Canada, thinking about Canada. It could just be in Toronto or Quebec or Montreal or Vancouver. If we could show that

Τ,	it had had it had stopped an organization
2	from getting a bigger control over that area
3	that it was aiming for, then that, I think,
4	would be an effectiveness observation.
5	But very often what we do instead is we say
6	how many SARs have we had from these
7	organizations? You know, you in real estate,
8	you haven't been reporting enough; you in law,
9	you haven't been; you in banks, or these big
10	banks have but not the little banks. That is
11	what I would call an input and that the SAR
12	more SARs would be an output. And then we have
13	to say, well, are we efficient in the way that
14	we deal with these SARs? You know, what number
15	of report FinCEN tracking sorry, not
16	FinCEN, apologies FINTRAC data are taken up?
17	You know, what are we doing with that data?
18	That's an argument about the efficiency of what
19	we do with the reports that we get both and
20	you could do that both internally within the
21	organization or in Canada as a whole or what is
22	the state of liaison between FinCEN between
23	FINTRAC and the RCMP or with local units.
24	So those would all be discussions about
25	efficiency. But even if their liaison were

1		better, we might still want to ask questions
2		about well, what's the impact on crime? And in
3		a way what I and some of my colleagues have been
4		saying is that we've lost track of the end game
5		here, and we need to think harder about what the
6		effects of all of this are on levels of
7		criminality, on the arrests of really dangerous
8		people. Because if all we're doing is picking
9		off the low-hanging fruit, then we're not
10		achieving as much as we might hope for.
11	Q	Thank you. And, Dr. Levi, just stepping back
12		for a moment. I'd like to ask you a few
13		questions that relate to the development
14		pardon me, recent developments in the UK's
15		anti-money laundering regime.
16		And I'm looking at page 10 of your report
17		for reference. You note that the FATF issued a
18		mutual evaluation report on the UK in 2018; is
19		that correct?
20	А	Yeah.
21	Q	And what in particular did the mutual evaluation
22		report highlight with respect to potential areas
23		of improvement in the United Kingdom?
24	А	Well, what it said, and I think everybody in the
25		UK system would agree, was that the financial

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1	intelligence unit was not developing cases as
2	much as it should do and that it didn't have
3	enough resources to do that. It had also made
4	the same criticism, by the way, in 2008. But
5	the it's previous review.
6	But the and since then well, you
7	haven't asked me about what the response has
8	been, but the but that was one of the key
9	criticisms in that report was we're not doing
10	enough with the SARs that are coming. In other
11	words and this relates to my answer to the
12	previous question we've been worrying, we've
13	been hassling a lot of bodies to report more,
14	but we're not doing enough with them once we've
15	got them.
16	And there were also points about feedback to
17	the reporting agencies, about what was done with
18	the reports. There were criticisms about the
19	number of high-end money-laundering prosecutions
20	and there were criticisms about how much money

Q Thank you. And I guess you've asked my next question is what was the response or what has the response been to date by the UK?

had been confiscated, and there were lots of

other things. But those are the key ones.

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Well, I haven't answered it, but the -- so one 1 Α 2 response was -- and this happens in many 3 situations. Yes, we will increase the number of 4 people in the financial intelligence unit, which 5 they did. There are issues about recruitment 6 which I won't trouble this audience with, but 7 the -- but are an important efficiency point. 8 Yeah, it takes longer to make changes than we commonly allow for. 9 10

But despite the austerity regime, my government has increased the number of people in the financial intelligence unit and it's also -we realize before the FATF review that our system, our electronic system called ELMER, was creaking, was not really fit for the purpose and that it needed a significant upgrade. And that's been true ever since I first started reviewing it in 2000. It was true of the more significant review by KPMG, by Sir Stephen Lander and it's still true now. And so the government is trying to get some money together to pay for that reform of the architecture and look at and think seriously about what we might need it to do if it -- to be really fit for purpose.

1		And at the same time the law commission has
2		made recommendations about money laundering
3		legislation and about proceeds of crime law
4		changes to upgrade.
5		So I would say the reaction by the UK has
6		been to take the criticism seriously. There are
7		other recommendations, for example, about
8		criticisms about Companies House and whether
9		it's doing a good enough job in checking the
10		bona fides of the information it receives, those
11		are being addressed, stimulated by the FinCEN
12		leaks criticisms, but they were entrained
13		beforehand. So not just a response to scandal.
14		And so I think the government has tried to
15		address some of those points. There will be
16		comments about how thoroughly, with what
17		whether that really meets the needs, but I shall
18		leave my answer there.
19	Q	Thank you. And as an extension of your
20		answer there, I'd ask that you turn to page 86
21		of your report, if you could, please.
22	А	Yes.
23	Q	And at the first paragraph there, so after those
24		c) and d) bullet items, you write that:

1		The UK Government declined to "opt in" to
2		Directive (EU) 2108/1673
3		And that's the sixth anti-money laundering
4		directive; is that correct?
5	А	Yeah.
6	Q	And what can you tell the Commissioner about
7		that and why the UK sorry, not why the UK
8		didn't do so, but what are there any holes or
9		gaps that emerge as a result of the UK's
10		decision?
11	А	I don't think there are very many gaps. The
12		it's not for me to comments on why my
13		government yeah, the government would say, I
14		suspect, were they here, that we've left the EU
15		and we're already compliant.
16		So part of the answer to that question is
17		just political, but the other part is that the
18		UK has had quite a proactive approach to
19		compliance with AML anyway, which is why we
20		emerged one reason why we emerged with a good
21		report from the FATF for the mutual evaluation
22		report.
23		And there are a number of spheres I mean
24		to give you a different kind of example. For
25		quite a while we didn't comply with the

1		directive to criminalize organized crime
2		membership because we considered that our
3		conspiracy legislation was a perfectly adequate
4		substitute for organized crime membership
5		legislation. Then in the Serious Crime Act we
6		did toughen that up in particular ways. But I
7		think the government would take the view that
8		the sixth directive doesn't ask us to do
9		anything we're not going to be doing anyway.
10		So I don't I wouldn't myself think that
11		that was a major criticism of the UK approach.
12	Q	And looking at page 108 you don't need to
13		pull this up you write that the UK has
14		recently proposed an economic crime levy on
15		regulated firms.
16	А	Yeah.
17	Q	Is that correct?
18	А	That is correct.
19	Q	And what's the purpose of that levy? What can
20		you tell the Commissioner about it?
21	А	Well, it's a very interesting development. I'm
22		not sure what the Canadian position is on
23		hypothecation of taxation is. But for those
24		readers that aren't familiar with this recondite
25		area, the principle generally is that you can't

1	allocate particular taxes for particular
2	functions. And that's a long-standing argument
3	in treasury thinking in many parts of the world.
4	So many people would think that improvements in
5	the response to money laundering should be paid
6	for out of general taxation, but the government
7	thinks that there are enough demands on general
8	taxation, so why don't we on a kind of
9	polluter pays principle, why don't we try taxing
10	regulated bodies to pay for the improvement in
11	the in our response to economic crime that
12	most people agree are needed, including
13	regulated persons.

Now, I'll just add one point that may not be apparent. It's not always clear to people where economic -- where money laundering ends and economic crime begins or vice versa. So there is an active discussion -- the government is currently pulling together the responses to this proposal. There is an active discussion about whether the economic crime levy should just pay for improvements in money laundering or whether it should pay for other elements to do, for example, with improvements in response to fraud that are set out in the government's economic

1		crime plan. Now, that's a British debate,
2		whether it applies anywhere else, but it's an
3		important question because you could say, well,
4		if we reduce fraud, we reduce money laundering.
5		So that comes back to my point about
6		effectiveness and what the end game is.
7		But a lot of regulated people who don't
8		suffer a lot of fraud, lawyers for example, may
9		think, well, why should we pay for general
10		reductions in fraud? Yeah, there's an argument
11		about whether we should pay for improvements in
12		the anti-money laundering system. But those are
13		the kinds of discussions that produce will
14		probably produce a less than totally harmonious
15		response. But the general theory is we are
16		imposing or wish to impose, and preferably with
17		consent, an economic crime levy on regulated
18		bodies to get them to stump up for improvements.
19		And you can imagine how that might apply ir
20		a British Columbia context or in a Canadian
21		context. So that's I have no greater wisdom
22		on that.
23	Q	And I'd like next to take you through, Dr. Levi,
24		some of the particular requirements that are
25		imposed on obliged entities. I might use the

term "reporting entity." I apologize if I do 1 2 that. 3 Α That's okay. 4 Q Would you -- could you briefly summarize for the 5 Commissioner the regime or the provisions that 6 deal with politically exposed persons. Those 7 are PEPs. 8 Α Yeah. There's been an expansion over time in what we think of as politically exposed persons, 9 10 and different countries have got different definitions about how far this extends. In my 11 12 report I talk about Spain, for example, includes 13 mayors of regions and such like provincial 14 political positions. The UK has chosen not to 15 do that. It really applies to members of 16 parliament, including members of the House of 17 Lords and their families. 18 So formerly PEPs were regarded as a foreign 19 issue. You had enhanced due diligence for 20 foreign PEPs. The aim of this was to go after 21 kleptocrats. This was extended under pressure to include domestic PEPs, and the domestic PEPs, 22 23 yeah, are more restrictive in the UK than in 24 some other jurisdictions.

If you take the view, as I do, as the

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1	research suggests, that what a lot of organized
2	criminals try and do they may not have
3	national ambitions; they may have local or
4	regional ambitions to corrupt the political
5	process. And this was part of the allegation in
6	Quebec, for example, and it may be also in
7	British Columbia, and that's your province in
8	more senses than one.
9	Yeah, so it may be we usually say oh, we
10	don't have an organized crime problem because
11	nobody is going to take over Canada but that is,
12	I think, a theoretical mistake that countries
13	can make that this only applies at the national
14	level. It might be enough for them to take over
15	Cardiff or Vancouver or, you know, some pleasant
16	skiing resort and exert power over people in
17	that area and set up, as the Americans did in
18	with the casinos in Las Vegas, for example.
19	Taking over an area and making it a basically
20	a hole in the wall town or city may itself
21	suffice for their criminal ambitions without

And that comes back to the PEPs question
because if your aim is to take over Cardiff or
Manchester, then making the mayor of Cardiff a

taking over a bigger jurisdiction.

1		PEP may be quite important if we want to know
2		more about their assets and whether they're
3		maybe being bought off. Or indeed a national
4		given the devolution in the UK, the First
5		Minister of Wales, who happens to be a former
6		colleague of mine and a former probation officer
7		as well, finding out making him a PEP is a more
8		arguable issue. But certainly the mayor of
9		Cardiff may suffice for that reason because if
10		you are trying to immunize yourself against
11		intervention, depending on how local the police
12		are as well, then that may be sufficient.
13		So that's why it's an important debate about
14		how far PEPs extend. Of course people don't
15		like it. I mean, I've had members of the House
16		of Lords saying to me well, my 13-year-old
17		daughter was asked to come in and prove to the
18		bank that she had her driver's you know, her
19		address, to bring her driver's licence in.
20		Well, that's obviously absurd, but that's the
21		kind of pushback that you get in that situation.
22	Q	Thank you. And I'm looking at page 5 of your
23		report now where you begin to describe the
24		customer due diligence or CDD requirements on

reporting entities in the UK and I'm not going

1 to ask you generally about those requirements 2 but I'd turn to -- and I'm sorry, I'm going to 3 make you change page here -- page 28, Dr. Levi, 4 please. 5 Yeah. Α And you write that the approach in the UK is not 6 Q to be prescriptive when it comes to customer due 7 8 diligence; is that correct? Well, it's not absolutely subjective either. 9 Α 10 You know, banks and -- yeah, there are lists of identifiers that financial sector, and for that 11 12 matter law firms, are expected to require people 13 to divulge when they open an account. So if you 14 don't have a passport or your driver's licence 15 or utilities bills in your own name, then it's 16 hard to open an account or certainly hard to 17 open more than a very basic account. There are 18 EU rules about everybody's entitlement to open a 19 basic account which muddy the waters somewhat. 20 But -- so it's not absolutely prescriptive. 21 In other words, if you can come up with an alternative that satisfies the joint money 22 23 laundering steering committee and/or the 24 treasury, then you're free to use those as 25 alternatives.

1	Q	And my question on is that is what are your
2		views on the risks or of the utility of having a
3		flexible approach to verifying customer identity
4		like you've just described. Flexible with
5		reason, I suppose I should add, but
6	А	Well, this is partly an economic stimulation
7		issue. I mean, if you want challenging banks
8		who are normally more electronic fintech bodies
9		to start offering people accounts and
10		facilities, then asking them to turn up with a
11		physical presence with physical documents may
12		kill them off because they don't have a branch.
13		So I think it's reasonable to say in the
14		current world and I actually did some work on
15		this as early as 2000, which seems a long long
16		time ago in electronic terms. Yeah, if you are
17		asking them to verify their identity, some of
18		the big payment card data providers such as
19		Experian, TransUnion, Equifax have their own
20		extensive data set and can probably identify
21		most people adequately electronically rather
22		than using low tech methods.
23		So I would say, you know, it's up to them to
24		demonstrate that they're doing a good job and

that should be tested, and it should be tested

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1	performance and innovation unit review
2	recovering the proceeds of crime. It's a
3	relevant question. How many public schools make
4	suspicious activity reports? How many of them
5	get paid in cash? How many cruises that people
6	go on not to launder their money in the sense
7	of reinvest it, but just to spend money that
8	they've acquired from crime which itself is a
9	laundering offence. How many people pay for
10	their cruises in cash? So you might say how
11	well are those bodies, private schools,
12	universities, how many of them are paid in cash?
13	The answer is they'll probably be making
14	deposits in the bank or some such institution
15	and it's up to the bank to do the KYC the
16	ongoing KYC and customer due diligence, which is
17	not just an entry issue; it's an ongoing
18	process. And so if patterns of large cash
19	deposits or jewellery deposits or whatever are
20	starting to be made, are you really monitoring
21	those things or not.
22	So I would say it's more a question of
23	thinking of clever ways in which people could
24	actually plausibly launder money and making sure
25	that you're trying to monitor those than

1		bringing new people into the net. For example,
2		our regulation of charities is internationally,
3		I think, excellent for counterterrorism as well
4		as other crime and much better than most places,
5		and it's partly the result of this long
6		consciousness. I'm not producing a Pollyanna
7		approach to Britain. There are many areas which
8		are done badly, but the but I think clearly
9		real estate has become a much more open area,
10		but I wouldn't say that we are lacking anybody
11		who should be regulated.
12	Q	Thank you. And looking at page 41, you describe
13		that the UK's financial intelligence unit
14		operates a consent regime with respect to
15		conducting certain transactions.
16	А	Yes.
17	Q	What can you tell the Commissioner about that
18		consent regime and how it operates?
19	А	Well, this actually was introduced it wasn't
20		just lawyers who wanted a consent regime, it was
21		also bankers. But because the UK legal
22		profession got involved early into the
23		anti-money laundering regulation business, they
24		and bankers pressed for a regime in which you
25		didn't want to be charged with money laundering

22

23

24

25

1	if you allowed a transaction to go forward, so
2	they set up a system. The national crime agency
3	likes to call it DAML for defence against money
4	laundering, but that's an alternative phrase.
5	Not an alternative fact but an alternative phase
6	for the consent regime.
7	So if you wanted to proceed with a
8	transaction that you had made a suspicious
9	activity report on, you could apply to the
10	financial intelligence unit for consent to allow
11	you to go forward with that transaction. Now,
12	that used to have to happen within 31 days. In
13	other words, if they didn't say no within
1.4	31 days, you could go ahead. But then and
15	you can imagine how this would be difficult in
16	the case of let's say you were looking at
17	some kleptocratic suspected kleptocratic
18	transfers or some major fraud scheme and you
19	didn't have the resource or you needed some
20	cooperation, financial information from another

And so that was extended to the period

was -- the police can if a senior officer makes

an application, that period can be extended, but

allow that to go forward.

jurisdiction to assess whether you could really

1		essentially it's to allow you to do acts that
2		could later be interpreted as money laundering.
3		So if we apply that to the FinCEN files cases,
4		if that was in the UK, they could ask for
5		consent to make those transfers, and the FIU
6		could say yes, as they do to almost all the
7		requests that they get.
8		It's a burden to process these quickly, and
9		they accuse the legal profession and the banks
10		of having too many defensive suspicious activity
11		reports and too many DAML requests.
12	Q	Thank you. And one of the items I expect that
13		the commission will Commissioner will hear
14		evidence about is a conversion ratio as it
15		relates to STRs in Canada or SARs in the UK.
16		Can you describe to the Commissioner what the
17		conversion ratio is.
18	А	Well, in essence it's the conversion of an SAR
19		into some kind of it's normally a criminal
20		justice action, but it needn't be that. For
21		myself, I see criminal justice as simply one
22		mechanism amongst others to try to reduce crime
23		and the harm of crime. So it could be a
24		regulatory action, for example, or it could be
25		the closing down of a business or the closing

down of some environmental harm that was being

done. So I think there's scope for a wider

conception of a conversion ratio than just a

criminal justice outcome.

But way back in 1992 I conducted an exercise where I took a thousand SARs in the UK and looked at what happened to them. I actually kind of traced their effects, and the -- I found out that .83 percent or thereabouts had some impact, either some kind of asset freeze or a major investigation. You know, led to something that you could identify.

Now, you could have a throw threshold for a conversion ratio, namely it pinged against an existing suspect and you found out more about their assets than you knew before. That would be what I would call a low threshold conversion ratio issue. Or you could have something -- you could set the bar higher. I think a low conversion ratio would itself be useful, but one of the things I tried to do was to distinguish between how many SARs led to the identification of somebody who wasn't previously suspected, and that ratio was very low. Yeah, it's different over time and in different jurisdictions. And

1 you might say well, what we care about is 2 whether it identifies foreign corrupt dictators. 3 You know, you could set your criteria as you 4 wish. 5 But I do think that that is important. If you don't have any conception of a conversion 6 7 ratio, then it's easy for the system just to 8 think well, we're -- just gathering more data is 9 good in itself. And we have to say well, 10 gathering data is good only if you -- a 11 reasonable amount leads to something. 12 MR. DAVIS: Thank you. And, Mr. Commissioner, if I 1.3 could just pause for a moment. I do note the 14 time. We have three participants who have given 15 estimates of their examination of Dr. Levi. I 16 wonder if it would be useful to scope whether 17 those estimations are still accurate just so I 18 can know when I should be finishing up with my examination. 19 20 THE COMMISSIONER: Yes. Ms. Herbst, I think you had 21 been allocated half an hour. 2.2 MS. HERBST: Thank you. And that's a very good 23 question. Given what Mr. Davis has covered 24 already, I think it's more likely to be in the

15- to 20-minute range.

Exam by Mr. Davis (continuing) 1 THE COMMISSIONER: Thank you. Mr. Westell. MR. WESTELL: Thank you, Mr. Commissioner. It's more 2 3 likely to be in the five minute range for me. 4 THE COMMISSIONER: Okay. And Mr. Usher. 5 MR. USHER: I'll still be five or ten minutes. THE COMMISSIONER: Thank you, Mr. Usher. All right. 6 7 So you have your parameters, Mr. Davis. 8 MR. DAVIS: I do, Mr. Commissioner. Thank you. 9 EXAMINATION BY MR. DAVIS (continuing): 10 So, Dr. Levi, could you describe to the 11 Commissioner the purpose and powers of the UK's 12 FIU. With that, describe where it's situated 13 organizationally, please. 14 Right. Okay. So basically there are three Α 15 types of FIU. There's the financial sector, 16 maybe central bank, FIU; administrative FIU; and 17 there's a police FIU. The British had gone for a police FIU. So it's located within the 18 National Crime Agency, which is our body for 19 20 dealing with serious organized crime, and in a 21 sense that is where it's always been when it 2.2 started. 23 It was in the National Criminal Intelligence 24 Service, and then it was in Serious Organized

Crime Agency and now it's in the National Crime

1		Agency.
2		So in a sense there enforcement personnel
3		who are they report to the Director of the
4		National Crime Agency.
5	Q	Thank you. And what sorts of powers are
6		available to the FIU? And by that I mean I'd
7		ask, for example, can FIU or do they perform or
8		conduct observations on their own initiative?
9	А	They do but as the mutual evaluation report
10		shows, they don't do it enough for compared
11		to some other financial intelligence units,
12		compared to, say, the Belgian or the Dutch.
13		The British have always had the view, and
14		this also applies to our fraud cases, is that
15		what you should do is be a central recipient of
16		SARs.
17		If you don't mind I'm going to take my
18		jacket off because it's getting quite warm.
19		The idea is that the FIU is a central
20		repository and it may do some preliminary checks
21		and it has access to quite a lot of databases
22		and it has non-police agencies like, for
23		instance, revenue and customs, which I suppose
24		is the equivalent Revenue Canada, and the
25		Department of Work and Pensions who deal with

1		social security fraud attached to it. The
2		police and the FIU don't have direct access to
3		all of those databases, so it's not a total
4		fusion centre, but it is a but they can ask
5		them to check on their database whether Michael
6		Levi is on theirs and come back with an answer.
7		And then they make an initial decision who to
8		send the case to, if they think there's any
9		plausible prima facie basis for investigation.
10		Now, that's come in for some criticism.
11		Lots of people think they should do more, and
12		they have increased their staff. But given the
13		volume of hundreds of thousands of reports that
14		we get, clearly, you know, you have to think as
15		you would in Canada or anywhere else, if you've
16		got 120 people, say, how much work can they do
17		on that number of reports?
18	Q	Thank you. And I take it that that's looking at
19		page starting at page 53 you discuss this
20		topic, the ratio of reports received in the UK's
21		FIU compared to the staff available.
22		And at page 55 can I confirm that you write
23		that there have never been sufficient resources
24		to analyze more than a minority of SARs in the
25		UK; is that correct?

Yeah, perhaps that's a harsh judgment. The --Α let me briefly explain. It depends how much --it depends what you mean by "analyze." You can check quite quickly if somebody is in your system and that's done electronically, and they have good access to that. So if somebody is wanted or there's an ongoing investigation into someone, then they can analyze to that extent whether the report fits in and whether it would be fruitful to pursue it further.

But the system as it is at the moment, even in the old days when it was manual or more manual than it is today, there were never enough people. And when I first started there were -- researching this area, there were about 11,000 a year reports in the UK. There weren't enough people even then to analyze fully. And I know that this has been an issue in Canada, an issue in Australia, an issue in the US, an issue more or less everywhere. So -- and I've said even in Switzerland, which operates a high level of prescreening, it's also an issue now, which it didn't used to be.

Q And this might seem trite, but what is the impact of that, the fact that the FIUs struggle

1		to analyze more than a minimum amount of the
2		reports they receive?
3	A	Well, that may not be the that is not
4		necessarily the end of the exercise because ever
5		if the FIU doesn't analyze it itself, it may
6		pass it on to a police or social security agency
7		who do analyze it more. So in a sense it's too
8		hard a test to say, the FIU doesn't analyze it,
9		so nothing happens. It doesn't mean to say that
10		nothing happens. It's just that it becomes part
11		of an intelligence picture which may never reach
12		any fruition in a full investigation, but it
13		could.
14		So in a sense you could say, well, it
15		creates some area of risk for offenders they
16		it creates some area of risk for offenders that
17		if you didn't have a system, they wouldn't be
18		facing it. So other than that it's more of an
19		information database, and I don't really want to
20		get into the whole debate about where does
21		information end and intelligence begin.
22		But the but it doesn't mean to say it's
23		useless, but it is frustrating for reporters
24		because reporters think well, we put a lot of
25		effort into this; in a way it's cost our

1		organization money in preparing this report;
2		we're not happy that more isn't done with it
3		because we think there's something in this;
4		otherwise we wouldn't have reported it in the
5		first place.
6		And you can say well, yeah, it's a suspicion
7		system, and that's all it is. Yeah, it's it
8		generates a set of information about the
9		financial dealing of offenders that otherwise
10		would not exist.
11	Q	Thank you. And I might have got a bit ahead of
12		myself, but do I have it correctly that you say
13		that the FIU could receive these reports, not
14		analyze them and forward them on to law
15		enforcement?
16	А	Yeah, it would do normally it would do some
17		checks against databases.
18	Q	And what
19	А	Whether you call that whether you would call
20		that "analyzing" is a moot point. So yes, it
21		could because let's assume you hadlet's
22		assume somebody made a suspicious activity
23		report in me in Cardiff. My residence would be
24		on that information. The FIU might if it got
25		the information in, it might say well, we

haven't got anything about him in our system, so 1 2 we'll -- but we'll pass it on to the South Wales Police to check it out, see whether it's of any 3 4 interest to them. 5 Understood. So my question to that is what is Q 6 the threshold for disclosure to law enforcement, 7 if there is one? 8 Α There isn't one. Well, it would be variable. 9 There isn't any legally mandated threshold, but 10 the information is available only to approved financial investigators. So unless you've done 11 12 the training. I mean, not every police officer 13 or has access to the database. So you have to 14 be an approved financial intelligence officer. 15 Approved financial investigator. 16 Is there any sort of legislative language to the Q 17 effect that the FIU needs to be satisfied, for 18 example, have reasonable grounds of suspected 19 money laundering to disclose to police, or is 20 it --21 No. Α 22 Thank you, Dr. Levi. And although we discussed Q 23 it briefly in the context of your first report, 24 I'd like to ask you some questions now on 25 beneficial ownership.

- 1 A Okay.
- 2 Q What types of beneficial ownership registries
- 3 exist in the UK?
- A Right. Yeah, sorry. I'm just trying to find
- 5 out where I have put -- I put some down to make
- 6 this easier. But the -- we have a beneficial
- 7 ownership register that is in process. We went
- 8 through a period where what we had was not a
- 9 beneficial ownership register but a persons of
- 10 significant interest register. And there were
- 11 arguments about what the thresholds of that were
- 12 and should be.

13 There's quite a lot of dissatisfaction about

- how it operates, partly, I suspect, because it
- discourages entrepreneurialism. You know, the
- more checks you make business people go through,
- 17 the more inclined they might or might not be to
- take their business elsewhere. And so
- 19 collecting information on persons of significant
- interest is regarded as burdensome for fee
- owners, et cetera. But when David Cameron, the
- former prime minister, held the big
- anti-corruption summit, a lot of the
- 24 non-governmental organizations who were busy
- 25 proposing that felt that they should be a

1		universal and fairly equal pressure to have UBOs
2		and have public registries of beneficial
3		ownership.
4		And so we've gradually moved towards that
5		ourselves and we've put pressure on some of the
6		offshore jurisdictions. The overseas
7		territories, for example, to have a public
8		beneficial ownership registry. And different
9		countries have moved at different speeds to do
10		that.
11		What else can I say? So yes, we do have
12		one, and it will be improved.
13	Q	And what are the obligations, Dr. Levi, on
14		and companies registered in the UK with respect
15		to beneficial ownership? What sort of
16		information do they provide?
17	А	Well, they have to declare, you know, who the
18		beneficial owner is. If it's a company, we're
19		tight the proposals are to tighten up the
20		ability of foreign companies to own assets. I
21		mean, historically they were just taxed more,
22		but their beneficial ownership was not even
23		necessarily identified but certainly not
24		disclosed.
25		But the shift has been towards requiring

1		them to reveal who they are for people with an
2		interest. And this has been the big area of
3		tension as to who should have access to the
4		registry. Should it be totally public, or
5		should it only be available for persons with an
6		interest? Should it be available to
7		investigative journalists, for example? Should
8		it be available to absolutely everyone? And I
9		think the politics of that are still playing
10		out, but the thinking is that it should not be
11		totally open.
12	Q	Thank you.
13	А	Yeah.
14	Q	Sorry, does the registry apply to all
15		corporations?
16	А	Yeah.
17	Q	And I'd ask, then, Dr. Levi, what your view
18		would be on a beneficial ownership registry that
19		exempted from registration public companies.
20		So, for example, a registry that only includes
21		privately incorporated companies, do you have
22		any thoughts on that that you can provide to the
23		Commissioner?
24	А	I think that the in a way, if you have a
25		it depends on the public company's disclosure

25

1	obligations. If the public company is required
2	to identify shareholders, including beneficial
3	ownership of shareholdings, then doesn't that
4	achieve the same goal, would be my response to
5	that. If it doesn't require if the
6	registry if public companies are not required
7	to identify the beneficial ownership of shares,
8	then on the grounds of equity they probably
9	should be included in the register because the
10	harm that is aimed at is the harm of people
11	being allowed to accumulate wealth, including
12	wealth from crime, without people knowing who
13	they are.
14	Now, there are economic arguments about that
15	situation over, for example, what happens if
16	you're stalking a company, should you have to
17	reveal your hand and show all the various
18	connected parties who may be trying to build up
19	a stake in the company to take it over. That's
20	one kind of argument. Some people think that
21	you should have to divulge that, and that's why
22	the connected parties rule, others that you
23	shouldn't.

But I think the argument is weak that public

companies shouldn't be on the register if they

1		don't have to divulge who their beneficial
2		owners are. Otherwise if you can go to the
3		company register and find out the same
4		information for the company separately, it's
5		more effortful. And in a sense you could say
6		well, so why isn't it included because if you've
7		to collect that information anyway, why don't
8		you put that on the same register as everything
9		else is on?
10	Q	And speaking of the data, can you describe to
11		the Commissioner what level of vetting, if any,
12		takes place of the data submitted to Companies
13		House and whether there have been any changes in
14		that respect recently?
15	А	Yes. It used to be none. So whatever you sent
16		in, that was it. And so I think that was partly
17		because Companies House didn't have staff. It
18		didn't also didn't want the legal liability.
19		Once you it's a bit like clearing snow
20		outside the house: once you start clearing it,
21		you may have some liability for not having done
22		it very well, whereas if you leave it alone, you
23		don't have any. And that, I think, is a rather
24		cruel but fair summary of the position ever
25		Companies House was created it has done that.

Q

1 So it didn't vet any of the information that 2 was put -- was sent to it. Now that's not the 3 case and yet -- and reporters are expected to --4 you know, if they notice any discrepancies, for 5 example, between the information they hold and what's on Companies House, then they're supposed 6 7 to inform Companies House of those discrepancies 8 and the staffing level is being built up to be able to deal with those. 9 10 But, for example, it's been an issue in 11 off-the-shelf companies, a lot of the frauds 12 that are now arising. In the government 13 bounceback loan schemes, et cetera, people have 14 bought companies off the shelf. They've put 15 data, which has been unverified onto it, they've 16 got loans from the banks and they've basically 17 run those as scams. And without fuller 18 transparency it's difficult to clamp down both 19 on fraud and money laundering. 20 Thank you. And just to finish up on this Q 21 section guickly. Looking at page 81 of your 22 report, you note that the register for trusts in 23 the UK is not public; is that correct? 24 Yeah. Α

And, Dr. Levi, what risks does a trust registry

1		attempt to address even if it's not public?
2	А	The idea of it, the trust registry will be
3		public but not open to absolutely anyone. The
4		harms that it seeks to address is to make it
5		easier for if there is a financial
6		investigation into someone, to make it easier.
7		If you don't collect the data in the first
8		place, then it then becomes that much harder to
9		find out.
10		So if somebody, whether in the UK or in
11		Canada, is trying to pursue a financial
12		investigation against and the intelligence
13		leads to a trust, then if there's a register
14		of registry of the trust, even if that
15		registry is private, they can get more
16		information than they would otherwise be able to
17		do if they had to start doing that from scratch.
18		But in a sense that's why we're moving
19		towards a more public register so that we can
20		provide that information to more easily to
21		people who have an interest and say there's a
22		big debate about whether that should be open to
23		all. And if you're trying to do
24		data-matching and this also applies to your
25		earlier question about public companies and

4		
1	private	companies.

ı	private companies.
2	If what you want to know is whether Michael
3	Levi you know, what companies does Michael
4	Levi have an interest in, which would be a
5	reasonable thing for a financial investigator to
6	want to find out, then if you have all that data
7	in the same place or you have easy access to
8	both of those data sets, it's easier to
9	construct social network analysis diagrams as
10	the RCMP and others do or FINTRAC do, it's
11	easier to construct a social network analysis of
12	all the relationships between me and everyone if
13	you have all that data available.
14	And as we move towards more artificial
15	intelligence and mass data, which has its own
16	risks, of course, the more important it is that
17	that data should be accessible. And that's why
18	I talk about the tectonic plates a little bit

risks, of course, the more important it is that that data should be accessible. And that's why I talk about the tectonic plates a little bit between privacy concerns and anti-money laundering concerns, which vary from country to country.

And that segues into the next topic that I
wanted to discuss with you, Dr. Levi. And I was
wondering what you could tell the Commissioner
about the impact of large-scale private data on

2	А	The it's important in basically two spheres.
3		One is in the fraud area where there's a lot of
4		collaboration between, say, the banks and the
5		police. And in fact the banks pay for the
6		dedicated the DCPCU, which is investigates
7		plastic crime, and the intellectual property
8		office partly pays for an intellectual property
9		crime unit, which are both part of the city of
10		London police. This may seem strange to
11		Canadians, but the anyway that's what
12		happens.

And so they have access -- not direct access to all the data in the banking system, but they have easier access because most of the banks now have their own financial intelligence units which collate data within the bank and pass it on in packages, often ex-law enforcement, ex-intelligence people and pass it on as packages to the police to make it easier for them to deal with the cases. So that's one way.

The other area is in suspicious activity reports. And a subset of that is the joint money laundering investigation teams, which is a public/private partnership where vetted

1		bankers were you going to ask me about this
2		separately? If so, I'll leave it till then.
3	Q	I was going to ask you if your that
4	А	Okay, I'll leave it till then.
5	Q	Okay.
6	А	But, I mean, the mass yeah, another area of
7		mass intelligence is automated number plate
8		recognition, which is national. So basically
9		any car travelling anywhere is likely to be
10		picked up on the system. I don't think that's
11		of any particular importance to this committee,
12		but it could be if you were looking at
13		travelling offenders, drug dealers, for example,
14		you could demonstrate where they met. Whether
15		you could locate them at particular points in
16		space and time to connect them with other
17		people. Data from telephones, you have mass
18		based. All of that can be used in a connected
19		intelligent way to put people together in places
20		so that if they say they weren't, they can be
21		caught out in a lie.
22		And if you don't know about the connections
23		in the first place, you can bring in fresh
24		connections and build up your social network or
25		criminal network analysis in that kind of way.

1		And there are people who work on that kind of
2		issue in Canada as well.
3	Q	Thank you. And you did reference a question
4		that I had. And I'd ask you, Dr. Levi, what is
5		a super SAR, a super S-A-R, and how does it
6		relate to the answer you just gave?
7	А	Yeah, well, one of the dissatisfactions in
8		the both in the financial community and in
9		the national crime agency is that you can get
10		lots of separate SARs on the same people or the
11		same address. How do you you know, can you
12		connect them together because their connection
13		might not be immediately apparent. This is
14		partly a database problem.
15		But the whole idea was that the in some
16		cases the proceeds of crime regulated entities,
17		that's banks and financial institutions,
18		information was shared either on the regulated
19		entities' own initiative or at the request of
20		the National Crime Agency to share the data in a
21		super SAR so that and it relates to your
22		earlier question about developing intelligence.
23		So they get the whole more of the picture. I
24		know the British cabinet secretary once said
25		half a picture can be the truth, but they so

1		they get a much bigger picture than they would
2		do otherwise if they were just separated in
3		little strands.
4		That isn't happening quite as much as was
5		hoped, but it is allowed for under the
6		Criminal Finances Act 2017 allowed for these
7		super SARs to happen. There are often so
8		it's a private/private as well as private/public
9		issue. So the people in national crime
10		authority the National Crime Agency, sorry,
11		can say, can we anybody know any information
12		about X? And create a super SAR that way. Or
13		the banks themselves may talk to each other,
14		though not as much as they would like to, and
15		get one by themselves.
16		So this is partly a gateways issue, and I
17		understand enough about the Canadian system to
18		know gateways issues are very important. But
19		it's about building a bigger picture to make it
20		more likely that there will be some action.
21	Q	And on that topic of information sharing,
22		Dr. Levi, one of the areas I suspect the
23		Commissioner will hear evidence about is that of
24		integrated policing models. So a policing model
25		where lawyers, forensic accountants, et cetera,

1		are part of a team so to speak. And what can
2		you tell the Commissioner about the UK's
3		experience, if any, with integrated models,
4		lawyers being, you know, front lines on the
5		policing effort.
6	А	Well, for a long time the only organization that
7		really kind of did that, apart from in Northern
8		Ireland during the troubles, was the serious
9		fraud office. And I was asked to review the
10		investigation prosecution trial of serious fraud
11		in 1992 by the Royal Commission on Criminal
12		Justice because it was the only real area where
13		lawyers supervised criminal investigations.
14		It's much more common in continental Europe
15		and of course in the US than it is in the UK.
16		And in the Serious Fraud Office they had a
17		lawyer who would be the case controller, and
18		they would look at the most plausible lines of
19		action in a case in consultation with the police
20		and with accountants and other lawyers working
21		at the SFO and work out the best lines of
22		inquiry, who you needed to they had extra
23		powers to get information, and who you would
24		most need to go to in what order. So the idea
25		was that this would be a kind of lawyer-led

1 investigation.

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2 And in my report I made the rather cruel 3 analogy that the lawyers were on the top floors 4 of the building, the accountants were in the 5 middle and the police were at the bottom. But 6 that worked okay. But the police in the UK and 7 elsewhere are jealous of their autonomy, if they 8 have any, so it's not always a model that always 9 appeals. And besides, as I noted, the external 10 lawyers who are then brought in, if they were 11 brought in at a late stage might countermand 12 what the lawyer -- that the case controller 13 lawyer thought and say no, we should really have 14 done this, and I want you to focus on that. 15 So it doesn't always work as well as it 16

So it doesn't always work as well as it should have done. But that is a model. One the royal commission's interest was to see if that would reduce miscarriages of justice as well as improve effectiveness. And the miscarriage of justice problem wasn't that significant. It was in -- allegedly in cases like Guinness -- I'm happy to go into this but I am assuming that you don't want me to. That -- it was in the case of Guinness where there was an appeal to the European Court of Human Rights which was

1	successful about Serious Fraud Office powers.
2	But what I argued was that in a sense it was
3	the role rather than whether somebody was a
4	lawyer or not that might lead to miscarriages of
5	justice. So lawyers don't have a peculiar
6	immunity against behaving oppressively.
7	Individual lawyers might, but as a yeah, it
8	was if you were in a kind of "we must get the
9	crims culture," it's difficult to stay distant
10	from that, which is often why for, say, legal
11	professional privilege you have external lawyers
12	to assess whether or not the material is
13	privileged or not, and that's still the case.
14	The other area in which you have it, in
15	Police Scotland there's Scotland has more of
16	a lawyer-led tradition than England and Wales.
17	And there is also a very small number of
18	forensic accountants who are often part of the
19	team. So teamwork in a smaller institution can
20	work very well. I know you've had your
21	difficulties with integrated unit, IMETs over
22	the years, but the so I would say it's a good
23	thing to have lawyers involved early, whether or
24	not they run the thing, because you very often
25	need admissibility is often a very key issue

1		in most major money laundering and organized
2		crime cases, and so the earlier you can get good
3		legal input, the better.
4		The turf war of who runs it, I'm not sure
5		there's good evidence about it. So it's about
6		creating a challenge culture.
7	Q	Thank you. And, Dr. Levi, as my last question
8		I'd ask you what are the key lessons that the
9		Commissioner should consider from the UK regime?
10	А	Well, I think that given where every country
11		starts from a different point. I think lawyer
12		regulation in the UK has worked pretty well.
13		I'm a member of the law society's money
14		laundering task force, but not for very long
15		I mean, I haven't been there for very long.
16		The but it's that's been going for a
17		couple of decades, and it's been a useful
18		it's useful to have a robust dialogue with the
19		professions, whether it be lawyers, whether it
20		be casinos, whoever it is. Things work better
21		if you can bring people on board rather than
22		just dictate. And I think you know, would I
23		say there isn't a lot of money laundering going
24		on in the UK? No, I wouldn't. But I'd say that
25		we're probably better equipped. The area of

1	high-net-worth individuals remains a problem,
2	and the area of covert beneficially owned
3	companies remains a problem. That's an issue
4	about how far you're going to go into it and how
5	important that is to you.
6	And foreign-owned companies, that is less of
7	an issue than it was, but it's still a big
8	problem. Issues of golden passports or their
9	equivalents, also a problem.
10	But I think one of the things that you can
11	learn is that it's important to have a dialogue
12	with the bodies and if you you need to be
13	firm in saying well, you know so show us,
14	prove to us what you're doing, but take them
15	seriously because there are lots of minutia of
16	how things are going to affect that you then
17	have to do a cost-benefit analysis as to whether
18	gains are worth the cost.
19	The other element is seeing AML as a
20	hydraulic system that if you have a huge
21	bunching in the reporting system but you are not
22	doing very much with it, you've got to say to
23	yourself, first of all, who is using the system?
24	Is it just the RCMP? Are they using it much or
25	enough? What about the regulatory bodies?

1	Because you can incapacitate organized crime
2	groups by sharing work between the environmental
3	bodies. This is what I mean by the
4	administrative approach to organized crime
5	prevention. So you can bring in lots of
6	agencies into that process if your system wants
7	to allow that to happen. That's a legal and
8	political choice.
9	So who should have access to the data? In
10	our system the environment agency does, and they
11	also do proceeds of crime cases. So how far do
12	you want to extend that to the financial
13	regulators, et cetera. And nationwide or on a
14	province basis? That is a political question
15	for you.
16	But if you don't share if you don't allow
17	for any sharing between the provinces, then
18	crooks can operate separately using different
19	legal bodies more easily in different places.
20	How big a harm is that? I don't know. But I
21	think information sharing is not an unalloyed
22	good, and I know you have constitutional tests
23	about that which are important.
24	But you need to think about this a holistic
2.5	

way is the key lesson, and there are bits that

1	we are learning in the UK. Perhaps we've been
2	tolerant of international crooks a little bit
3	too much, or super rich from Russia and China,
4	more tolerant than we should have been and we're
5	now realizing some of the harms is that can flow
6	from that. But whether that is too late or not
7	is an open question.

But I think the involvement and the continuous engagement of the private sector in that process, but it needs to be a robust dialogue, is one of the key messages. The other is what about restraint and confiscation. Early restraint, I would say, has been -- or the lack of it has been a key failing in the British system. We now have account freezing orders again under the *Criminal Finances Act* 2017, which are easier to apply. The unaccounted wealth orders have got the -- more publicity, but account freezing orders are also important.

So learn from our failure to do enough about that because once the money is gone, it's very difficult to get it back. So you need to think about account freezing as well as final confiscation, which has been an issue in lots of countries and the British are improving but are

Michael Levi (for the commission) Exam by Mr. Davis (continuing) Exam by Ms. Herbst

- 1 not there yet.
- 2 MR. DAVIS: Thank you, Dr. Levi.
- 3 Mr. Commissioner, those are my questions for
- 4 this witness.
- 5 THE COMMISSIONER: Sorry, I was muted. Thank you,
- 6 Mr. Davis.
- 7 Ms. Herbst.
- 8 MS. HERBST: Thank you, Mr. Commissioner.
- 9 EXAMINATION BY MS. HERBST:
- 10 Q And thank you, Dr. Levi and Mr. Davis, for
 11 reviewing in particular area more general report
 12 on the framework in the UK in such detail, and
 13 so that leaves me with a few questions. I just
- 14 want to touch on a couple of points.
- 15 And just as -- by way of introduction, you will no doubt see my name on the screen, but I
- am Ludmila Herbst. I'm a counsel for the Law
- 18 Society of BC.
- 19 A Yeah.
- 20 Q And just -- you and Mr. Davis had discussed the
- 21 defence of assumed consent that's found in the
- UK, and I believe you also mentioned in passing
- in that answer and there's also a reference at
- page 8 of your report, which is exhibit 245, to
- a phenomenon called defensive reporting or

1		precautionary reporting or sometimes alleged
2		overreporting.
3	А	Yes.
4	Q	I can see that the two might be somewhat
5		somewhat intersect, but is that a further and
6		other phenomenon even apart from the defence of
7		assumed consent?
8	А	No, no, it's just the same. It's basically the
9		attempt to perhaps I'll use the word
10		anathematize the process so that and it's
11		difficult to know where the truth lies, but the
12		national crime agencies say that they're being
13		basically used as a device for covering law
14		firms and others against the risk of money
15		laundering prosecution by reporting stuff and
16		putting pressure on them to give consent so that
17		they can do the business, get paid without
18		running the risk of legal liability. I think
19		that's a fair summary of the position.
20		The lawyers of course deny that, and I'm not
21		at liberty to talk about the detailed cases
22		we've discussed in the money laundering task
23		force, but there is there are sometimes
24		differences about what constitutes a good or a
25		bad report.

1	Q	Okay. Thank you, Dr. Levi. And then I just
2		have one question about just a passing reference
3		in your legal profession-specific report. So
4		that's I don't think it's necessary to turn
5		to the page, although of course I'm just going
6		to give you the reference.
7	А	Okay. I'll listen.
8	Q	Okay. It's exhibit 244, and it's on page 35.
9		And you note and I ask this because earlier
10		this week there was a bit of a conversation
11		about the situation in Canada about sole
12		practitioners and how frequent they were, and
13		you mentioned that, I think in the UK context,
14		one-person firms are increasingly rare. Is that
15		a recent phenomenon, or
16	А	Yeah, I think it's a recent well, it's
17		basically the result of cutbacks in legal aid.
18		And the you know, in some of my earlier work
19		which dealt with fraud by lawyers one of the
20		concerns of the legal profession as a whole as
21		well as a government was that small firms and
22		one-person firms not necessarily the same
23		thing were most at risk of committing fraud
24		because when their income declines or when they
25		fall into bad company they there's nobody

1		monitoring them. Nobody's watching the shop.
2		And every firm has to have a money
3		laundering reporting officer in the UK, and if
4		you're a big firm you have to have a kind of
5		board-level person, money laundering compliance
6		officer at a higher level to ensure the money
7		laundering reporting officer is doing and to
8		have enough bite with the board to be able to
9		put the case no, we shouldn't be taking this
10		presidential figure, or not, in the bank. And
11		the and so you need somebody with clout.
12		So there's an argument about how high up the
13		food chain the money laundering reporting
14		officer should be. And that's an important
15		question because they need enough clout. Now,
16		in small person firms those people or the same
17		people.
18	Q	Right.
19	А	So you can have an internal dialogue, but you
20		don't have a separation of powers. And so for
21		from the point of view anti-fraud and the point
22		of view of, you know, are you being suspicious
23		enough of this person. And the task force and
24		consultants spend quite a bit of time going
25		around the country explaining to lawyers what

1	they should be how to go about the business.
2	And the Solicitors Regulation Authority
3	requires every firm to have a plan, a risk
4	assessment of its risk of money laundering
5	depending on its particular circumstances. And
6	if it's just cut and paste out of something
7	else, they will be told that and they will be
8	failed. So you know, and the Solicitors
9	Regulation Authority has become quite
10	sophisticated in plucking those out because
11	that's the temptation if you are a small firm.
12	So there has been a decline in the number of
13	one-person firms, but it's because of the
14	reductions in legal aid, which have been very
15	severe in the UK and have led to a lot of
16	concern about people's access to justice.
17	MS. HERBST: Okay. Thank you, Dr. Levi. Those are
18	my questions.
19	THE COMMISSIONER: Thank you, Ms. Herbst.
20	Mr. Westell.
21	MR. WESTELL: Thank you, Mr. Commissioner. I just
22	have a few questions.
23	EXAMINATION BY MR. WESTELL:
24	Q And, Dr. Levi, my name is Kevin Westell. I'm
25	counsel for the Canadian Bar Association

1	BC branch and for the Criminal Defence Advocacy
2	Society.
3	I just wanted to ask you to the extent of
4	your familiarity with the specific anti-money-
5	laundering measures in place with respect to the
6	Law Society of British Columbia.
7	A Relatively little. I know the outlines, but
8	the but I've not made a specific detailed
9	study of the British Columbia arrangements. I
10	would I've not had that pleasure or
11	opportunity and yeah, I would and I have
12	assumed that the commission and yourselves
13	between you would know more about
14	British Columbia that I could in a very brief
15	study.
16	MR. WESTELL: Thank you very much. That is my only
17	question.
18	THE COMMISSIONER: Thank you, Mr. Westell.
19	And, Mr. Usher, on behalf of the Society of
20	Notaries Public of British Columbia.
21	MR. USHER: Yes. Thank you, Mr. Commission.
22	EXAMINATION BY MR. USHER:
23	Q Professor Levi, I'm counsel for the Society of
24	Notaries Public. They're the statutory

regulator of common law notaries in BC that do

1		legal work mostly in the area of real estate
2		transactions in the same manner as lawyers do in
3		this province. A couple of questions.
4		In your written material and your oral
5		evidence you expressed your concern about the
6		quality of research in this area. So for
7		example, in exhibit 26 from your earlier
8		presence, you when talking about the gravity
9		model, you state:
10		"More recently, Walker and Unger have made
11		some highly questionable high-end
12		guesstimates based on heroic assumptions
13		and extrapolations."
14		Do you stand by that? Is that a fair still a
15		fair comment?
16	А	Yes, it is a fair comment. I would say there's
17		been a lot of pressure on academics to come up
18		with a figure. Everybody wants the figure. I
19		can perfectly well understand why people want a
20		figure. I and the people I work with who are
21		kind of reasonably good have avoided that
22		temptation. And personally if I see any figure
23		without a very large range, I am immediately
24		very suspicious. Unger is a perfectly and
25		there's no aspersion on them. There are

1		elements of the gravity model that I find
2		unpersuasive, but they might feel the same about
3		my work.
4		But given how difficult it is to know
5		where I start from is a common sense position.
6		What do we know about the proceeds from
7		different kinds of crimes? And how good, how
8		confident are we how reasonably confident are
9		we that our judgment about those things is good?
10		For some things in some countries, like drugs in
11		the US, we have reasonable reasonably good
12		confidence. We know a lot more about bribery
13		about transnational bribery than we used to. Is
14		that the total data set? No, I just don't know
15		how we come to good estimations of that. But
16		that doesn't mean to say that I don't believe
17		the figure is very large.
18	Q	Yeah.
19	А	It's just when people as public understanding
20		of science issues show, people don't really know
21		what trillions means, by and large. What is the
22		difference between billions and trillions? You
23		can say it mathematically, but I don't think
24		that makes a lot of sense to people.
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What we do know is that if we tot up the

1		amount of money that is confiscated around the
2		world, and that's not an easy thing to do, but
3		let's say it 2 billion a year. And if we have
4		proceeds of crime in the trillions and
5		confiscations in the low billions, that's a heck
6		of a gap. So what's happened to all that money.
7		And that is an annual gap. So over 20, 30 years
8		what's the size of that gap? So you only have
9		to start asking those kinds of questions to
10		worry.
11		Now, some of it may be put to political ill
12		use, you know, and you don't need to read books
13		like Putin's People by Catherine Belton, one of
14		the latest fine books on this issue, or
15		Kleptocracy to be aware that there's a lot of
16		malevolent money around the place that is it
17		doing harm. But whether it's as big as that
18		figure, that I don't I am skeptical about.
19		So I do stick to that.
20		Sorry, that was a long-winded answer.
21	Q	No. Thank you. Are you aware of any research
22		that would show that the anti-money laundering
23		regime you've described in the UK has made any
24		difference in housing affordability? It's a
25		continued topic around the world certainly in

1		England and here?
2	А	I think that is very important question, and
3		also in Australia and even New Zealand and parts
4		of the US. No, nobody has looked at that.
5		My there has been some work done in Miami on
6		the impact of geographic targeting orders on the
7		real estate market, and that's quite
8		interesting. I can I'll send that over to
9		the commission and they can distribute it, if
10		you want.
11	Q	Thank you.
12	A	Or directly. But the proceeds from crime is
13		likely to impact in three different areas. One,
14		the purchase of low-value housing where the
15		amount of cash, particularly if reporting
16		requirements are low, might not stand out that
17		much but there that can be purchased by drug
18		offenders and any other type of criminal to
19		build up a portfolio of housing they can then
20		use to for human trafficking, for rent, to
21		legitimize their assets if they do it in a
22		corporate way. So there's that bottom area.
23		There's of low-cost housing. There may not
24		be any of that left in Vancouver.

Then there's the middle area where people

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1 can buy in via -- often corporations with low 2 beneficial ownership accountability and perhaps 3 using electronic funds or perhaps even having a 4 difference in the price between what they 5 actually pay and what is formally recorded as paying, which is sort of, of course, one of the 6 notaries' kind of issues. But that can happen 7 8 in some places.

> And there's at very high-end stuff, which is where the kleptocrats and the super rich criminals can buy up high-end housing, and that's where a lot of us -- and of course these have cascading effects down. So as somebody who knows a bit about economics, those can reduce the amount that is available in particular areas and drive up the average price. But I think -the reason I've elaborated a bit -- I know the hour is late. It is for me too. But the reason I'm elaborating is because that's the kind of concrete analysis that you need to think about. Of course if you've been involved in a fraud Ponzi scheme, then the -- if people are looking out for cash, they might miss you because you have electronic funds, you have a corporate Then it depends if the fraud is being fund.

1		investigated or not. And many frauds sadly are
2		not. So you might get away with it,
3		uninvestigated.
4		But of course notaries I don't know about
5		the Canadian situation, but notaries in
6		continental Europe often see themselves as they
7		do in France as kind of offices of the state as
8		well as, you know, they do in France and the
9		Netherlands as well as lawyers. So there may be
10		a sort of a cultural difference as I know there
11		has been in levels of objection to anti-money
12		laundering and its application to the legal
13		profession in France where notaries have been a
14		lot quieter.
15	Q	Thank you. And, as you may know, our notaries
16		in British Columbia are subject to FINTRAC and
17		our money-laundering rules.
18	А	Yeah.
19	Q	In your research and your looking at the various
20		legal societies and these rules about money
21		laundering, are any of them discussed is
22		there any discussion of potential of exposure of
23		harm to lawyers and others, these so-called
24		gatekeeper? If they're the ones saying no to
25		the criminal lawyer, are there people looking

1		at, you know, is there a potential for physical
2		or other harm to the lawyers and people who are,
3		in the absence what seems of effective criminal
4		law, they're being the ones being asked to
5		stand up and hold up their hand as a gatekeeper
6		and say no to the suspected money launderer?
7	А	There hasn't been any systematic research on
8		that issue. Some of my colleagues in Sweden who
9		work for the Swedish Council on Crime
10		Prevention I can get hold of the report
11		have looked at intimidation of but it's more
12		of public officials than of lawyers because
13		lawyers in Sweden have come late to the party,
14		anyway.
15		But I would expect from anecdotal cases that
16		I know about that I don't think I can put into
17		the public arena now, that there have been some
18		that there have been pressure on lawyers.
19		And I started out by and in my report, there
20		have been blackmail issues. You know, lawyers
21		are not or not all lawyers are immune from
22		vice. And to the extent that they get drawn
23		into vices, whether that be gambling, sex or
24		expensive vacations, then they become they
25		fall within the sphere of influence.

1		So it's not just a question of being strong
2		armed. The strong arming may come later. Or
3		the revelation of blackmail, as we've seen in
4		some of the recent email blackmail cases,
5		lawyers might be blackmailed into going along
6		with stuff.
7		Now, I don't know, to come back to the
8		earlier question whether, that happens mostly in
9		single person. It can also happen in bigger
10		firms. Maybe you're falling behind with your
11		contribution to the firm and you're worried
12		about being fired. Or perhaps people are
13		threatening you. Yeah, it's easy to find out
14		where people live.
15		So these issues of personal protection for
16		lawyers, which formerly used to be just a law
17		enforcement issue, may come into place, but I
18		don't really know of any research that has told
19		us a lot about that kind of thing.
20	Q	Thank you. And a couple of sort of final
21		things. There's been a lot of talk about the
22		large-scale international flow of money. I take
23		it there's not research, or that you have not
24		raised here, any idea that looks at those the
25		international money flows and what percentage

1		might be related to predicate crime. In other
2		words flows, that are then would become the
3		basis of money laundering.
4	А	Yes, that's I'll be short. The European
5		Union requires member states to estimate the
6		size of their elicit economy because it's part
7		of the calculation of the European budget. I'm
8		not sure what kind of review process goes on
9		about those estimates, but that is available
10		data. How much of that is a cross-border flow
11		is not so clear.
12		The there are, you know, some more
13		sophisticated studies that have tried to do
14		that. Either I'm not a good enough economist
15		or which is entirely possible, or it's not
16		absolutely clear how large a flow that is. We
17		can pick up some ideas from from flows from
18		developing countries run by elected or dictator
19		kleptocrats about what that might look like from
20		them, but between advanced countries or between
21		developed between global north countries is a
22		lot harder.
23		The Global Financial Integrity and other
24		bodies have aimed to do that. This is not the

time for an assessment of that. But there is

1	some skepticism about the scale, but it's
2	plausible that yeah, if what we know from
3	the cases we know about. Coming back to
4	Rumsfeld, the known knowns and the known
5	unknowns. What we know from the cases we know
6	about is that in general people like drugs
7	traffickers and people traffickers like to keep
8	their money reasonably close. Yeah, so they buy
9	property either in the land where they live or
10	the land where their family came from, if that's
11	different, and build up a family relationship.
12	They may do other stuff we don't know about, but
13	we don't know about that.
14	And so what we apart from, if you like,
15	economist macro analysis, we know
16	disappointingly little about the cross-border
17	investments of most criminals. We know my
18	colleague Melvin Sudine [phonetic] has done some
19	work on from Dutch data about the flow of 500
20	Euro, notes often back to Colombia. You know,
21	Colombians working in the Netherlands bring the
22	notes back in exchange for a free holiday, but
23	after that some of the suggestions, some of it
24	goes to Panama. But those kinds of things are
25	not tracked at a micro level enough, even going

1		back to the Charbonneau inquiry, what happened
2		to the money that was paid in bribes in that
3		case was not analyzed enough. So I will rest on
4		that.
5		We know something, but the macroeconomics is
6		still a matter of dispute, but we know that it
7		would be significant. But it's not likely to be
8		money from fraud and tax evasion and large scale
9		corruption than anything else.
10	Q	Yeah. Thank you, Professor Levi. One final
11		point, quickly. One example that's often talked
12		about and is well known in Vancouver, the large
13		amount of Asian money in the Vancouver real
14		estate market. I think it's accepted that
15		China, for example, has limits on how much money
16		can be moved out of the country. But in your
17		view does that mean that essentially all or most
18		of the money used to purchase real estate by
19		Chinese nationals in Vancouver necessarily is
20		evidence of predicate crimes and therefore
21		necessarily money laundering?
22	A	What a wonderful last question. I think that's
23		plausible. If it's moved out of China if it
24		was in China to start with, then, yeah, people
25		would have to demonstrate how it got there.

1	That's extremely difficult thing. British
2	one of the problems facing our law society and
3	our banks is that proof of wealth or proof of
4	income in cases like that. Yeah, if we're
5	looking at source of wealth and source of
6	income, that's a really tricky thing to
7	demonstrate from people coming from emerging
8	economies. In your case it's probably China.
9	In our case it's China plus Eastern Europe and
10	other parts of Asia and Africa.
11	But the but yeah, if they can't show it
12	came from outside China, my prima facie reaction
13	would be that it's plausibly yeah, if your
14	money laundering legislation includes foreign
15	rule evasion, including the export of the
16	unauthorized export of capital, then the
17	answer would be yes.
18	MR. USHER: Thank you very much, Professor. Thank
19	you very much for your contribution to the
20	commission, and the evidence has been much
21	appreciated.
22	THE WITNESS: I've tried my best. [French spoken.]
23	MR. USHER: Thank you. Merci. That's all my
24	questions. Thank you.
25	THE COMMISSIONER: Mr. Westell, do you have any

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re-examination based on Mr. Usher's? I will
 1
 2
                 take silence as a no.
 3
                      Ms. Herbst.
 4
            MS. HERBST: No, I don't. Thank you.
 5
            THE COMMISSIONER: Thank you. Mr. Davis?
           MR. DAVIS: Nothing arising, Mr. Commissioner.
 6
 7
                 you.
 8
            THE COMMISSIONER: Thank you. Thank you, Dr. Levi.
 9
                 I appreciate that it is quite a bit later there
10
                 than it is here. You must be getting close to
11
                 9:30 your time. So we very much appreciate you
12
                 taking the time and responding to the questions
13
                 you have. It has been helpful.
            THE WITNESS: It's a privilege to the able to help
14
                 our Canadian cousins as far as I'm able.
15
16
            THE COMMISSIONER: Thank you. You are of course
17
                 excused from any further testimony.
18
            THE WITNESS: Thank you.
19
                 (WITNESS EXCUSED)
20
            THE COMMISSIONER: I take it, Mr. McGowan, there's
21
                 nothing more to deal with today?
22
            MR. McGOWAN: Nothing further today,
23
                Mr. Commissioner.
24
            THE COMMISSIONER: All right. Thank you. We will
                 then adjourn until Monday morning at 9:30.
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Colloquy 131

1	Thank you, Mr. Davis.
2	THE REGISTRAR: The hearing is now adjourned to
3	November 23rd, 2020, at 9:30 a.m. Thank you.
4	(PROCEEDINGS ADJOURNED TO NOVEMBER 23, 2020)
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