1	IN THE SUPREME COURT OF THE UNITED STATES
2	X
3	JOSEPH SCHEIDLER, ANDREW :
4	SCHOLBERG, TI MOTHY MURPHY, :
5	AND THE PRO-LIFE ACTION :
6	LEAGUE, INC., :
7	Petitioners :
8	v. : No. 01-1118
9	NATI ONAL ORGANI ZATI ON FOR :
10	WOMEN, INC., ET AL.; :
11	and :
12	OPERATI ON RESCUE, :
13	Petitioner :
14	v. : No. 01-1119
15	NATI ONAL ORGANI ZATI ON FOR :
16	WOMEN, INC., ET AL. :
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18	Washi ngton, D. C.
19	Wednesday, December 4, 2002
20	The above-entitled matter came on for oral
21	argument before the Supreme Court of the United States at
22	10:06 a.m.
23	APPEARANCES:
24	ROY T. ENGLERT, JR., ESQ., Washington, D.C.; on behalf
25	of the Petitioners.

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2	THEODORE B. OLSON, ESQ., Solicitor General, Department of
3	Justice, Washington, D.C.; on behalf of the United
4	States, as amicus curiae.
5	FAY CLAYTON, ESQ., Chicago, Illinois; on behalf of the
6	Respondents.
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1	PROCEEDINGS
2	(10:06 a.m.)
3	JUSTICE STEVENS: We'll hear argument in case
4	Number 01-1118, Scheidler against the National
5	Organization of of Women.
6	You may proceed.
7	ORAL ARGUMENT OF ROY T. ENGLERT, JR.
8	ON BEHALF OF THE PETITIONERS
9	MR. ENGLERT: Thank you, Justice Stevens, and
10	may it please the Court:
11	This case comes to the Court in a remarkable
12	posture. If you agree with the Hobbs Act arguments in the
13	blue briefs, you should reverse the jury verdicts and
14	direct entry of judgment for the defendants. But even if
15	you believe the arguments in the red and gray briefs, you
16	should still reverse, but for a new trial. And whatever
17	you do on the Hobbs Act, you should reverse the RICO
18	injunction because RICO simply does not authorize private
19	injunctive relief.
20	Now, why do I say so starkly that even
21	respondents and the Government's theories require reversal
22	of the jury verdict? Because the attempts in those
23	briefs, to salvage the theory of plaintiffs' case, concede
24	that someone must obtain the victim's property for the
25	offense of extortion to be shown. And the whole reason

the Court granted cert on the Hobbs Act issue was to review the Seventh Circuit's holding directly contrary to those concessions that, quote, a loss to, or interference with the rights of the victim is all that is required, closed quote. Likewise, the jury was instructed that all it had to find was that the defendants caused someone, quote, to give up a property right, closed quote.

8 You will find in the red and gray briefs very 9 elaborate efforts to suggest meanings of obtain and 10 property under which the record in this case supposedly 11 could support a finding that petitioners obtained some 12 abstract form of property from the clinics or women. But 13 no defense of the Seventh Circuit's holding and the jury 14 instructions that substituted the phrases, interference 15 with and give up for obtaining. So there ought to be no 16 question that some form of reversal is required.

17 Now, the reason why there should be reversal for 18 the entry of judgment for the defendants, and not just for 19 a new trial, is that respondents and the Government's 20 brief-formulated conceptions of obtaining and property are The essence of the theories is that petitioners 21 wrong. 22 obtained control over the use and disposition of clinic 23 To refer to that as obtaining property of assets. 24 another -- the language of the Hobbs Act -- is an awfully 25 broad use of language. It's a far cry from the New York

1 law on which the Hobbs Act was based.

2	QUESTION: I suppose in some instances one
3	competitor can buy another competitor's firm and just
4	close it up in a regular business transaction, and that
5	that would be obtaining it in that sense. Now, of course,
6	I recognize that title transfers, et cetera, et cetera.
7	Here the result is about the same.
8	MR. ENGLERT: No, Your Honor. Respectfully,
9	it's not. My clients don't have the clinic's property
10	today as they would if they had, in fact, obtained it.
11	They may have temporarily interfered with some use of it.
12	QUESTION: Let's assume that the that the
13	boycott or or the protests are sufficient to close it
14	down. They have obtained it in a certain sense in that
15	they have obtained they have secured for themselves the
16	use that they want of it, i.e., no use.
17	MR. ENGLERT: That is a sense of the word
18	obtain, but it's not the sense relevant for interpreting
19	
20	the Hobbs Act for several reasons. One is the Hobbs Act
	has historical predecessors that this Court has said
21	
	has historical predecessors that this Court has said
21	has historical predecessors that this Court has said should be looked to in interpreting its terms.
21 22	has historical predecessors that this Court has said should be looked to in interpreting its terms. QUESTION: You you concede it's a sense of

MR. ENGLERT: Well, I certainly don't -- I'm
 sorry, Justice Scalia. I certainly don't concede it's a
 relevant sense of obtain.

4 Because of -- because of the Hobbs Act 5 historical antecedents, because of the rule of lenity, because of the very odd use of language, for all those 6 7 reasons, that's not how the Court should interpret obtain. 8 But more important than any of those things is 9 the implications of such a theory. When Carry Nation went into saloons with her axe and destroyed property, she 10 11 certainly interfered with the property owner's unfettered 12 use and control over disposition of his assets, and that's 13 exactly what she intended to do. Was that extortion? 14 The civil rights boycott of white merchants that 15 the Court considered in Claiborne Hardware certainly 16 affected the ability of the boycotted merchants to use their property and involved isolated acts of violence as 17 18 well. Was that extortion? 19 These aren't hypothetical concerns. 20 QUESTION: Of course, that -- extortion wasn't 21 charged in that case, was it? 22 MR. ENGLERT: No, Your Honor, but were the Court 23 to uphold the theory in the red and gray briefs, which 24 wouldn't support the judgment, but if the Court were to 25 uphold that theory, it certainly could be charged the next

1 time the facts of Claiborne Hardware come along. 2 QUESTION: One must wonder why it wasn't 3 charged. 4 MR. ENGLERT: Yes. 5 QUESTION: Because it was a State case it 6 wasn't -- the reason -- reason it wasn't charged. It grew 7 up through the Mississippi court system, if I remember 8 correctly, didn't it? 9 MR. ENGLERT: Well, my -- that's correct, of course, Justice Stevens. But my fundamental point is not 10 11 that one case was or wasn't charged as -- as extortion. 12 It's if you uphold the theory of the red and gray briefs, 13 it can be charged as extortion in the future. And that's 14 actually happened to People for the Ethical Treatment of 15 Animals. It's happened to other animal rights groups. 16 Because of these implications, the Southern Christian 17 Leadership Conference joined the amicus brief of the 18 Seamless Garment Network at the cert stage. Disability 19 rights groups that conduct protests have joined the 20 Seamless Garment Network brief at the merits stage. 21 Activists of all stripes and their admirers -- Daniel and 22 Philip Berrigan, Nat Hentoff, Martin Sheen --23 QUESTION: But are we talking about actions that 24 constitute the commission of some kind of criminal offense 25 in the process?

1	MR. ENGLERT: Oh, yes.
2	QUESTION: Yes.
3	MR. ENGLERT: Oh, yes. Trespass.
4	QUESTION: Yes, and other things, destruction of
5	property and so forth, I suppose.
6	MR. ENGLERT: Oh, yes, Justice O'Connor.
7	QUESTION: Yes.
8	MR. ENGLERT: There's never been any doubt in
9	this case
10	QUESTION: I mean, we're not talking about
11	conduct that is lawful here.
12	MR. ENGLERT: We are not talking about
13	extortion, but we are talking about some things that could
14	be punished much less severely.
15	It has never been disputed in this case, from
16	the opening statement through the closing statement of the
17	trial or in the earlier phases of the case, that there
18	were trespasses. There could be in particular
19	circumstances
20	QUESTION: more than that. In some cases,
21	assaults and so forth.
22	MR. ENGLERT: Well, fair enough except the
23	the jury verdict really is quite at rejection of
24	petitioners' proof in many respects rather than supporting
25	it. But, yes, Justice O'Connor. I really don't want to

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1 fight with you on that particular point.

2 But -- but let's --

3 QUESTION: -- I think to paint the picture that 4 we're talking about, just pure speech is -- is not the 5 case.

6 MR. ENGLERT: No, but that's why I used the 7 examples of Carry Nation and Claiborne Hardware which 8 weren't pure speech either. There was certainly violence 9 in those cases, but not extortion.

10 QUESTION: Would you say coercion? One of the 11 questions was, well, coercion -- if that's defined as 12 using compulsion to force a person to do or not do 13 something that she otherwise would do or not do, does this 14 conduct fit that crime?

15 MR. ENGLERT: Yes.

16 QUESTION: That crime --

17 MR. ENGLERT: And that's a very important point 18 supporting our position because Congress at one point had 19 coercion as a predicate act in the Anti-Racketeering Act 20 of 1934 and, at the request of organized labor, took it 21 out. In the Hobbs Act, in the passage of the Hobbs Act in 22 1946, again, organized labor lobbied to make sure that 23 coercion was not part of the Hobbs Act. Coercion is a 24 different crime from extortion, and interfering with 25 someone's rights is the crime of coercion under the Model

1 Penal Code, under New York law, under various other bodies 2 of law, but it's not the crime of extortion. 3 QUESTION: Just -- just on the obtain point, 4 which I -- I agree with you is of great relevance here, if -- if a group trespasses on property and -- and remains 5 6 there for a period of days, can it be said that they're 7 obtaining the use of the property, or is -- is that too 8 much of a stretch? 9 MR. ENGLERT: I think it's a stretch, Justice 10 Kennedy, but even if it weren't a stretch, it still 11 wouldn't be a Hobbs Act violation for a different reason. 12 There must be consent to the obtaining of property or --13 of another, and simply going in and engaging in adverse 14 possession doesn't necessarily entail consent. 15 QUESTION: Well, suppose you withdraw in order 16 to avoid confrontation. I suppose if A robs B, and B turns over the wallet, in a sense there's consent, not --17 18 not the kind of consent that the law would ever recognize. 19 It's a consent in a -- just from the standpoint that 20 there's a voluntary act in handing over the -- the wallet. 21 MR. ENGLERT: Well, that actually --22 QUESTION: You make your -- you make your 23 muscles move and that's about it. 24 MR. ENGLERT: Yes. Words can be stretched to 25 make lots of things into lots of things that the law

doesn't want them to be. And in fact, the common law
 distinction between robbery and extortion, which are both
 Hobbs Act predicates, is one is with consent and the other
 is without. So robbery is a classic example of something
 that you could stretch the word of consent to cover, but
 it isn't extortion.

7 QUESTION: I guess it's obtaining property if a 8 group of people through criminal means tell an owner of a 9 business precisely and in detail how he has to run his 10 business.

11 MR. ENGLERT: Oh, I don't think so, Justice12 Breyer.

QUESTION: No? In other words, if -- if, say, you have a group of terrible criminals, and they say here is what -- we're going to kill you unless you do the following, and then they say, today you serve X and tomorrow you serve Y, and you send the money over to Z, and you do all these different things; in other words, they run the business.

20 MR. ENGLERT: If it --

21 QUESTION: Now, why haven't they obtained that 22 business?

MR. ENGLERT: In the hypothetical example you
just gave me, they most certainly have obtained property.
You said send the money over to Z.

1	QUESTION: Because I said say I regretted
2	putting that in the hypothetical the instant I did.
3	(Laughter.)
4	QUESTION: I'm simply looking for an example of
5	a group of criminals who will tell a property owner, a
6	businessman, exactly and precisely how to run his business
7	in a way that he doesn't want to run it. Now, why isn't
8	that obtaining the property called the business? I mean,
9	that's what the SG I think is suggesting basically.
10	MR. ENGLERT: And the SG is wrong because that's
11	not what obtaining property meant under the New York law
12	in 1946. It it's a stretch of words. It's a modern
13	concept of property.
14	QUESTION: It's like a theft of services.
15	I mean, you go in and you there was a years ago a
16	person who figured out how to whistle various tones into
17	the telephone so that it would connect people without
18	charge. All right. Now, hasn't that person stolen the
19	use of the telephone?
20	MR. ENGLERT: Yes.
21	QUESTION: Yes. And and a person who tells
22	the telephone company owner, I want you to go and provide
23	the services to A, B, and C, hasn't he stolen those
24	servi ces?
25	MR. ENGLERT: Well, that's getting to be more of

1 a stretch, but probably yes, under United States v. --2 QUESTION: Then -- then the difference between 3 that and a person who tells the business owner to provide 4 his services to A, B, C, D, and E, whom he doesn't want to, that doesn't seem a difference. 5 6 MR. ENGLERT: No. There is a major difference, 7 with respect, Justice Breyer. Saying do provide services 8 to A, B, C, D, and E is quite different from saying don't 9 provide services to A, B, C --10 QUESTION: That's what I wondered, and what is 11 the difference there? 12 MR. ENGLERT: The difference is that A, B, C, D, 13 and E have obtained the services in one case and they 14 have -- and no one has obtained any property in the other 15 case, exactly the words of the Hobbs Act. 16 QUESTION: Except that services is not property, and the one thing that is common in both the negative and 17 18 the positive examples is the obtaining of control. 19 It's -- it's -- it seems to me it's -- it's the control 20 that's important when he says serve A, B, and C. It isn't 21 property that he has obtained. It's -- it's an action. 22 It's a service. 23 MR. ENGLERT: Justice Souter --24 QUESTION: And that's true in each case. 25 MR. ENGLERT: -- if I've understood you

correctly, that's even more support for our position
 because the words of the Hobbs Act are obtaining of
 property from another. So if all of Justice Breyer's
 examples --

5 QUESTION: No, no --

6 MR. ENGLERT: -- property --

7 QUESTION: I -- I agree with you on that point, 8 but I -- I guess I'm saying that if you concede in the one 9 case, I don't see why you -- you really don't have to 10 concede in -- in the other case because the one thing that 11 is common to each is control, and there is no property in 12 a tangible sense that is obtained in -- in the positive 13 service examples.

14MR. ENGLERT: No. With respect, what is common15is not control. It's acquisition. It's obtaining.

16 That's what obtaining means. The Solicitor General's own
17 brief on page 21 in footnote 11 says that's what obtaining
18 means. And --

19 QUESTION: And what does one obtain? One20 obtains, in each case, control --

21 MR. ENGLERT: But control --

22 QUESTION: -- i.e., direction.

23 MR. ENGLERT: I apologize, Justice Souter, for
24 interrupting, but control is not property. Property is
25 property.

1 QUESTION: My point is if you are conceding that 2 Justice Breyer's positive examples would fall within the 3 statute, I don't see why you don't have to concede that 4 the negative example, i.e., don't serve, doesn't also 5 fall --

6 MR. ENGLERT: The --

7 QUESTION: -- on -- on your own theory.

8 MR. ENGLERT: I don't think so, respectfully, 9 Justice Souter. The distinction I draw is that in the 10 words of the statute, one involves obtaining property, and 11 the other doesn't, on the assumption that the services are 12 property. If they aren't property, I win the case for a 13 different reason.

QUESTION: What do you do with the New York case involving a work stoppage? Do you agree with that case, or do you think it's wrong? The one the Solicitor General cites in his brief, the -- the old 1890 case involving a stop -- a strike, I guess, is what you'd say. Do you think that case would -- would be decided the same way under your view?

21 MR. ENGLERT: I -- I think so, Justice Stevens, 22 but the case is not immediately coming to mind. I'm 23 sorry. I -- I do think the New York courts construed 24 rather strictly the obtaining of property, and the 25 Solicitor General's more expansive cases are from long

1 after 1946.

2 QUESTION: It's People against Barondess, 3 decided in 1892. It was under the -- under the New York 4 statute, which I think everyone agrees was the model for 5 the Federal statute.

6 MR. ENGLERT: Yes, Your Honor.

7 QUESTION: It seemed to me there was no 8 obtaining in the very literal sense that you used the 9 term, but there was merely acquisition of control of the 10 operation in that. And I'm not quite sure how you come 11 out on -- on those facts.

MR. ENGLERT: Well, Your Honor, I'm -- I'm, as I stand here, blanking on those facts. I -- I believe the New York courts did construe obtaining of property rather strictly in that case and in every other pre-1946 case, but I can't -- I apologize. I can't give you an intelligent discussion of that right at this moment.

18 I'd like to turn to the RICO injunction issue,
19 if I may. It's very straightforward. I plan to address
20 it only briefly.

First, this Court has held in several cases that section 7 of the Sherman Act and section 4 of the Clayton Act, both worded almost identically to section 1964(c) of RICO, did not authorize private injunctive relief.

25 The dissent in Paine Lumber contended that

1 courts had inherent power to grant injunctions --2 QUESTI ON: The language of the acts, though, is 3 a little different than this, isn't it? 4 MR. ENGLERT: Well, very, very slightly 5 different, Justice O'Connor. 6 QUESTION: The analogy may not be perfect 7 because the language differs. 8 MR. ENGLERT: Very slightly, but the -- where 9 there's a world of difference and not a slight difference 10 is between section 16 of the Clayton Act and section 1964 11 of RICO. And in section 16 of the Clayton Act, Congress 12 authorized private injunctive relief. No language 13 remotely resembling section 16 appears in section 1964 of 14 RICO, but all of the language from the statutes this Court 15 held didn't authorize injunctive relief with very tiny 16 variations appears in RICO. 17 Besides the obvious statutory language borrowed 18 from the Clayton and Sherman Acts, as this Court has 19 recognized throughout its cases, the statutory evolution 20 of RICO presented Congress with repeated opportunities 21 expressly to provide private parties with injunctive 22 relief under RICO. Every such proposal failed before and 23 after the final enactment of RICO. 24 The court below dismissed the reliance on 25 legislative history on the theory that this Court would

1 not ascribe any significance to legislative inaction. But 2 ironically the very day the Seventh Circuit decided this 3 case, this Court was hearing argument in Chickasaw 4 Nation v. United States, and the opinion of the Court in 5 that case reiterated the longstanding principle -- with 6 which some members of the Court disagreed, but the 7 longstanding principle in majority opinions -- that courts 8 ordinarily will not assume that Congress intended to enact 9 statutory language that it has earlier discarded in favor 10 of other language. 11 Would you clarify one thing on the --QUESTI ON: 12 on the rejected amendment? Was it voted down or 13 withdrawn? I can't remember. 14 MR. ENGLERT: It was actually passed unanimously 15 by the Senate, but then the House didn't take a vote on 16 it. But we don't know why they --17 QUESTI ON: 18 MR. ENGLERT: I'm sorry. I -- Justice Stevens, 19 I -- I've misspoken slightly. Excuse me. The -- the 20 post-RICO effort --21 QUESTION: Well, no. I'm talking about the one 22 before enactment. The post -- the later statute is a 23 little less persuasive. 24 MR. ENGLERT: The pre-RICO effort was withdrawn. 25 The pre-RICO effort was withdrawn by Representative

1 Steiger on the ground that it would complicate matters too 2 much to take it up at that stage of the legislation, but 3 it was very important. He'd come -- come back again with 4 it next year. But he recognized that the statute didn't 5 have private injunctive relief in it in his floor 6 statements. 7 QUESTION: At the -- on the second round, 8 when -- when the Senate passed and the House didn't, 9 there's no explanation in the House record, is there? 10 MR. ENGLERT: Nothing that sheds tremendous 11 light on this except for Representative Steiger's --12 QUESTION: Yes. 13 MR. ENGLERT: -- own statements. 14 QUESTION: It would -- it would be -- I -- the 15 trouble I'm having is I don't have any trouble seeing the 16 argument your way. 17 The -- the reason I'm -- at this point, I'm not 18 convinced is that you do have in subsection (c) the 19 language referring -- it says may. What is it? May 20 sue -- I can't -- yes, may sue therefor. And we've got 21 the general presumption that all appropriate remedies go 22 with a cause of action. And I'm -- I'm wondering if in a 23 case in which it's uncertain what to infer, either from 24 the legislative record in -- on intent, or from the 25 textual record here, whether the presumption not to carry

1 the day in a case of doubt --

2 MR. ENGLERT: It shouldn't because, as is 3 pointed out at pages 7 and 8 of the Operation Rescue reply brief and correctly so, this Court has two lines of cases: 4 5 one when Congress doesn't specify the remedies. That's 6 cases like Franklin v. Gwinnett County which was an 7 implied right of action case, and like Califano v. 8 Yamasaki. 9 And a different line of cases saying, when 10 Congress does specify remedies, they're intended to be 11 exclusive. A line of cases that -- that --12 QUESTION: Well, it -- may I tell you the reason 13 I wasn't convinced on that is that if -- if Congress 14 were -- were specifying in the text here choices among 15 ordinary remedies, I think that would be a very strong 16 argument. The reason it seems less strong here is that the 17 18 choices that -- or the -- the remedies that Congress has 19 specified are extraordinary remedies, e.g., right in this 20 section. What is specified is treble damages, not 21 damages. If they had simply said can get damages, I think 22 it would be a slam-dunk, but -- but what they did was --23 was to specify something out of the ordinary, and I'm not 24 sure that that carries the implication that ordinary

25 remedies, consistent with what it specifies, are -- are

1 meant to be excluded.

2 MR. ENGLERT: Well, Justice Souter, this Court 3 said over and over again that it did carry that implication when the exact same language was used in the 4 5 Sherman and Clayton Acts. The Paine Lumber case, the D.R. Wilder Manufacturing case, a whole host of antitrust 6 7 cases. 8 QUESTION: And I just don't remember this. 9 Does -- does the -- does Clayton use the phrase, sue 10 therefor? 11 MR. ENGLERT: 0h, yes. 12 QUESTION: I have to go back and look. Is that 13 the term of art that's in there? 14 MR. ENGLERT: Oh, yes. Oh, yes. The -- the language of Sherman and Clayton is in the appendix to the 15 16 Scheidler blue brief --QUESTION: Yes. I just -- I just didn't go back 17 and look. That is the phrase? 18 MR. ENGLERT: It is. It is. The terms that 19 20 differ are quite trivial, and some sections are separated 21 into different subsections. That's about all the 22 difference there is. 23 I'd like to reserve the balance of my time for 24 rebuttal. 25 QUESTION: Mr. Solicitor General.

1	ORAL ARGUMENT OF THEODORE B. OLSON
2	ON BEHALF OF THE UNITED STATES,
3	AS AMICUS CURIAE
4	MR. OLSON: Justice Stevens, and may it please
5	the Court:
6	The right to control a business, whether or not
7	for profit, is a well-recognized and longstanding interest
8	in property. When that control is surrendered in response
9	to unlawful force, whether motivated by economics,
10	politics, or ideals, the extortionist has attained his
11	objective, and the Hobbs Act has been violated.
12	QUESTION: Well, under that definition, I
13	suppose that anytime protesters trespass on property,
14	they've obtained the use of that property and there's a
15	Hobbs Act violation
16	MR. OLSON: If
17	QUESTION: Hobbs Act predicate violation?
18	MR. OLSON: If there's an unlawful use of force
19	or threats or violence, Justice Kennedy, whether it be in
20	the form of trespassing and the aim which this Court
21	recognized 8 years ago in this in this very predecessor
22	case was to shut down the clinics. If that aim is
23	achieved, the control of the property has been transferred
24	from the owner of those clinics to the extortionist.
25	QUESTION: Well, if if that's if that's a

strained reading of obtained, shouldn't we be -- take counsel of -- that there's a -- serious First Amendment consequences -- consequence if we adopt that extensive definition?

5 MR. OLSON: As Justice Souter said in -- in the 6 dissent, which you joined, in the earlier case, the First 7 Amendment is not an issue in this case, and it can be 8 dealt with in particular circumstances in particular cases 9 where it arises. The issue here is if the use of force --10 QUESTION: Well, the -- there's always a First 11 Amendment implication in a protest case. There's -- at 12 this point there is a First Amendment issue in the case 13 because of the broad definition you're proposing, it seems 14 to me.

15 MR. OLSON: Well, it was the question that was 16 presented that was not accepted by this Court. Question 17 3, I think it was, or 4 in the -- the one Scheidler 18 petition was not accepted by this Court.

19 QUESTION: Well, but the point -- the point 20 is -- the point is not whether there's a First Amendment 21 violation here. The point is whether the interpretation 22 of the word obtain that the Government is -- is suggesting 23 we adopt does not threaten to -- to bring us constantly 24 into difficult situations where we're going to have to try 25 to sort out whether that definition doesn't sail too close

1 to the wind with respect to First Amendment rights. 2 MR. OLSON: I submit, Justice Scalia, that that 3 is not going to be the -- the problem that this Court or 4 any courts are going to have to face. 5 First of all, the definition of property as 6 controlling a business has been accepted for a long time. 7 Now, the only question that is --8 QUESTION: You -- you -- do you agree that your 9 interpretation would have been applicable to the civil 10 rights sit-ins? 11 Under some circumstances, it could MR. OLSON: 12 have if illegal force or threats were used to prevent a 13 business from operating. 14 QUESTION: Do you --15 MR. OLSON: In many --16 QUESTI ON: Do you agree that it would be applicable to many labor picketing situations --17 18 MR. OLSON: Well, they --19 QUESTION: -- where they obstruct entrance? 20 MR. OLSON: This -- this Court specifically 21 carved out an exemption in -- in the Enmons case with 22 respect to legitimate labor objectives --23 QUESTI ON: No, but --24 MR. OLSON: -- and made it --25 QUESTI ON: The exception wasn't with regard to

1 labor objection. What -- what is there in the statute 2 that -- that enables you to make an exception for labor 3 picketing? 4 What -- what this Court --MR. OLSON: 5 QUESTI ON: What language of the statute enables 6 you to separate labor? 7 MR. OLSON: Well, I -- I can't pull a specific 8 piece of the language out of the statute, but this Court 9 said nearly 20 times in the Enmons case that the Hobbs Act 10 was not intended to cover achievement of legitimate 11 collective bargaining demands, and because the Court did 12 not want to --13 QUESTI ON: It said any legitimate demands --14 MR. OLSON: No, it --15 QUESTI ON: -- elsewhere. It didn't always limit 16 it to just legitimate collective bargaining demands, did 17 it? MR. OLSON: I -- I take that the Court, because 18 19 it said over 15, nearly 20 times legitimate collective 20 bargaining demands, legitimate union objectives --21 QUESTION: Because that's what was involved in 22 the case. But why would you separate legitimate 23 collective bargaining demands from other legitimate 24 demands? What is there possibly in the word obtain that 25 could cause you to separate legitimate collective

1 bargaining demands from legitimate demands that you ---2 that you refrain from doing something else? 3 MR. OLSON: I -- I can only submit, Justice 4 Scalia, that it seemed to me a clear implication of the 5 words used by the Court and the fact that the Court 6 emphasized that it was -- that we were dealing with -- the 7 Court was dealing with the extraordinary -- the potential 8 extraordinary change in Federal labor law, that that 9 phrase was emphasized over and over again. Neither this 10 Court --11 QUESTION: So -- so you say we simply made a 12 labor law exception to the extortion statute. 13 MR. OLSON: In the -- in the context of the 14 history --15 QUESTION: Just -- just out of nowhere, a labor 16 law exception. MR. OLSON: No, not out of nowhere, Justice 17 18 There was a long history of --Scalia. 19 QUESTION: You give me no language in the 20 statute that would justify it. MR. OLSON: What -- what the statute -- what the 21 22 language of the statute does -- and here's -- here's 23 where -- what I would emphasize. The language of the 24 statute specifically makes it unlawful and makes no 25 exception for -- for whether the -- whether the -- the

1 petitioner -- the -- the protester, or the -- or the 2 alleged extortionist is motivated by ideals or politics or 3 wanting to shut down a business or a -- or a boycott of Israel or -- this is a classic use of force and extortion 4 5 in the organized crime setting. The use of force or threats to take over a labor union or a business --6 7 QUESTION: But it says there, to obtain control. 8 To obtain control. 9 MR. OLSON: Yes. QUESTION: Fine. What I don't understand is 10 whether there isn't a line somewhere between obtaining 11 12 control in the sense of taking over a business for a 13 period of time, shutting down a business, and just telling 14 the owner of the business to do one single thing once that the blackmailer -- but not the owner -- wants to do. 15 16 MR. OLSON: Let me --There's a spectrum that falls within 17 QUESTI ON: 18 that word control or the word taking over that if you push 19 it to an extreme, the Hobbs Act becomes a coercion statute 20 in respect to a business owner. 21 MR. OLSON: It -- the question, it seems to me, 22 was answered in part by this Court in the earlier NOW case 23 by saying that the extortionist doesn't have to gain a 24 financial benefit or take possession. 25 Now, the -- the robbery and larceny statutes at

1 common law required the taking and acquiring of 2 possessi on. 3 QUESTION: I take where you're going is that it 4 is a coercion statute in respect to a businessperson 5 insofar as you ask the owner of the business to do 6 something that he doesn't want to do. 7 MR. OLSON: That's -- that's part of it, yes. 8 And the answer to the question about obtaining --9 QUESTION: If I think that's too extreme, is 10 there any stopping place? 11 MR. OLSON: Well, there -- there is a stopping 12 point, is whether at the end of the day, through the 13 threats or the -- the actions of the extortionist, that 14 property interest that was held by the victim of the 15 extortion has been transferred to the hands of the 16 extortionist in the sense that the aim has been accomplished. The aim was to shut down the clinics. 17 That was the attempt, and to the extent that that was or was 18 19 attempted to be accomplished, that control --20 QUESTI ON: General Olson --QUESTION: Mr. -- yes, Mr. Olson. If -- if we 21 22 agreed with your view -- and I'm not sure we will -- about 23 property including the right to control business assets, 24 it does not, I assume, cover some personal right of 25 somebody to obtain services in the clinic. And I guess

1 the jury verdict covered both. Could the jury verdict be 2 upheld here even if the Court agreed with your view? 3 MR. OLSON: We -- we have not addressed that, Justice O'Connor. I do --4 QUESTION: Well, I'm asking you to. 5 6 MR. OLSON: I do -- I do agree. I think that it 7 would have to be sent back to the Seventh Circuit for a 8 remand to examine that question. The jury instruction did 9 have the component to which you refer which we would 10 characterize as a liberty interest of a right of an 11 i ndi vi dual . And that was --12 QUESTION: And we have no idea what the jury 13 went on. There were three pieces, and one involved the 14 people who worked in the clinic. One involved the women 15 who were served by the clinic, and the third involved the 16 clinic operation. And that was exactly the question that I wanted 17 18 to ask you. Is your bottom line a new trial? Because the 19 charge doesn't match the theory you're putting forward. 20 MR. OLSON: I think that -- I think that at the 21 end of the day, although we haven't briefed it and the 22 Government is interested in the definition of extortion, 23 at the end of the day that might have to be the result 24 because the general -- generalized verdict does not make a 25 distinction between that which we contend is a property

right which was obtained by the extortionist or -- or was
 attempted to be obtained --

3 QUESTION: Well, you wouldn't want us to send it 4 back without resolving the extortion issue, would you? 5 MR. OLSON: That's -- no, I --6 QUESTION: You want us to send it back so it 7 is -- it is -- the jury is given a charge only on the 8 extortion theory that you're -- that you're delivering. 9 Then it comes back up and then we will resolve the issue. 10 MR. OLSON: Well, I -- the question presented, in connection with the Hobbs Act, I think is answered this 11 12 Where unlawful -- which this Court should way. 13 articulate, we hope, in its opinion. Where unlawful force 14 is used to arrest sufficient control of a business to stop 15 the performance of its services, the Hobbs Act has been 16 violated because control of the business, a property right 17 has been acquired. 18 I -- I may have 1 minute left to just mention 19 one thing with respect to the -- the RICO provision. 20 Congress created a private right to damages for 21 RICO violations by intentionally copying language from the 22 antitrust laws that this Court had repeatedly held did not 23 confer a right to seek injunctive relief. This Court has 24 said that Congress was aware of the antitrust history, was

25 copying it, intended to copy it, and was presumed to know

1 the consequences of what Congress was doing. 2 QUESTION: Of course, at the time the statute 3 was enacted, a private litigant could get relief, 4 injunctive relief, under the antitrust laws, not under 5 the -- not under the section 7 of the Sherman Act, or 6 section 4 of the Clayton Act, but under whatever the other 7 number is. 8 MR. OLSON: Section 16. But the question is really whether 9 QUESTI ON: the first section of the RICO gives us authority. 10 11 MR. OLSON: Well, may I answer that, Justice 12 Stevens? 13 QUESTI ON: Sure. 14 MR. OLSON: It seems to me that in the context 15 of the language that the -- that Congress knew would not 16 create a right, and knowing -- Congress knowing that section 16 did specifically create such a right, and 17 18 knowing that this Court had said that when a right is 19 created and remedies specifically provided, the Court --20 the Court will not expand. The Court will accept what 21 Congress has done. And Congress did not adopt and in fact 22 rejected the opportunities or -- or failed to accept the 23 opportunities to adopt precisely the remedy that would 24 have had that result. 25 QUESTION: Thank you, Mr. Ol son.

1	Ms. Clayton.
2	ORAL ARGUMENT OF FAY CLAYTON
3	ON BEHALF OF THE RESPONDENTS
4	MS. CLAYTON: Justice Stevens, and and may it
5	please the Court:
6	I'd like to begin with the RICO issue, if I may,
7	and then turn to the Hobbs Act questions.
8	The stark contrasts between the antitrust law
9	and RICO prove the prove why private injunctions are
10	available. When it comes to damages, we agree that the
11	language is virtually the same, treble damages and so
12	forth. But when you look at the injunction provisions,
13	they are radically different.
14	In the antitrust law, Sherman IV, all the
15	injunction provisions were put in a single paragraph
16	giving the Government the exclusive duty to enforce. That
17	is not that was not copied in RICO. In \dot{RICO} , Congress
18	took out permanent injunctions, put them in section
19	1964(a), a separate, unrestricted section. Not only did
20	it give the duty to the Government, it didn't even mention
21	the Government.
22	QUESTION: But in the next section, it did
23	mention the Government and said that the Government shall
24	have the authority to to use the injunctive provisions
25	mentioned in the first section. Right?

MS. CLAYTON: No, Your Honor.

1

2 QUESTION: And then in the third section, it 3 gives private individuals a right to damages, but does not 4 mention that they have the right to use the first -- first 5 section.

6 MS. CLAYTON: Justice Scalia, of course, you are 7 correct about section (c). Section (c) does give standing 8 to private parties, and gives them these extraordinary new 9 remedies, treble damages and legal fees, which they could 10 never get without a statutory grant.

11 But section (b) does not give the Government the 12 right to use permanent injunctions. It only talks about 13 preliminary relief. It takes that one section of 14 Sherman IV out, and the other part, the permanent 15 injunctions in Sherman IV, are now, under RICO, put in a 16 wholly different provision, the unrestricted section (a). The natural reading of section (a), which says 17 18 all these permanent remedies, including the injunction 19 that our trial court granted here, went against future 20 criminal activity. Section (a) in an -- unrestricted 21 language makes that available to the Court to restrain 22 violations of section 1962, the very violations that 23 section (c) --

24 QUESTION: Section (a) says what the court may 25 grant. It doesn't say who has authority to ask the court

to do that. And in the -- the provision (b), it empowers the Government and the Government only to ask for preliminary injunctive relief. It's a strange thing. Why would Congress withhold the power to seek a preliminary injunction and yet give that party the right to seek a permanent injunction?

7 MS. CLAYTON: That's a question that we have 8 pondered for a long time, and -- and I think the Motorola 9 brief, which explains -- a very important brief -- why 10 preliminary injunctions should be available to everybody, 11 makes a good argument for that. But we don't have to 12 address that question here.

13 My own thinking is that section (b) gives the 14 Government something that it wouldn't have had without the 15 statutory grant because preliminary injunctions require 16 one -- one element that permanent ones don't, the 17 irreparable harm to the victim. And the Government, suing 18 as sovereign, doesn't have property that's harmed. And if 19 you look at the Wollersheim case, they recognize that was a plausible reason for why section (b) is there. 20

21 QUESTION: But you're just addressing the second 22 sentence of section (b). There is a first sentence which 23 says, the Attorney General may institute proceedings under 24 this section.

25

MS. CLAYTON: That's right.

1 QUESTION: Now --2 MS. CLAYTON: That's right. 3 QUESTION: -- that -- that gives the Attorney 4 General the power to institute proceedings under (a). 5 MS. CLAYTON: Your Honor, it doesn't -- excuse 6 me, Justice Scalia. Section (b) does not say the Attorney 7 General may institute proceedings under section 1964(a). 8 It says under this section which is section --9 QUESTI ON: What else could it mean? QUESTION: What else could it mean? 10 11 MS. CLAYTON: It means section 1964 as a whole, 12 Your Honor, and in section (c) private parties are given 13 the right to sue, which is another way of saying the very 14 same thing. In fact --15 QUESTION: As I -- sorry. 16 MS. CLAYTON: I was going to say in the American 17 Stores case, this Court construed the very same language 18 in the Clayton Act, sections 15 and 16. Institute 19 proceedings, sue for in the other. And the Court said 20 both of them mean both the Government and private parties 21 may go and get injunctive relief including divestiture. 22 It's just two ways of saying the same thing. The 23 Government is thought to institute proceedings. It's 24 bringing them as a sovereign. Private parties are suing 25 for. It's just the traditional language. Certainly those

phrases don't bear the weight of the argument that
 institute proceedings means this party and only this party
 has access to those unrestricted remedies of section
 1964(a).

5 QUESTI ON: And I looked -- I mean, I couldn't 6 make too much out of the fact that you take the language 7 from the Clayton Act which says the Attorney General may 8 institute proceedings in equity, and you move it to 9 section (b) and just change it to say, he may institute 10 proceedings under this section. That's the only 11 difference with the Clayton Act that I could find. 12 So I looked up the history. In the history, it 13 looks as if there were five different bills floating 14 around, and things didn't -- weren't all that 15 straightforward. It got a little mixed up. And you have 16 in the House several Congressmen getting up and saying 17 they made a mistake in the Senate. They didn't include 18 They should have. And then there were four more thi s. 19 bills floating around, and the ones who wanted to include 20 it said, send it all to the Judiciary Committee, let them 21 work it out, and they never worked it out. I mean, 22 that's -- that's the thrust of it that I -- that I got out 23 of that.

24Maybe it was just a mistake.Well, if it was a25mistake, you're the -- you have another law.You can

bring it under the -- you could get an injunction I guess
 under the Abortion Act, the Abortion Clinics Act, or -- it
 seemed to me this one -- they made a mistake. Well, they
 made it.

5 MS. CLAYTON: Well, Justice Breyer, even if 6 someone made a mistake, the bill, as it stands, is what 7 Congress voted on, and what the President signed. It is 8 that bill that we interpret. And we all agree -- this 9 Court has said on many occasions that --

10 QUESTION: I'm with you on that.

MS. CLAYTON: I know you are, Justice Scalia.(Laughter.)

13 MS. CLAYTON: Perhaps the only thing. And 14 you've often commented on how there are probably as many 15 reasons for congressional action or inaction as there are 16 Members of Congress.

But the fact is the bill makes a very -- it's a 17 18 very radically different structure from the antitrust law. 19 Private -- I mean, permanent injunctions are unrestricted, 20 and under the traditional jurisprudence, Califano -- when 21 we -- we assume all traditional remedies are available 22 unless -- unless there's the clearest command. There's 23 not even a hint here. Maybe it was a mistake. It was 24 certainly not a clear command to do the opposite.

25 And as my -- petitioners have pointed out, the

1 only time private injunctions were voted on, they passed 2 Why didn't they put it in there? I think it unani mously. 3 would have been redundant, and the Court doesn't like 4 If they had said in section (c), and private surpl usage. 5 parties can get permanent injunctions, then the courts 6 would have been trying to figure out, well, what did they 7 mean in section (a). That has to mean something 8 different. 9 They didn't say again the Government could get permanent injunctions in section (b). That would have 10 11 been redundant too. But everybody agrees the Government 12 can get permanent injunctions. 13 In any event, this Court's jurisprudence teaches 14 us --15 QUESTI ON: Don't you think it's --16 QUESTI ON: We don't agree on whether they get it 17 pursuant to section (a) or section (b), though. 18 MS. CLAYTON: The Scheidler brief, the opening 19 brief, says that section (b) gives the Government 20 unrestricted access to the remedies in section (a). 21 That's the way they've put it. I don't read -- if -- if 22 that's the case for the Government, the same applies to 23 private parties. By parity of reasoning, anyone with 24 standing -- and it's strict standing for private parties. 25 You've got to be injured in your business or property.

1 QUESTION: But -- so you say private parties 2 have the power to require -- to ask the court to order a 3 person to divest himself of any interest, direct or 4 indirect? Do you know of any other situation in which a 5 private party can -- can cause the -- the divestiture of a 6 busi ness? 7 MS. CLAYTON: Justice Scalia, it's not 8 automatic. The court in its discretion might do it or 9 might not, but it must --10 QUESTION: I understand that, but to put that 11 power and -- and to request it in the hands of a power --12 of a private party seems to me extraordinary. 13 MS. CLAYTON: It's been in the hands of private 14 parties under the antitrust law for more than a half 15 century before RICO was passed, and the courts have had no 16 problem exercising their discretion to my knowledge. 17 In fact, in the American Stores case, this Court 18 pointed out how the very same remedy sought by the 19 Government and sought by private parties, the Government 20 might get it, and the private party might not. 21 Furthermore, any -- any injunctive relief --22 QUESTION: You can understand it in the context 23 of the antitrust laws where the divestiture is the only 24 way to prevent the -- the monopolization, but to use that 25 as a punishment for -- for extortion is, it seems to me,

1 quite -- quite bizarre.

2 MS. CLAYTON: And then I think the court 3 wouldn't grant it to the private party, and they certainly 4 wouldn't grant it unless it was designed to remedy the 5 particular injury that the private party suffered to their 6 business and property by virtue of a 1962 violation. It 7 would be very strange, indeed, Your Honor, to remove from 8 private parties who are deputized to be a -- private 9 attorneys general, supplement the Government resources, to take away this powerful core injunctive remedy and instead 10 11 make them sue for treble --

QUESTION: But the divestiture -- you say the
divestiture should never be -- should never be used by the
courts.

MS. CLAYTON: No, I don't, Your Honor. I think
that the district courts are --

17 QUESTION: It could -- could simply destroy an
18 organization as the punishment for -- for extortion as
19 you --

MS. CLAYTON: The court would only do that in an extreme case, I am sure. Maybe they would never give it to a private party, but it would be up to the -- but the private party may seek it. Section (a) doesn't say they automatically get it.

25

QUESTION: Then it's even odder that they

don't -- the private party can't seek that preliminary injunction even if they can show irreparable injury. To give the extraordinary power of ordering divestiture and not giving a party who is irreparably injured the authority to go into court and say, stop now -temporarily --

7 MS. CLAYTON: I -- I agree, Your Honor, and even 8 though that's not an issue that the Court has to resolve 9 in this case, I think the Motorola brief makes an excellent case for why -- since this is a very special 10 remedy, it's not an exclusive list. Congress didn't mean 11 12 to deprive private parties or anyone else of any of the 13 traditional remedies. The Califano rule is clear. Unl ess 14 there's a clear command to deny it, it's available. I 15 don't think section (b) -- remember, it doesn't even have 16 that duty language.

One other point I'd like to make is when the 17 18 antitrust laws were written, there was no merger of law in 19 equity. To go in -- when someone had a right to get 20 damages, they had to go into the law court which could 21 only give money damages. It couldn't give injunctions. 22 That had changed by the time RICO passed. And Congress 23 knew that. Congress knew the Federal courts had the 24 ability to design any appropriate remedy to fix the wrong, 25 barring the clearest command. There's no clearest

1 command.

2 QUESTION: Well, you do agree, though, I guess 3 that were efforts to include language authorizing the 4 obtaining of injunctions by private petitioners, and that 5 was not adopted by Congress. 6 MS. CLAYTON: But they were passed unanimously. 7 They didn't get in I believe because it would have been 8 surplusage. It would have been redundant, and we don't 9 like that in statutes. QUESTION: Well, we don't know. 10 11 MS. CLAYTON: We don't know, Your Honor, and we 12 can -- and as the Court has said in Central Bank and Solid 13 Waste, one never -- it's a thin reed to rest an 14 interpretation on what Congress might have had --15 QUESTION: And they have a long, long discussion 16 of the battle, and everybody says, without any opposition, that this isn't there. You would have thought if it was 17 surplusage, somebody would have gotten up and said, well, 18 19 it is. MS. CLAYTON: Well, I think that's what 20 Representative Steiger said. The -- in fact, we quoted 21 22 hi m. It's ambiguous. 23 QUESTION: I don't know. 24 MS. CLAYTON: But it's certainly not the clear 25 command to the contrary.

1 QUESTION: Well, you have two -- two difficult 2 and major arguments here. 3 MS. CLAYTON: I'd like to turn to it. Thank 4 you, Justice Kennedy. 5 QUESTION: I -- I would like to hear your 6 comments on obtaining property. 7 MS. CLAYTON: I would like to turn to those. 8 I think we all agree that property includes both 9 tangible things and intangible things. Of course, in this 10 information age, some of our most important property is 11 So the question, of course, is how does one i ntangi bl e. 12 One obtains it by obtaining control over it or obtain it. 13 dominion over it, as this Court explained in the Carpenter 14 and Green case. Remember in Carpenter -- now, this is a mail 15 16 fraud case that had the same phrase, obtain property. Mr. Winans, the Wall Street Journal reporter, the On the 17 Street column, was held to have wrongfully obtained 18 19 Now, he had already received the information. property. 20 QUESTION: Do you think that it includes liberty 21 interest deprivation? 22 No, Your Honor, I don't. MS. CLAYTON: No. We 23 do not believe -- but sometimes they --24 QUESTI ON: Then what happens to a generalized 25 verdict no matter how you define this --

1 MS. CLAYTON: Your Honor, the verdict here is 2 based only on property. If you look at the Hobbs Act 3 instruction, it required that the respondents be made to 4 part with property, not part with liberty interests. If a 5 newspaper publishes an editorial, it has a liberty 6 interest, a First Amendment right, to do it, but it also 7 has a property right. QUESTION: Yes, but it defined property. It 8 9 says you can find a violation, other things -- all the other -- all the other requirements being met. You have 10 11 to say that the doctors, nurses, or other staff or clinics 12 themselves give up a property right. The term property 13 right means anything of value --14 MS. CLAYTON: Right. QUESTION: -- including a woman's right to seek 15 services from the clinic, the right of doctors or nurses 16 to perform their jobs, the right of the clinic to provide 17 medical services free from wrongful threats. 18 19 MS. CLAYTON: Right. 20 QUESTION: Now, your brief I think, more or 21 less, seemed to concede that -- that at least two out of 22 those three parts were certainly wrong. 23 MS. CLAYTON: 0h, no. 24 QUESTION: You don't. I mean, then -- then do 25 we have to decide -- is this -- is --

1 MS. CLAYTON: No, no. No, Your Honor. What we 2 believe is that to find property in any one of those 3 aspects of property -- there are three aspects of property: the clinic's right to control its equipment and 4 5 buildings and so forth, the women's right to spend their 6 money, and the contract among -- between the two parties. 7 Extortion of any one of them proximately injures all of 8 them because it's two sides of the same coin. If the 9 clinic is forcibly -- through threats of violence, the 10 clinic is forcibly closed, now the women who have 11 appointments, which are contracts, bilateral contracts, 12 they can't get in. It's a -- it's two sides of the same 13 coi n. So to extort the property of the clinic is to 14 proximately injure the women in her business or property, 15 which is -- the standing comes under RICO. This is 16 something that petitioners have never even challenged at the trial court --17 18 QUESTION: All right. So -- so in other words, 19 this instruction is correct that it's -- it's --MS. CLAYTON: It is, Your Honor. 20 21 QUESTION: So a -- a woman's right to seek 22 services is property which, if they say, I don't want you, 23 the clinic, to serve the woman so the woman can't get the 24 services, that is obtaining property? 25 MS. CLAYTON: It is under these circumstances

where she has an actual agreement with the -- the clinic.
 She's not just going shopping. Each woman who went to
 these clinics had an actual appointment for a particular
 service at a particular time. When I have an appointment
 with my doctor for a biopsy, I have a property right in
 seeing my doctor at that time.

7 QUESTION: What have you obtained control of?8 What have you obtained control of?

9 MS. CLAYTON: Just as in the Carpenter case, 10 you've obtained control of the right to do business and 11 the intangible rights that come out of business, the 12 exclusive rights.

QUESTION: Obtaining control means -- means nothing at all if -- if whenever you deprive somebody of -- of a right, you say you obtain control of the right that -- that you've deprived them of. I mean, everything becomes an obtaining of property.

MS. CLAYTON: When one uses a demand to make one cede their control over property -- this is my pen. This is my property. It has ink and plastic. But I also have a right to use it for writing. And if someone puts a gun to my head and says, if you use that pen, I'll shoot you, they have taken my property. They've taken my control. QUESTION: If I -- if I say to you, don't --

25 don't use that pen, or I'll do something unlawful and you

1 don't use the pen, I have obtained the pen. 2 MS. CLAYTON: You have obtained control. 3 QUESTION: In -- in ordinary parlance, I have 4 obtained the pen. 5 Your Honor, in the Florida Prepaid MS. CLAYTON: 6 case, in the Craft case, in the Drye case, this Court made 7 crystal clear the essence of intangible -- and, for that 8 matter, tangible property is the rights that come out of 9 it, especially the right of control. The right to control 10 my pen, the right of the clinics to control their --11 QUESTION: Or what about the right to perform a 12 job? Let's think of a labor strike. 13 MS. CLAYTON: Absolutely. 14 QUESTION: And -- and think of the strike, my 15 goodness, where people can't get into the factory. And --16 and somebody comes out and says, you've -- you've interfered under the Hobbs Act and have obtained property; 17 18 namely, my right to perform my job is interfered with. 19 The person at the soda fountain -- you've heard 20 the litany. 21 MS. CLAYTON: Right. 22 QUESTION: There are the soda fountain -- the 23 The soda jerk who wouldn't serve the black sit-ins. 24 Well, this -- this is interfering with my customers. 25 right to perform my job.

1	I mean, this seems you have another statute
2	that you can sue under. But a lot of a lot of people
3	who don't like these various demonstrations don't, and
4	they'll all be in under the Hobbs Act and and RICO and
5	so forth. I'm rather concerned about this problem. I'd
6	like you to address it.
7	MS. CLAYTON: I'd like to address those,
8	Justice Breyer. Let's start with the soda joke jerk
9	example.
10	Martin Luther King didn't tell his followers to
11	go into the Woolworth's and bash the people around and
12	forcibly prevent the white people from getting service.
13	QUESTION: No, but just obstructing just
14	obstructing you've used the term violence several
15	times. That's not what the instruction required.
16	MS. CLAYTON: It
17	QUESTION: As as your argument to the jury
18	itself indicated, it was enough if they obstructed the
19	entrance and failed to part like the Red Sea
20	MS. CLAYTON: Not true.
21	QUESTION: if somebody wanted to go in.
22	MS. CLAYTON: Justice Scalia, that is not
23	correct. We the instruction required that the
24	respondents be made to give up property. We and and
25	question 12 ensured that a mere blockade or sit-in

question 6 on the jury form asked the jury if any of the predicate acts they found was based on a mere blockade and sit-in. The jury said no. I told the jury don't include in your predicate acts -- I told them -- anything that was based on mere speech, or mere presence, or the message. It had to be something that involved force or violence, the wrongful use of --

8 QUESTION: I -- I am reading the closing 9 argument on behalf of the clinic plaintiffs at the trial, 10 and it says, in every issue we've shown you the property 11 rights of the clinics and the women were extorted under 12 RICO. Even a few hours of deprivation of legal rights 13 will satisfy the RICO act of extortion.

14 There is one way, I guess, in which you don't 15 have the element of force in a blockade, and that would be 16 if the blockaders did something that they were 17 specifically instructed that they should never do, that 18 is, politely move aside, part like the Red Sea, and let a 19 woman through.

20 But you know that never happened. No witness 21 ever testified to that. No witness -- not defense, not 22 plaintiff -- ever said that any of the blockaders were 23 instructed to let women through.

In other words, you told the jury that you couldfind an offense here under the Hobbs Act by the mere

1 blockade. It wasn't smacking people around. It was just 2 not letting people in. 3 MS. CLAYTON: No, Your Honor. If the jury had 4 found a mere -- first of all, that was argument. The jury 5 follows instructions not argument, as the Weeks case from 6 this Court has held. But the evidence supported --7 QUESTION: So you're -- you're changing your 8 position here. 9 MS. CLAYTON: No, Your Honor. 10 QUESTION: I see. 11 MS. CLAYTON: When we made -- we made that 12 argument, but we also told the jury that if they were 13 basing any predicate acts on the mere presence and a mere 14 blockade, mere sit-in, they had to put yes to question 6. 15 They put no because we showed them that they had to find 16 that any predicate act needed an element of force or violence. And that's what PLAN did. It used these --17 QUESTION: Well -- well, but still -- still it 18 19 seems to me that your -- your theory doesn't depend on 20 vi ol ence. Your theory is that you're obtaining -- or that 21 the defendants here were obtaining property because they 22 prohibited its use. That's your theory. 23 MS. CLAYTON: Yes, Your Honor, by -- by wrongful 24 That's correct. means. 25 QUESTION: And -- and so -- so long as the means

were wrongful, the obtaining definitional problem still
 remains, and I think you should address that.

3 MS. CLAYTON: I'd like -- yes, I'd like to go 4 back to the Carpenter case. Mr. Winans had the 5 information, but then he wrongfully obtained it. How did 6 he wrongfully obtain it? When he exercised dominion or 7 control over it. This Court said he -- he wrongfully 8 obtained it when he deprived -- that was this Court's 9 word -- deprived the Journal of its right to control that 10 property.

In the Green case, the same way. The --QUESTION: How about Carry Nation? I -- you would concede, I take it, based on your argument that if RICO had been around then and the Hobbs Act, that she would have been in violation.

MS. CLAYTON: I would, Your Honor, if she had been doing it to get consent, to get the business to change its ways, which I guess she was. Yes, that's not the lawful way. If my client, the National Organization for Women, organized people to go to Augusta Golf Course and tear up the greens until they let women members, that would be extortion.

QUESTION: But it is -- it is strange to think
of Carry Nation, that notorious extortionist. I mean, you
know, that's just not the crime involved. There --

1 there's a crime there, but is it extortion?

2 MS. CLAYTON: Your Honor, the Hobbs Act doesn't 3 give exemptions for motives, as this Court has repeatedly 4 held. There's no more a motive requirement there than 5 there is under RICO.

6 QUESTION: What's the difference between ---7 QUESTION: Ms. Clayton, may I ask you one 8 question? I just -- I -- I want to be sure I heard you 9 correctly. There's a definition of property in the 10 instructions, a three-part definition, at page 158. Di d 11 you tell us that that instruction was not objected to? 12 MS. CLAYTON: Oh, no, I don't believe I said 13 that. 14 QUESTION: I just misunderstood you. 15 MS. CLAYTON: The -- the petitioners had offered 16 a definition of -- of extortion that was part with 17 property, and they didn't define it. So at the trial --

18 at the pretrial stage, that was all they offered. They19 didn't object then.

20 During the course of trial, they made numerous 21 objections. I can't say they never objected. They didn't 22 timely object.

And their original view of what extortion meant was part with property, which is the same I think as give up property.

1 QUESTION: What is the difference between 2 coercion and extortion? 3 MS. CLAYTON: The difference is whether property 4 is being attacked. When you coerce somebody to give up 5 their First Amendment right, that might be coercion, but 6 since it's not focused on property, it's not extortion. 7 QUESTION: What would you coerce them to do that 8 is not the giving up of property? Give me an example. 9 MS. CLAYTON: To stop speaking. You don't have 10 property in your speech. Liberty interests are not the 11 subject of extortion, but -- but property interests are. 12 Every extortion is a coercion. 13 QUESTI ON: Shouldn't we draw the line this way? 14 Instead of speaking as, for example, the Solicitor General 15 did and some of the cases do about obtaining control, 16 isn't the way to -- to adhere to the line between the liberty and property distinction to say that you extort if 17 18 you gain control in a way which prevents them from doing 19 business, i.e., engaging in a property exercise, but you 20 do not extort if you gain control simply in the way they 21 do business, i.e., their choice of whom to serve? 22 If we draw that distinction, then the old 23 sit-ins in the lunch counter weren't there to stop them 24 from doing business. They wanted them to do business. 25 They wanted them to do business with them. Whereas, the

1 case which I think you have is a case that could be argued 2 that the point of it was to stop the business, period, and 3 that gets into property and crosses the line from liberty 4 to property. Would you accept that distinction? 5 MS. CLAYTON: Not quite, Justice Souter. 6 I certainly agree that the -- that the sit-in protesters 7 were not extorting anybody because they were trying to 8 change people's mind by persuasion, not by intimidation. 9 But I believe if you look at the old --QUESTION: Well, they wanted a -- I mean, but 10 11 they -- the --12 MS. CLAYTON: They --13 QUESTION: -- their immediate object was to get 14 the sandwich or the Coke. So that was easy. 15 MS. CLAYTON: But -- okay, that -- that may be 16 right. But when we look at the old organized crime, the 17 18 classic organized crime extortion cases that the Hobbs Act 19 was based on, we see organized crime going in saying, let 20 these people run your pension fund. Don't do business 21 with these people. Fire these people. Hire those. Any 22 attempt to control a lawful business decision I believe is 23 extortion, whether it's positive or negative. 24 QUESTION: Well, maybe -- maybe it is, but I --25 I think -- among other things, I think we are, and should

be more concerned about the First Amendment issues which
 arise when you cross the line into liberty than the - than the cases were 40 years ago and --

4 MS. CLAYTON: But the proper -- excuse me, 5 Justice Souter. The best way to address the First 6 Amendment issue is to apply the standards of Claiborne 7 Hardware to any extortion at conduct, as was done here. 8 Make sure that the petitioners had to have specific intent that the crime be done. Make sure it was done knowingly, 9 willingly, wrongfully, not just accidentally. 10 Make sure 11 the enterprise authorized or ratified it. Those were the 12 instructions given here. There was -- nothing could be a 13 predicate act unless all those tests were met.

14 And then on top of that, they had to use 15 demands, wrongful demands, to control lawful business 16 decisions. And I do believe that decisions either to do something or not to do something, as long as the business 17 18 owner -- say the company makes round widgets and square 19 widgets. And the -- the extortionist says, we don't like 20 round widgets. We want you to only make the other kind. 21 Or maybe they don't make round and they want them to start 22 doing it. That's as much a control of their business 23 decisions as all those classic organized crimes that were 24 the basis of the Hobbs Act. And it's just as offensive 25 here.

1	Your Honor, we ask the clock not to turn back
2	the ask the Court not to turn back the clock on 50
3	years of Hobbs Act jurisprudence which protected
4	businesses and their customers in making their lawful
5	busi ness deci si ons.
6	We ask the Court to decline to add any
7	limitations like tangible or personal to to the Hobbs
8	Act. By the way, even if you did, the State law
9	QUESTION: You want to retain the labor union
10	exception, however, I assume.
11	MS. CLAYTON: And of course. Enmons and it's
12	section (c), Your Honor. It's section (c) of 1951 that
13	says nothing in this law will affect and then they list
14	all the labor laws. That's why there's a union exception.
15	Plus the the New York and all the other States had not
16	only a statutory labor exception, but common law.
17	And please don't
18	QUESTION: Thank you, Mrs Ms. Clayton.
19	MS. CLAYTON: Thank you. Thank you, Your
20	Honors.
21	QUESTION: Mr. Englert, you have 6 minutes left.
22	REBUTTAL ARGUMENT OF ROY T. ENGLERT, JR.
23	ON BEHALF OF THE PETITIONERS
24	MR. ENGLERT: Thank you, Justice Stevens.
25	The defendants in this case objected strenuously

1 to reading the word obtain out of the Hobbs Act. They did 2 not say that giving up property is enough. If you read 3 the 1995 opinion wrongly denying the 12(b)(6) motion, 4 that's all over the place. If you look at pages 4324 to 5 4340 of the transcript at the jury colloguy, the point 6 that there needs to be obtaining was made quite 7 strenuously. 8 QUESTION: Was -- was this particular 9 instruction, the one that I read from in 1998, the 10 instruction that had the three parts to it -- was that 11 objected to? 12 MR. ENGLERT: Yes, at the -- at the pages I indicated. 13 14 People v. Barondess. The work stoppage led to 15 obtaining \$100. Of course, it was extortion. That's the 16 property in that case. That's -- it's cited in footnote 17 16 of our opening -- of the Scheidler opening brief. 18 United States v. Clevel and Indians Baseball 19 This Court reminded us members of the bar that Company. 20 the tendency to assume that a word used in two different 21 legal rules always has the same meaning, has all the 22 tenacity of original sin, and must constantly be guarded 23 against. To think that property's definition in tax cases 24 and in Fifth Amendment takings cases is necessarily the 25 definition of the Hobbs Act is simply wrong. The Hobbs

Act draws its definition of property from the common law
 and the New York law, not from takings cases and tax
 cases.

4 The First Amendment is in this case. Yes, the 5 Court did not take the First Amendment question, but the 6 principle of constitutional avoidance always governs the 7 construction of statutes. And Ms. Clayton concedes that 8 classic protest activities that are venerated in American 9 history in retrospect would be covered as extortion by her 10 definition. That should give the Court pause.

11 Claiborne --

12 QUESTION: They wouldn't -- they wouldn't be if
13 you observed the distinction I was throwing out.

14 MR. ENGLERT: The -- the answer to that distinction, if I may, Justice Souter, is Claiborne 15 16 Hardware and Carry Nation -- those fact patterns certainly 17 would be covered even under the distinction you suggest. 18 There were 10 acts of violence in 1966 in Claiborne 19 Hardware. 20 QUESTION: Yes, Carry Nation would be covered. 21 There's no question. The -- the lunch counter sit-ins

22 would not, as I understand it.

23 MR. ENGLERT: Well, actually I -- I don't think 24 that's historically accurate. I think there was an effort 25 to stop the lunch counters from serving other people in

1 addition to getting them to -- to serve black people. But 2 it doesn't matter. 3 QUESTION: Well, the --4 MR. ENGLERT: It -- it -- there are -- there are 5 examples that this Court should be concerned, I 6 respectfully submit, about calling extortion under 7 Ms. Clayton's definition, and that would include the facts 8 in Claiborne Hardware. That would include the Carry Nation example. The Seamless Garment Network brief goes 9 10 into many other examples. 11 QUESTION: If the conduct in Claiborne Hardware 12 was pretty rough. Maybe it should have been included. 13 QUESTION: You're not going to get -- you're not 14 going to get my --MR. ENGLERT: Your Honor, the -- the opinion of 15 the Court in that case refers to it has having elements of 16 majesty as well as elements of violence. And the Court 17 18 really should be concerned about whether the classic 19 historical pattern -- and please look at the Seamless 20 Garment Network brief -- the classic historical pattern of 21 venerable leaders whose followers get out of hand is 22 really what is meant by Hobbs Act extortion and RICO. 23 QUESTION: No majesty with Carry Nation. I 24 mean, you don't get my sympathy by saying you -- you might 25 have interfered with Carry Nation on --

1 MR. ENGLERT: Well, I --2 QUESTION: He didn't say might have. You said 3 that you would. 4 MR. ENGLERT: There's another more legalistic 5 reason. 6 QUESTION: I think both sides agree on Carry 7 Nation. 8 MR. ENGLERT: If -- if I may, there's another 9 more legalistic reason why Ms. Clayton's and the Solicitor General's position has to be wrong, and Justice Breyer and 10 11 others have laid their finger on it, Justice Ginsburg as 12 well. 13 What they're talking about is the classic 14 example of coercion, not extortion, and for those who like 15 legislative history, the fact that organized labor got 16 coercion out of the statute should give you pause. For those who don't like legislative history, the fact that 17 18 there's a list of predicate acts and coercion isn't one of 19 them should give you pause. 20 I think almost everyone agrees that there has to 21 be at the very least a remand in this case, and 22 Ms. Clayton hasn't quite conceded it. But if this Court's 23 decision in Griffin v. United States, a criminal case, is 24 applicable in civil cases or if this Court's decisions in 25 Yates v. United States, Maryland v. Baldwin, Sunkist

1 Growers are applicable, then this jury verdict, which 2 almost indisputably rests, at least in part, on 3 indefensible notions of property, has to be reversed. 4 QUESTION: Can I ask you one question about 5 that? Did the individuals get damages here, or was it 6 just the clinics? 7 MR. ENGLERT: Only the clinics for extraordinary 8 security costs. 9 QUESTI ON: 0kay. MR. ENGLERT: Violence. Let's talk about 10 11 violence for a moment. Please look at -- at special 12 interrogatory 4(e). The jury was asked to find how many 13 acts or threats of violence to persons or property were 14 The jury said four. Ms. Clayton argued 30 in her there. 15 closing argument, and the jury said 4. So actually the 16 jury rejected -- we know to a certainty the jury rejected 17 most of NOW's evidence, and there weren't even any 18 allegations that Mr. Scheidler, Mr. Scholberg, or 19 Mr. Murphy actually engaged in violence. There were 20 allegations they were connected to violence, not that they 21 engaged in violence. And I should say my clients are 22 proponents of nonviolence. Mr. Terry was not alleged to 23 engage in acts of violence either, I should add. 24 RI CO. Section 4 of the Sherman Act is repeated

almost verbatim in 1964(a) and 1964(b). Section 7 of the

25

1	Sherman Act is repeated almost verbatim in 1964(c).
2	Section 4 of the Clayton Act is repeated almost verbatim
3	in 1964(c). Section 15 of the Clayton Act is repeated
4	almost verbatim in 1964(a) and 1964(b). Section 16 of the
5	Clayton Act, the statute that authorizes injunctions,
6	nowhere in 1964.
7	And as as thank you.
8	JUSTICE STEVENS: Thank you, Mr. Englert.
9	(Whereupon, at 11:07 a.m., the case in the
10	above-entitled matter was submitted.)
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