SUPREME COURT OF THE UNITED STATES

IN THE SUPREME COURT O	OF THE UNITED STATES
TERANCE MARTEZ GAMBLE,)
Petitioner,)
v.) No. 17-646
UNITED STATES,)
Respondent.)

Pages: 1 through 91

Place: Washington, D.C.

Date: December 6, 2018

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4	Petitioner,)
5	v.) No. 17-646
6	UNITED STATES,)
7	Respondent.)
8		
9		
10	Washington, D.	C.
11	Thursday, December	r 6, 2018
12		
13	The above-entitled	matter came on for oral
14	argument before the Supreme Con	urt of the United States
15	at 10:04 a.m.	
16		
17	APPEARANCES:	
18	LOUIS A. CHAITEN, ESQ., Clevela	and, Ohio; on behalf
19	of the Petitioner.	
20	ERIC J. FEIGIN, Assistant to the	he Solicitor General,
21	Department of Justice, Wasl	hington, D.C.;
22	on behalf of the Responden	t.
23	KYLE D. HAWKINS, Texas Solicito	or General, Austin,
24	Texas; for Texas, et al.,	as amici curiae,
25	in support of affirmance.	

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1	PROCEEDINGS
2	(10:04 a.m.)
3	CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: We will hear
4	argument this morning in Case 17-646, Gamble
5	versus United States.
6	Mr. Chaiten.
7	ORAL ARGUMENT OF LOUIS A. CHAITEN
8	ON BEHALF OF THE PETITIONER
9	MR. CHAITEN: Thank you, Mr. Chief
10	Justice, and may it please the Court:
11	The separate sovereigns exception to
12	the Double Jeopardy Clause is inconsistent with
13	the text and original meaning of the Double
14	Jeopardy Clause. There is no dispute that the
15	text of the clause was understood to
16	incorporate English practice. And there was no
17	practice of intersovereign successive
18	prosecutions in all of English history or in
19	American history for the first century of this
20	republic after their framing.
21	There's also a mountain of affirmative
22	evidence that in England, even a foreign
23	acquittal by a court of competent and current
24	concurrent jurisdiction bars a subsequent
25	prosecution in England for the for the

```
1
      same offense.
 2
               JUSTICE ALITO: You think that's fair
 3
      t.o --
 4
               CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Well, your --
 5
               JUSTICE ALITO: Excuse me, Chief.
 6
               CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Your leading
 7
      authority is a foreign prosecution in England
      of the -- in the Spanish case. And the
 8
      argument on the other side, which has some
 9
      traction, I think, is that it would be quite
10
11
      unusual or surprising for the new American
12
      republic to look to Europe in a question like
      that because one concern, and it applies both
13
14
      in the English situation as well, is that it
15
      would be a significant intrusion on
16
      sovereignty, a particular concern of the new --
17
      new American republic, to allow a foreign
      prosecution to limit the authority of -- of the
18
19
      -- the United States.
               It -- and, frankly, it would be
20
      surprising even in the -- the English case.
21
2.2
      mean, the -- the relations between Spain and
23
      England were not exactly the -- the best. And
      why -- I mean, if it -- if it were a Spanish
24
```

case involving the murder of Englishmen, would

- 1 the English court really have said, well, he
- 2 was tried in Spain, so we're -- our hands are
- 3 tied?
- 4 MR. CHAITEN: Well, there's
- 5 overwhelming evidence, as I said, that that is
- 6 the English rule, and there's no dispute that
- 7 the framers were incorporating English practice
- 8 into the Double Jeopardy Clause. And --
- 9 JUSTICE GINSBURG: Any -- any country
- in the world?
- 11 MR. CHAITEN: Any country in the
- 12 world?
- JUSTICE GINSBURG: Yes. If there's --
- MR. CHAITEN: Well, it -- I'm sorry.
- 15 JUSTICE GINSBURG: If there's a -- a
- 16 prior criminal proceeding, either an acquittal
- or a conviction, any country in the world, that
- 18 would count?
- 19 MR. CHAITEN: So -- so there are a few
- 20 requirements. One, it would have to be the
- 21 same offense, so you would have to meet the
- 22 English standard, which is, in fact, the
- 23 standard of this Court today.
- JUSTICE BREYER: It isn't clear. I
- 25 mean, I thought when I read your brief, well,

- 1 you're absolutely right. But then I read the
- 2 other side of the practice.
- 3 (Laughter.)
- 4 JUSTICE BREYER: And now I'm not going
- 5 to say you're absolutely wrong, but three times
- 6 the Court has considered your arguments, looked
- 7 at those cases, the English case, Hutchinson,
- 8 no report. Later cases refer to it. There was
- 9 a complexity involving a special commission
- designed to try people who had committed murder
- 11 outside the country. The King's Bench didn't
- 12 have authority. The King's Bench referred it
- 13 to that commission, and that commission said:
- 14 Well, he was acquitted in Portugal and,
- therefore, we will not try him in this special
- 16 commission designed to, dah-dah.
- 17 And does that reflect a principle of
- 18 law? Does it reflect something about the
- 19 commission? Does it reflect something about
- 20 the individual circumstances? So far, it seems
- 21 to me, no one has any idea. If you read Gage,
- 22 you'll discover the other side's argument. And
- the same is true of the early cases. I won't
- 24 go through all of them here.
- MR. CHAITEN: So --

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1
               JUSTICE BREYER: But the early cases,
 2
      we find some --
 3
               MR. CHAITEN: So --
 4
               JUSTICE BREYER: -- you know, that
 5
      support you and some that don't. What do we
 6
      do?
 7
               MR. CHAITEN: So I do think they all
 8
      support us.
 9
               JUSTICE BREYER: They all support you?
10
               MR. CHAITEN: Yes, I do believe they
11
      all support us. And the one -- the one case
12
      you mentioned that is -- potentially leans the
13
      other way is Gage, but it's a civil case and
14
      it's analogizing to Hutchinson for the purposes
15
      of -- of -- of how -- a rule about recognition
16
      of civil judgments. And there is no ancient
17
      rule rooted in Talmud and Roman law and Greek
18
      law and canon law and ancient English common
19
      law to have your civil judgments recognized by
20
      another court.
21
               JUSTICE BREYER: No, I -- I -- I
22
      accept that.
23
               MR. CHAITEN: There is not to be
      prosecuted by -- for -- for a successive
24
```

prosecution. And the point is not --

1	JUSTICE GINSBURG: May I ask you to
2	just step back so you can complete your answer
3	to my question? I had asked you any country in
4	the world, the judgment from any country in the
5	world.
6	MR. CHAITEN: So so, if you're
7	asking me what the English rule was, I would
8	say yes, that is, but there are three important
9	qualifications on the rule. First, it it
LO	does have to be the same offense, so there is
L1	no dispute in in in the case of the
L2	murder in Portugal and the trial in England or
L3	the murder in in the Cape of Good Hope and
L4	the trial in England that those were the same
L5	offense. They were both murder.
L6	But sometimes that's a little more
L7	complicated because it has to be the same
L8	elements. That's the that's the meaning of
L9	"same offense" under this Court's jurisprudence
20	and under the original meaning.
21	Secondly, and and this is very
22	important, the second court has to recognize
23	the competent and concurrent concurrent
24	jurisdiction of the first court. That
2.5	that's part of the English rule.

1	And there's no dispute whatever may
2	arise in the international context, there's no
3	dispute that Alabama and the federal government
4	have competent and concurrent jurisdiction over
5	the offense of being a felon in possession.
6	So, at least in this country, the
7	answer seems pretty clear, because the rule was
8	a concurrent jurisdiction rule, and there's no
9	doubt that there is concurrent jurisdiction. I
LO	don't think the idea, even at the framing, that
L1	you would recognize a an acquittal in
L2	another country as a bar to prosecution could
L3	possibly be so shocking because it was
L4	mentioned in Furlong. It was discussed in
L5	Furlong.
L6	JUSTICE GINSBURG: How how how
L7	
L8	MR. CHAITEN: And we only
L9	JUSTICE ALITO: What's the third
20	what's the third requirement?
21	MR. CHAITEN: The third requirement is
22	that it can't be a sham prosecution or a
23	collusive prosecution. But then you're never
24	really
25	TUSTICE ALTTO: All right it can't be

1 a sham. So, today, let's say a group of 2 American tourists are murdered by terrorists in 3 a foreign country, and there is a prosecution 4 in the foreign country for murder, the same 5 offense in a court of competent jurisdiction 6 there, and it's not a sham prosecution, but 7 it's a fairly inept prosecution, lack of prosecutorial investigative resources in a poor 8 9 country, and it results in an acquittal or a conviction with a very light sentence. 10 11 And your position is that there could 12 not be a prosecution here in the United States under the statute enacted by Congress to permit 13 the prosecution of individuals who murder 14 15 Americans abroad? 16 MR. CHAITEN: So -- so let me address 17 that in a few different ways. One, the original understanding was that it applied 18 19 between countries. JUSTICE ALITO: Yeah, well --20 MR. CHAITEN: And that --21 2.2 JUSTICE ALITO: -- could you just 23 answer whether that's correct or not? And if 24 it's not correct, why is it not correct?

MR. CHAITEN: Under the original

- 1 understanding, it would be up to the U.S. court
- 2 to determine whether it's going to recognize
- 3 the competent and concurrent jurisdiction of
- 4 that other country.
- 5 What I'm saying is, in the case of
- 6 federal and state relations, there is no
- 7 dispute about that.
- 8 JUSTICE ALITO: But I really don't
- 9 think you're --
- 10 MR. CHAITEN: There's binding law on
- 11 that.
- 12 JUSTICE ALITO: I mean, I don't think
- 13 this is in -- a surprise question or a
- 14 particularly difficult one. It is a court of
- 15 competent jurisdiction. It is the court that,
- in that case -- in that country has
- 17 jurisdiction to try offenses for murder. No
- 18 question about that.
- MR. CHAITEN: Well, it's not --
- JUSTICE ALITO: So your answer is?
- 21 Can they be prosecuted here or can they not be
- 22 prosecuted here?
- MR. CHAITEN: The -- the -- the
- 24 answer, it's not just that the particular court
- 25 has competent jurisdiction; it's that we're

- 1 going to recognize the jurisdiction of the
- 2 other country over the crime. This was the
- 3 point that Furlong was making about the -- the
- 4 murder of a British subject by a British
- 5 subject on a British ship, and Furlong says
- 6 it's pretty doubtful that England would
- 7 actually recognize a U.S. acquittal in that
- 8 case because England would say you have no
- 9 basis for concurrent jurisdiction over that
- 10 crime.
- 11 So that's the determination the U.S.
- 12 court would make. You don't have to reach that
- 13 question in this case. Our point is that if
- 14 that was the rule at the -- at the -- if that
- 15 was the original understanding at the time of
- 16 the framing, if the rule --
- 17 JUSTICE KAVANAUGH: Well, we do have
- 18 to reach -- we do have to reach that question
- 19 because your position logically would extend to
- 20 Justice Alito's hypothetical, and if
- 21 prosecution is part of the national security
- 22 efforts of the United States, federal
- 23 prosecution, then your position would
- 24 substantially hamper those national security
- 25 efforts.

MR. CHAITEN: So -- so I'm saying the 1 2 reason you don't have to reach the questions --3 obviously, this is a case involving an Alabama 4 crime and -- and -- and a federal crime, and 5 there is --6 JUSTICE KAVANAUGH: But the logic of 7 your position --MR. CHAITEN: The logic of our 8 9 position, though -- but -- but the point is whatever -- whatever the court's ruling in that 10 11 case, were it ever to come up, which I think is 12 exceedingly unlikely, this is a different case 13 because it's so much stronger. 14 If the -- if the original 15 understanding was the rule applied between 16 foreign countries, then, a fortiori, it should 17 apply between a state and federal government 18 that --19 JUSTICE ALITO: Yeah, a fortiori, but 20 -- but your -- your -- you say -- I -- I wonder 21 whether you have perhaps exaggerated in saying 2.2 there's a mountain of support for your 23 position. But your main support is a -- a 24 rumor of a decision involving a prior 25 prosecution in Portugal and then the

- 1 possibility of a subsequent prosecution in 2 England. So it's a foreign prosecution. 3 MR. CHAITEN: It --4 JUSTICE ALITO: So it's true, that's 5 not what's involved here, but your -- your argument is based on foreign prosecutions. 6 7 MR. CHAITEN: The original understanding was based on foreign 8 9 prosecutions. The point is, on the question presented here, a fortiori, it should apply 10 11 between federal and state government. There is 12 a principled basis for limiting this to governments bound by the Double Jeopardy Clause 13 14 if the Court --15 JUSTICE KAGAN: But --16 MR. CHAITEN: -- wanted to do that.
- 17 JUSTICE KAGAN: -- but, Mr. Chaiten, I
- 18 think --
- 19 MR. CHAITEN: It did that in --
- 20 JUSTICE KAGAN: -- I think the point
- is that you're asking us to write an opinion
- which is based on this original understanding,
- and the original understanding, as you put it,
- 24 applies between foreign countries and, a
- fortiori, it must be that our decision would

- 1 apply between foreign countries.
- 2 MR. CHAITEN: The -- the original
- 3 understanding is it would.
- 4 JUSTICE KAGAN: And that's what --
- 5 MR. CHAITEN: In Murphy v. Waterfront
- 6 Commission --
- 7 JUSTICE KAGAN: That's -- that's --
- 8 that's what your brief was all about. That's
- 9 what you're asking us to say, that the original
- 10 understanding was that there would be no double
- jeopardy bar between different sovereigns when
- 12 those sovereigns are foreign countries. So how
- 13 could we avoid that consequence?
- 14 MR. CHAITEN: Well, first of all, I'm
- not sure the case is ever going to arise, but
- 16 -- and this is State of Alabama and federal
- 17 government and its undisputed concurrent
- 18 jurisdiction. The rule is a rule of concurrent
- 19 jurisdiction. So it's when is the U.S. going
- 20 to recognize the concurrent jurisdiction of
- 21 another country?
- 22 And, again, I want -- just wanted to
- 23 say that Murphy v. Waterfront Commission is a
- 24 case where the court held that the
- 25 self-incrimination privilege applies

- 1 cross-jurisdictionally. The Court subsequently
- 2 limited that to parties bound by the Double
- 3 Jeopardy Clause.
- 4 So there is a principled way of doing
- 5 this if the Court ever gets such a case and
- 6 wants to do that. And I would like to
- 7 emphasize that it is -- it would be -- no one
- 8 in any of these briefs has pointed to a pattern
- 9 of intersovereign successive prosecutions
- 10 between nations that is going to be disrupted
- 11 by our rule, even if the Court were to suggest
- 12 that it's -- it would also apply between
- 13 foreign nations.
- 14 JUSTICE KAGAN: Well, can I ask you a
- 15 different --
- 16 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: We've been
- 17 through -- we've been through all this in
- 18 Bartkus, right?
- 19 MR. CHAITEN: I don't think the Court
- 20 has been -- ever given this question a full and
- 21 fair opportunity, certainly post-incorporation,
- 22 and it's important to understand how the
- 23 holding of this Court arose.
- 24 There was, of course, a suggestion in
- 25 Fox v. Ohio in 1847 that there might be a

- 1 separate sovereigns exception. It was based on
- 2 a non-incorporation rationale, but no one
- 3 actually -- it's dicta. It's the purest dicta,
- 4 because there were no intersovereign successive
- 5 prosecutions, not only not in that case but no
- 6 practice of them.
- 7 The first time this Court had a chance
- 8 to actually hold whether that's permissible was
- 9 Lanza. And I think it's worth reading the
- 10 respondent's brief in -- in Lanza, Lanza's
- 11 brief. There was no representation, the
- 12 position we're presenting here. The brief was
- incoherent, and the Court said I think what
- 14 counsel is arguing is that the separate
- sovereigns exception doesn't apply in the
- 16 particular context of the Eighteenth Amendment,
- given the concurrent powers of the state and
- 18 the federal government.
- 19 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: None of these
- 20 concerns were presented in Bartkus, though,
- 21 right?
- MR. CHAITEN: Excuse me?
- 23 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: None of the
- 24 concerns you've been talking about there were
- 25 presented in Bartkus?

1 MR. CHAITEN: So -- so just -- Bartkus 2 was decided at the same time as Abbate. Abbate 3 is the case that answers this particular question. Abbate remarkably says we're just 4 5 going to adhere to Lanza because none of the 6 issues that are presented today are different 7 from what was presented in Lanza, which is a 8 really remarkable statement. 9 And Abbate is also pre-incorporation. Bartkus obviously is a due process case under 10 the burden of Palko v. Connecticut, and the --11 12 the evidence that we're presenting here was not 13 fully presented in Bartkus. The Court made --14 JUSTICE KAGAN: Could you say a little 15 bit more about why you think incorporation or 16 the lack of incorporation had anything to do 17 with this question? 18 MR. CHAITEN: Yes. So Fox v. Ohio, it 19 -- its lead rationale is non-incorporation. And, I mean, I think it's wrong, but it clearly 20 said that and then Lanza picked it up and then 21 Abbate picked it up. And I think what the 2.2 23 Court --JUSTICE KAGAN: I mean, there is that 24 25 reference in Fox, but it honestly makes no

- 1 sense that incorporation would be the basis of
- the doctrine, because if incorporation were the
- 3 basis of the doctrine, you would have a
- 4 doctrine that only cuts one way.
- 5 In other words, it would -- it would
- 6 -- the Court would have held that the federal
- 7 government can't prosecute an individual for
- 8 the same offense after a state prosecution, but
- 9 not the other way around. So the fact that
- 10 there's not a one-way ratchet but that, in
- 11 fact, it's a symmetrical rule suggests that
- incorporation has nothing to do with it at all.
- 13 MR. CHAITEN: I think what the Court
- 14 was getting at was the -- I think the -- it was
- 15 the -- the baronial logic of it was that
- 16 "offense" must mean federal offense because the
- 17 Double Jeopardy Clause only applies to the
- 18 federal government.
- 19 That's what this Court was getting at.
- That's what was picked up in Abbate and Lanza,
- 21 and that's what's no longer true. So as a --
- 22 as a pure -- I don't think it was a legitimate
- 23 rationale to begin with because it conflates
- 24 two things that are different, to which
- 25 government does the clause apply and what prior

- offenses count for double jeopardy purposes.
- 2 That was the rationale.
- 4 the government is defending that rationale.
- 5 They -- they -- they completely ignore the
- 6 non-incorporation rationale.
- 7 JUSTICE KAGAN: I -- I guess what
- 8 strikes me, Mr. Chaiten, is that you can say,
- 9 well, you know, this case was a little bit
- 10 different. In this case, the arguments weren't
- 11 properly presented. In this case, there's
- 12 something else that's the matter. But, you
- 13 know, this is an 170-year-old rule, and it's an
- 14 170-year-old rule that's been relied on by
- 15 close on 30 justices have voted at one time or
- 16 another specifically for this rule, not an
- 17 application of this -- but for this rule.
- 18 And, you know, part of what stare
- decisis is, is a kind of doctrine of humility
- where we say we are really uncomfortable
- 21 throwing over 170-year-old rules that 30
- justices have approved just because we think we
- 23 can kind of do it better.
- 24 MR. CHAITEN: Well, I mean, I disagree
- 25 with the 170 years because, again, it's -- it's

- 1 dicta and dicta in Fox v. Ohio, and I think it
- 2 is important to look at the rationale when the
- 3 Court finally had an opportunity to decide this
- 4 and make a holding on it, and that is Lanza.
- 5 And there's -- nothing resembling an
- 6 argument for the original understanding of the
- 7 Double Jeopardy Clause was presented in Lanza.
- 8 That was picked up in Abbate. And all these
- 9 cases are pre-incorporation. The Court has
- 10 held repeatedly that jurisprudential changes
- 11 are a reason to revisit a doctrine and
- 12 incorporate --
- 13 JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: But why is the
- 14 doctrine wrong? The -- given the uniqueness of
- our system of government, because there wasn't
- and isn't a comparable system in England at the
- 17 time, there were not separate sovereigns, there
- 18 was one sovereign, England. And one of the
- 19 cases you rely on involved whales, and so the
- 20 application of the rule there makes absolute
- 21 sense in that context.
- 22 But the logic of all of our cases
- 23 relied on a simple theory of -- of -- of what
- 24 the sovereignty between the states and the --
- 25 and the federal government are. And you

2.2

- 1 haven't really explained why that logic is not
- 2 sensical.
- 3 MR. CHAITEN: Well, the logic of the
- 4 English rule as reported in numerous treatises
- 5 from the early 18th Century through the 20th
- 6 Century, it's still the rule today, is that
- 7 where there's a court of concurrent
- 8 jurisdiction, even if it's another government
- 9 that has concurrent jurisdiction, then an
- 10 acquittal there bars a subsequent prosecution.
- JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: Do you have --
- MR. CHAITEN: And the logic for --
- JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: -- do you have any
- current case that describes the English rule
- 15 that way?
- MR. CHAITEN: Current case?
- 17 JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: A current case,
- 18 something --
- 19 MR. CHAITEN: So I refer the Court to
- 20 two things. One, the famous Professor Grant
- 21 article, Successive Prosecutions, tracks the
- 22 law of England and the British empire
- 23 through -- through the -- into the latter half
- of the 20th Century. There was a case in 1985,
- 25 Regina v. Thomas, in which the Court describes

- 1 and applies the rule.
- 2 It -- I don't think the idea that this
- 3 is not the English rule is a serious argument.
- 4 I -- I --
- JUSTICE GINSBURG: Do you know how
- 6 this rule applies within the European Union?
- 7 MR. CHAITEN: It -- it applies the
- 8 same way that we are urging here.
- 9 JUSTICE BREYER: What --
- 10 MR. CHAITEN: That is my
- 11 understanding.
- 12 JUSTICE BREYER: The question, I
- 13 thought, perhaps Justice Kagan and Justice
- 14 Ginsburg and Justice Sotomayor are asking, as I
- 15 understand it, in any case I'm asking it, I --
- 16 I -- I have spent a certain amount of time in
- 17 these old cases. I think that Bartkus in this
- 18 Court says there were three with you, three
- 19 against you, two undecided. I don't find it
- 20 quite as clear, but I'll go back and look at
- 21 them again.
- But suppose you're right. Maybe
- 23 Marbury versus Madison was wrong. Maybe there
- 24 are mis-cites in all kinds of things. Look at
- 25 the door we're opening up. And here you've

- 1 read the briefs. There are -- there are briefs
- 2 that say remember the civil rights world where
- 3 people were, with victims of a different race,
- 4 simply killing them or worse, and the state
- 5 would just, ah, don't worry, they'll never
- 6 convict, and they didn't.
- 7 Or think of the brief here with the
- 8 Indian tribes. We're saying that we need this
- 9 kind of thing for abuse of women. And think of
- 10 the case of prohibition. And think of the
- 11 cases that you've seen.
- 12 Now what I looked for in your briefs
- which I haven't found yet but for the military
- is, is it really the case or not that, as a
- 15 practical matter, if you go back the last 10
- 16 years or five or whatever it is, you found a
- 17 whole lot of cases where people were prosecuted
- twice by different sovereigns for what was the
- 19 same thing. Because I didn't see them listed
- 20 here in any brief but for the military.
- 21 And -- and, therefore, to me, that's
- 22 an important question.
- MR. CHAITEN: Well -- well, we can't
- 24 know for sure how many successive prosecutions
- 25 there are --

1 JUSTICE BREYER: Of course. 2 MR. CHAITEN: -- because the federal 3 government and the states --4 JUSTICE BREYER: I don't expect you to 5 know for sure. MR. CHAITEN: Well, and I -- well, and 6 7 I want to say the reason I'm saying we can't know for sure is because the government's 8 Petite policy is a secretive policy that they 9 implement and they don't really share data on 10 11 it, other than the prosecutions they decline to 12 make. 13 Sources from the early 2000s say that they've authorized 150 Petite authorizations 14 15 per year. There's reason to believe, I 16 think -- and, first of all, let me step back 17 and say I don't think that should dictate what 18 the constitutional rule is. There's no minimum 19 number of constitutional violations that triggers this Court's duty to enforce the 20 Constitution. But I think there's every reason 21 2.2 to believe that the use of this intersovereign 23 prosecution, particularly federal after state, for the same crime is increasing. You could 24 25 just see the facts of this case.

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1
               It is really difficult --
 2
               JUSTICE GINSBURG: How much does --
 3
      does Blockburger shrink the significance?
 4
      Because -- because with -- if there's a
 5
      different element in one, that's enough to take
 6
      it out of double jeopardy?
 7
               MR. CHAITEN: If each has a different
      -- an element the other doesn't have, then,
 8
 9
      yes, that's enough to take it out of double
      jeopardy. And that's -- that -- that makes
10
11
      sense when you're talking about federal and
12
      state government because, if the federal
      government has made a considered decision that
13
14
      there's some substantial federal interest here,
15
      they can write -- they can define the crime in
16
      a way that's probably going to be different
17
      than -- than -- than crimes that states
18
      prosecute which are local crimes.
19
               I think --
20
               JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: Well, it could
      come under --
21
2.2
               JUSTICE GINSBURG: Do you know how
23
      that would work for the civil rights cases?
24
               MR. CHAITEN: Yeah -- yes, yes. So --
25
      so -- so, one, I want to note that the -- the
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- 1 -- on the civil rights concern, the ACLU
- 2 supported us. Other progressive organizations
- 3 have supported us. The Howard Civil Rights
- 4 Clinic, the Howard University Thurgood Marshall
- 5 Civil Rights Clinic, has filed a brief in
- 6 support of neither side, but I believe it's
- 7 quite helpful to us because it explains why, if
- 8 the Court adopts our rule, it is not likely to
- 9 be a problem for civil rights prosecutions.
- The main tools for federal civil
- 11 rights prosecutions are 18 U.S.C. 241 and 18
- 12 U.S.C. 242.
- 13 JUSTICE ALITO: Well, that would be
- 14 the case if the Blockburger rule holds, but
- your interpretation of the term "offence" in
- 16 the Fifth Amendment is perhaps inconsistent
- 17 with the way this Court has interpreted that --
- 18 that concept in Blockburger cases. Isn't that
- 19 true?
- 20 MR. CHAITEN: I -- I don't think it's
- 21 the least bit inconsistent. I think if you
- 22 look at -- if you look at -- so the -- the
- current understanding of the Blockburger rule
- 24 derives from Justice Scalia's dissent in Grady
- v. Corbin, which had -- which was adopted in

- 1 Dixon, and it's exactly what we're saying it
- is. It's a crime defined by the same elements
- 3 or -- or a lot lesser --
- 4 JUSTICE ALITO: But didn't he --
- 5 didn't he say it is the elements defined by a
- 6 particular sovereign?
- 7 MR. CHAITEN: I -- I don't believe he
- 8 actually said that in Grady v. Corbin, and I
- 9 don't think the Court said that in Dixon.
- 10 There was nothing sovereign-specific about it.
- 11 The government tries to say that it's -- it --
- it -- it's necessarily a rule of legislative
- intent which makes it sovereign-specific. But
- 14 that -- that is not what -- that is not what
- 15 the English authorities said.
- Now the English --
- 17 JUSTICE ALITO: Can I go back to the
- 18 way you began? I mean, you told us that there
- is a mountain of evidence supporting your
- interpretation of the original meaning of the
- 21 Double Jeopardy Clause.
- 22 Put aside Hutchinson and put aside the
- 23 case involving Welsh law that Justice Sotomayor
- 24 referred to. Can you cite any 17th -- any 16th
- 25 or 17th or 18th Century British case in which a

- 1 foreign judgment actually barred a prosecution
- 2 in Great Britain?
- 3 MR. CHAITEN: In Great Britain? Well,
- 4 it -- it's -- it's Hutchinson. The actual
- 5 holding of Roche was that the plea of autrefois
- 6 acquit based on foreign acquittal would be a
- 7 bar because that -- if that was necessary to
- 8 the court's decision, the court was deciding
- 9 whether -- whether the defendant could plead
- 10 that and innocence at the same time and said it
- 11 couldn't because the plea of autrefois acquit
- 12 based on foreign conviction would be a bar.
- It's true that the Hutchinson --
- JUSTICE ALITO: Well, there's -- I
- 15 mean, there are questions about Roche. What --
- in the version of the opinion that was
- available at the time of the founding, was
- 18 Hutchinson even cited?
- 19 MR. CHAITEN: Hutchinson wasn't cited,
- 20 but Roche on its own -- Roche on its own stood
- 21 for that proposition. And then, in 1800, the
- 22 Hutchinson explanation was added to the
- 23 opinion.
- 24 JUSTICE ALITO: So this is a mount --
- 25 this is a mountain?

1	MR. CHAITEN: The the mountain I
2	would primarily start with the treatises. And,
3	by the way, in the in the Grady v. Corbin
4	dissent, the entirety of the English common law
5	evidence that the Court that Justice Scalia
6	relied on, that then became the opinion of the
7	Court in Dixon, was five treatises, one
8	pre-ratification case that was dicta, and one
9	post-ratification case that adopted it. So
LO	that was that was the way the originalist
L1	inquiry happened.
L2	If you want to know what the public
L3	understanding of the rule was
L4	JUSTICE ALITO: Do you have any
L5	evidence that most of these treatises that
L6	these treatises with the exception of
L7	Blackstone, which was every lawyer's bible at
L8	the time of the founding. But there's almost
L9	nothing in Blackstone about this. These other
20	treatises were well-known to the members of the
21	first Congress and to the the members of the
22	state ratifying conventions? They had these
23	treatises on their bookshelves and that was
24	what they looked to? Do you have any evidence
25	of that?

1 MR. CHAITEN: Yeah. Yes. These 2 treatises were all -- all the treatises we cite were available in America. 3 4 JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: They were? 5 MR. CHAITEN: They were well-known treatises. The Buller treatise, which the 6 7 government seems to enjoy taking potshots at -the Buller treatise was written by Sir Francis 8 Buller, who was a member of the King's Bench at 9 the time of the framing. It is cited in 10 11 numerous cases in this country, pre-framing and 12 post-framing, for criminal law principles and 13 civil law principles. So three -- three of the five 14 15 treatises that Justice Scalia relied on in 16 Grady v. Corbin are -- are treatises we rely on 17 here, Hawkins, Starkie, and Chitty. You know, 18 this is --19 JUSTICE ALITO: But those treatises 20 don't cite any actual authority. MR. CHAITEN: Those treatises? 21 2.2 JUSTICE ALITO: What -- what actual 23 authority? What holdings of pre-Fifth Amendment-adoption courts are cited in those --24 25 can be cited in those treatises? You're just

1 2 MR. CHAITEN: Yeah, MacNally --3 MacNally cites Hutchinson and cites -- and 4 cites Roche. 5 JUSTICE ALITO: Hutchinson? Do we 6 have the --7 MR. CHAITEN: It just doesn't cite them. It discusses them. And it says --8 9 JUSTICE ALITO: Do we have -- do we have the opinion in Hutchinson? 10 MR. CHAITEN: There is a bail 11 12 notation, and that is the only thing that survived, and the scholars have -- scholarship 13 has long noted that that was from one phase of 14 15 the case. But it doesn't matter. It doesn't 16 matter because we have the King's Bench 17 repeatedly saying this is the rule, this is the 18 rule. 19 And -- and the government cites not a 20 single authority to the contrary, stating an opposite rule. There's no --21

2.2

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for ping-ponging you from the -- from the

framing back to the present, but I'd like to

return you to Justice Breyer's question about

JUSTICE GORSUCH: Counsel, I apologize

- 1 the impact this might have on civil rights
- 2 organizations and -- and others.
- 3 You know, the stare decisis
- 4 considerations, one of which would be are we
- 5 upsetting settled expectations currently?
- 6 MR. CHAITEN: Well, I don't think it
- 7 would have an impact on civil rights
- 8 litigation. As I was -- as I was saying, I
- 9 think the --
- 10 JUSTICE GORSUCH: You started, but I'm
- 11 -- I'd like you to develop that further.
- MR. CHAITEN: Yes. So --
- 13 JUSTICE GORSUCH: I didn't get a
- 14 complete answer.
- MR. CHAITEN: Sorry. And so I
- 16 mentioned that the primary tools of the federal
- 17 government in the area of civil rights
- 18 prosecution are 18 U.S.C. 241 and 242. 241 is
- 19 conspiracy to deprive someone of their
- 20 constitutional rights under color of law. 242
- is actually doing it. Those aren't going to be
- 22 the same offenses as, say --
- JUSTICE BREYER: Now.
- 24 MR. CHAITEN: -- a murder or an
- 25 assault.

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               JUSTICE BREYER: Now. Now. But a
 2
      state -- well, I don't -- I can't foresee the
      future. And it wouldn't be that hard.
 3
 4
      wouldn't have been --
 5
               MR. CHAITEN: Well, in the federal
      government, if --
 6
 7
               JUSTICE BREYER: -- for a state
      government in -- you see? Look, what's
 8
 9
      actually bothering me is, yes, I know you're
      convinced on the history. I also know that --
10
11
      that, there, it maybe less clear than you
12
      think, but maybe not, that this Court several
13
      times has looked at the history and they've
      said it's inconclusive and, therefore -- and
14
15
      now we have a rule that's been there a long,
16
      long time.
17
               And if we're going to go back and look
      to whether this Court got the history right in
18
      cases, I have my own candidates. You see?
19
20
               MR. CHAITEN: So --
21
               JUSTICE BREYER: Okay? So -- so -- so
2.2
      now --
23
               MR. CHAITEN: -- I don't agree that
      the Court has several times looked --
24
25
               JUSTICE BREYER: -- my problem is
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- 1 that. 2 MR. CHAITEN: But --3 JUSTICE BREYER: My problem is, is 4 this a basis for going back, the same one that 5 -- the same question. But I haven't heard the 6 answer that Justice Kagan started with. 7 MR. CHAITEN: So -- so -- so two -two responses. And one, could I -- if I could 8 9 finish on the civil rights issue. I just wanted to add that the federal government can 10 11 take control in all manner of ways. 12 particular case, they can take custody of someone via an ad prosequendum writ. 13 Congress -- if -- if states were becoming 14 15 uncooperative in the area of civil rights, and 16 this were really a problem, which it doesn't 17 seem to be today, the federal government could preempt certain state crimes. There are any 18 19 number of ways the -- the federal government could take control if, in the future, there 20 21 were these problems that we can't foresee 2.2
- today. 23 And then as far as the -- the history
- being analyzed in several opinions of this 24
- 25 Court, no, which -- respectfully, Your Honor, I

- 1 disagree. It is one footnote in one opinion.
- 2 It is Footnote 9 of Bartkus.
- JUSTICE GORSUCH: I -- I think the
- 4 question, though, is, of all the errors this
- 5 Court has made over the years --
- 6 (Laughter.)
- JUSTICE BREYER: That's right.
- 8 JUSTICE GORSUCH: -- why this one?
- 9 Why should we care about this one?
- 10 MR. CHAITEN: Well -- well, we should
- 11 care because there is an ancient right not to
- 12 be tried twice for the same crime. And the
- original understanding of the Double Jeopardy
- 14 Clause considers this the same crime.
- 15 It would allow --
- 16 JUSTICE KAGAN: But, Mr. Chaiten, I
- mean, one of the --
- 18 MR. CHAITEN: You should care --
- 19 JUSTICE KAGAN: I'm sorry. Please.
- 20 MR. CHAITEN: You should -- you should
- 21 care because we've cited examples of cases
- 22 where a state court --
- JUSTICE GORSUCH: I -- I -- I --
- 24 MR. CHAITEN: -- acquitted someone of
- 25 murder and the federal government convicted.

1 JUSTICE GORSUCH: Counsel -- counsel, 2 I'm sorry to interrupt, but I think -- I think we've got that, okay? I think it's just a 3 4 practical question. 5 It took until last year for this Court 6 to overrule Korematsu. Why is this case 7 practically today important? MR. CHAITEN: It is -- it is important 8 9 for the -- it is important because we currently have a rule that allows the federal government 10 11 to come in and decide they didn't like the way 12 a state prosecuted someone or the result of the 13 prosecution or the sentence they got and re-14 prosecute them. 15 It's precisely what happened in this 16 case. There's every reason to believe it 17 happens with some regularity. And the Court 18 can put an end to it. The scholars --19 JUSTICE KAGAN: Well, I quess -- I guess the -- the question that underlies 20 Justice Breyer's question about civil rights is 21 2.2 something along the lines of: You know, that's 23 consistent with our structure of government. 24 We have dual sovereigns. That means dual 25 regulation. And dual regulation often means

- 1 dual punishment.
- 2 And if we were to adopt the rule that
- 3 you suggest, it might very well be that either
- 4 the federal government would have to
- 5 subordinate its interests to the states or that
- 6 the states would have to subordinate their
- 7 interests to the federal government.
- 8 And one of the things about our
- 9 constitutional structure makes -- which makes
- 10 it unusual is that -- is that both sovereigns
- 11 are understood to have significant interests
- 12 that they have the capacity to pursue.
- MR. CHAITEN: But where they have the
- 14 concurrent jurisdiction over something that is
- 15 the same offense, that is illegitimate for
- 16 reasons that were understood at the framing.
- 17 Take the cases of -- take Furlong. That's a
- 18 case where multiple sovereigns have concurrent
- 19 jurisdiction over robbery at sea, and it was
- 20 well understood that a prosecution by one would
- 21 bar a prosecution by another.
- JUSTICE KAGAN: Yeah. Well, I read
- 23 Furlong a little bit differently, as actually
- 24 separating out the offense of piracy, which was
- 25 an offense that sort of was in common, versus

- 1 the offense of murder, which Furlong says, yes,
- 2 each different jurisdiction can prosecute the
- 3 offense.
- 4 MR. CHAITEN: The murder of a British
- 5 subject by a British subject on a British ship
- 6 is what they were saying.
- 7 JUSTICE KAGAN: I guess I would ask --
- 8 MR. CHAITEN: They weren't -- they
- 9 weren't -- they weren't drawing -- they were --
- 10 they were just applying a concurrent
- 11 jurisdiction rule, and they were saying why
- would the U.S. have concurrent jurisdiction
- over that.
- JUSTICE KAGAN: I suppose my -- my
- main question, which actually goes back to
- 16 Justice Gorsuch's question, because Justice
- 17 Gorsuch has been trying to lead you away from
- 18 something, and I'm a little bit also confused
- 19 as -- as to why your argument seems, frankly, a
- 20 little bit one note.
- 21 You know, your -- your brief and now
- 22 your argument is just all about the original
- jurisdiction. And there are some people on
- 24 this bench that think that that is the alpha
- and omega of every constitutional question.

1 But there are other people on this 2 bench who do not, who think that 170 years of 3 significant practice where 30 Justices have 4 signed on to a rule, that you're going to have 5 to give me more than the fact that, you know, 6 actually, pretty early on in the republic they 7 decided that that was not what the original understanding was, even if they're wrong. 8 9 MR. CHAITEN: Well --10 JUSTICE KAGAN: And so this is your 11 opportunity to give me more. 12 MR. CHAITEN: Okay. 1922, I would 13 But my opportunity in response to your -say. your offering me an opportunity to give you 14 15 more, I will tell you incorporation. 16 Incorporation, incorporation, incorporation. 17 The Court has said its own precedents 18 are that incorporation makes a big difference 19 for purposes of stare decisis. 20 So look at Elkins and look at -- look at Murphy v. Waterfront Commission. After 21 2.2 incorporation, the federal government and the 23 state government shouldn't be able to combine 24 to do that which they can't do alone. 25 JUSTICE KAVANAUGH: Part of -- part of

- 1 the original understanding as well was stare
- decisis, and stare decisis is a principle, in
- 3 my view, rooted in Article III, as Federalist
- 4 78 points out and as Justice Kagan points out.
- 5 It's a doctrine of stability and humility that
- 6 we take very seriously.
- 7 And the reason -- with the bar that
- 8 you have to clear, I believe, is not just to
- 9 show that it's wrong but to show that it's
- 10 grievously wrong, egregiously wrong, something
- 11 meaning a very high bar because stare decisis
- is itself a constitutional principle.
- 13 And given, as Justice Alito says, the
- 14 uncertainty about the history, can you clear
- 15 that bar?
- 16 So two questions. Is that the right
- 17 way to look at it, grievously wrong, and --
- and, two, how can you clear that given some of
- 19 the uncertainty?
- 20 MR. CHAITEN: So -- so I'm not sure
- 21 grievously wrong is the right way to look at it
- when you're talking about an unconstitutional
- 23 law enforcement practice because this Court has
- 24 never upheld an unconstitutional --
- 25 JUSTICE KAVANAUGH: But that's begging

- 1 -- that's begging the question. The whole
- 2 point is that there are prior decisions going
- 3 back, as Justice Kagan says, many years,
- 4 reaffirming this doctrine.
- 5 And the question is, when are we going
- 6 to upset that stability, when are we going to
- 7 depart from the humility of respecting
- 8 precedent and overrule it?
- 9 MR. CHAITEN: So --
- 10 JUSTICE KAVANAUGH: I mean, usually it
- 11 has to be -- your -- your brief uses
- 12 egregiously wrong. I -- I use the term
- 13 grievously wrong.
- 14 MR. CHAITEN: Well, and I agree this
- 15 -- this rule is egregiously wrong. It's a rule
- 16 that -- there was no practice for all of
- 17 English history, no practice for the first
- 18 century of this republic. That alone, I think,
- 19 speaks volumes.
- 20 And the -- I think, going back to
- 21 incorporation, I think, in addition to just how
- wrong the rule is, as explained by many jurists
- and many scholars over many decades, I think
- incorporation -- the Court has never had a full
- and fair opportunity post-incorporation to

1 revisit this rule. 2 JUSTICE GORSUCH: And I quess, counsel --CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: How -- how 3 4 does it work as a practical matter? Is this --5 is it a race to the courthouse? I mean, if a prosecution bars a subsequent one, the state 6 7 and federal government may have different perspectives, is it whoever can empanel a jury 8 9 first is going to block the others? MR. CHAITEN: So I don't think so. 10 So, first of all, the -- the norm in the 11 12 country is cooperation between federal and state authorities. There are just -- speaking 13 14 of one agency in one area of law, the DEA --15 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Well, it sure 16 wasn't entirely true at the time of the civil 17 rights actions in the -- in the '60s and '70s. It wasn't true at the time of the fugitive 18 19 slave law. MR. CHAITEN: Well, as a practical 20 21 matter, I think it is true today. 2.2 Secondly, Blockburger has been subject 23 to enormous criticism because it isn't 24 defended, frankly, enough. When you apply 25 Blockburger, oftentimes these aren't going to

- 1 be the same offenses.
- 2 And this is a critical, critical
- 3 point. We have had an experiment in this rule.
- 4 The experiment is that between 20 and 37 states
- 5 already bar successive prosecutions after a
- 6 federal prosecution or by another state as a
- 7 matter of state law. And where is the race to
- 8 the courthouse concerned in those states?
- 9 Where are the law enforcement problems in those
- 10 states? They don't exist.
- 11 And I don't think Texas and the
- government have ever really -- ever even really
- 13 responded to that point.
- If I may, Mr. Chief Justice, I'd like
- 15 to reserve the remainder of my time.
- 16 Thank you.
- 17 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Thank you,
- 18 counsel.
- 19 Mr. Feigin?
- 20 ORAL ARGUMENT OF ERIC J. FEIGIN
- 21 ON BEHALF OF THE RESPONDENT
- MR. FEIGIN: Thank you, Mr. Chief
- 23 Justice, and may it please the Court:
- 24 Throughout its history, this Court has
- 25 correctly recognized that the distinct and

- 1 separate sovereign powers of the state and
- 2 federal governments make state and federal
- 3 crimes different offenses under the Double
- 4 Jeopardy Clause.
- 5 Petitioner provides no reason for this
- 6 Court suddenly to conclude that it's been wrong
- 7 all this time. And overturning 170 years of
- 8 precedent on this issue is going to invite a
- 9 whole host of problems that this Court has thus
- 10 far been able to avoid.
- 11 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Well, 170
- 12 years, I -- I think your friend is right, isn't
- it, that we have not had a full consideration
- and exposition of the issue in any of our
- 15 precedents?
- 16 MR. FEIGIN: I don't think that's
- 17 correct, Your Honor. I think, as you yourself
- 18 pointed out earlier in the argument, the
- 19 historical point that he is making here and
- that is the centerpiece of his argument, that
- 21 even prosecutions by a foreign sovereign can
- 22 bar domestic prosecution by a state or by the
- 23 United States, was fully before the Court in
- 24 Bartkus.
- 25 The Grant article that is all over the

- 1 Petitioner's brief and that Petitioner's
- 2 counsel cited at argument today was cited by
- 3 Justice Black in his dissent in Bartkus. And
- 4 all the authorities on which he's relying, with
- 5 the exception of Roche, which, correctly
- 6 understood, doesn't actually announce this
- 7 rule, were identified by Justice Frankfurter
- 8 for the majority in Footnote 9.
- 9 And the Court found these authorities
- 10 to be dubious and of limited value in --
- 11 because they don't really speak to our
- 12 federalism.
- JUSTICE GINSBURG: But you -- you have
- 14 to concede, won't you, that this rule, this
- separate sovereign rule, has been widely
- 16 criticized by both academics and federal
- 17 judges?
- 18 MR. FEIGIN: Your Honor, it has come
- 19 under some criticism. I think what's worth
- 20 noting is a lot of the articles that criticize
- 21 it also recognize that some exceptions are
- 22 necessary and that successive prosecutions and
- 23 separate prosecutions are sometimes necessary
- 24 to vindicate particular sovereign interests.
- 25 So take the civil rights brief that my

- 1 friend was just mentioning. They think that
- 2 this Court, if it goes for the position the
- 3 Petitioner's advocating, should then announce a
- 4 separate constitutional doctrine that save
- 5 civil rights prosecutions.
- 6 And that's because they realize the
- 7 enormous consequences that overturning all this
- 8 precedent would have. What's --
- 9 JUSTICE GINSBURG: I thought the
- 10 answer to the civil rights cases is it's not
- 11 the same offense, 241 and 242. There are no
- 12 state law counterparts to those.
- MR. FEIGIN: Your Honor, those aren't
- the only civil rights charges we bring. So in
- 15 the recent shootings by -- the recent shootings
- of the synagogue in Pittsburgh and of the
- 17 African-American church in Charleston, we've
- 18 charged those with offenses that -- I mean, I
- 19 can get into the details if you'd like, but
- they're essentially murder plus a bunch of
- 21 elements. And those would be Block --
- JUSTICE GINSBURG: Well, but once you
- 23 say --
- 24 MR. FEIGIN: -- could be Blockburger
- 25 barred.

JUSTICE GINSBURG: -- once -- once you 1 2 say "a bunch of elements," then you get into 3 Blockburger. 4 MR. FEIGIN: No, Your Honor, murder 5 would be a less -- considered a lesser-included offense of those offenses if the offense is 6 7 defined by different sovereigns were considered the same, as Petitioner is urging. But those 8 9 -- that's not even the only consequence. Even the -- there are a number of 10 11 categories of cases that would be put at issue 12 here. And I -- I can get into more detail in those in a moment, but before I get to that, 13 14 even the possibility of claims like this 15 creates adverse consequences for law 16 enforcement, for legislatures, and for courts. 17 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Well, you had -- you must think that there's some problem or 18 you wouldn't have the Petite policy. I mean, 19 that's -- that's an odd defense of a -- of a --20 21 a position to say, well, we take care of it 2.2 somewhere else, so don't worry about it. 23 MR. FEIGIN: Well, no, Your Honor, I 24 think there are a number of instances, 25 including the Double Jeopardy Clause just last

1 term, where a plurality of this Court has 2 recognized the Constitution doesn't solve every 3 potential policy problem that may arise, and we 4 leave those -- a lot of those questions for 5 legislatures or for the political branches in 6 general. 7 And I think this has actually been a real success story of that because he was just 8 9 asked if he could point to any significant practical problems, and he couldn't. But I can 10 11 point to a lot of practical problems that are 12 going to arise if this Court adopts his rule. 13 So, on the law enforcement side, just 14 the possibility that this could happen is going 15 to deter cooperation, encourage aggressive 16 prosecutions, a race to the courthouse, and 17 defendants trying to play each sovereign off against the other where one sovereign will have 18 19 the ability to unilaterally bargain away the 20 other sovereign's ability to enforce its interests. And I'd -- I'd like to get into 21 2.2 some concrete examples of that in a second. 23 But, as to legislatures, he said it himself, he's going to -- this would 24 25 incentivize Congress to preempt state law in

- 1 more circumstances, and it's going to also
- 2 incentivize --
- JUSTICE GINSBURG: What about a case
- 4 like this, this very case, a felon in
- 5 possession? It's the same crime, federal and
- 6 state. What is the manipulation that you see
- 7 there?
- 8 MR. FEIGIN: Well, Your Honor, the --
- 9 the examples I would get into, and I'm happy to
- 10 get into them, are examples of cases in which
- 11 state and federal interests would be blocked.
- 12 But speaking to this particular case, I don't
- 13 think there's any dispute, at least by
- 14 Petitioner, that the federal government has a
- 15 substantial interest in regulating access to
- 16 the interstate market for firearms by someone
- 17 who has twice fired weapons that endangered
- 18 members of his own family and other members of
- 19 the community.
- The only question is whether that
- 21 substantial federal interest was vindicated
- when he entered into an omnibus plea deal with
- 23 the state where he wound up, as a practical
- 24 matter, not receiving any additional time in
- 25 prison for the firearm offense.

JUSTICE GORSUCH: Well, but I think 1 2 that's exactly the problem that is practically 3 more apparent today or at least of potential 4 concern that counsel might have addressed, and 5 that is with the proliferation of federal crimes, I think over 4,000 statutes now and 6 7 several hundred thousand regulations, the opportunity to -- for the government to seek a 8 9 successive prosecution if it's unhappy with even the most routine state prosecution is a 10 11 problem. 12 Justice Brennan was concerned about it 13 in Bartkus. In that case, there was some 14 evidence of manipulation even by federal 15 authorities to secure a second conviction in 16 state court. 17 Why shouldn't that be a practical 18 concern we ought to be more concerned about 19 today? MR. FEIGIN: Well, let me say a few 20 21 things about that, Your Honor. I mean, the 2.2 reason we have the Petite policy is we do 23 understand that successive prosecutions are 24 very often inappropriate and we try to reserve 25 them for circumstances in which the federal

- 1 interest hasn't been vindicated.
- 2 But I think, to the extent that --
- 3 that there's a concern about successive
- 4 prosecutions, it's not so much successive
- 5 prosecutions based on a particular law of one
- 6 sovereign or another; it's successive
- 7 prosecutions for the same conduct all raise
- 8 those concerns.
- 9 But everyone agrees that successive
- 10 prosecutions for the same conduct don't raise
- any double jeopardy concerns. That's why the
- 12 Petite policy, Mr. Chief Justice, is somewhat
- 13 broader. It covers a -- a subsequent federal
- 14 prosecution following a state or federal
- disposition for the same act or transaction.
- But, to get back to your question,
- 17 Justice Gorsuch, I think that makes the Double
- Jeopardy Clause not necessarily the appropriate
- 19 vessel for vindicating that concern.
- JUSTICE GORSUCH: Well, you know, I
- 21 wonder about that because, in our prior cases,
- 22 we hinged on two things, in Bartkus, among
- other places. One was incorporation, and we
- 24 were concerned that the federal government
- would be at a disadvantage compared to states

- 1 without this rule because states were not bound
- 2 then by the Double Jeopardy Clause and could
- 3 pursue a second prosecution after a failed
- 4 federal prosecution. So why shouldn't the
- 5 reverse be true, we thought.
- 6 That rationale has now disappeared
- 7 with incorporation. And we've since revisited
- 8 a very similar -- similar issue in the Fourth
- 9 Amendment context in Elkins, where we used to
- 10 allow federal prosecutors to use illegally
- obtained evidence, and now we don't.
- 12 So that rationale seems to have, in
- fact, changed over time. So that might be one
- 14 -- one argument. And then -- and then the
- other is, again, with the -- with the -- in
- 16 Bartkus, we relied on the -- on the -- and
- 17 elsewhere on -- on the promise that prosecutors
- 18 wouldn't do this in routine cases.
- And, you know, at least to some eyes,
- 20 this might look like a pretty routine case,
- 21 where -- as did Bartkus itself. And why
- 22 shouldn't we be concerned about those two
- 23 things?
- MR. FEIGIN: Well, Your Honor, we
- 25 don't view this as a routine case. We don't --

- 1 first of all, you have to understand that the
- 2 set of cases that could even come under the
- 3 Petite policy is already a very selective
- 4 group. The federal government doesn't charge
- 5 very many criminal cases as compared to the
- 6 states.
- 7 And then we don't -- our number of
- 8 Petite policy approvals each year is about a
- 9 hundred. And this case is important to us
- 10 because it's a part of a program called
- 11 Operation Safe Neighborhoods. The case studies
- have shown, by focusing on recidivist offenders
- 13 like Petitioner, we've reduced crime in some
- 14 neighborhoods by up to 42 percent.
- But even if you don't like this
- 16 prosecution, let me give you a few other
- 17 examples of the kinds of cases that are going
- 18 to be barred under his rule.
- 19 First, there's the foreign judgment
- 20 problem that the Court was discussing with
- 21 Petitioner's counsel. And that's not just a
- 22 hypothetical problem. That's a real one.
- 23 And let me give you a real example.
- 24 In 2003, the FARC rebels in Colombia kidnapped
- 25 American journalists and held them hostage for

- 1 five years. And we have open indictments on
- 2 them. And when there was the peace accord
- 3 between the Colombian government and the FARC
- 4 rebels, the charges against them in Colombian
- 5 court were dismissed.
- 6 Now I'm not certain whether those
- 7 charges -- jeopardy actually attached in those
- 8 cases under Colombian law or exactly what the
- 9 elements of the Colombian law were, but that's
- 10 precisely the inquiry we don't want courts to
- 11 have to have.
- 12 And we certainly don't want to have to
- file, as the government --
- JUSTICE GORSUCH: Well, why not?
- MR. FEIGIN: -- pieces of --
- 16 JUSTICE GORSUCH: We do it in -- in
- 17 civil cases all the time, right? And we -- we
- 18 won't enforce judgments that are shams. We
- 19 won't enforce judgments when there are
- 20 different elements. We won't enforce judgments
- 21 when jeopardy acquittal hasn't attached, so
- 22 claim preclusion wouldn't apply.
- But why is it that civil defendants,
- 24 corporations, businesspeople, get the benefit
- of this rule but not criminal defendants, least

1 amongst us? 2 MR. FEIGIN: Well, usually, Your 3 Honor, there, there's going to be privity among 4 the parties. Here, the Colombian government 5 had a perfectly legitimate sovereign reason for forgiving this conduct once the rebels -- in 6 7 return for which the rebels admitted it and got amnesty, but that reason doesn't apply to the 8 9 federal government. And the other thing that we can't do 10 11 and the thing that Petitioner's counsel's --12 JUSTICE GINSBURG: Well, wouldn't they -- they say since there was never any trial, 13 14 that they were never in jeopardy? 15 MR. FEIGIN: Well, Your Honor, I'm not 16 sure how far the proceedings with respect to each and every individual rebel we might charge 17 18 in Colombia got. But his only solution to 19 this -- and I can give you other examples as 20 well, but just to finish this one up, his only solution to this is to ask the federal 21 2.2 government to make a filing in U.S. district 23 court asking that court not to respect the 24 judgment of a Colombian court.

Now we can't do that with respect to

- 1 Colombian courts or French courts or Italian
- 2 courts without creating enormous diplomatic
- 3 problems for ourselves. And I don't think U.S.
- 4 district courts --
- 5 JUSTICE GINSBURG: I don't know
- 6 whether a dismissal based on some amnesty --
- 7 MR. FEIGIN: So --
- 8 JUSTICE GINSBURG: -- is a -- anything
- 9 like an adjudication on the merits.
- 10 MR. FEIGIN: So, Your Honor, let me
- give you another example. There's the bombing
- of PanAm Flight 103 over Lockerbie, Scotland.
- 13 That implicates the interests of numerous
- 14 sovereigns. One of the bombers has been tried
- in Pakistan, and the U.S. might want to try
- 16 that bomber as well.
- 17 His rule would preclude that. And,
- again, his only solution is to ask a U.S. court
- 19 to declare that some foreign court is not a
- 20 court of competent jurisdiction.
- 21 And to -- Justice Ginsburg, to your
- 22 question before about what European countries
- do, it's not correct that European countries
- 24 all have his rule. Germany, Italy, France,
- 25 Belgium, and Austria are all countries that

- 1 follow the same rule we do. In 2009, French --
- 2 JUSTICE GORSUCH: But -- but -- but as
- 3 I understand it -- and tell me if I'm wrong --
- 4 the common-law countries, Great Britain and
- 5 Canada, do?
- 6 MR. FEIGIN: Not all of them, Your
- 7 Honor. Great Britain, it has become apparent
- 8 recently, the -- probably the best case is the
- 9 Regina against Thomas case that my friend
- 10 cited. It has become apparent recently that
- 11 they do adhere to that rule, although even in
- 12 Regina against Thomas the prosecution, I
- 13 believe, was allowed to proceed for other
- 14 reasons.
- 15 Canada's Supreme Court has reserved
- 16 this question. And the idea that there is some
- international norm that sovereigns can't
- 18 separately vindicate their own interests when
- 19 they are implicated is simply not a rule. But
- 20 let me focus just to -- let's just turn to
- 21 domestic --
- JUSTICE GINSBURG: May I ask, before
- 23 you do that, you -- you rely very heavily on
- 24 federalism, separate sovereigns.
- 25 Is there another case where federalism

- 1 has been invoked to strengthen the hand of
- 2 government, state and/or federal, vis- α -vis an
- 3 individual? Federalism is usually invoked
- 4 because it's a protection of the liberty of the
- 5 individual, but here the party being
- 6 strengthened is not the individual, it is the
- 7 state's freedom and the federal government's
- 8 freedom to bring -- to prosecute the same
- 9 offense, felon in possession.
- 10 MR. FEIGIN: So I think the Court's
- 11 recognized in older cases like Cruikshank,
- 12 which was from the 19th century, and in its
- 13 recent first decision in Bond against United
- 14 States that one of the things that American
- 15 citizens get by being citizens of both the
- 16 state and the United States is that there are
- two sovereigns that can positively legislate;
- 18 that is, pass affirmative legislation to
- 19 protect them.
- 20 So in the civil rights era when the
- 21 states weren't affirmatively protecting the
- 22 civil rights of their citizens enough, they're
- 23 also American citizens, and the United States
- stepped in to vindicate those interests.
- 25 JUSTICE GINSBURG: To -- to state a

- 1 different crime, not the garden-variety
- 2 assault, murder.
- 3 MR. FEIGIN: So, Your Honor, there are
- 4 civil rights offenses on the books now, like 18
- 5 U.S.C. 249, which precludes -- criminalizes
- 6 causing bodily injury to someone for racially
- 7 motivated reasons that could be double jeopardy
- 8 barred under their rule.
- 9 But let me give you -- let me give you
- 10 some other examples of --
- JUSTICE GORSUCH: But counsel, just --
- 12 before we get to more examples, I thought
- 13 Justice Ginsburg's point was worth exploring a
- 14 little more.
- I had thought in this country that the
- 16 people were the sovereign and that sovereignty
- 17 was divided, exercise of sovereignty was
- 18 divided, not multiplied.
- 19 So it was divided between the federal
- 20 government and the state governments, Ninth and
- 21 Tenth Amendment. And that it is awkward, isn't
- it, to say that there are two sovereigns who
- get to multiply offenses against you?
- I can't think of another case where
- 25 federalism is used, as Justice Ginsburg

- 1 indicated, to allow greater intrusions against
- 2 the person, rather than to protect more against
- 3 them.
- 4 MR. FEIGIN: Well, Your Honor, the
- 5 people have vested the sovereignty in both the
- 6 state and the United States --
- 7 JUSTICE GINSBURG: Is there such an
- 8 example? Is there such an example, other than
- 9 double jeopardy, where the individual has a
- double whammy, both the state and the federal,
- 11 usually federalism, as Justice Gorsuch just
- pointed out, are protective of the individual?
- 13 MR. FEIGIN: Well, Your Honor, it is a
- common fact of life that everyone is subject to
- both state and federal regulation. It's why
- 16 everyone in this room, except maybe my friends
- 17 from Texas, pay both state and federal taxes.
- 18 (Laughter.)
- MR. FEIGIN: It's why businesses are
- 20 regulated by both the federal and state
- 21 governments, and why everyone knows that an
- 22 act, and even Petitioner agrees, the same act
- 23 can be both a state and federal crime.
- 24 JUSTICE ALITO: But what about the
- 25 adoption of the Black -- the Blockburger rule

- 1 as opposed to the same -- same transaction
- 2 test?
- 3 MR. FEIGIN: So, Your Honor, I think
- 4 --
- JUSTICE ALITO: That -- that's a --
- 6 that's a rule that -- that's a rule of
- 7 federalism, in a way. And yet it exposes
- 8 defendants to prosecution for the same acts in
- 9 both federal court and state court.
- 10 MR. FEIGIN: I think that's right,
- 11 Your Honor. It would respect the judgments of
- the legislatures as to how they wanted to craft
- 13 their crimes.
- JUSTICE GINSBURG: It's -- it's --
- MR. FEIGIN: Blockburger hasn't
- 16 heretofore been --
- 17 JUSTICE GINSBURG: It's a double
- 18 jeopardy. We're talking about double jeopardy,
- 19 whether it's Blockburger or this case. I asked
- outside the realm of double jeopardy, is there
- 21 such an instance?
- 22 MR. FEIGIN: Your Honor, I -- I think
- 23 I've just given several examples of cases where
- 24 people are regulated more heavily because there
- 25 are two governments than -- than they would if

- 1 they were subject only to one unitary
- 2 government.
- 3 That's a necessary consequence of our
- 4 system. And the Court has repeatedly
- 5 recognized it.
- 6 JUSTICE KAGAN: May I ask, Mr. Feigin,
- 7 do you think that there is a prospect of abuse
- 8 where two different governments can use the
- 9 possibility of prosecutions as a bargaining
- 10 tactic to get defendants to agree to plea
- 11 deals? Is -- is that something that happens
- 12 regularly?
- 13 MR. FEIGIN: I'm not really familiar
- 14 with that being a serious problem under the
- 15 current system. I think the main concern would
- actually be the opposite under the new
- 17 unprecedented system that Petitioner is asking
- 18 this Court to adopt, where someone could go
- into the state prosecutors, someone -- let's
- 20 say someone's caught in California with 100
- 21 kilograms of marijuana, which is a misdemeanor
- in California, as the states point out in their
- 23 brief, but is a felony under federal law.
- And he agrees to plead to the state
- offense, and, therefore, that would bar a

- 1 federal prosecution for possession with intent
- 2 to distribute, which would be considered under
- 3 his rule a greater offense.
- 4 JUSTICE GINSBURG: Do you remember
- 5 what the situation was in the D.C., not so very
- 6 long ago, when we had the same prosecutor for
- 7 the local courts and the federal court? And
- 8 the D.C. court had lower penalties than the
- 9 U.S. code and the prosecutor engaged in just
- 10 that kind of tactic. Plead guilty under the
- 11 D.C. code, and if you don't, I'm going to
- indict you under the U.S. code.
- MR. FEIGIN: Well, Your Honor, D.C. is
- 14 kind of a special case where both of those fall
- 15 under federal government. It's like Puerto
- 16 Rico, in that sense, in that they are not
- 17 separate sovereigns.
- But here is another problem we have
- 19 run into in Puerto Rico. Now the -- we can't
- 20 charge -- we can't rely on the separate
- 21 sovereign understanding of the Double Jeopardy
- 22 Clause there, is that the territorial
- 23 prosecutors in Puerto Rico don't view the
- 24 prosecution of crime in quite the same way as
- 25 the federal government does. They're more

- 1 concerned with crime of a transactional nature,
- 2 rather than necessarily developing longer term
- 3 investigations.
- 4 And so one thing that they do is they
- 5 frequently prosecute drug conspiracies that
- 6 last only for one day, an agreement just to
- 7 sell particular drugs from a particular
- 8 location on a particular day.
- 9 And at least one district court has
- 10 dismissed a federal indictment for broader drug
- 11 conspiracy that occurred for over a range of
- 12 years on the ground that it was simply a
- greater included offense of the smaller Puerto
- 14 Rico drug conspiracy.
- 15 And that's just a consequence of the
- 16 different ways in which the state and the
- 17 federal government use their resources and the
- 18 ways in which they want to prosecute crime.
- 19 JUSTICE BREYER: Are --
- 20 MR. FEIGIN: Another difficulty that's
- 21 going to arise here is prosecutions by the
- 22 federal government that follow tribal
- 23 prosecutions, which I think are about
- 24 two-thirds of the -- of the few hundred
- 25 successive prosecutions that we bring each

1 year. 2 And as this Court recognized a couple 3 of terms ago in United States against Bryant, 4 the federal government plays a critical role in 5 curbing the serious problem of domestic violence against Native American women. 6 7 Tribes are limited generally to prosecuting only for misdemeanors. So if they 8 find that someone has been committing domestic 9 abuse, the most that they can do is prosecute 10 11 that person for a misdemeanor. 12 Under federal law, 18 U.S.C. 117(a), we can prosecute for -- recidivist domestic 13 abusers for a felony. And the tribes bring --14 15 JUSTICE GINSBURG: And what is --16 MR. FEIGIN: The tribes bring --17 JUSTICE GINSBURG: What is the reasons 18 for the tribe's very limited jurisdiction? 19 MR. FEIGIN: So the tribes have 20 limited jurisdiction as a consequence of federal law. Some tribes are allowed to do 21 2.2 more serious offenses in exchange for providing 23 more protections in their courts. Very few have decided they want to 24 25 make that tradeoff because it would require

- 1 them to dispense with some of the traditional
- 2 accoutrements of tribal justice that are
- 3 important to their traditions.
- 4 So as the Court noted in United States
- 5 against Wheeler, justice in tribal courts is
- 6 more focused on restitution between the
- 7 defendant and the victim and less focused on
- 8 incarceration and deterrence and the kinds of
- 9 treatment programs that they can receive in
- 10 federal prison, but that they not going to be
- 11 able to --
- 12 JUSTICE BREYER: I see the problem. I
- just wondered if you want to say a few words on
- 14 a slightly different thing, which I don't know
- if you have anything to add to what's in my
- 16 mind, and I have never been able to formulate a
- 17 principle.
- 18 All right. I looked at the history,
- it's not just a footnote 9. It's a whole
- 20 discussion in Frankfurter's opinion, which is
- on your side, but they have a pretty strong
- 22 argument on their side.
- Then you've pointed to some
- 24 problems -- and I'm sure they are real ones --
- but they don't seem like overwhelming ones in

- 1 terms of how often they occur. Then you say:
- Well, it's 100 cases where this applies every
- 3 year in the federal part and there are also 20
- 4 states, probably 50,000 federal prosecutions,
- 5 something like that, there are a hundred cases,
- 6 and this has been around for 70 years, at
- 7 least, 170, possibly, or somewhere in between.
- 8 So how am I supposed to decide in your
- 9 opinion about whether their arguments, which
- 10 are past, plus a certain unfairness, which
- 11 Justice Black says pretty well outweighs the
- 12 stare decisis. You can't say never, stare
- decisis is never. If it always holds, we
- 14 wouldn't have Brown versus Board.
- But, if it never holds, we're really
- in trouble in terms of the stability of the
- 17 law. Okay? Wonderful. This has occurred to
- 18 you, this problem. And do you have anything to
- 19 say that will help me decide this kind of
- 20 balance?
- 21 MR. FEIGIN: Your Honor, I think they
- need to show a lot more than they have shown
- 23 here in order to overcome this Court's
- 24 consistent understanding throughout its history
- of what the Double Jeopardy Clause means.

1 As Justice Kavanaugh pointed out 2 earlier -- I forget what adjective he used, but 3 it was --4 JUSTICE KAVANAUGH: Grievously. 5 MR. FEIGIN: Thank you. You have to 6 show that this was grievously wrong, and they 7 haven't come close to doing that. I can talk about the history in -- in a second, but just 8 9 in terms of the consequences, there are very 10 serious consequences -- the consequences are 11 going to multiply if you have -- if you adopt 12 their rule because everyone understands how to 13 operate under the old rule. 14 Their rule's going to create problems 15 for courts comparing offenses across 16 jurisdictions. That's complicated --17 JUSTICE GINSBURG: May I ask you a question about issue preclusion? You say no --18 no double -- double jeopardy doesn't operate 19 state -- federal -- federal/state. But how 20 about a case that has been tried in one system 21 2.2 and the jury has found whatever it's found, and 23 then it's tried in the other system and the identical conduct is involved. 24 Is -- does 25 issue preclusion operate?

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1
               MR. FEIGIN: In -- are you talking in
 2
      criminal law --
 3
               JUSTICE GINSBURG: Yes.
 4
               MR. FEIGIN: -- or in -- huh?
 5
               JUSTICE GINSBURG: Yeah.
               MR. FEIGIN: Or in civil law?
 6
 7
               JUSTICE GINSBURG: I'm talking about
      criminal law.
 8
 9
               MR. FEIGIN: So, in criminal law, Your
      Honor, there is no non-mutual collateral
10
11
      estoppel. The Court said as much in -- in
12
      Standefer. And this issue hasn't come up, of
      course, because the Court has understood that
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14
      federal and state crimes are not the same
15
      offense under the Double Jeopardy Clause.
               CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Don't -- don't
16
17
      all your problems go away if you're the first
      to file, if you win the race to the courthouse?
18
19
      And I would assume the same is true with the
20
      states. And so what's most likely is that you
21
      and the states are going to sit down and
22
      develop a -- a way of coordinating which cases
      you're going to file in first and which ones
23
24
      they're going to file in first?
25
               MR. FEIGIN: Well, Your Honor, I'm not
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1 sure that's true, because I'm not sure that 2 we're always going to cooperate. I think the 3 history of this nation has shown that the 4 federal government and states do not always see 5 eye to eye on matters of criminal law 6 enforcement, and there are going to be cases in 7 which each has separate interests to vindicate. You could imagine federal prosecutors 8 in California, as a protest against -- I'm 9 10 sorry, state prosecutors in California, as a 11 protest against federal marijuana laws, 12 allowing anyone who's caught with 50 kilograms of marijuana to walk in and plead to a 13 14 misdemeanor to frustrate federal prosecutions. 15 There are also going to be cases where the state prosecutors simply don't have perfect 16 17 information or maybe the federal prosecutors don't. So the state prosecutors might see 18 something and just think it's a simple assault, 19 and what they don't realize is that it's 20 actually part of a racketeering conspiracy. 21 2.2 And I'm not making up these examples, 23 Your Honor. We see all the Petite waiver 24 requests, and the examples I'm giving the Court 25 are real cases that have actually happened.

- 1 They're at least based on --
- JUSTICE GORSUCH: So, counsel, it
- 3 seems like the ones that you can't cooperate
- 4 you could solve by getting to the courthouse
- 5 first, right?
- 6 MR. FEIGIN: Well, then we're not --
- 7 Your Honor, then, if there's a race to the
- 8 courthouse, it deters state and federal
- 9 prosecutors from cooperating even at the
- 10 investigation stage. You don't have to take my
- 11 word for it. If you look at the state and
- 12 local government brief, that's exactly what
- 13 they say.
- 14 JUSTICE GORSUCH: Can I ask one
- 15 question on -- on -- on stare decisis that we
- haven't explored so far? And that's reliance.
- 17 The government doesn't make a reliance argument
- 18 here as far as I can tell. It says that
- 19 there's going to be some systemic trouble if we
- were to change the rule, and confusion.
- 21 But you -- you can't -- you haven't
- 22 suggested, I don't think, that -- that a
- 23 prosecutor has a right to rely on an
- 24 unconstitutional rule to put someone in prison.
- I mean, that wouldn't be a thing, would it?

1 MR. FEIGIN: Well, Your Honor, I do 2 think that it should weigh heavily on this 3 Court that what it would be doing would 4 potentially be letting people out of prison 5 based -- based on, I think, a rule that is at 6 best --7 JUSTICE GORSUCH: If we -- if we were convinced, though, the Constitution stood one 8 9 way, against you, just hypothetically, you wouldn't -- you wouldn't argue that the 10 11 government has a reliance interest to keep 12 people in prison despite an unconstitutional 13 rule, would you? MR. FEIGIN: Your Honor, I think if 14 15 they had shown the kind of monumental or 16 grievously serious evidence that they would 17 need to show --18 JUSTICE GORSUCH: Well, no. How 19 about 50 --20 MR. FEIGIN: -- to prevent stare decisis. 21 2.2 JUSTICE GORSUCH: Let's just say 23 51 percent, they've persuaded us 51 percent that the Constitution's meaning under any sort 24 25 of interpretation, just hypothetically, is

- 1 against the government.
- Would it be appropriate, in the
- 3 government's view, to keep people in prison in
- 4 those circumstances?
- 5 MR. FEIGIN: Well, Your Honor, it's --
- 6 it's hard to put an exact percentage on it, but
- 7 I do think they would have to show -- this
- 8 isn't just a preponderance of the evidence test
- 9 or stare decisis means nothing. There's also
- 10 something about the reputation of this Court
- and ensuring that this Court doesn't lightly
- 12 overturn its precedents, unless there is some
- monumental reason to do so. And they haven't
- 14 shown that -- they haven't shown any such
- 15 reason to do so today.
- I mean, one -- one further point I
- 17 would -- I would make on that is that their
- 18 entire argument is based on a historical
- 19 principle that no court in the United States
- 20 has ever adopted, which would be this foreign
- 21 judgment bar principle.
- 22 And the result that they would reach
- would be, I think, frankly, unworkable.
- 24 They're not raising any arguments that this
- 25 Court hasn't already considered and rejected.

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1
               JUSTICE KAVANAUGH: Well, it's
 2
      based --
               MR. FEIGIN: And in terms of -- I'm
 3
 4
      sorry.
 5
               JUSTICE KAVANAUGH: Go ahead.
 6
               MR. FEIGIN: Your Honor, you
 7
      referenced earlier and -- as did Justice Kagan
      -- the idea of stare decisis representing
 8
 9
      something about judicial humility. And I can't
      think of anything that's more antithetical to
10
11
      judicial humility than deciding that this
12
      Court, all of a sudden, has discovered some
      historical principle that has eluded its
13
14
      predecessors going back 170 years.
15
               JUSTICE KAVANAUGH: They --
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               MR. FEIGIN: If these -- I'm sorry,
17
      Justice Kavanaugh.
18
               JUSTICE KAVANAUGH: They also raise,
19
      of course, a general principle of individual
      liberty. And we've often said, as Justice
20
      Ginsburg points out, that federalism is
21
2.2
      designed to protect individual liberty.
23
               I think your basic response to that is
      that, actually, that's wrong in certain
24
25
      respects. Federal -- that this system of
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- 1 separate sovereigns means your individual
- 2 liberty's infringed more often by double
- 3 prosecution, double regulation, double
- 4 taxation.
- Is that your answer, or do you have an
- 6 answer other than that in response to the
- 7 individual liberty concern?
- 8 MR. FEIGIN: No, Your Honor, I think
- 9 it's a very narrow and not correct view of
- 10 liberty, only to look at the liberty interests
- 11 of the defendant.
- 12 There are also the liberty --
- 13 JUSTICE KAVANAUGH: From the
- 14 perspective of negative liberty, liberty --
- 15 freedom from government oppression or
- 16 government regulation, your rule strikes some
- 17 -- and this is what they point out -- as a --
- 18 as an infringement of basic concepts of
- 19 individual liberty: You didn't get me the
- 20 first time; you're going to take another crack
- 21 at it.
- 22 MR. FEIGIN: Well, Your Honor, I -- I
- don't think that's the right way to think about
- 24 it. I think the framers decided that they were
- 25 going to protect -- may I finish, Your Honor?

1	CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Uh-huh.
2	MR. FEIGIN: They were going to
3	protect liberty in a particular way, and the
4	way they were going to do that is by vesting
5	sovereign power in the states and in the United
6	States, which could both positively enact laws
7	and protect people who may be victims of
8	crimes.
9	And they did not have any
LO	understanding that the United States or the
L1	states would be precluded from vindicating
L2	their distinct sovereign interests in their own
L3	sovereign spheres by the unilateral actions of
L4	the other sovereign.
L5	Thank you.
L6	CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Thank you,
L7	Mr. Feigin.
L8	General Hawkins.
L9	ORAL ARGUMENT OF KYLE D. HAWKINS
20	FOR TEXAS, ET AL., AS AMICI CURIAE,
21	IN SUPPORT OF AFFIRMANCE
22	MR. HAWKINS: Thank you, Mr. Chief
23	Justice, and may it please the Court:
24	I'm here today on behalf of a broad
25	and diverse coalition of 36 states collectively

- 1 representing over 86 percent of the U.S.
- 2 population. The states may disagree with one
- 3 another about various policy issues, but we are
- 4 united here in urging the Court not to overrule
- 5 its long-standing interpretation of the Double
- 6 Jeopardy Clause.
- 7 To rule for Petitioner, the Court
- 8 would have to read "offence" to mean conduct
- 9 without regard to sovereignty; overrule Fox,
- 10 Lanza, Bartkus, Abbate, and Heath; allow one
- 11 sovereign to potentially thwart another's
- ability to prosecute violations of its laws;
- 13 give foreign powers a potential veto over
- 14 domestic prosecutions; incentivize even --
- 15 JUSTICE GINSBURG: In the -- in the
- 16 numbers -- the numbers you just mentioned, I
- 17 thought we had heard from the other side that
- 18 something like 25 states, something like that,
- do not have the separate sovereigns, one state
- versus another, state versus federal.
- MR. HAWKINS: Well, Your Honor, it's
- true that there are 20 states that have enacted
- a general sort of bar on their ability to bring
- 24 a prosecution based on conduct that was already
- 25 prosecuted by another sovereign.

1 There are some quirks and differences 2 within those states, but I think it's important 3 to note that 14 of those 20 states are a part 4 of our coalition today. They have signed on to 5 our amicus brief urging this Court to leave that decision and those types of policy 6 7 considerations to the states, which are already actively legislating in this area. 8 Take the Commonwealth of Virginia, for 9 example. The Commonwealth of Virginia 10 generally bars a prosecution by that state when 11 12 the federal government has already brought a prosecution based on the same conduct. But, as 13 recently as 2003, following the 9/11 attacks, 14 15 Virginia amended its law to make an exception 16 for terrorism cases. 17 Other -- the parties have spoken about potential exceptions related to civil rights, 18 19 for example. I think the Virginia example 20 shows that states are capable of recognizing the fairness concerns and the policy concerns 21 2.2 that Petitioner raises and legislating 23 appropriately. In asking the Court not to overturn 24 25 its long-standing interpretation, we'd like to

- 1 emphasize a couple of points. First,
- 2 Petitioner's position would create a litany of
- 3 practical problems that could harm state
- 4 interests.
- 5 And I'd like to go through a number of
- 6 examples of those. First, imagine a situation
- 7 in which state A has a tougher penalty for a
- 8 particular type of conduct than does state B.
- 9 That, of course, is the fact pattern of Heath
- 10 v. Alabama.
- 11 Under Petitioner's view, state A would
- 12 not be able to vindicate its interest in that
- 13 sterner prosecution, if state B were to go
- 14 first. That could -- that situation could also
- 15 play out if a state has a sterner penalty for a
- 16 particular act than does the federal
- 17 government.
- This Court, of course, saw that in the
- 19 Screws case, where the state penalty was much
- 20 stronger than the federal penalty. We also see
- 21 that in, for example, the area of robbery.
- 22 Under federal law a robbery of a U.S.
- letter carrier carrying U.S. mail is punishable
- 24 by up to ten years. In Texas, however, robbery
- is punishable by up to 20 years. Again, under

- 1 Petitioner's view, Texas would not be able to
- 2 vindicate --
- JUSTICE KAGAN: I think what your
- 4 friends on the other side might say to that is
- 5 something along the lines of: Well, it's one
- 6 thing to pick the higher penalty and, you know,
- 7 let the state or the -- or the government with
- 8 the higher penalty go forward. The problem
- 9 with this is that you can get both.
- 10 MR. HAWKINS: Well -- well, Your
- 11 Honor, oftentimes as a practical matter there
- won't be both. But suppose another practical
- problem that would arise under Petitioner's
- theory, suppose that a state had a particular
- interest in prosecuting a drug kingpin in that
- 16 state. Suppose he's public enemy number 1 in a
- 17 given state.
- 18 Well, unbeknownst to the state, the
- 19 U.S. government is also looking at that kingpin
- in connection with a different federal
- 21 prosecution. Now, unbeknownst to the state the
- 22 federal government could enter into a plea
- 23 agreement with that criminal in exchange for
- 24 testimony in some other matter that's of grave
- 25 concern to the federal government.

- 1 The states might not know about that 2 until it's too late. At that point the states would not be able to vindicate their interest 3 4 in prosecuting public enemy number 1. 5 And, of course, as the discussion earlier --6 7 JUSTICE GINSBURG: That would certainly limit the willingness of the 8 defendant to cooperate, if that -- if that were 9 the rule. 10 MR. HAWKINS: I'm sorry, Your Honor? 11 12 Can you please repeat that? 13 JUSTICE GINSBURG: If the -- if the --14 if the defendant could be re-prosecuted by the 15 state that would be a disincentive to entering 16 into a plea bargain if he can -- if he can just 17 be subject to prosecution by another sovereign 18 for the same conduct. 19 MR. HAWKINS: Your Honor, I suppose 20 that may be theoretically true, but as my friend from the federal government indicated, 21 2.2 we don't have any evidence that that's the
- 25 As was discussed earlier, we could

pointed to any.

23

24

case, and I don't believe that Petitioner has

- 1 also see this play out as to foreign
- 2 prosecutions. Imagine a situation involving a
- 3 international drug lord, a Pablo Escobar type,
- 4 for example. Suppose that Florida could show
- 5 that this individual had trafficked large
- 6 amounts of drugs into the state of Florida and
- 7 devastated local Florida communities.
- 8 Well, if a local Medellin prosecutor
- 9 and a local Medellin jury were to try and
- 10 acquit Escobar or potentially give him a light
- 11 sentence or something like that, that would,
- 12 under Petitioner's theory, forever prevent the
- 13 Supreme Court of --
- 14 JUSTICE GINSBURG: Acquit of conduct
- 15 engaged in Florida?
- MR. HAWKINS: Well, yes, Your Honor,
- if -- if there were drugs being trafficked by
- 18 the -- by Escobar and a cartel into the state
- 19 of Florida, that would certainly implicate the
- 20 interests of Florida.
- 21 And under Petitioner's theory --
- JUSTICE GINSBURG: Yes, but I asked
- 23 about the Columbia? If the crime is committed
- 24 in Florida against Florida residents --
- 25 MR. HAWKINS: Well, Your Honor, my

- 1 hypothetical I am making assumes that there's
- 2 some sort of Columbian law against trafficking
- drugs out of that country into another country.
- 4 We can certainly imagine that being the case in
- 5 -- in many scenarios.
- 6 Other practical concerns that would
- 7 arise, as my friend from the Department of
- 8 Justice indicated, would involve races to the
- 9 courthouse and competition between states and
- 10 the federal government, rather than
- 11 cooperation, all to the detriment of law
- 12 enforcement.
- 13 And even setting aside these practical
- problems, there are a number of other concerns
- 15 that Petitioner's view would raise. First,
- 16 under Petitioner's view, courts around this
- 17 country would be for the first time asked to
- 18 apply Blockburger across the federal and state
- 19 divide.
- 20 That is no easy thing to do. This
- 21 Court has experienced a taste of that in its
- 22 Armed Career Criminal Act jurisprudence where
- 23 the Court has tried to do something similar to
- that, has developed the modified categorical
- 25 approach and other doctrines to try to

- 1 accomplish that.
- 2 It's no easy matter to do that. That
- 3 problem would even be compounded if this Court
- 4 were to declare a ruling for Petitioner to be
- 5 retroactive.
- 6 Anybody who had been convicted or even
- 7 charged, really, a second time based on similar
- 8 conduct would challenge that prosecution as
- 9 unconstitutional under this Court's rule. And
- then, of course, a Court in reviewing that, if
- 11 the rule were retroactive, would have to go
- 12 back through history and apply Blockburger, not
- just across the federal and state divide, but
- 14 also as a historical matter as to offenses that
- 15 may have changed over time.
- 16 Finally, setting all of these
- 17 practical problems aside, I think it's
- important to note that Petitioner seeks to take
- 19 us into uncharted waters. The -- the rule that
- 20 he imagines has never been the rule in this
- 21 country until potentially now.
- The states and the federal government
- have never had to be concerned about who goes
- 24 first. Under the law of unintended
- 25 consequences, surely there are practical

- 1 problems that would arise from Petitioner's
- 2 position that we may not have even thought
- 3 about today.
- 4 Unless there are further questions.
- 5 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Thank you,
- 6 counsel.
- 7 MR. HAWKINS: Thank you, Your Honor.
- 8 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Mr. Chaiten,
- 9 four minutes remaining.
- 10 REBUTTAL ARGUMENT OF LOUIS A. CHAITEN
- ON BEHALF OF THE PETITIONER
- MR. CHAITEN: I just -- I guess I will
- 13 pick up where -- thank you, Mr. Chief Justice.
- I will pick up where he ended, which
- is that this has never been the rule in the
- 16 country -- in this country today. It's the
- 17 rule in at least 20 -- 20 states. It's the
- 18 rule in 37 states with respect to certain
- 19 crimes. And it also seems to have worked out
- okay.
- 21 I did want to -- I did want to return
- to the issue of stare decisis and respond to
- 23 what they were saying. We -- we have a legal
- 24 framework for answering stare decisis
- 25 questions. It's a law of stare decisis.

1 And I think it provides some pretty 2 standard quidance on this. We -- we have to be right on the merits, that's true, but if we're 3 4 right, if we're assuming we're right on the 5 merits, then -- then the question is what else do we need to show? 6 7 And I already told you about one key factor under this Court's jurisprudence, which 8 is a jurisprudence -- jurisprudential change. 9 And I think incorporation is a pretty 10 11 significant one. Second, we -- there has been a -- a 12 massive expansion in federal law as this Court 13 14 has recognized. That was recognized by this 15 Court in Murphy and Elkins as the kind of 16 changed factual circumstance that would -- that would justify revisiting an issue. 17 18 There -- another issue is reliance. 19 And, of course, reliance isn't really a 20 relevant issue where you're talking about an unconstitutional law enforcement practice. 21 2.2 And, finally, the -- this is a 23 constitutional case. It is not a statutory case. And the Court's approach to stare 24 25 decisis has been different in constitutional

```
1
      cases.
 2
               As -- as for --
               JUSTICE ALITO: Do you think there is
 3
 4
      less reliance here than there was on the issue
 5
      of the Miranda rule?
               MR. CHAITEN: Well, the issue is
 6
 7
      whether -- whether you are continuing an
      unconstitutional law enforcement practice.
 8
                                                   And
 9
      my point is the Court has pointed out in
      Arizona v. Gant that the Court has never
10
      allowed continuation of an unconstitutional law
11
12
      enforcement practice --
13
               JUSTICE ALITO: So you think that --
14
               MR. CHAITEN: -- on reliance.
15
               JUSTICE ALITO: -- any -- any
16
      constitutional decision of this Court that
17
      imposes any limitation on any right in the Bill
18
      of Rights that affects criminal procedure is
      always open to reexamination without
19
      consideration of stare decisis because doing
20
      that would expand the rights of the criminal
21
2.2
      defendant? That's your position?
23
               MR. CHAITEN: Your Honor, I'm not
      saying without consideration of stare decisis.
24
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I am saying without consideration of reliance

```
1
      interests.
 2
               JUSTICE BREYER: Reliance --
 3
               MR. CHAITEN: This Court has said --
 4
               JUSTICE BREYER: I mean, the obvious
 5
      thing that comes into my mind, I got the other
      factors, but the -- the -- it seems --
 6
 7
      what's wrong with what I'm thinking, which must
      be something wrong with it, that very often
 8
      this Court has said the rule of Constitution is
 9
10
      X, but we're not going to apply it
11
      retroactively, because to do that would mean a
12
      vast release of prisoners who have committed
13
      crimes.
14
               Now, that sounds like reliance and
15
      sounds like reliance on a law that the Court
16
      has said is unconstitutional, which is the
17
      preceding situation.
18
               MR. CHAITEN: Yeah, I don't think it's
19
      a reliance issue on addressing the underlying
      merits question. It's just whether to apply
20
      the law retroactively. Incidentally I don't --
21
2.2
               JUSTICE BREYER: You don't --
23
               MR. CHAITEN: I'm sorry.
24
               JUSTICE BREYER: No, the reason you
25
      don't apply the unconstitutional -- the reason
```

- 1 you still apply the unconstitutional law to all
- 2 those people who are in prison is because the
- 3 reliance in the community on their staying in
- 4 prison.
- 5 MR. CHAITEN: Well -- well, I think
- 6 the reason you don't apply it is because the
- 7 judgment is final, but -- so I think it is a
- 8 separate question from the underlying merits
- 9 question, the underlying constitutional
- 10 question.
- 11 And, incidentally, I don't think this
- rule would be retroactive. It's a procedural
- 13 rule. It doesn't go to substantive. It's not
- 14 a watershed rule. So I -- I don't think that's
- 15 a concern here.
- 16 And then --
- 17 JUSTICE ALITO: And there have been
- 18 many decisions of this Court that have imposed
- 19 some limits on -- have rejected some claims
- 20 that have been asserted under the Fourth
- 21 Amendment, under the Fifth Amendment right
- 22 against self-incrimination, under the Sixth
- 23 Amendment jury trial right and the right to
- ineffective assistance of counsel, under the
- 25 Eighth Amendment, right against cruel and

Т	unusual punishment.
2	And if any of those was challenged,
3	you would say there's no there can never be
4	a reliance, and because there's a there
5	never can be reliance because it's a it
б	involves an individual right, we put stare
7	decisis aside?
8	MR. CHAITEN: I'm so I'm not
9	there's more that goes into stare decisis than
10	reliance. That's one factor.
11	What I'm saying is that the Court has
12	said that we will not
13	JUSTICE ALITO: But
14	MR. CHAITEN: we will not rely on
15	reliance in the case of an unconstitutional law
16	enforcement practice.
17	Thank you, Mr. Chief Justice.
18	CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Thank you,
19	counsel. The case is submitted.
20	(Whereupon, 11:24 a.m., the case was
21	submitted.)
22	
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24	
25	

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