SUPREME COURT OF THE UNITED STATES

IN THE SUPREME COURT OF THE	UNITED STATES
	_
HALIMA TARIFFA CULLEY, ET AL.,)
Petitioners,)
v.) No. 22-585
STEVEN T. MARSHALL, ATTORNEY)
GENERAL OF ALABAMA, ET AL.,)
Respondents.)
	_

Pages: 1 through 110

Place: Washington, D.C.

Date: October 30, 2023

HERITAGE REPORTING CORPORATION

Official Reporters
1220 L Street, N.W., Suite 206
Washington, D.C. 20005
(202) 628-4888
www.hrccourtreporters.com

1	IN THE SUPREME COURT OF THE UNI	ITED STATES
2		
3	HALIMA TARIFFA CULLEY, ET AL.,)
4	Petitioners,)
5	v.) No. 22-585
6	STEVEN T. MARSHALL, ATTORNEY)
7	GENERAL OF ALABAMA, ET AL.,)
8	Respondents.)
9		
10		
11	Washington, D.C	
12	Monday, October 30), 2023
13		
14	The above-entitled matter	came on for
15	oral argument before the Supreme	Court of the
16	United States at 10:05 a.m.	
17		
18		
19		
20		
21		
22		
23		
24		
25		

Т	APPEARANCES:
2	SHAY DVORETZKY, ESQUIRE, Washington, D.C.; on behalf
3	of the Petitioners.
4	EDMUND G. LaCOUR, JR., Solicitor General, Montgomery
5	Alabama; on behalf of the Respondents.
б	NICOLE F. REAVES, Assistant to the Solicitor General
7	Department of Justice, Washington, D.C.; for the
8	United States, as amicus curiae, supporting the
9	Respondents.
10	
11	
12	
13	
14	
15	
16	
17	
18	
19	
20	
21	
22	
23	
24	
25	

1	CONTENTS	
2	ORAL ARGUMENT OF:	PAGE
3	SHAY DVORETZKY, ESQ.	
4	On behalf of the Petitioners	4
5	ORAL ARGUMENT OF:	
6	EDMUND G. LaCOUR, JR., ESQ.	
7	On behalf of the Respondents	56
8	ORAL ARGUMENT OF:	
9	NICOLE F. REAVES, ESQ,	
LO	For the United States, as amicus	
L1	curiae, supporting the Respondents	90
L2	REBUTTAL ARGUMENT OF:	
L3	SHAY DVORETZKY, ESQ.	
L4	On behalf of the Petitioners	104
L5		
L6		
L7		
L8		
L9		
20		
21		
22		
23		
24		
25		

1	PROCEEDINGS
2	(10:05 a.m.)
3	CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: We'll hear
4	argument this morning in Case 22-585, Culley
5	versus Marshall.
6	Mr. Dvoretzky.
7	ORAL ARGUMENT OF SHAY DVORETZKY
8	ON BEHALF OF THE PETITIONERS
9	MR. DVORETZKY: Mr. Chief Justice, and
10	may it please the Court:
11	The question presented is narrow:
12	Should courts apply Mathews or Barker to assess
13	the sufficiency of process in civil forfeiture
14	proceedings? The answer is Mathews.
15	Mathews is the default due process
16	standard for civil cases and for good reason.
17	It assesses both the private and governmental
18	interests to guard against unreasonable risks of
19	error. And the Court has consistently applied
20	it to determine whether more process is due,
21	including in Good, another civil forfeiture
22	case.
23	Respondents prefer Barker because
24	Barker's answer is always no additional process.
25	But Respondents' primary argument is just that

- 1 \$8,850 and Von Neumann already decided the
- 2 question, not that Barker makes sense and
- 3 Mathews doesn't.
- 4 Respondents are wrong. As the Second
- 5 and Sixth Circuits have explained in adopting
- 6 Mathews over Barker, \$8,850 and Von Neumann
- 7 concern the length of time for a final
- 8 disposition rather than the need for an interim
- 9 hearing. The litigants in \$8,850 and Von
- 10 Neumann also were not claiming innocence, so
- 11 they were not seeking and the Court did not
- 12 address retention hearings.
- Only Mathews can answer the
- sufficiency-of-process question. The courts of
- 15 appeals and state supreme courts that have
- 16 addressed the question presented have
- overwhelmingly chosen Mathews over Barker.
- 18 Although the Court need not go beyond
- 19 the methodological question presented and apply
- the Mathews factors, the point of Mathews is to
- 21 -- is to ensure that laws adequately protect the
- 22 Constitution's fundamental due process
- 23 guarantee, taking into account the private and
- 24 governmental interests at stake. It's not to
- 25 micromanage state legislatures.

1	The easiest way for a jurisdiction to
2	ensure its laws comport with due process, as the
3	Second and Sixth Circuits have explained, is
4	generally to offer a reasonably prompt
5	post-seizure hearing to allow claimants to raise
6	an innocent owner argument. Indeed, numerous
7	states have done just that, and their experience
8	makes clear, contrary to Respondents'
9	contentions, that retention hearings are
10	workable and effective.
11	I welcome the Court's questions.
12	JUSTICE THOMAS: Before we get to the
13	choice between Barker and Mathews, isn't there
14	the an antecedent question as to whether or
15	not there's any constitutional requirement for
16	additional hearings in the context of
17	forfeiture?
18	MR. DVORETZKY: Justice Thomas, I
19	think that that question is what Barker or
20	Mathews, depending on which test this Court were
21	to choose as the answer
22	JUSTICE THOMAS: Well, the reason I
23	ask that is because you seem to assume that a
24	an additional hearing is required.
25	MR. DVORETZKY: We're not assuming

- 1 that an additional hearing is required. We're
- 2 saying that Mathews is the way to analyze
- 3 whether an additional hearing is required.
- 4 Mathews is the test that the Court has applied
- 5 in cases like Good, where a litigant comes
- 6 forward and says the process being provided in
- 7 this case, as in Good, no hearing, is
- 8 insufficient. And the way to think of that
- 9 under Mathews is to say, well, what are the
- 10 private interests in a hearing, what are the
- 11 governmental interests on the other side, and
- 12 what would be the value of additional process?
- JUSTICE THOMAS: Well, let me ask you
- 14 this. In your case, if you had filed a motion
- for summary judgment a week after the property
- 16 had been taken or the process had begun,
- 17 forfeiture proceedings began, would -- would you
- 18 be here?
- 19 MR. DVORETZKY: I think -- I think we
- 20 would be here.
- JUSTICE THOMAS: Why? You would have
- 22 your property back because you -- you won on
- 23 summary judgment, right?
- MR. DVORETZKY: We -- we won on
- 25 summary judgment after going through discovery

- 1 with the state, which, by the way, the state
- 2 took five months to respond to our discovery
- 3 requests.
- 4 Summary judgment, we -- we would have
- 5 won, but due process is an affirmative guarantee
- 6 that requires more than the possibility that a
- judge would expedite summary judgment. There's
- 8 no --
- 9 JUSTICE THOMAS: But what would be
- 10 your -- if you got your property back, what
- would be the constitutional problem? What would
- 12 be the due process problem?
- MR. DVORETZKY: If we had promptly
- gotten our property back in -- in a -- measured
- by days or weeks rather than months or years,
- then, in that situation, I think we probably
- 17 would not have a constitutional claim.
- 18 JUSTICE THOMAS: So --
- MR. DVORETZKY: But the due --
- 20 JUSTICE THOMAS: -- here's my problem:
- 21 You say that you could have -- under Alabama's
- 22 proceed -- procedures, you could have gotten
- your property back in a reasonable time.
- MR. DVORETZKY: I -- I dis- --
- JUSTICE THOMAS: You could have.

1	MR. DVORETZKY: Hypothetically, we
2	could have, just as somebody could come to this
3	Court and and ask it for extraordinary relief
4	that the Court is under no obligation to
5	provide.
6	Due process doesn't depend on whether
7	a court is going to exercise its discretion to
8	expedite a case. Realistically, courts rarely
9	do that. And, moreover, the summary judgment
10	standard, that's about proving your ultimate
11	entitlement on the merits definitively.
12	CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Well, you say
13	courts rarely do that. Do we have any evidence
14	about how long or how often courts in Alabama
15	grant motions to expedite in this context?
16	MR. DVORETZKY: So, Mr. Chief Justice,
17	there there is not a record on that. I
18	think, as as a practical matter, not in the
19	record, it's not very common, but in terms of
20	applying the Mathews factors, that is something
21	that could be considered and that could be
22	developed on remand in assessing what is the
23	value of additional procedures.
24	Again, the methodological question
25	here in determining whether an additional

- 1 hearing is required is just, how do we think
- 2 about that? Do we think about that by applying
- 3 the Mathews factors, which is the -- that's the
- 4 traditional test for determining whether
- 5 additional process is due in the civil context,
- 6 or do we --
- 7 JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: Can we go back to
- 8 your answer to Justice Thomas? The purpose of
- 9 summary judgment is to decide the ultimate
- 10 question, who owns the car, correct?
- MR. DVORETZKY: Yes.
- 12 JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: The purpose of a
- 13 -- a post-seizure hearing is to determine who
- 14 keeps custody of the car, correct?
- MR. DVORETZKY: Yes.
- JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: And the focus is,
- 17 therefore, different? The focus in the post- --
- in the -- in the hearing would be is -- there
- might be a disputed issue of fact with respect
- 20 to ownership. The government might claim it
- 21 needs discovery. A government might claim it
- has some facts that would lead to a judgment
- 23 that it needs to explore. But the court would
- then weigh whether or not that is sufficient not
- 25 to give custody to the car owner pending the

1 hearing, correct? 2 MR. DVORETZKY: Yes, Justice 3 Sotomayor. 4 JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: So summary 5 judgment doesn't answer this question or the 6 isolated question of who keeps custody of the 7 car pending the ultimate judgment, correct? 8 MR. DVORETZKY: That's right. 9 JUSTICE KAVANAUGH: You referred --10 JUSTICE KAGAN: Well, may I ask about 11 that --12 JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: Now the -- sorry. 13 JUSTICE KAGAN: I'm sorry, please. 14 JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: No. I was just 15 going to say, whether or not summary judgment is 16 adequate given that difference in the focus of 17 the hearings, I'm presuming that's why you're 18 saying that's not the issue before us. The 19 issue before us is, what of the two tests do we 20 apply to determine whether that's enough or not? 21 MR. DVORETZKY: That -- that --2.2 JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: Correct? 23 MR. DVORETZKY: That's right, Justice 24 Sotomayor.

JUSTICE KAGAN: I mean, if I could ask

1 about that same kind of thing, what the difference is between the retention hearing and the final forfeiture determination, I mean, take 3 a case like this, where your client is raising 4 an innocent owner defense, and I would think 5 6 that the questions about whether she was an 7 innocent owner are pretty much the same in the retention hearing and in the final forfeiture 8 determination, isn't that correct? 9 10 MR. DVORETZKY: I think the 11 substantive question is -- is the same, yes. 12 JUSTICE KAGAN: Now there is a different burden, but if she can prove at the 13 14 retention hearing under a probable cause 15 standard that she is entitled to the car back, I mean, there's no way the government is going to 16 17 lose on the final determination, right? I mean, she's proved that she's entitled to the car? 18 19 MR. DVORETZKY: I -- I think that's 20 most likely correct. In theory, by the time of the final determination, there could be some 21 2.2 additional discovery or investigation that 23 happens that would change the calculus. 24 JUSTICE KAGAN: Yeah, I suppose --25 MR. DVORETZKY: But most likely --

1 JUSTICE KAGAN: -- in an individual 2 case, but most likely --3 MR. DVORETZKY: Most likely. JUSTICE KAGAN: -- the government 4 probably would just give up at that point, 5 6 right? Under this, you know, very generous 7 standard to the government they've lost, they're not going to keep on pursuing the thing, so 8 9 she's gotten her car back and the case is over. 10 And I guess what this suggests is that 11 in both cases, you're really adjudicating the 12 same thing, which is like am I entitled to my 13 car back right now? So how is it really 14 different? I understand saying this is interim, 15 this is final, but in the end, it's just am I 16 entitled to my car back now. 17 MR. DVORETZKY: Justice Kagan, I think 18 that the substantive question is the same, but 19 there are a few key differences between the 20 retention hearing and the later merits 21 determination. 2.2 For one thing, I don't know that the 23 premise is correct that the government would 24 just give up if it loses at the retention 25 hearing. Again, there's a -- a different

- 1 procedural standard later. The government has
- 2 the opportunity to conduct more discovery. The
- 3 government also has, in -- in -- in Alabama, as
- 4 well as 25 other states, a financial incentive
- 5 to keep pursuing the forfeiture proceedings
- 6 because they get to keep the proceeds.
- 7 And so I don't know that it's
- 8 empirically correct that the government would
- 9 simply give up if it loses at the -- the
- 10 retention hearing. In addition to that --
- JUSTICE KAGAN: I guess what I'm --
- 12 what I'm asking is, if -- if -- if we had a case
- that says, you know, the constitutional rule
- 14 about forcing a determination about what --
- 15 about -- about who's entitled to the car is the
- 16 Barker rule, you know, why it is that we can
- 17 say: Well, we have that rule, but, in fact,
- 18 there's -- there's another constitutional rule
- 19 which is much more beneficial to the claimant
- 20 that's meant to address exactly the same
- 21 question that we held in \$8,850 was addressed by
- 22 Parker?
- MR. DVORETZKY: So I think they're
- 24 different -- for one thing, I think they are
- 25 different questions, as the Second and the Sixth

- 1 Circuit have explained.
- 2 In Barker -- in Barker, the only
- 3 question -- it was essentially a case where
- 4 the -- the claimant was trying to argue a
- 5 gotcha. There was no argument in got -- in
- 6 Barker -- I'm sorry, in \$8,850 or Von Neumann
- 7 that the government was not ultimately entitled
- 8 to forfeit the property. There was no innocent
- 9 owner defense.
- 10 The claimant's argument there was,
- 11 well, but you waited too long in order to
- 12 actually complete the proceedings and,
- 13 therefore, I get my car back. And in that
- 14 situation, this -- this Court said the Barker
- 15 test applies.
- 16 There's a different argument where you
- 17 have an innocent owner defense, where you have
- 18 somebody coming forward and saying: I should be
- 19 entitled as a matter of Alabama state law, the
- 20 rights that Alabama state law gives to me, I
- 21 should be entitled to keep my car. And the
- 22 state can't effect a de facto forfeiture of that
- 23 car for months or years during the pendency of
- 24 proceedings.
- JUSTICE KAVANAUGH: But, in both --

1	MR. DVORETZKY: That's a
2	JUSTICE KAVANAUGH: cases, the
3	claimant wants the property back in the in
4	the interim. And the court, I mean, couldn't
5	have been much clearer in its language.
6	"The forfeiture proceeding without
7	more provides the the hearing required by due
8	process to protect Von Neumann's property
9	interest in the car," and then repeated it two
10	pages later, "the right to a forfeiture
11	hearing here proceeding meeting the Barker
12	test satisfies any due process right with
13	respect to the car and the money."
14	And those, to me, didn't seem to be
15	accidental comments. I went back to the oral
16	argument transcript where exactly this question
17	was posed about is that all the process that's
18	that's due, and the court was very
19	definitive.
20	So you've you've referred a few
21	times to a methodological question.
22	Methodologically, how can we get around from
23	your perspective that seemingly clear statement?
24	I know you have factual distinctions, but those
25	are broad clear statements that have quided

- 1 courts since.
- MR. DVORETZKY: Justice Kavanaugh, I
- 3 think those statements have broad language that
- 4 has to be understood in context.
- With respect to the first sentence
- 6 that you quoted -- the forfeiture proceeding
- 7 without more provides the post-seizure hearing
- 8 that due process requires -- that was in part 2
- 9 of Von Neumann.
- 10 Part 2 of Von Neumann was the section
- of that opinion holding that the claimant had no
- due process interest in the first place. That
- sentence can't reasonably be understood to say
- anything about due process where, as here, the
- 15 substantive Alabama law confers an additional
- interest that then gives rise to new due process
- 17 requirements.
- 18 With respect to the second sentence
- 19 that you quoted, first of all, that was just
- 20 referring back to the first sentence from part
- 21 2, which, again, doesn't apply here. In that
- 22 second -- in the third part of the Von Neumann
- opinion where that sentence comes from, the
- 24 Court assumed that a protected due process
- 25 interest existed.

1 That assumption doesn't really make a 2 lot of sense doctrinally. You can't have a due process interest in a remission proceeding, 3 which is essentially a -- like a discretionary 4 5 pardon. 6 And, in any event --7 JUSTICE KAVANAUGH: That was the argument, though, wasn't it? 8 9 MR. DVORETZKY: I'm sorry? 10 JUSTICE KAVANAUGH: That was the 11 argument, right? 12 MR. DVORETZKY: The -- the court 13 assumed there that there was a due process 14 interest. But I'm saying the -- the assumption 15 doesn't even really hold because you can't have 16 a due process interest in that kind of a 17 discretionary proceeding. 18 And, beyond that, again, the -- the argument that the Court actually addressed in 19 20 the Von Neumann opinion was about a final 21 determination. It was about the speed to final 2.2 determination in a context where there was no 23 substantive right to avoid the forfeiture. 24 JUSTICE BARRETT: So, Mr. Dvoretzky --25 MR. DVORETZKY: That's --

1 JUSTICE BARRETT: -- just to be sure I 2 understand what your -- your answer is to 3 Justice Kavanaugh, is it that the due process right to the hearing is tied to the innocent 4 owner defense, and if there were no innocent 5 6 owner defense, there wouldn't be a right to a 7 retention hearing? MR. DVORETZKY: I think, if there were 8 9 no innocent owner defense -- first of all, 10 we're -- we're not asking the Court to go beyond 11 holding that there is a due process right in a 12 -- where there's an innocent owner defense. 13 And, in fact, we're not even asking the Court to 14 go that far because we're only asking for the 15 methodological holding about whether to apply --16 JUSTICE BARRETT: Because the 17 methodological --18 MR. DVORETZKY: -- Mathews or Barker. 19 JUSTICE BARRETT: I understand that, but does the methodological question -- I mean, 20 because I -- I -- I think you have kind of a 21 2.2 hard row to hoe, as Justice Kavanaugh is 23 pointing out, when you look at the language in 24 Von Neumann and \$8,850, so my question is, 25 methodologically, does a court even -- in your

1 view, does a court even need to ask the question whether a retention hearing is due if there's no innocent owner defense? 3 MR. DVORETZKY: I -- I think it does 4 because, even in that context, I think there is 5 a difference between the claim about a final 6 7 determination and the speed of the final determination in Von Neumann and \$8,850 versus 8 9 the interim deprivation that's at issue here. 10 But I think it's a lot clearer that 11 Von Neumann and \$8,850 don't speak to the 12 question presented when, as here, you have an additional substantive right created by state 13 14 law that wasn't at issue in those earlier cases. 15 And as this Court's due process 16 jurisprudence makes clear, when states create 17 substantive rights, that can also give rise to additional due process protections --18 19 JUSTICE BARRETT: But does it even --20 MR. DVORETZKY: -- that are required. JUSTICE BARRETT: -- make sense to ask 21 2.2 this question? I mean, you -- you point out 23 that Gerstein, rather than Barker, is the more 24 apt analogy. But you don't get a hearing on the 25 probable cause determination.

2.1

1 So you're asking, you know, as the 2 state points out, for more process, more robust process in this context of civil forfeiture than 3 a criminal defendant gets. 4 MR. DVORETZKY: A couple points on 5 6 that, Justice Barrett. 7 First of all, the point of our reliance on Gerstein is simply to show that even 8 in the criminal context, Barker is not the --9 10 the overarching test that applies in all 11 circumstances. 12 So, even in the criminal context, 13 Barker doesn't speak to every constitutional 14 issue that could come up having to do even with 15 timing. And just so here, Von Neumann and 16 \$8,850 don't speak to any potential due process 17 claim that could be raised. 18 With respect to the argument that --19 that under our view, the argument that the state 20 makes that property is somehow getting greater protection than persons, there's a panoply of 21 22 protections under criminal law that defendants 23 get. In this case and particularly where 24

you have an innocent owner defense, there has

2.2

- 1 not even been any sort of a probable cause
- 2 determination made by the police at the time of
- 3 the seizure about the innocent owner defense.
- 4 The -- the police here are seizing the
- 5 car incident to arrest. They're not even making
- 6 a determination in their own minds at that
- 7 point, well, who owns the car and does that
- 8 person have a -- a probable claim of innocence?
- 9 JUSTICE ALITO: Do you think --
- 10 MR. DVORETZKY: And to all --
- 11 JUSTICE ALITO: -- that the -- the
- innocent owner defense is required by the
- 13 Constitution?
- 14 MR. DVORETZKY: This Court has held
- that it's not in Bennis versus Michigan, so no.
- 16 JUSTICE ALITO: All right. If the
- 17 state creates that, could it allocate the burden
- of proof to the defendant -- to the owner of the
- 19 car?
- 20 MR. DVORETZKY: I -- I think it could,
- 21 and if you look at Alabama law, under the
- 22 pre-2022 version, the burden of proof was
- 23 allocated to the owner of the car, and under the
- 24 current version, the burden of proof is
- 25 allocated to the government.

1 JUSTICE ALITO: And could it say that 2 the owner of the car must prove innocence by 3 clear and convincing evidence? MR. DVORETZKY: I think it could if 4 that were the -- I think it could. 5 JUSTICE ALITO: If -- the retention 6 7 hearing has to occur within 48 hours of the seizure. You didn't -- in your argument this 8 9 morning, you didn't mention a time. You said 10 reasonably prompt. 11 How -- is it practical to expect the police to be able to prove within a short period 12 of time that the owner of the car did not know 13 14 that the person driving the car was going to 15 have drugs in the car? 16 MR. DVORETZKY: So, Justice Alito, 17 first, I do think that reasonably prompt is the standard. The way that the lower courts have 18 19 interpreted that is generally a few weeks. 20 We're not asking for the 48-hour standard under 21 Gerstein, although that is -- to Justice 2.2 Barrett's question, that is another example of 23 where we are not actually asking for more 24 protection for property than for people --25 JUSTICE ALITO: What does "a few" --

1	MR. DVORETZKY: and the Gerstein
2	JUSTICE ALITO: what does "a few
3	weeks" mean? I'm sorry to interrupt. What does
4	"a few weeks" mean?
5	MR. DVORETZKY: So the Sixth Circuit
6	in the Ingram case recently said two weeks. In
7	New York, for Krimstock hearings, they have to
8	happen within 10 business days, so that's two
9	weeks as well.
10	I don't know that it is a rigid line
11	at two weeks. I don't think this Court needs to
12	decide a particular day at which it needs to
13	happen, but it needs to happen reasonably
14	promptly on a scale measured by weeks rather
15	than rather than months or years, which is
16	how civil litigation ordinarily happens.
17	JUSTICE JACKSON: Are you asking us
18	JUSTICE ALITO: What about
19	JUSTICE JACKSON: to decide that in
20	this case, though? I mean, I guess I'm confused
21	because I thought we were doing just Barker
22	versus Mathews in terms of figuring out whether
23	or not there is a procedural due process claim
24	here. I didn't understand us to be answering
25	the question how many weeks are necessary, but

- 1 maybe I'm confused.
- 2 MR. DVORETZKY: No, you understood
- 3 correctly, Justice Jackson. The question
- 4 presented is simply about which methodology,
- 5 which test applies to determine whether a
- 6 hearing is due.
- 7 JUSTICE JACKSON: And whichever one we
- 8 decide, we could remand it for the lower court
- 9 to actually apply it in this case to determine
- 10 whether or not there was a procedural due
- 11 process violation, correct?
- MR. DVORETZKY: Absolutely.
- 13 JUSTICE JACKSON: All right. So
- 14 getting back to Justice Kagan's question about
- 15 the Barker test, I guess I -- I'm -- I thought
- that Barker was about timing and that there
- were, in fact, various species of due process
- 18 claims that could be made, one of which is about
- 19 how quickly or slowly the government has acted
- 20 to give the procedure that it has said it's
- 21 going to give you. And that's one kind of
- 22 thing.
- 23 And then, say, another is I'm
- 24 contesting the procedures that the government is
- offering. I think more things need to be done

- 1 with respect to this particular set of
- 2 circumstances. That's another kind of claim.
- 3 And so I had understood that Barker
- 4 applies to the former when you're complaining
- 5 about timing, and I saw \$8,850 and Von Neumann
- 6 to be in that bucket. And Mathews v. Eldridge
- 7 traditionally applies in the other scenario,
- 8 which is what I thought the claimants were
- 9 making here today.
- 10 Am I looking at this in sort of too
- 11 simplistic a way or -- I guess I'm concerned
- 12 about the suggestion that Barker be applied in a
- 13 situation in which the claim is not about the
- 14 timing.
- MR. DVORETZKY: I think you're looking
- 16 at it correctly, Justice Jackson. And maybe as
- to the timing question in \$8,850, that tracks
- 18 the Barker test, but we're asserting a different
- 19 kind of claim here for --
- JUSTICE JACKSON: So why is it
- 21 different?
- JUSTICE KAGAN: I definitely didn't
- 23 understand that. Maybe you could explain.
- JUSTICE JACKSON: Yes. Why is it
- 25 different?

2.7

1 JUSTICE KAGAN: The only reason you're 2 asking for a retention hearing is to get the car 3 back sooner. That's a question about timing. They're both questions about timing. Barker set 4 one timing rule. The claimants here want 5 6 another timing rule, which is a more generous to 7 the claimant timing rule. I mean, it's no -- it's not process 8 9 for process's sake. It's process because people 10 are without a car and they think that they're 11 entitled to the car and they want the car back 12 So that too is a timing rule, isn't it? MR. DVORETZKY: You can look at it as 13 14 a timing question at a general level. 15 still doesn't mean that these are the same 16 questions. Take the criminal context for -- as 17 -- as an analogy. You could say that the Barker speedy trial right is all about getting to a 18 19 final determination quickly. You also have a 20 separate right under Gerstein to a probable cause determination within 48 hours. 21 2.2 I suppose, in a hypothetical 23 situation, where we went from an indictment to a 24 trial and a verdict within 48 hours, you would 25 say: Well, there's no need in that situation

2.8

- 1 for a Gerstein hearing because the superfast
- 2 trial in that situation mooted the separate
- 3 interest in the probable cause determination
- 4 under Gerstein. That doesn't mean that they
- 5 aren't separate interests.
- 6 So too here. There may -- there's one
- 7 interest in getting to a timely ultimate
- 8 determination. That's what was at issue in Von
- 9 Neumann and \$8,850 and for which the Court
- 10 analogized to Barker. There's a separate
- interest in retaining your property during the
- 12 time that it takes to reach that final
- 13 determination.
- And, again, hypothetically, if you had
- a trial within 48 hours, you wouldn't even have
- 16 to worry about the interim determination.
- 17 JUSTICE GORSUCH: Counsel --
- 18 MR. DVORETZKY: But, in the real
- 19 world, you do.
- 20 JUSTICE GORSUCH: -- it seems very
- 21 strange that we're asking which of two
- 22 precedents apply rather than what the Due
- 23 Process Clause commands. I mean, it's just a
- 24 weird question presented as far as I'm
- 25 concerned. And I guess I'm -- my head's still

- 1 stuck back at -- at that and some of the
- 2 questions that you heard early on, which is
- 3 whatever test you apply, clearly, there are some
- 4 jurisdictions that are using civil forfeiture as
- funding mechanisms and say: Ah, you can get
- 6 your car back if you call between 3 and 5 p.m.
- 7 on a Tuesday and -- and -- and speak with
- 8 someone who is never available, right? I mean,
- 9 there are -- that is happening out there.
- 10 But it didn't look to me -- I'll be
- 11 honest and put my cards on the table -- that
- 12 that was the case in Alabama. And -- and I
- 13 understand your client filed for summary
- judgment 13 or 18 months later, whatever, but
- 15 what would have impaired them from -- from
- 16 filing a summary judgment motion on day one?
- 17 It's an innocent owner defense. They know the
- 18 facts of their ownership of their car and how it
- 19 was misused.
- 20 I'm not sure I understood the reason
- 21 for the delay and how it might be fairly
- 22 attributable to the state. So, while I'm very
- 23 sympathetic with the problem that you've
- identified, I'm just wondering, is this the case
- 25 that presents the due process problem that we

1 should be worried about? MR. DVORETZKY: So, for one thing, I 2 3 think this is the case, and the Court granted cert on this question, to --4 5 JUSTICE GORSUCH: Oh, I know we granted cert. It's all our fault. I -- I hear 6 7 you. 8 (Laughter.) 9 MR. DVORETZKY: Not blaming you. 10 appreciate it. 11 (Laughter.) 12 JUSTICE GORSUCH: Both can be true. 13 MR. DVORETZKY: But -- but I think --14 I think this is the case in which to decide how 15 to think about that question. Whether the 16 underlying facts involve the facts here in 17 Alabama or the facts in Wayne County in the 18 Ingram case or the hypothetical that you gave, 19 the -- the methodological question about how we 20 think about whether a hearing is required, 21 whether or not a hearing is ultimately required on particular facts, is the same. 22 23 JUSTICE GORSUCH: But even --24 MR. DVORETZKY: But --

JUSTICE GORSUCH: -- even if one were,

1 couldn't you have gotten one by filing for a 2 summary judgment motion with your innocent owner 3 defense on day one? And if that's true, then what are we doing here? 4 MR. DVORETZKY: I don't know that we 5 6 could have. There is no guarantee that if that 7 summary judgment motion had been filed on day one that it would have been considered on an 8 9 expedited basis. There's no -- there's no evidence that the court would have --10 11 JUSTICE GORSUCH: Either way? 12 MR. DVORETZKY: -- moved that quickly. JUSTICE GORSUCH: But there's no 13 14 evidence either way, is there, on that? 15 MR. DVORETZKY: And -- and I think 16 that under Mathews, that goes to the question of 17 what would have been the value of additional process. If, on remand, the state could show 18 19 under Mathews that, in fact, additional process 20 would have done no good because a summary 21 judgment motion is routinely granted in a matter 2.2 of days in Alabama, then perhaps, under this scheme, there would not be a need for --23 24 JUSTICE GORSUCH: Okay. 25 MR. DVORETZKY: -- for -- for an

- 1 additional hearing.
- JUSTICE GORSUCH: Thank you.
- 3 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Thank you,
- 4 counsel.
- 5 I'd like to give you an opportunity to
- 6 respond to the arguments raised I think
- 7 primarily in the brief for the Solicitor General
- 8 that requiring retention hearings at the early
- 9 period that -- that you would will prejudice
- 10 procedures under the civil forfeiture regime.
- 11 MR. DVORETZKY: So, Mr. Chief Justice,
- 12 I think that the civil forfeiture -- the federal
- 13 civil forfeiture regime presents different
- issues than the Alabama scheme, and in some
- ways, the federal forfeiture regime is actually
- 16 quite protective of -- of vehicle owners.
- 17 And the -- the principal example that
- 18 I would give of that is that the federal scheme
- 19 has -- under the federal scheme, a claimant is
- 20 entitled to immediate release of the seized
- 21 property if they can show substantial hardship.
- 22 That substantial hardship inquiry is essentially
- 23 tracking the Mathews factors. It's asking in a
- 24 particular case what --
- 25 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Yeah, but the

- 1 -- the Solicitor General elaborates that there
- 2 are all sorts of procedures necessary to support
- 3 forfeiture that will be compromised by a
- 4 somewhat repetitive hearing or not -- whatever
- 5 the precursor to make the other one repetitive
- 6 is -- that will require either ignoring those
- 7 interests or compromising them, including such
- 8 basic things as preservation of the property
- 9 itself.
- 10 MR. DVORETZKY: So I think those
- interests are ones that can be addressed in
- 12 connection with the sort of retention hearing
- that a Mathews analysis might lead to.
- 14 If the government is concerned about
- preservation of the property, that is something
- 16 that a judge can deal with either potentially by
- 17 requiring a bond in a particular case, by
- 18 entering an order prohibiting the disposition of
- 19 the -- of the property. If the government
- 20 believes that the property is actually evidence
- 21 relevant to the underlying crime, that's
- 22 something that can be addressed in an exparte
- hearing with the court, and the court can either
- 24 allow the government to retain the property or
- 25 can otherwise take measures in order to preserve

- 1 it.
- 2 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Thank you.
- 3 MR. DVORETZKY: And so --
- 4 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Thank you,
- 5 counsel.
- Justice Thomas, anything further?
- 7 JUSTICE THOMAS: The -- in -- in
- 8 Neumann, a -- there was a petition for
- 9 remission. How similar is your retention to
- 10 that?
- 11 MR. DVORETZKY: It -- it is
- 12 fundamentally different because the petition for
- 13 remission is essentially -- it's like a request
- 14 for a pardon. The petition for remission, the
- premise of that is that the government has the
- 16 right to keep the -- the property, but the
- 17 claimant is -- is asking for -- for mercy, for
- 18 forgiveness, essentially.
- 19 At a retention hearing, what would be
- 20 assessed is, first, as we were discussing
- 21 earlier, what is the government's probable --
- 22 what is the probable validity of the
- government's right to retain the car, and then,
- second, apart from that, and -- and along the
- lines of what I was discussing with the Chief

- Justice, what -- what might be the government's
- 2 interest in retaining the property anyway?
- 3 Or what might be the government's
- 4 interest in otherwise ensuring that the
- 5 property, even if the -- the owner gets it back,
- 6 is still available at the end of the forfeiture
- 7 proceeding should it be needed?
- 8 JUSTICE THOMAS: Well, I understand
- 9 that, but it seems as though the -- a
- 10 proceeding, short of the forfeiture proceedings
- 11 determination in Neumann, the Court said it was
- 12 unnecessary to sustain constitutional stature of
- 13 the forfeiture. It wasn't -- you did not need
- 14 that intervening process of remission.
- I don't -- and I don't see how that's
- 16 different from your intervening retention
- 17 proceeding.
- 18 MR. DVORETZKY: Justice Thomas, I
- think it's because, in Von Neumann, you had the
- 20 remission proceeding, but the remission
- 21 proceeding was entirely discretionary, whereas,
- 22 here, Alabama has created this innocent owner
- 23 defense, which is not discretionary. It's a
- 24 substantive right that owners have to retain
- 25 their cars if they are innocent, and it's that

- 1 innocent owner defense that gives rise to
- 2 additional due process protections needed to
- 3 realize the right that the state has created.
- 4 JUSTICE THOMAS: Thank you.
- 5 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Justice Alito?
- 6 JUSTICE ALITO: Well, you just said
- 7 that it's not discretionary. What if it were
- 8 discretionary?
- 9 MR. DVORETZKY: If Alabama -- just to
- 10 clarify, if Alabama had in effect created a
- 11 discretionary innocent owner right, if -- if you
- 12 are an innocent owner, then the state may let
- 13 you keep your car?
- 14 JUSTICE ALITO: Yes.
- 15 MR. DVORETZKY: I -- I think that
- 16 would likely not give rise to due process
- 17 protections in much the same way that the
- 18 remission procedure doesn't.
- 19 JUSTICE ALITO: Could the state create
- 20 an innocent owner defense but say that it can
- 21 only be adjudicated at the final forfeiture
- 22 hearing?
- 23 MR. DVORETZKY: I -- I'm not sure that
- it could because I think, at that point, it's
- 25 created a substantive right to the innocent

- 1 owner defense, and the procedural protections
- 2 that arise to -- to protect that are questions
- 3 at that point of federal law. I don't think
- 4 that the state could -- could curtail the right
- 5 that way.
- 6 JUSTICE ALITO: Well, some of my
- 7 colleagues may not be interested in this
- 8 question, but I am interested in this question.
- 9 You have asked us to say that the Constitution
- 10 requires this thing called a retention hearing,
- 11 so I would just like to know, what is this thing
- 12 that you are asking us to recognize?
- So how soon? What happens at it? Why
- is it -- how is it practicable for the police?
- And why is it necessary for the owner?
- MR. DVORETZKY: Sure. So, first,
- 17 we're not actually asking you to recognize that.
- 18 We're asking you to decide the methodological
- 19 question, and there may be ways in which --
- JUSTICE ALITO: Well, let me just
- 21 interrupt you, because the last argument in your
- 22 brief says that Alabama violated the
- 23 Petitioners' rights by failing to provide a
- 24 retention hearing. Anyway, assume that that is
- 25 part of the question. Go ahead.

1	MR. DVORETZKY: So, in terms of what a
2	retention hearing looks like, I think the the
3	Legal Aid Society brief describes how these
4	hearings have worked for 20 years in New York.
5	In New York, it's a hearing that
6	happens within, again, 10 business days, so a
7	couple of weeks, at the request of the innocent
8	owner. It is a process it is a hearing at
9	which there are brief opening and closing
10	arguments, and there can be evidence presented,
11	there can be witnesses.
12	At the end of that, the the the
13	adjudicator will decide, is there probable
14	validity for retaining the property, and,
15	second, what are the government's interests in
16	retaining the property during the pendency of
17	the forfeiture proceedings?
18	Now, to address the government's
19	concerns about evidence disappearing or evidence
20	potentially being actually evidence in the
21	underlying crime, those ex parte proceedings
22	with the decisionmaker, with the judge, are an
23	available tool in that situation to address the
24	government's interests.
25	So, if the government comes in and

- 1 says this car might actually be evidence in the
- 2 underlying drug crime, they'd probably be
- 3 allowed to keep it in that situation and that's
- 4 something that could be addressed ex parte. The
- 5 due process standard is flexible, including to
- 6 protect the government's interests.
- 7 JUSTICE ALITO: Well, let's just take
- 8 what might be sort of a typical case. So a car,
- 9 similar to the facts in -- in one of these
- 10 cases, that a car is stopped by the police, they
- find a large quantity of meth in the car, the
- 12 person driving the car is not the owner of the
- car, the person driving the car is the spouse or
- 14 domestic partner of the owner.
- 15 And then, within a short period of
- 16 time, there's this innocent owner defense, and
- 17 the owner of the car, I suppose, testifies, I
- had no idea this was going on. And then what do
- 19 you think the -- the state -- what -- what do
- 20 you think it is reasonable to require the state
- 21 to do in that situation?
- 22 MR. DVORETZKY: At -- at a minimum, I
- 23 would expect the state to cross-examine the
- owner of the car. And, by the way, the owner of
- 25 the car would have provided that testimony under

- 1 penalty of perjury. If they're later determined
- 2 not to have been an innocent owner, then
- 3 providing that testimony could subject them to
- 4 additional prosecution just for that. So in --
- 5 JUSTICE ALITO: Does -- does that
- 6 happen in New York City, perjury prosecutions
- 7 under those circumstances? Do you know of cases
- 8 like that?
- 9 MR. DVORETZKY: I -- I don't know of
- 10 cases like that, but I would also assume that
- 11 people are not going to perjure themselves at
- 12 the innocent owner hearing. But, if -- if
- 13 the -- the owner comes forward and testifies,
- 14 this is my car and I had no idea about the
- wrongdoing, the government would have the chance
- 16 to cross-examine them.
- 17 The government would have a -- a few
- 18 weeks in which to have conducted whatever
- investigation they want to conduct. They would
- 20 have the opportunity to make a case that way.
- They would also, if necessary, be able
- 22 to go to the judge and say: Here's evidence
- that we can only provide to you ex parte so as
- 24 not to prejudice any later prosecution that they
- 25 might bring. They might even be able to say to

- 1 the judge, again, perhaps ex parte, we're in the
- 2 middle of an investigation and we need a couple
- 3 more weeks, and the judge would continue the
- 4 hearing.
- 5 There's flexibility built into this.
- 6 But -- but the point is that due process
- 7 requires some sort of an initial determination
- 8 when --
- 9 JUSTICE ALITO: All right. Thank you.
- 10 Thank you.
- 11 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Justice
- 12 Sotomayor?
- JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: Bad facts make bad
- law, and I fear we may be headed that way.
- Justice Gorsuch started with the right
- 16 question. We know there are abuses of the
- 17 forfeiture system. We know it because it's been
- documented throughout the country repeatedly of
- 19 the incentives that police are given to seize
- 20 property to keep its value as opposed to issues
- of probable cause or issues of legitimacy of the
- 22 seizure, okay?
- We also know that that incentive has
- often led to months, if not years, of retention
- 25 of property that ultimately gets returned to the

- 1 owner because there was either no probable cause
- 2 or because of the innocent owner defense.
- 3 So the question before us is, if we
- 4 make a determination to take the dicta in Von
- 5 Neumann and in the 8-8 whatever case, all right,
- 6 to say that's the entire process you're ever
- 7 due, do we leave open the possibility that there
- 8 are states, jurisdictions that are abusing this
- 9 process and not leaving us any arms to correct
- it? That's what we're doing, isn't it?
- If we say there's no overriding first
- 12 question, is this process, the features of this
- process, are they enough, whether it's under
- 14 Mathews or Barker, then what we're basically
- saying is go at it, states, take as much
- 16 property as you want, keep it as long as you
- want, let's hold out no hope whatsoever that
- there's ever going to be any further process
- 19 that's due?
- That's the bottom line, right?
- 21 MR. DVORETZKY: I -- I think that's
- 22 right, Justice Sotomayor. And I think that the
- 23 Court should hold here that Mathews is the way
- 24 to analyze the question.
- 25 JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: I know that's --

```
1 MR. DVORETZKY: But the --
```

- JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: -- what you want,
- 3 but the point is --
- 4 MR. DVORETZKY: Yeah.
- 5 JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: -- that if we take
- 6 that dicta in a case where none of the process
- 7 itself was at issue, it was a separate process
- 8 that was at issue or timing of that process,
- 9 none of the features of the process is at issue
- 10 as binding on us, we're throwing up our hands
- and say due process does not give people any
- 12 protection whatsoever under any set of
- 13 circumstances?
- 14 MR. DVORETZKY: I -- I think that's
- 15 right. And I think the Court shouldn't do that
- 16 here regardless of the facts.
- I also think, on the facts -- and I
- don't want to wear out my welcome -- but I also
- 19 think --
- 20 JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: You are wearing
- 21 out your welcome --
- 22 MR. DVORETZKY: I -- I --
- JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: -- because, like
- 24 Justice -- like Justice Jackson, that's not the
- 25 question before us, whether the process here was

- 1 enough or not.
- 2 MR. DVORETZKY: That -- that's right.
- 3 I -- I -- I do think that there are -- there are
- 4 explanations for the timeline that took place in
- 5 this case, but the Court doesn't need to reach
- 6 that. All the Court needs to decide here is
- 7 that Von Neumann and \$8,850, as you say, Justice
- 8 Sotomayor --
- 9 JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: There are --
- 10 MR. DVORETZKY: -- didn't foreclose
- any and all potential due process claims that
- one might bring, and Mathews is the way to think
- about whether additional process is due in this
- 14 context.
- JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: Now, after
- 16 Krimstock, there are jurisdictions that have
- 17 looked at these issues under the Mathews test
- and not required retention hearings, correct?
- MR. DVORETZKY: Right. A retention --
- there are different ways in which states might
- 21 potentially satisfy due process. It doesn't
- 22 absolutely have to be a retention hearing.
- JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: That's what I'm
- saying, which is it depends on each state's
- assessment of the factors that Mathews looks at,

1	correct?
2	MR. DVORETZKY: That's right.
3	JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: And some have not.
4	Some have required others given the uniqueness
5	of their jurisdictions, correct?
6	MR. DVORETZKY: That's right.
7	JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: All right. Thank
8	you.
9	CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Justice Kagan?
LO	JUSTICE KAGAN: Could I just ask you
L1	to clarify that? Because I was confused when I
L2	read your brief about how exactly you want
L3	Mathews v. Eldridge to work, whether you want it
L4	to be an a determination in each individual
L5	case as to whether, under the Mathews v.
L6	Eldridge factors, a retention hearing is
L7	required or whether Mathews v. Eldridge operates
L8	to set up certain categorical rules and, if so,
L9	what those categorical rules are. Are they
20	likely to be sort of state-by-state rules? You
21	know, how does Mathews work in this context?
22	MR. DVORETZKY: Justice Kagan, I think
23	it does apply at a more categorical level, and
24	that, in fact, is one of the advantages of

Mathews over Barker, is that it can apply at a

- 1 more categorical level and provide some guidance
- 2 to the states, whereas Barker is inherently
- 3 retrospective and looks just at the
- 4 individualized delay in one particular case.
- 5 The categorical level at which I think
- 6 Mathews applies, it would make sense to think of
- 7 it about car owners in jurisdictions with an
- 8 innocent owner defense. I think that's --
- 9 that's the level at which it applies.
- 10 But it's not a nationwide rule that
- 11 would require a precise copy of Krimstock
- 12 hearings in all 50 states. It would allow
- 13 flexibility for states under Mathews to come up
- with different ways to potentially satisfy the
- 15 due process guarantee.
- 16 Again, the question is, is there a due
- 17 process -- is there a due process question even
- 18 to ask? And Mathews tells us that there is.
- 19 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Justice
- 20 Gorsuch?
- Justice Kavanaugh?
- JUSTICE KAVANAUGH: Just on that
- 23 methodological question again, the other side,
- of course, emphasizes precedent, but they also
- 25 say that what process is due can't just be a

- 1 policy question. And they -- they look as well
- 2 at history and they say that, historically, this
- 3 kind of interim hearing has not been required by
- 4 the federal government or the states. There
- 5 have been lots of different approaches.
- And they say that even today, Alabama
- 7 is not an outlier. There are lots of different
- 8 approaches in the states. The states' amicus
- 9 brief really highlights this. So they say, if
- 10 we went your way, we would be
- 11 constitutionalizing a policy question that for
- over 200 years has been left with the states and
- 13 the federal government, handled in different
- ways.
- So I just want you to respond to that
- 16 overarching theme that I think is in the
- 17 Solicitor General's brief, in Alabama's brief,
- 18 and the states' amicus brief.
- 19 MR. DVORETZKY: If I could make two
- 20 points in response to that, Justice Kavanaugh.
- One, as we've been discussing, our
- 22 rule does -- that -- the application of Mathews
- 23 would allow for some amount of continued
- 24 flexibility by the states. We're not asking the
- 25 Court to dictate a national rule that a

- 1 particular type of hearing is required within a
- 2 particular -- a particular time period. There
- 3 will still be room for states to -- to
- 4 experiment and to customize what they think is
- 5 an appropriate -- an appropriate time and an
- 6 appropriate kind of hearing or perhaps even a
- 7 substitute for a hearing, like a -- a hardship
- 8 determination that could potentially be made
- 9 based on a -- on a paper filing. So we're
- 10 leaving room for flexibility.
- 11 The second point, with respect to
- 12 history, I don't think the history provides a
- 13 clear answer for us here. First, at common law,
- 14 property could be forfeited regardless of
- 15 whether the owner was innocent. The innocent
- owner defense is something that didn't exist at
- 17 common law. And, again, that gives rise to new
- 18 procedural protections.
- 19 Second, as Justice Thomas explained in
- 20 the -- in his Leonard versus Texas dissent from
- 21 denial, historical forfeiture laws were quite
- 22 limited. They were limited to a few specific
- 23 subject areas, like customs and piracy, where it
- 24 made some sense to think about in rem
- 25 proceedings. Civil forfeiture today bears

- 1 little resemblance to that.
- 2 As Justice Thomas also pointed out
- 3 there, there's some question about whether, at
- 4 common law, forfeiture was civil or criminal and
- 5 whether it carried the additional protections of
- 6 criminal process.
- 7 At the founding, forfeiture
- 8 proceedings had to move quickly. The IJ brief,
- 9 Institute for Justice brief, explains that
- 10 courts had to rule within 14 days of the filing
- 11 date at common law. And so, again, you didn't
- 12 have this sort of question of months- or
- 13 years-long delays.
- JUSTICE KAVANAUGH: Oh, okay.
- MR. DVORETZKY: And --
- JUSTICE KAVANAUGH: Well, keep going
- then. I don't want you to keep going forever,
- 18 but --
- 19 (Laughter.)
- 20 MR. DVORETZKY: The -- the only -- the
- 21 only last point I was going to make is that
- 22 common -- is that forfeiture at common law was
- also considered against a backdrop that the
- 24 founders had of distrust to civil forfeiture
- 25 generally based on what the British were doing

```
1
     before the revolution. And so --
 2
                JUSTICE KAVANAUGH: Well, the --
 3
               MR. DVORETZKY: -- the history --
                JUSTICE KAVANAUGH: -- I mean, I'll
 4
      end it by just saying the early federal statutes
 5
      seem somewhat inconsistent with that, but I'll
 6
 7
      -- I'll leave that.
 8
               MR. DVORETZKY: Well, I --
 9
               CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Thank you.
               Justice Barrett?
10
11
                JUSTICE BARRETT: I have a similar
12
      question to Justice Kavanaugh. So -- and I
13
     don't think it'll require a long answer. Do you
14
      agree -- so, you know, Judge Thapar, in his
15
     concurrence in the Sixth Circuit, said: Well,
     listen, Mathews doesn't apply, you know, drawing
16
17
      on cases like Hurtado, if there is a defined
18
     historical practice on point.
                Do you agree with that, or do you
19
20
     think Mathews would always apply? I understand
     you think that the history isn't determinative
21
2.2
     here. And it seems to me like that's kind of do
23
     you go with the Constitutional Accountability
24
     Center's amicus brief or the municipal lawyers'
25
     brief, account on the history? But, just
```

- 1 methodologically, do you agree with Judge
- 2 Thapar's reading of Mathews and our precedent
- 3 about history and procedure?
- 4 MR. DVORETZKY: I think that if there
- 5 is a precise answer to the question in the
- 6 history, then the history would probably govern,
- 7 but I think we're very far from that.
- 8 JUSTICE BARRETT: Okay.
- 9 MR. DVORETZKY: Very far from that in
- 10 this case.
- 11 JUSTICE BARRETT: Thank you.
- 12 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Justice
- 13 Jackson?
- JUSTICE JACKSON: And is it your
- position that the application of Mathews would
- 16 necessarily always mean that some additional
- 17 procedure would be required in a situation like
- 18 this?
- 19 MR. DVORETZKY: No. If the
- 20 application of Mathews could lead to a
- 21 conclusion that the state's existing process is
- 22 sufficient, then no additional process is
- 23 required.
- JUSTICE JACKSON: Okay. And, you
- 25 know, I was surprised a little bit, I think,

- 1 about your answer to Justice Thomas about Von
- 2 Neumann and why, if at all, remission is
- 3 different.
- I had thought that it was not because
- 5 it was discretionary. I thought it was because
- 6 the -- the case seems to make pretty clear that
- 7 it is an administrative alternative to judicial
- 8 forfeiture under the statute at issue in that
- 9 case.
- 10 And so, given that -- you know, the
- owner was complaining about it not happening
- 12 quickly enough. He chose the option of
- remission rather than forfeiture, and he wanted
- 14 the remission hearing to happen quickly.
- 15 And the Court, I thought, in the
- language that has been quoted, was making a much
- 17 more narrow point, which is just that this
- 18 remission is not a part of the forfeiture
- 19 hearing. It's not required by due process. And
- so, therefore, you don't have a claim that it
- 21 has to be faster under the Constitution, that,
- 22 really, forfeiture is where due process lies in
- 23 terms of your constitutional rights. But, of
- course, that doesn't tell us what steps are
- 25 necessary in a forfeiture proceeding.

1 But, to the extent that this language 2 is talking about forfeiture being the only 3 thing, I thought it was relative to the alternative administrative remission process. 4 Am I misreading this? 5 MR. DVORETZKY: No. And I don't think 6 7 we're disagreeing. I would simply add the point that this alternative administrative process 8 9 didn't create any substantive rights because it 10 was discretionary whether the government would 11 give you back your property or not. 12 JUSTICE JACKSON: True. But it's also 13 the case, I think from this case, that the court 14 then goes on to talk about how remission is not 15 a part of forfeiture, how those are two 16 different things. And so the language, I 17 thought, was just distinguishing forfeiture from remission, as opposed to telling us something 18 19 about the nature of forfeiture, that it's only 20 the forfeiture hearing and you don't get other 21 steps or whatever, which is the way it's being 2.2 read, I think, by your counterparts on the other 23 side. 24 MR. DVORETZKY: I -- I agree.

that's -- that's also a -- a -- a relevant

- distinction of Von Neumann here.
- 2 JUSTICE JACKSON: All right. Let me
- 3 finally just ask you about, again, the timing
- 4 and whether -- you know, I think there is
- 5 something to this notion that Barker is about
- 6 timing, but, again, the question remains, isn't
- 7 the claimant in this case making a timing kind
- 8 of argument?
- 9 And I guess I see that, but can you
- 10 help me with the following hypo, and then maybe
- 11 I'll also get the reaction on the other side.
- 12 So, if we have a scenario in which
- everyone agrees that the average time for a
- 14 forfeiture proceeding is, say, six months after
- 15 the seizure, and everybody agrees that that is
- 16 reasonable for due process purposes, Plaintiff
- 17 Number 1 doesn't receive her forfeiture hearing
- until 12 months after the seizure, so her claim
- is that the government was too slow in giving
- 20 her the hearing.
- 21 Meanwhile, Plaintiff Number 2 receives
- 22 her hearing in six months, but she claims that
- 23 at some point within those six months there
- should be an opportunity for the court to
- 25 consider whether she should have been allowed to

- 1 keep her car during that interim period.
- 2 She's not complaining about the time.
- 3 Six months is fine. She got her hearing within
- 4 the six months. But what she's saying is, while
- 5 you figure out during that six months who owns
- 6 this car, I should keep custody of it during
- 7 that period, and I think we should have that
- 8 adjudicated separately from the forfeiture
- 9 hearing.
- 10 Are those two different things, or are
- 11 they both really about timing?
- 12 MR. DVORETZKY: No, I think those are
- 13 two different claims. The -- the first one is
- 14 claiming: I didn't have a fast enough final
- 15 merits determination.
- The other one is claiming: Look, the
- 17 final merits determination was fast enough under
- 18 the circumstances, civil litigation takes time,
- 19 but I shouldn't be deprived of my property
- 20 during the pendency of that.
- 21 And, again, it -- it's like the
- 22 criminal analogy that I used earlier. You
- 23 wouldn't say that because you have a speedy
- 24 trial right and that's going to take a year that
- 25 you don't also have a Gerstein right to a prompt

- 1 probable cause determination.
- 2 And in a situation where,
- 3 hypothetically, the trial did happen within a
- 4 matter of days, that might moot the probable
- 5 cause hearing or probable cause determination,
- 6 but it wouldn't mean that conceptually you don't
- 7 have two separate rights.
- 8 JUSTICE JACKSON: And you could have
- 9 two separate tests --
- 10 MR. DVORETZKY: Correct.
- JUSTICE JACKSON: -- depending upon
- 12 the claims?
- MR. DVORETZKY: Correct, with the
- 14 Barker test --
- 15 JUSTICE JACKSON: Right.
- MR. DVORETZKY: Correct.
- 17 JUSTICE JACKSON: Thank you.
- 18 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Thank you,
- 19 counsel.
- Mr. LaCour.
- ORAL ARGUMENT OF EDMUND G. LaCOUR, JR.
- 22 ON BEHALF OF THE RESPONDENTS
- MR. LaCOUR: Mr. Chief Justice, and
- 24 may it please the Court:
- 25 Forfeiture has been a critical tool

- 1 for deterring crime since before the framing,
- 2 and both history and precedent show what
- 3 post-seizure process is due to those whose
- 4 property has been seized.
- 5 From the Collection Act of 1789 and
- 6 Slocum to \$8,850 and Von Neumann, the answer is
- 7 clear. If the forfeiture proceeding is
- 8 instituted and concluded promptly, then the
- 9 forfeiture proceeding without more provides the
- 10 post-seizure hearing required by due process.
- Now Petitioners assert that another
- 12 post-seizure hearing is required, a mini-trial
- mere days or weeks after seizure, and in their
- telling, the federal government and the states
- 15 have been violating fundamental rights for
- 16 centuries with no one noticing until just a few
- 17 years ago.
- 18 But their view cannot be squared with
- 19 history or precedent, and their own cases show
- 20 why a timely forfeiture proceeding is the
- 21 meaningful opportunity to be heard at a
- 22 meaningful time.
- Only the timeliness test embodied in
- 24 Barker v. Wingo accounts for the striking
- 25 diversity among forfeiture cases. Some will be

- 1 simple and others will involve wide-ranging
- 2 investigations. Some claimants will vigorously
- 3 press their rights and others will default.
- 4 As long as claimants can appear before
- 5 judges promptly, then judges can strike that
- 6 proper balance in each fact-bound case.
- Now I've heard my friend today say,
- 8 essentially, don't trust judges to be judges.
- 9 And so, instead, they invoke Mathews to have
- 10 federal courts act as legislatures handing down
- 11 new Rules of Civil Procedure for all 50 states
- 12 and the federal government.
- But Barker best accounts for what
- should be the dispositive fact in these cases.
- 15 The Petitioners were before state courts within
- 16 two weeks of seizure, yet they ignored that
- 17 process for over a year. Petitioners received
- 18 all the process they were due, and this Court
- 19 therefore should affirm.
- I welcome the Court's questions.
- 21 JUSTICE THOMAS: But you criticize the
- 22 use of Mathews, but Barker is a Speedy Trial Act
- case, so that would seem to also be an ill fit
- for determining whether or not you should have
- 25 an additional hearing.

1 MR. LaCOUR: I don't think so, Your 2 In \$8,850, the Court considered multiple 3 ways to measure speed. And the Barker factors are exactly the sorts of factors you imagine any 4 judge would look to whether or not Barker had 5 6 ever been decided. How long has this taken? 7 Why has it taken so long? Is the claimant 8 pushing her rights? And has there been any 9 prejudice? 10 So I -- I think it makes sense why 11 \$8,850 adopted that test. And I don't think 12 Petitioners have asked for it to be set aside in this case. So it should not be --13 14 JUSTICE THOMAS: I think --15 MR. LaCOUR: -- cast aside. 16 JUSTICE THOMAS: -- it seems that 17 Petitioner is not talking as much about a timing issue as whether or not there should be an 18 19 additional right vindicated. And Barker seems 20 to focus on timing as opposed to whether the 21 additional right exists at all. 2.2 MR. LaCOUR: That's right, Your Honor. 23 But I -- I think one advantage of Barker is that 24 it -- it really draws from history. If you look at \$8,850, they looked back to Slocum, that 1817

- 1 decision from this Court where the Court
- 2 recognized that while probable cause is enough
- 3 to justify seizure and retention until trial,
- 4 the individual's right is best protected by
- 5 forcing the government into court.
- 6 And if the case is instituted
- 7 promptly, then the judge can decide what it
- 8 takes to move that case along promptly,
- 9 balancing the government's interests in accuracy
- 10 and its other interests with the claimant's
- 11 interest in a speedy --
- 12 JUSTICE JACKSON: But you seem to be
- 13 -- you seem to be suggesting that there is no
- 14 other kind of claim that can be made related to
- forfeiture other than its timing. And I guess
- 16 I'd have you react to the hypothetical that you
- 17 heard me provide to your counterpart.
- 18 MR. LaCOUR: Well, Your Honor, I think
- 19 it's really the same question. The way
- 20 Ms. Vasquez in \$8,850 teed up her claim is
- 21 whether or not she was receiving a hearing at a
- 22 meaningful time.
- JUSTICE JACKSON: Not in \$8,850. I'm
- 24 talking about in this case. \$8,850 were -- I --
- 25 I agree with you that --

1 MR. LaCOUR: Right. 2 JUSTICE JACKSON: -- \$8,850 and Von Neumann were both about the timing --3 MR. LaCOUR: Right. 4 JUSTICE JACKSON: -- because the Court 5 6 says in, you know, almost -- in the first 7 sentence of Von Neumann that this is about the 8 36-month delay. 9 But are you saying that that's the 10 only type of procedural due process violation 11 that can occur with respect to civil forfeiture? 12 MR. LaCOUR: I think that's what the 13 Court held, Your Honor. Again, the -- the 14 interest is the same, having the car and not 15 being temporarily deprived of the vehicle. And 16 that was what --17 JUSTICE JACKSON: No, not being 18 permanently deprived of the vehicle is different 19 from not being temporarily deprived of the 20 vehicle, isn't it? 21 MR. LaCOUR: Right. But Mr. Von 22 Neumann's complaint was the temporary 23 deprivation --24 JUSTICE GORSUCH: Well, let's --25 MR. LaCOUR: -- that you should --

1 JUSTICE GORSUCH: -- let's -- let's 2 put it this way. I mean, due process has very 3 -- various components, you'd agree. One component is how quickly your claim can be 4 heard. Another component would be what 5 6 procedures your claim is going to be decided 7 pursuant to, right? MR. LaCOUR: Yes, Your Honor. 8 9 JUSTICE GORSUCH: So there's a 10 substantive aspect to it, wrong word, idea, 11 though, that the procedure has to have some 12 robustness to it, okay? 13 MR. LaCOUR: Yes. 14 JUSTICE GORSUCH: So, for example, if 15 I said, oh, I got a quick hearing, but I had to 16 call between 3 and 5 p.m., I had to speak to 17 Sam, but Sam it turns out is on permanent 18 vacation, okay? But I -- I can get a quick 19 hearing, I can get it the next day, but that's 20 what I have to do to get it. 21 Or I get it in front of a kangaroo 2.2 court, and -- and -- and the judge turns out to 23 be wholly biased, for example, and I can prove 24 it beyond a shadow of a doubt. 25 Those would all be due process issues

1 besides how quickly I got to court, right? 2 MR. LaCOUR: Yes, Your Honor. 3 JUSTICE GORSUCH: Okay. So I -- I get the -- I get that Barker is all about Speedy 4 Trial Act. It's right there in the title. It's 5 6 all about timing. And that certainly is an 7 important component of due process. But I think your colleague on the 8 9 other side suggests I'm arguing more about the 10 kangaroo court stuff too and what's happening 11 around the country, as -- as Justice Sotomayor 12 pointed out -- I'm not accusing Alabama of this, 13 to be very clear. 14 MR. LaCOUR: Thank you, Your Honor. 15 JUSTICE GORSUCH: Okay. But there are 16 arguments to be made that there are attempts to 17 create processes that are deeply unfair and 18 obviously so in order to retain the property for 19 the coffers of the state. 20 And I think Justice Sotomayor's 21 concerned that we are not -- if we go down the 22 Barker road and just focus on timing, we're 23 losing that capacity to address those cases. 24 Am I putting it fairly?

JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: You're putting it

- 1 fairly.
- 2 JUSTICE GORSUCH: Long-windedly but
- 3 fairly, I hope.
- 4 MR. LaCOUR: A couple points. There's
- 5 no -- just as in \$8,850, there's no argument
- 6 that the final hearing they received here was a
- 7 kangaroo court or was not in any way sufficient.
- 8 JUSTICE GORSUCH: For sure.
- 9 MR. LaCOUR: And so --
- 10 JUSTICE GORSUCH: But could those
- 11 claims -- you acknowledge there might be claims
- 12 like that to be had?
- MR. LaCOUR: There may be, Your Honor.
- 14 I think Barker answers them. If you're
- 15 requiring someone to reach Sam between 3 and
- 16 5:00, that's not a very good reason under Barker
- 17 II and -- for the delay. And if the delay is
- 18 extending longer --
- 19 JUSTICE GORSUCH: No, but let's say it
- 20 happens really quickly, but it's a kangaroo
- 21 court, an unfair adjudication. You and I would
- 22 agree that that was wholly and grossly unfair?
- MR. LaCOUR: Yes, Your Honor, but I
- 24 think we're -- we're far removed from -- from
- 25 that scenario.

1 JUSTICE GORSUCH: Of course, we are --2 MR. LaCOUR: I think this is totally different. 3 JUSTICE GORSUCH: -- in your case. Of 4 5 course, you're going to say that, and I 6 understand that. 7 MR. LaCOUR: Right. 8 JUSTICE GORSUCH: But your argument 9 would seem to strip the courts of tools to deal with those kinds of cases. 10 11 MR. LaCOUR: I don't think so, Your 12 Honor. Keep in mind --13 JUSTICE GORSUCH: All right. How --14 help -- help -- help me write it so that we 15 don't do that --16 MR. LaCOUR: Well, because in --17 JUSTICE GORSUCH: -- if you acknowledge that's a trap --18 19 MR. LaCOUR: Yes. Your Honor --20 JUSTICE GORSUCH: -- we have to avoid. 21 MR. LaCOUR: -- because, in \$8,850 and 22 in Von Neumann, the final hearing was going to 23 be by a federal judge. You can trust that they 24 are going to uphold the Constitution, they're going to do justice. We shouldn't craft a test 25

- 1 that suggests otherwise.
- 2 Similarly here, the final hearing is
- 3 going to be in front of a state circuit court
- 4 judge. So we're not dealing with the kangaroo
- 5 court scenario. I think that's -- that's far
- 6 removed.
- 7 Now you might have that in the
- 8 administrative law context, like in the Social
- 9 Security context, and that's where Mathews might
- 10 be a useful test if you're writing on a blank
- 11 slate, but, here, we're dealing with a process
- 12 as well as the country, two litigants coming
- into court in front of a judge and adjudicating
- 14 their case.
- 15 And -- and that's why Barker is enough
- in that context, because the judge is going to
- 17 be best situated to balance that need for speed
- 18 with the need for accuracy. So, if someone has
- 19 a relatively simple case and they say, Your
- 20 Honor, I want to move to expedite, I want a
- 21 hearing in two weeks, it's going to be incumbent
- 22 --
- JUSTICE GORSUCH: So let me see if --
- MR. LaCOUR: -- on the government to
- 25 come back.

1 JUSTICE GORSUCH: -- let me see if 2 you're comfortable with this: So long as the 3 processes that are ultimately given are of the sort that are traditionally used for forfeiture 4 and -- and are -- are reasonably fair and 5 6 comport with traditional due process principles? 7 Something like that? 8 MR. LaCOUR: Yes, Your Honor, we're --9 we're --10 JUSTICE GORSUCH: Something like that? 11 MR. LaCOUR: -- absolutely fine with 12 that if that's how it functions in Alabama. 13 JUSTICE KAGAN: But, General, I mean, 14 maybe that's not enough. I mean, I'm 15 sympathetic to your point that the question here 16 is pretty similar to the question that we've 17 been dealing with in the two cases because 18 they're all how long is it going to take until I can get an adjudication so that I can get my car 19 20 back, and that's what they're all about. That's 21 why people want this retention hearing, because 2.2 it takes too long, even under Barker, to have 23 the final adjudication. I want it back more 24 quickly. Totally right. 25 But we, in fact, have not decided this

- 1 precise question. We have a couple of sentences
- which were written broadly and, if taken
- 3 literally, would -- would answer the case. But,
- 4 in fact, the two cases that we had were about
- 5 different kind of procedures at a different time
- 6 in the process.
- 7 And so we could say that even though
- 8 this -- there are similarities here, this
- 9 remains open to us to decide whether there ought
- 10 to be, in addition to the Barker -- the Barker
- 11 limited final adjudication, this -- this kind of
- 12 retention hearing that -- that applies to the
- 13 interim period.
- 14 And I think Justice Sotomayor raises a
- very important point, which is that we know a
- lot more now than we did when \$8,850 and the
- 17 other case were decided about how civil
- 18 forfeiture is being used in some states, about
- 19 the kinds of abuses that it's subject to, about
- 20 the kind of incentives operating on law
- 21 enforcement officers that -- that tend toward
- those abuses.
- So -- so, if we look around the world
- and we think there are real problems here and
- 25 those problems would be solved if you got a

- 1 really quick probable cause determination, why
- 2 shouldn't we do that?
- 3 MR. LaCOUR: Well, Your Honor, I would
- 4 advise you to stay within the record of the case
- 5 and the controversy that's in front of you right
- 6 now, where you can see ample process was
- 7 provided to these claimants. We have -- you
- 8 mentioned the bond that they could have posted
- 9 at any time to get the vehicles back.
- 10 And as you were noting earlier with my
- friend on the other side, they're essentially
- just asking to have the final hearing two, three
- weeks after, and that's going to cause serious
- 14 problems for the government.
- 15 You -- you will gain speed, but you
- 16 will lose accuracy. And the stakes are very
- 17 high in the civil forfeiture context. The
- 18 government, of course, has a strong interest in
- 19 obtaining full forfeiture. We have a strong
- 20 interest as well in -- in making sure that crime
- 21 doesn't pay.
- 22 And so, if you have a less accurate
- 23 retention hearing -- and that's really the only
- reason to have one, is to have a mini-trial
- 25 that's less accurate but is faster -- then

- 1 you're going to have more property released to
- 2 -- to criminals, it's going to potentially be
- 3 misused again, crime will pay more, and you will
- 4 have more crime.
- 5 JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: I -- I'm sorry.
- 6 Why? First of all, I doubt very much that
- 7 criminal defendants from whom cars have been
- 8 taken are going to seek a retention hearing
- 9 because whatever they say will be used against
- 10 them in the criminal case. I don't think New
- 11 York's experience reflects the use of these
- retention hearing by criminals or by people from
- whom the goods have been taken that are tied to
- 14 criminal activity.
- These cases are most important for one
- group of people, innocent owners, because they
- are people who claim they didn't know about the
- 18 criminal activity. Many of these cases involve
- 19 parents with young -- with teenage or
- 20 close-to-teenage children involved in drug
- 21 activity. The ones that don't may involve
- 22 spouses or friends.
- 23 And I assume, in many of these
- hearings, to the extent that a person is
- involved in drug dealing, that the government

- 1 pretty quickly will find out or not find out if
- 2 that person has a relationship to a home or
- 3 other place where drugs are being stored,
- 4 distributed, et cetera, and the government can
- 5 do what your opposing counsel said, ex parte
- 6 hearing saying this is a wife who claims she's
- 7 an innocent owner, but we have evidence that
- 8 there's drug dealing going on from the home,
- 9 it's unlikely she's an innocent owner. If it's
- 10 someone who's unrelated and no continuing
- 11 relationship, et cetera.
- 12 So you're talking about criminals get
- 13 -- keeping these cars. But, given that the vast
- 14 majority -- I -- I believe the statistic was
- 15 very high -- certainly, over 60 percent of
- 16 innocent owners win, it is not criminals keeping
- 17 cars. It's innocent owners receiving back their
- 18 cars months, if not years, later.
- 19 So where does the Barker factors take
- those interests into account? They don't.
- MR. LaCOUR: Your Honor, I think they
- 22 do. I think my friend almost conceded that they
- do by saying, if they had moved for summary
- judgment on day one --
- 25 JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: This is not --

1 MR. LaCOUR: -- they probably would 2 have had their car back sooner. JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: -- this is not the 3 -- the Barker factors have three -- they have 4 all government interests focused on --5 6 MR. LaCOUR: I would dispute that, 7 Your Honor. The length of delay clearly takes into account the interests of the private party. 8 9 Being deprived of your car for 14 days is a less significant deprivation than being deprived for 10 11 400 days. So there is a way --12 JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: No, but you're 13 still building in massive delay. How about 14 three months when it's hardship? 15 MR. LaCOUR: Well, Your Honor, you're -- you're assuming that Barker --16 17 JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: Where -- where 18 does that go -- where does that go into the 19 Barker factors? MR. LaCOUR: Your Honor, there may be 20 circumstances where Barker needs to be applied 21 22 with more teeth, but I don't think that means 23 it's not up to the task. JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: Well, but why 24

don't you see the Mathews factors as that more

- 1 teeth? Mathews is just more explicit of adding
- 2 in the -- I guess, in this case, the
- 3 Petitioners' factors. Barker seems to be with
- 4 timing and seeing who caused the timing, what
- 5 were the government's interests.
- 6 The governmental interest is always
- 7 going to be great, but where does Barker take
- 8 into account the hardship of the individual?
- 9 MR. LaCOUR: Well, I -- I think,
- 10 again, you -- you get in front of a judge
- 11 quickly, the judge can do -- he can move the
- 12 case up faster. And this is the advantage of
- 13 Barker. My friend suggested that Mathews --
- 14 JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: The disadvantage
- is that that process is very discretionary.
- MR. LaCOUR: Well, I think one
- 17 disadvantage is that it asks federal judges to
- 18 try to project into the future what the next
- 19 typical thousand forfeiture cases are going to
- 20 be like. When we're dealing with cars and guns
- 21 and cash and pirate ships --
- JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: Well, I -- I want
- 23 to --
- MR. LaCOUR: -- there is no typical
- 25 case.

1 JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: I'd like you to 2 point out to me one of these cases involving 3 guns, money, or -- what were the other -putting cars aside. Money, cars, and --4 MR. LaCOUR: There are a lot of older 5 6 cases involving pirate ships. 7 JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: Pirate ships. which of those cases were those things released 8 immediately after a retention hearing? 9 10 MR. LaCOUR: I think -- I think that's 11 the point, Your Honor, they haven't been at 12 history. 13 JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: They haven't been 14 because, as I mentioned, people involved with 15 guns, people involved with money, people 16 involved with other things rarely want to come 17 into court for a retention hearing if they have 18 a criminal proceeding in place. The people who 19 come in are the people who are innocent owners. 20 MR. LaCOUR: Your Honor, I think a 21 claim like that would need to come from my 2.2 friends and would need to be backed up with --23 with evidence. And it's not uncommon, as this 24 Court has -- as courts have recognized, that 25 criminals oftentimes do put title of property in

- 1 someone else's name, and that someone else can
- 2 come forward. Not every purportedly innocent
- 3 owner is innocent, and not everyone is even an
- 4 owner.
- 5 And this is another problem with
- 6 rushing this hearing, is that someone could come
- 7 forward and claim ownership but not actually
- 8 have proper ownership. And if it's happening
- 9 too quickly, then the actually innocent owner
- 10 may be out his property and it's not going to be
- there at the final forfeiture hearing, which is
- why the government has always had this authority
- 13 to seize before a hearing, and the same
- 14 interests that have long justified seizure
- before a hearing justify not turning the stuff
- 16 back over immediately after the seizure but,
- 17 rather, holding it until you can have a prompt
- 18 but accurate final hearing.
- 19 JUSTICE BARRETT: General, can I ask
- you to respond to Petitioners' argument that the
- 21 historical analogs are not actually analogous
- 22 here and that we don't have any settled
- 23 tradition of having a single forfeiture hearing?
- 24 MR. LaCOUR: I would expect to have
- 25 seen a mini-trial or a remission -- or not

- 1 remission -- a retention hearing somewhere in
- 2 the history, but we do not have that. And if
- 3 you contrast that with the liberty interest,
- 4 Justice Scalia's dissent in County of Riverside
- 5 highlights how there always was this right at
- 6 common law to be presented to the magistrate
- 7 right after the arrest.
- 8 But there's not similar evidence when
- 9 it comes to property, and that's because
- 10 property and liberty are very different. The
- 11 liberty interest --
- 12 JUSTICE BARRETT: But Justice Kagan
- 13 pointed out, I mean, there are new kinds of
- 14 property that arise and there are new kinds of
- procedures and that things have shifted and
- 16 maybe the final hearing itself happened in much
- 17 closer proximity to the seizure. That was
- 18 Petitioners' suggestion.
- So, you know, do we -- what do we do
- then if we think there is no precise analog?
- 21 MR. LaCOUR: If it -- if -- I think
- 22 you're still speaking in the language of speed,
- 23 which is the language of Barker, which is,
- 24 again, why we think Barker is the test. It is
- 25 the historical test. It carries that forward to

- 1 today, institute promptly, conclude promptly,
- 2 and then let the judges who are on the ground
- 3 with the parties in front of them weigh those --
- 4 weigh those competing interests.
- 5 And when it comes to this affirmative
- 6 defense of innocent ownership, I don't think
- 7 that changes things at all. It's actually very
- 8 similar to the argument that Mr. Von Neumann
- 9 made. He said he had an independent interest in
- 10 this remission petition. And the Court did
- assume for purposes of deciding part 3 that he
- 12 did. And the Court said, we don't see how that
- 13 separate interest, apart from the cars, is in
- any way prejudiced by this 36-day wait.
- 15 And the same thing is true here. This
- 16 separate interest apart from the cars in raising
- 17 an affirmative defense is prejudiced not at all
- 18 by being held or being heard for the first time
- 19 at the final hearing as opposed to two weeks
- 20 after seizure or two days after seizure for that
- 21 matter.
- 22 And if you look to the criminal
- 23 context, there are affirmative defenses there
- that typically don't get heard until the
- 25 criminal trial. So, clearly, affirmative

- defenses can be meaningful even if they don't
- 2 get put before a court until the final hearing.
- 3 And the same thing is true in the civil context.
- 4 JUSTICE JACKSON: I'm sorry, what is
- 5 the affirmative -- what -- what is -- your
- 6 conception of this -- the interest that this
- 7 Petitioner is raising is the ability to make her
- 8 affirmative defense early? I don't understand
- 9 where affirmative defense came from.
- 10 MR. LaCOUR: They say that this case
- is somehow different because there's now an
- innocent owner affirmative defense, but, I mean,
- 13 that same argument was pressed by Mr. Von
- 14 Neumann when it came to the remission petition.
- 15 He said, I have this independent right created
- 16 by federal law to get a remission petition
- 17 decision, and the Court said that right received
- 18 all the process it was due by this 36-day
- 19 process in deciding.
- The same thing is true here. Their
- 21 right to claim innocent ownership was heard and
- 22 was vindicated at the final hearing. There's no
- 23 need for it to be heard two days or two weeks
- 24 after seizure in order for it to comport with
- 25 fundamental fairness.

1	CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Thank you,
2	counsel.
3	Justice Thomas, anything further?
4	Justice Alito?
5	Justice Sotomayor?
6	JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: Can I go back to
7	this common law issue? Assume we do know
8	that English common law provided post-seizure
9	process separate from the final forfeiture
10	hearing. The Fourth Restore the Fourth
11	briefs lays out that very robust history.
12	We don't have a similar history in
13	early American courts for all the reasons the
14	opposing counsel raised and Justice Barrett made
15	clear, largely because, except for pirate ships
16	and some isolated other types of seizures, we
17	don't have a robust forfeiture process until the
18	1970s.
19	So going back to her question, which
20	is, if the common law doesn't have a clearly
21	established process, does that mean no process
22	is ever due, or does it mean that we have to
23	judge it by the circumstances that exist in
24	modern times? I would think it's the latter.
25	MR. LaCOUR: You

1 JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: And forfeitures 2 were quicker earlier in our history. 3 Forfeitures were rare. And now we've expanded them to all sorts of property interests. Even 4 those involving innocent owners, it's a new 5 thing. So what do we do with a -- without a 6 7 clear common law analog? MR. LaCOUR: Your Honor, I think the 8 history is a lot clearer and a lot clearer in 9 our favor than the Restore the Fourth brief 10 would make out. We agree with a lot of the 11 12 premises that in Slocum and I think there's an early Judge Hand decision saying you need to 13 14 institute or return. 15 Well, that sounds like Barker to me. 16 Institute promptly, conclude promptly. There is 17 not a history of a mini-trial despite the fact that you do have this history in the liberty 18 19 context of something like a precursor to the Gerstein hearings. I think that -- that absence 20 21 of evidence is evidence of absence. 2.2 And then -- and we do think that how 23 courts were protecting the individual right 24 tells us what is demanded today, but not more is 25 demanded, as Von Neumann concluded.

1	CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Justice Kagan?
2	Justice Gorsuch?
3	JUSTICE GORSUCH: No, thank you.
4	CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Justice
5	Kavanaugh?
6	JUSTICE KAVANAUGH: A couple things.
7	First, you agree that Barker takes account of
8	the claimants' interests, hardship, et cetera,
9	correct?
LO	MR. LaCOUR: Yes, Your Honor, if
L1	you're in front of a judge quickly.
L2	JUSTICE KAVANAUGH: In the first in
L3	the first Barker factor, is that right?
L4	MR. LaCOUR: Yes, Your Honor. If you
L5	get in front of the judge quickly, he can
L6	consider all those factors.
L7	JUSTICE KAVANAUGH: Okay. And then,
L8	on Barker and Mathews v. Eldridge, the Solicitor
L9	General in particular suggests that those really
20	are ultimately the same materially, the same
21	thing in this context, ask the same questions.
22	Do you agree with that or not?
23	MR. LaCOUR: We see a little more
24	daylight between the tests, but we we do
25	agree that in in these cases, they would cash

- out the same way. That's what the Southern
- 2 District of Alabama held in Ms. Culley's case,
- 3 that under Mathews or under Barker, she loses.
- 4 JUSTICE KAVANAUGH: And suppose we
- 5 have no precedent on point and suppose we have
- 6 no idea what the history says, just a complete
- 7 blank slate. We're purely -- and suppose we're
- 8 doing Mathews v. Eldridge, okay? We're purely
- 9 in Mathews v. -- v. Eldridge land.
- 10 How do we decide whether the new
- 11 hearing is -- is necessary or not? We're
- 12 supposed to weigh the government's interests
- 13 against the individual interests.
- MR. LaCOUR: Yes, Your Honor. I mean,
- 15 I -- I would look -- point you to this Court's
- 16 opinion in Kaley, for example, where they looked
- at the significant interests the government has
- in not having to try their case repeatedly. And
- 19 it's -- it's bolstered in the forfeiture context
- 20 because, again, movable property can disappear.
- 21 It can be hidden. It can be misused again.
- You don't want to turn the car back
- over to someone who's just allowed it to be used
- 24 to traffic methamphetamine because odds are
- 25 there's at least better than zero odds that it

- 1 might be misused again or disappear.
- 2 So we think the government's interests
- 3 are -- are -- are very strong here. And then
- 4 it -- it's not clear what additional process is
- 5 really going to be provided when that retention
- 6 hearing is going to look a lot like the final
- 7 hearing except for the fact that it's going to
- 8 be rushed and, therefore, the risk of error is
- 9 going to increase.
- 10 And then that risk of error is not
- just a problem for the public, it's a problem
- 12 for the other actually innocent owners if a
- merely purportedly innocent owner makes off with
- 14 the property because of the error.
- JUSTICE KAVANAUGH: Just to finish it
- out, and you would have us just figure out
- 17 whether we agree more with the government or the
- 18 individual on that, which -- which interest
- 19 outweighs the other, we just have to make a
- 20 policy call on that?
- MR. LaCOUR: Yes, I think that's part
- 22 of the problem with Mathews. And it -- and it's
- 23 not all that predictable. The Second Circuit
- 24 and the Seventh Circuit just in the context of
- 25 cars said you do get the retention hearing. The

- 1 Fifth Circuit and the Southern District of
- 2 Alabama in this case said you don't get a
- 3 retention hearing for cars.
- 4 So it doesn't really give us a whole
- 5 lot of guidance. We do think --
- 6 JUSTICE KAVANAUGH: Thank you.
- 7 MR. LaCOUR: Thank you.
- 8 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Justice
- 9 Barrett?
- 10 Justice Jackson?
- 11 JUSTICE JACKSON: Well, Barker has
- 12 factors too. I mean, is there some evidence
- 13 that Barker's factors are more predictable or
- 14 lead to results that are more consistent in some
- way than Mathews?
- 16 MR. LaCOUR: No, Your Honor, it's more
- 17 fact-sensitive. And that's the -- my friend
- 18 would see that as a drawback. I think that's
- 19 actually a merit of Barker.
- 20 JUSTICE JACKSON: More fact-sensitive
- 21 than the factors in Mathews?
- 22 MR. LaCOUR: Yes. Petitioners'
- counsel said just a few moments ago that Mathews
- 24 allows you to do these categorical projections
- 25 into what the typical case is going to look like

- in the future so that trial judges can be told,
- 2 make sure you have a hearing within 14 days no
- 3 matter what the facts show you.
- 4 And we don't think that's very
- 5 flexible at all. We would prefer a test that
- 6 allows trial judges to be trial judges and weigh
- 7 the cases as they come.
- 8 JUSTICE JACKSON: Okay. So you're
- 9 saying even though you -- your argument is that
- 10 both Barker and Mathews come out the same way
- 11 here, somehow, in application, Mathews has --
- is -- is deficient vis-à-vis Barker? Barker is
- 13 the better, easier way to -- what -- what is
- 14 better about it?
- MR. LaCOUR: Again, it's -- it's
- 16 fact-sensitive. No two property cases are
- 17 going -- movable property cases in the
- 18 forfeiture context are going to be alike. You
- 19 have lots of different types of property. Even
- 20 the same type of property can have different
- 21 values, different claimants.
- 22 JUSTICE JACKSON: And I thought that
- 23 was what Mathews allowed for. But you're saying
- 24 that's -- in your view, that's what Barker --
- MR. LaCOUR: The way Mathews has been

- 1 applied in the Sixth Circuit and the Second
- 2 Circuit has been to really alter the Rules of
- 3 Civil Procedure for every case going forward,
- 4 whether it's a case where the claimant would
- 5 have defaulted anyway or whether --
- 6 JUSTICE JACKSON: I'm not talking
- 7 about how it's been applied, letting judges be
- 8 judges. I'm talking about the test itself. Are
- 9 there -- is there something about the factors in
- 10 the Barker test that is more determinate -- more
- 11 determinative, allows us to be more predictable
- 12 about what's going to happen, other than, I
- guess, the view that you'll never get any other
- 14 process? If that's -- if that's the result that
- 15 you think Barker always points to, then I guess
- it is more consistent than Mathews, but --
- MR. LaCOUR: Yes, and I think it's --
- it's a little more specific in describing the
- 19 government interests. The government has to
- 20 explain why there is a delay. And then you're
- 21 looking at the -- the key factor, which is how
- long has this taken.
- JUSTICE JACKSON: All right. So just,
- 24 finally, getting back to Justice Gorsuch's
- 25 point, is it your argument that plaintiffs are

- 1 not allowed in this context -- by that, I mean
- 2 the civil forfeiture context generally -- to
- 3 assert that the forfeiture procedures themselves
- 4 are deficient? Not making a delay claim. I'm
- 5 conceding, says the plaintiff, that this was not
- 6 -- that the forfeiture hearing is going to
- 7 happen or has happened in a timely fashion. But
- 8 I would like to complain about the procedures
- 9 that were given to me in that context.
- 10 Is it your view that -- that no such
- 11 claim can be made?
- MR. LaCOUR: Your Honor, if the claim,
- for example, was that the judge who's sitting
- over my case is biased against me --
- JUSTICE JACKSON: No, not that claim.
- 16 I -- I don't want to make it kangaroo court
- 17 because that's hard and it'll go back to the
- 18 question that Justice Gorsuch asked.
- 19 I want to make it something else about
- 20 the process that is unfair. You know, these
- involve, as Justice Sotomayor says, people who
- 22 are -- say that they're innocent owners, that
- 23 they own the property and that they knew nothing
- about the drugs.
- 25 So the state has a system -- this is a

- 1 hypothetical I'm making up on the spot. The
- 2 state has a system in which the manner of
- 3 proving that the person, you know, knows about
- 4 the drugs is very unfair. You know, the state
- 5 says we presume that if you are -- you know,
- 6 know this individual, then you're aware of their
- 7 drug activity. And since this person is your
- 8 son, you obviously know them. You can't bring
- 9 in any evidence that shows that you didn't know
- 10 anything about it. You're not an innocent owner
- 11 under that test.
- 12 And what the person, the -- the owner,
- would like to do is say that you can't have a
- 14 system -- you can't have a method of proof that
- is so unfair in terms of my ability to prove
- 16 that I didn't know what was going on. That's my
- 17 challenge, not that the hearing took too long.
- 18 It has nothing to do with speed. I want to make
- 19 that kind of challenge.
- 20 My question is, is it your view that
- 21 no such claims exist? And if they do exist, are
- 22 we judging the due process by the Barker test or
- 23 some other test in that situation?
- MR. LaCOUR: Your Honor, I think this
- 25 Court's decision in District Attorney's Office

1	v. Osborne would suggest that if you've created
2	a new procedural right, then, yes, there's some
3	due process protections that attach, but the
4	state has a tremendous amount of discretion in
5	terms of what processes are going to attach to
6	that new
7	JUSTICE JACKSON: Understood. So
8	MR. LaCOUR: procedural right.
9	JUSTICE JACKSON: if you agree that
10	the person could make such a claim, are you
11	saying the Barker test would apply in that
12	situation to determine the the ultimate due
13	process question?
14	MR. LaCOUR: It doesn't sound like
15	that's a timing issue, so probably not, Your
16	Honor, but, again, in in this case, the issue
17	is they've had my car too long.
18	JUSTICE JACKSON: Okay.
19	MR. LaCOUR: And that's a timing
20	question.
21	JUSTICE JACKSON: Thank you.
22	CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Thank you,
23	counsel.
24	Ms. Reaves.

1	ORAL ARGUMENT OF NICOLE F. REAVES
2	FOR THE UNITED STATES, AS AMICUS CURIAE
3	SUPPORTING THE RESPONDENTS
4	MS. REAVES: Mr. Chief Justice, and
5	may it please the Court:
6	I think it may be helpful for me to
7	lay out how the federal government sees this
8	case. In our view, the Court has already found
9	as indicated in \$8,850 and Von Neumann, that the
LO	only process a claimant is entitled to after
L1	personal property is seized is a timely final
L2	forfeiture hearing.
L3	If this Court is of the view that it
L4	has not yet addressed that issue, it should now
L5	and it should hold that a claimant has no right
L6	to an interim post-seizure hearing.
L7	History and tradition support that
L8	rule. At the time of the founding, there was no
L9	right to an early hearing when property was
20	seized. Only a timely forfeiture hearing was
21	required. That approach has prevailed for
22	nearly 250 years.
23	The hearings that Petitioners request
24	would upend that history, be extremely onerous,
25	and would require more process for the pretrial

- 1 deprivation of property than the pretrial
- 2 detention of persons.
- Finally, if the government disagrees
- 4 with our front-line position, while we think
- 5 that \$8,850 is the better fit for Petitioners'
- 6 particular claims, the government is largely
- 7 ambivalent about whether Eldridge or \$8,850
- 8 applies to determine whether an interim hearing
- 9 is required in a given case.
- But, either way, this Court's decision
- should emphasize that the public and government
- interests identified in \$8,850 and Pearson Yacht
- will often weigh strongly against allowing such
- 14 a hearing.
- I welcome the Court's questions.
- JUSTICE THOMAS: Ms. Reaves, there's
- 17 -- there have been quite a few questions that
- say maybe something substantively goes wrong in
- 19 this process. How would you address that,
- 20 assuming that the forfeiture proceedings are
- 21 timely?
- MS. REAVES: So I think, if there was
- 23 some sort of question that an individual wasn't
- 24 receiving due process in the course of the
- 25 proceedings, so some sort of procedural

- 1 irregularity, I think there could be a due
- 2 process claim for that.
- 4 governed by Eldridge or even \$8,850. It could
- 5 be governed by just the closest, you know, civil
- 6 law analogy. Like, if there's an inappropriate
- 7 burden of proof being placed on someone, I think
- 8 that there might be due process analogies for
- 9 that.
- 10 But that wouldn't be solved by
- 11 requiring an additional layer of proceedings in
- 12 all cases or in a significant category of cases.
- 13 That's just a different issue.
- 14 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: The assessment
- whether a civil forfeiture proceeding meets the
- 16 requirements of due process, timeliness is a
- 17 significant consideration in that, right?
- MS. REAVES: Yes, it is.
- 19 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: And it is, of
- 20 course, in retention as well?
- MS. REAVES: Yes.
- 22 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: So -- but
- there's presumably a gap between when you would
- 24 have that question asked under retention and
- 25 when you would have it asked under civil

- 1 forfeiture. How do we look at the significance
- 2 of that -- that gap?
- 3 MS. REAVES: So I think the Court
- 4 would look at that under \$8,850 because \$8,850
- 5 allows the Court to take into consideration the
- 6 burden to a particular claimant in a particular
- 7 case. I think that comes in under the first
- 8 factor in \$8,850.
- 9 And I think, you know, the government
- 10 interests really aren't any different. You
- 11 know, this Court's talked about the government
- 12 interests in Pearson Yacht in not having a
- 13 pre-seizure hearing. And I think most of those
- 14 government interests continue to apply to allow
- the government to retain the property while the
- hearing is proceeding, you know, as long as the
- hearing is proceeding in an appropriate amount
- of time and the government isn't sitting on its
- hands and doing nothing while holding someone's
- 20 property.
- 21 And I -- and I think the history and
- 22 tradition really are consistent with that. You
- 23 know, the best evidence of the history here
- 24 comes from the Collection Acts, which were
- 25 passed by founding-era Congresses. There was no

- 1 requirement that there be any sort of interim
- 2 hearing. The normal rule was that once property
- 3 was seized, it was held until the final
- 4 forfeiture hearing.
- 5 And Petitioners' counsel has suggested
- 6 that once the forfeiture proceeding was filed,
- 7 there was a 14-day hearing requirement. That's
- 8 just not the case. So, first of all, under the
- 9 Collection Acts, the federal government had up
- to three years between seizure and initiating
- 11 the forfeiture action. And then --
- 12 JUSTICE GORSUCH: Sorry to interrupt.
- 13 Do we need to decide any of that in this case
- 14 given that under your count and the state's, the
- 15 Petitioner here was -- could have brought a
- 16 summary judgment motion at any time and -- and,
- 17 presumably, most of the facts that she would
- 18 have wanted to present would have been in her
- 19 control?
- MS. REAVES: So I -- I think that's
- 21 right. You could issue a very narrow decision
- 22 in this case.
- JUSTICE GORSUCH: Yeah, how would it
- 24 -- what would it look like in the government's
- view if we were to say -- want to avoid ruling

- on -- on that question and also leave open the
- 2 possibility, as you alluded to with Justice
- 3 Thomas, that there may be due process
- 4 considerations beyond timing that might arise in
- 5 some of these cases?
- I mean, there are allegations before
- 7 us that in some states, because law enforcement
- 8 uses these -- these forfeitures to fund
- 9 themselves, that they sometimes require somebody
- 10 who wants some of their property back to agree
- 11 to give some of it to the government or engage
- in other concessions outside of regular process.
- 13 How -- how do we write a narrow opinion that
- 14 does no harm here?
- 15 MS. REAVES: So I think the Court
- 16 could say that we haven't decided whether
- there's ever any entitlement to an interim
- hearing, but assuming that there could be such a
- 19 requirement in some category of cases, it
- 20 clearly would not -- Petitioners were not
- 21 entitled to that sort of hearing in this
- 22 particular case.
- Now there may be some dangers in
- 24 kicking it down the road. I think there will be
- other petitions coming up because of the Sixth

- 1 Circuit's decision and even coming out of
- 2 Krimstock. But the Court definitely could save
- 3 this for another day if the Court wanted to.
- 4 JUSTICE KAVANAUGH: I -- I thought you
- 5 were going to say that the -- that we could say
- 6 that there's no due process right to an interim
- 7 hearing, period, but there could be other due
- 8 process issues related to other aspects of
- 9 forfeiture proceedings and you don't need to
- 10 rule those problems out by saying there's no due
- 11 process right to an interim hearing.
- MS. REAVES: That's certainly our
- 13 preferred rule. I think I was assuming that
- 14 Justice Gorsuch wanted a much more limited rule
- 15 that just dealt with the facts of this case.
- 16 But, as I said in my opening, we certainly think
- 17 that the Court has already indicated that
- 18 there's no --
- 19 JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: So what do you --
- MS. REAVES: -- due process right to
- 21 --
- JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: -- see Barker
- 23 being if it's not an interim hearing?
- MS. REAVES: So I --
- JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: I mean, Barker, a

- 1 defendant comes in -- not a defendant -- a
- 2 petitioner comes in, makes a motion and says,
- 3 I'm entitled to a Barker hearing. The
- 4 government claims its interests, but I have
- 5 hardship and I want a hearing on the level of my
- 6 hardship versus their interests and their level
- 7 of proof?
- 8 Because your brief seems to argue that
- 9 the Mathews test is fully consistent would --
- 10 with and would not require any material changes
- in the Court's traditional Barker-based
- 12 analysis. That's your brief at page 19.
- MS. REAVES: So I think I want to --
- JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: So due process
- does require Barker hearings. That's what we
- said in \$8,850, and, basically, you just don't
- want to call it a retention hearing?
- MS. REAVES: So I think I want to be
- 19 clear where we are in the analytical framework
- 20 here. So we don't think there's ever a right to
- 21 an interim hearing. We think the only right
- 22 that there is is a timely final forfeiture
- hearing.
- 24 And it's certainly true that someone
- 25 whose forfeiture proceedings are ongoing can

- 1 say: Look, this is moving too slowly under
- 2 Barker, and the court can, you know, set its
- 3 deadlines accordingly, can dismiss the case if
- 4 it's already proceeded for too long a period of
- 5 time.
- 6 And we've also suggested that in this
- 7 particular case, where the claims really are
- 8 just about timing, you know, Petitioners haven't
- 9 alleged there wasn't due process to seize their
- vehicles, they haven't complained with the time
- 11 -- final proceeding, they concede in their reply
- 12 that sometimes a final forfeiture hearing could
- 13 happen quickly enough, that when the claim
- really is about timing, that there's going to be
- 15 little difference between applying \$8,850 or
- 16 Barker to that type of claim.
- 17 JUSTICE JACKSON: But I quess you --
- JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: You keep saying
- 19 "timely." I don't know what timely is. I have
- 20 a brief that set out the fact that some
- 21 hearings, by the nature of what the courts are
- doing, are taking up to a year or more.
- I don't consider that timely if I'm an
- 24 innocent owner who relies on my car for my --
- 25 for survival. And there's evidence of claimants

- 1 who, in fact, had children, who lost their job,
- 2 et cetera.
- 3 So how do we take care of those
- 4 things?
- 5 MS. REAVES: So I think, if you're
- 6 concerned about that sort of thing, the claimant
- 7 can raise the concern that the proceedings are
- 8 already taking too long in their ongoing
- 9 forfeiture proceedings or, if the forfeiture
- 10 proceedings haven't been filed, they can file a
- 11 Rule 41(g) motion in the federal system or a
- 12 Rule 313 motion in the Alabama system.
- So there are ways to bring the
- 14 timeliness claim up to a court without requiring
- 15 a retention hearing in all cases. And I think
- one important thing to keep in mind, you know,
- 17 Petitioner has focused extensively on the fact
- that there's an innocent owner defense at play
- 19 here and that that somehow means that there's an
- 20 earlier entitlement to a hearing. And Alabama
- 21 law, the version of law that was in effect for
- 22 this case, makes it clear that that is an
- 23 affirmative defense.
- 24 That's in Wallace versus State, which
- 25 --

1	JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: Is
2	MS. REAVES: is cited on page 3 of
3	our brief.
4	JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: is that part of
5	its new law?
6	MS. REAVES: Excuse me?
7	JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: Is it part of the
8	Alabama new law?
9	MS. REAVES: It is not, no, but the
10	Alabama new law, of course, is not at issue in
11	this case. And the version of the innocent
12	owner defense that's at issue here only comes in
13	after the state has made out its prima facie
14	case before the forfeiture.
15	JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: Quite interesting,
16	isn't it, that once the incentive is taken out
17	of police officers taking advantage of the
18	system as it exists, that Alabama puts in a
19	system that is much fairer?
20	That was one of the reasons that
21	Alabama resisted granting cert in this case,
22	because the new system does look to guarantee a
23	faster process?
24	MS. REAVES: So I think the new
25	system's processes are different, but I think

1	it's important to keep in mind that I don't even
2	think the new system's process would have given
3	these Petitioners faster process.
4	So the innocent owner defense under
5	Alabama's new law, once an innocent owner seeks
6	seeks an innocent owner hearing, the state
7	has up to 60 days to respond to that. And
8	that's almost exactly the amount of time that
9	Petitioners would have had their cars returned
10	to them had they proceeded under Alabama state
11	law as it had existed at the time of this case.
12	CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Thank you,
13	counsel.
14	Justice Thomas, anything?
15	Justice Alito?
16	Anything further, Justice Sotomayor?
17	Justice Kagan?
18	Justice Gorsuch?
19	Justice Jackson?
20	JUSTICE JACKSON: Yeah, can I just
21	clarify one thing? You you say that you
22	think that the only right is to a timely final
23	forfeiture hearing, but I thought what was at
24	issue in this case is the test that is to be
25	used to make that determination. So I

- 1 appreciate that the government thinks it knows
- 2 the answer in all of these cases, which is, you
- 3 don't get a hearing. But I thought this -- that
- 4 the -- I thought we had tests that we applied in
- 5 the law to lead us to that conclusion in
- 6 particular cases depending upon the claims and
- 7 the circumstances.
- And so our question was what test?
- 9 And am I wrong? It -- it feels to me
- 10 strangely like the government has picked the
- answer and is choosing the test that will
- inevitably lead to the answer that the
- 13 government wants, as opposed to telling us here
- is the difference between the Barker test and
- 15 the Mathews test and which one is better in
- 16 terms -- more consistent with our prior case
- 17 law, et cetera, et cetera?
- MS. REAVES: So I think we view the
- 19 answer to the question presented as being it
- 20 doesn't matter because the Court has essentially
- already decided this in Von Neumann, in \$8,850.
- 22 And I --
- JUSTICE JACKSON: What's your -- what
- is -- what is your view of my thought that Von
- Neumann is really much narrower in the language

- 1 that you're talking about than your -- than
- 2 the -- than the way it is being read, that it's
- 3 been taking -- taken out of context?
- 4 MS. REAVES: So I think Von Neumann,
- 5 the latter part of that decision, I -- I read it
- 6 as having assumed that there was a due process
- 7 right to a timely remission -- adjudication of
- 8 the remission petition. And then the Court
- 9 there found that --
- 10 JUSTICE JACKSON: You mean in Section
- 11 3?
- MS. REAVES: Yes.
- JUSTICE JACKSON: But, in Section 2,
- 14 it says there is no such thing, so it's just
- 15 kind of continuing to spin out the analysis, but
- 16 it was pretty clear in 2 that the Court was
- 17 finding that there was no such thing.
- MS. REAVES: That -- that's certainly
- 19 correct. I think the Court had maybe
- 20 alternative holdings that you could -- you could
- 21 say, but I don't think the Court should just
- 22 ignore the last section of -- of Von Neumann.
- 23 But I think even if you were to view
- 24 this case as being, and this issue as not
- 25 already being decided, I think, if you looked at

- 1 it under an \$8,850-type analysis or even a
- 2 Mathews v. Eldridge analysis, you'd come to,
- 3 like, the bottom-line conclusion that the Court
- 4 came to in Pearson Yacht for the same reasons
- 5 that there's no entitlement to a pre-forfeiture
- 6 notice and hearing -- or pre -- excuse me,
- 7 procedure notice and hearing.
- 8 JUSTICE JACKSON: So the government's
- 9 view is that on the methodology, it doesn't
- 10 really matter whether we do Barker, or, like,
- 11 the answer to the QP is it doesn't matter?
- MS. REAVES: That's correct.
- JUSTICE JACKSON: Thank you.
- 14 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Thank you,
- 15 counsel.
- 16 Rebuttal, Mr. Dvoretzky?
- 17 REBUTTAL ARGUMENT OF SHAY DVORETZKY
- 18 ON BEHALF OF THE PETITIONERS
- 19 MR. DVORETZKY: Thank you, Mr. Chief
- 20 Justice.
- First, Von Neumann and \$8,850 didn't
- 22 decide the question that is presented here.
- 23 They didn't decide whether there can be an
- 24 interest in avoiding temporary deprivation that
- 25 is different from the time to a final

- 1 disposition.
- 2 The Court in this case should not
- 3 strip the lower courts of the tools they need to
- 4 analyze whether in a particular case more
- 5 process is due.
- 6 We've heard the phrase today "Let
- 7 judges be judges." The Court -- this Court
- 8 should let judges be judges and trust the lower
- 9 courts as well as the states and the federal
- 10 government to figure out what to do with the
- 11 guidance that this Court should provide that
- some meaningful process is due in order to
- 13 protect an innocent owner pending a final
- 14 adjudication.
- 15 And jurisprudentially, Gerstein again
- 16 is another example here. In Gerstein, the Court
- 17 recognized that there should be a prompt
- 18 probable cause determination. It took several
- 19 years of them -- percolation before the Court in
- 20 City of Riverside provided more concrete
- 21 guidance and said: Okay, this is what that
- 22 needs to look like.
- 23 So all the Court needs to do here is
- 24 to recognize that the interests that we're
- asserting are different than the ones that were

- 1 asserted in Von Neumann and \$8,850. They should
- 2 be analyzed under Mathews because Mathews is the
- 3 test for determining whether additional process
- 4 is due. And then the lower courts and the
- 5 states and, if necessary, the federal government
- 6 can figure out how that works.
- Now, in terms of some of the
- 8 flexibility that that might afford, the federal
- 9 statute, 18 U.S.C. 983(f), it allows the --
- 10 the -- or it entitles a claimant to the
- immediate release of seized property if they can
- 12 show substantial hardship. That is in -- in
- some ways even more valuable than a hearing.
- 14 So that may be perfectly
- 15 constitutionally sufficient. Utah has a similar
- 16 sort of scheme. And so, again, the Court
- doesn't need to micromanage exactly how all of
- 18 this works.
- 19 With respect to Barker, Barker would
- 20 be a poor fit for the claim that we're asserting
- 21 here because Barker is not designed to answer
- 22 the question of whether more process is due.
- 23 For starters, under the first prong of Barker,
- 24 it takes a year before Barker even kicks in.
- 25 Barker does not account for private

- 1 interests. It doesn't account, for example, for
- the difference between taking away somebody's
- 3 car, which is necessary for their livelihood,
- 4 and taking away some other piece of property
- 5 that they might not need in the same way.
- 6 Mathews does.
- 7 Barker also provides no flexibility in
- 8 the remedy. The only remedy that Barker can
- 9 lead to is, in the criminal context, dismissal
- 10 of the indictment, here, dismissal of the
- 11 forfeiture proceeding altogether. It doesn't
- 12 provide any flexibility for considering whether
- 13 additional process is due.
- With respect to the facts here, no
- 15 Court has considered the value of additional
- 16 process and whether, in fact, the -- the
- 17 plaintiffs could have moved for prompt summary
- 18 judgment and, if so, how long that would have
- 19 taken. What we do know is that in the course of
- 20 ordinary litigation, the state here, to use
- 21 Sutton's case as an example, the state took five
- 22 months to respond to discovery requests about
- 23 what the state knew about the innocent owner
- 24 defense, and, ultimately, those discovery
- 25 requests were entirely non-responsive.

1	And so all of this back and forth
2	about what could have happened on summary
3	judgment, that's something that the lower courts
4	can consider in the first instance it hasn't
5	been considered before in applying Mathews
6	and determining what would be the value of
7	additional process.
8	I'd also point out that the facts of
9	this case show how different this case looks
LO	from forfeiture at common law. This is not a
L1	case about pirates or owners of ships crossing
L2	borders. We're talking here about individuals
L3	who lost their cars.
L4	In Sutton's case, as a result of
L5	losing her car, she missed medical appointments,
L6	she wasn't able to keep a job, she wasn't able
L7	to pay a cell phone bill and, as a result of
L8	paying a cell phone bill not being able to
L9	pay her cell phone bill, was not in a position
20	to be able to communicate about the forfeiture
21	proceedings.
22	In Ms. Culley's case, she not only
23	begged and pleaded with the police for her car
24	back but also had communications with the DA's
2.5	office. The DA's office said, if you comply

- 1 with our process, you'll get your car back, but
- 2 it'll take at least six months until there's a
- 3 hearing.
- 4 And so we're far removed from the --
- 5 the narrow sense in which history recognized
- 6 forfeiture.
- 7 Lastly, Alabama talks about government
- 8 interests here. Government interests can be
- 9 weighed, in fact, must be weighed as part of the
- 10 Mathews analysis. They can also be considered
- at any retention hearing that might result from
- 12 Mathews. Approximately 20 states have hearings
- of some sort like that. Alabama itself now
- 14 provides a much prompter hearing than it did
- 15 when -- when my clients' cars were taken.
- 16 Lastly, I would just end with a quote
- 17 from this Court's decision in Fuentes. This is
- 18 at 407 U.S. 90. "A prior hearing always imposes
- 19 some costs in time, effort, and expense, and it
- 20 is often more efficient to dispense with the
- 21 opportunity. But these rather ordinary costs
- 22 cannot outweigh the constitutional right."
- We ask that the Court adopt Mathews
- and remand for the lower courts to consider.
- 25 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Thank you,

1	cour	nsel.								
2			The	case	is	suk	omitte	d.		
3			(Whe	ereup	on,	at	11:45	a.m.,	the	case
4	was	submi	tted	.)						
5										
6										
7										
8										
9										
10										
11										
12										
13										
14										
15										
16										
17										
18										
19										
20										
21										
22										
23										
24										
25										

\$

\$8.850 [37] **5**:1.6.9 **14**:21 **15**:6 **19**:24 **20**:8.11 **21**:16 26:5.17 28:9 44:7 57:6 59: 2,11,25 **60**:20,23,24 **61:**2 64:5 65:21 68:16 90:9 91: 5,7,12 92:4 93:4,4,8 97:16 98:15 102:21 104:21 106:

\$8,850-type [1] 104:1

1 [1] 54:17 10 [2] 24:8 38:6 10:05 [2] 1:16 4:2 104 [1] 3:14 11:45 [1] 110:3 **12** [1] **54**:18 13 [1] 29:14 **14** [3] **49**:10 **72**:9 **85**:2 14-day [1] 94:7 1789 [1] 57:5 18 [2] 29:14 106:9 1817 [1] 59:25 19 [1] 97:12 1970s [1] 79:18

2

2 [6] **17**:8,10,21 **54**:21 **103**: 13.16 20 [2] 38:4 109:12 200 [1] 47:12 2023 [1] 1:12 22-585 [1] 4:4 25 [1] 14:4 250 [1] 90:22

3 [6] **29**:6 **62**:16 **64**:15 **77**: 11 100:2 103:11 30 [1] 1:12 313 [1] 99:12 36-day [2] 77:14 78:18 36-month [1] 61:8

4 [1] 3:4 400 [1] 72:11 407 [1] 109:18 41(q [1] 99:11 48 [4] 23:7 27:21,24 28:15 48-hour [1] 23:20

5

5 [2] **29**:6 **62**:16 5:00 [1] 64:16 50 [2] 46:12 58:11 56 [1] 3:7

6

60 [2] **71**:15 **101**:7

8

8-8 [1] 42:5

9

90 [2] 3:11 109:18 983(f [1] 106:9

a.m [3] 1:16 4:2 110:3 ability [2] 78:7 88:15 able [7] 23:12 40:21,25 108: 16,16,18,20 above-entitled [1] 1:14 absence [2] 80:20,21 Absolutely [3] 25:12 44:22 **67:**11 abuses [3] 41:16 68:19,22 abusing [1] 42:8 accidental [1] 16:15 accordingly [1] 98:3 account [8] 5:23 50:25 71: 20 72:8 73:8 81:7 106:25 107:1 Accountability [1] 50:23 accounts [2] 57:24 58:13 accuracy [3] 60:9 66:18 69: accurate [3] 69:22,25 75: 18 accusing [1] 63:12 acknowledge [2] 64:11 65: 18 Act [4] 57:5 58:10.22 63:5 acted [1] 25:19 action [1] 94:11 activity [4] 70:14,18,21 88: Acts [2] 93:24 94:9 actually [15] 15:12 18:19 23:23 25:9 32:15 33:20 37: 17 38:20 39:1 75:7,9,21 77:7 83:12 84:19 add [1] 53:7 adding [1] 73:1 addition [2] 14:10 68:10 additional [31] 4:24 6:16. 24 7:1.3.12 9:23.25 10:5 **12**:22 **17**:15 **20**:13.18 **31**: 17.19 **32**:1 **36**:2 **40**:4 **44**: 13 49:5 51:16,22 58:25 59: 19,21 83:4 92:11 106:3 107:13,15 108:7 address [6] 5:12 14:20 38: 18,23 63:23 91:19 addressed [7] 5:16 14:21 18:19 33:11,22 39:4 90:14 adequate [1] 11:16 adequately [1] 5:21 adjudicated [2] 36:21 55:8 adjudicating [2] 13:11 66: 13

adjudication [6] 64:21 67:

19,23 **68**:11 **103**:7 **105**:14

administrative [4] 52:7 53:

adjudicator [1] 38:13

4,8 66:8

adopt [1] 109:23 adopted [1] 59:11 adopting [1] 5:5 advantage [3] 59:23 73:12 100:17 advantages [1] 45:24 advise [1] 69:4 affirm [1] 58:19 affirmative [10] 8:5 77:5 17.23.25 78:5.8.9.12 99:23 afford [1] 106:8 ago [2] 57:17 84:23 agree [14] 50:14,19 51:1 53: 24 60:25 62:3 64:22 80:11 **81**:7,22,25 **83**:17 **89**:9 **95**: agrees [2] 54:13,15 Ah [1] 29:5 ahead [1] 37:25 Aid [1] 38:3 AL [2] 1:3 7 ALABAMA [30] 1:7 2:5 9: 14 14:3 15:19 20 17:15 22: 21 29:12 30:17 31:22 32: 14 **35**:22 **36**:9.10 **37**:22 **47**: 6 **63**:12 **67**:12 **82**:2 **84**:2 99:12,20 100:8,10,18,21 **101**:10 **109**:7.13 Alabama's [3] 8:21 47:17 101:5 alike [1] 85:18 ALITO [20] 22:9,11,16 23:1, 6.16.25 24:2.18 36:5.6.14. 19 **37**:6 20 **39**:7 **40**:5 **41**:9 79:4 101:15 allegations [1] 95:6 alleged [1] 98:9 allocate [1] 22:17 allocated [2] 22:23.25 allow [5] 6:5 33:24 46:12 47:23 93:14 allowed [5] 39:3 54:25 82: 23 85:23 87:1 allowing [1] 91:13 allows [5] 84:24 85:6 86: 11 93:5 106:9 alluded [1] 95:2 almost [3] 61:6 71:22 101: already [7] 5:1 90:8 96:17 98:4 99:8 102:21 103:25 alter [1] 86:2 alternative [4] 52:7 53:4,8 103:20 Although [2] 5:18 23:21 altogether [1] 107:11 ambivalent [1] 91:7 American [1] 79:13 amicus [6] 2:8 3:10 47:8. 18 50:24 90:2 among [1] 57:25 amount [4] 47:23 89:4 93: 17 **101**:8

analog [2] 76:20 80:7 analogies [1] 92:8 analogized [1] 28:10 analogous [1] 75:21 analogs [1] 75:21 analogy [4] 20:24 27:17 55: 22 92:6 analysis [6] 33:13 97:12 **103**:15 **104**:1.2 **109**:10 analytical [1] 97:19 analyze [3] 7:2 42:24 105: analyzed [1] 106:2 another [11] 4:21 14:18 23: 22 25:23 26:2 27:6 57:11 62:5 75:5 96:3 105:16 answer [19] **4**:14,24 **5**:13 **6**: 21 10:8 11:5 19:2 48:13 **50**:13 **51**:5 **52**:1 **57**:6 **68**:3 **102**:2,11,12,19 **104**:11 **106**: 21 answering [1] 24:24 answers [1] 64:14 antecedent [1] 6:14 anyway [3] 35:2 37:24 86:5 apart [3] 34:24 77:13,16 appeals [1] 5:15 appear [1] 58:4 APPEARANCES [1] 2:1 application [4] 47:22 51: 15.20 **85:**11 applied [7] 4:19 7:4 26:12 72:21 86:1.7 102:4 applies [9] 15:15 21:10 25: 5 **26:**4.7 **46:**6.9 **68:**12 **91:**8 apply [14] 4:12 5:19 11:20 17:21 19:15 25:9 28:22 29: 3 **45**:23,25 **50**:16,20 **89**:11 93:14 applying [4] 9:20 10:2 98: 15 **108**:5 appointments [1] 108:15 appreciate [2] 30:10 102:1 approach [1] 90:21 approaches [2] 47:5,8 appropriate [4] 48:5,5,6 93:17 Approximately [1] 109:12 apt [1] 20:24 areas [1] 48:23 aren't [2] 28:5 93:10 argue [2] 15:4 97:8 arguing [1] 63:9 argument [31] 1:15 3:2,5,8, 12 **4**:4,7,25 **6**:6 **15**:5,10,16 **16**:16 **18**:8,11,19 **21**:18,19 23:8 37:21 54:8 56:21 64: 5 **65**:8 **75**:20 **77**:8 **78**:13 85:9 86:25 90:1 104:17 arguments [3] 32:6 38:10

arrest [2] 22:5 76:7 aside [3] 59:12,15 74:4 asks [1] 73:17 aspect [1] 62:10 aspects [1] 96:8 assert [2] 57:11 87:3 asserted [1] 106:1 asserting [3] 26:18 105:25 106:20 assess [1] 4:12 assessed [1] 34:20 assesses [1] 4:17 assessing [1] 9:22 assessment [2] 44:25 92: Assistant [1] 2:6 assume [6] 6:23 37:24 40: 10 **70**:23 **77**:11 **79**:7 assumed [3] 17:24 18:13 103.6 assuming [5] 6:25 72:16 91:20 95:18 96:13 assumption [2] 18:1.14 attach [2] 89:3.5 attempts [1] 63:16 **ATTORNEY** [1] **1**:6 Attorney's [1] 88:25 attributable [1] 29:22 authority [1] 75:12 available [3] 29:8 35:6 38: average [1] 54:13 avoid [3] 18:23 65:20 94: avoiding [1] 104:24 aware [1] 88:6 away [2] 107:2,4 В back [37] 7:22 8:10.14.23

10:7 12:15 13:9.13.16 15: 13 16:3,15 17:20 25:14 27: 3,11 29:1,6 35:5 53:11 59: 25 66:25 67:20,23 69:9 71: 17 **72**:2 **75**:16 **79**:6,19 **82**: 22 86:24 87:17 95:10 108: 1,24 109:1 backdrop [1] 49:23 backed [1] 74:22 Bad [2] 41:13.13 balance [2] 58:6 66:17 balancing [1] 60:9 Barker [87] 4:12.23 5:2.6. 17 **6**:13,19 **14**:16 **15**:2,2,6, 14 16:11 19:18 20:23 21:9, 13 24:21 25:15,16 26:3,12, 18 **27**:4,17 **28**:10 **42**:14 **45**: 25 **46**:2 **54**:5 **56**:14 **57**:24 58:13,22 59:3,5,19,23 63:4, 22 64:14,16 66:15 67:22 **68**:10,10 **71**:19 **72**:4,16,19, 21 73:3.7.13 76:23.24 80: 15 **81**:7,13,18 **82**:3 **84**:11,

ample [1] 69:6

63:16

arms [1] 42:9

arise [3] 37:2 76:14 95:4

around [3] 16:22 63:11 68:

19 85:10,12,12,24 86:10, 15 88:22 89:11 96:22,25 **97:**3,15 **98:**2,16 **102:**14 104:10 106:19,19,21,23,24, 25 **107**:7 8 Barker's [2] 4:24 84:13 Barker-based [1] 97:11 BARRETT [15] 18:24 19:1 16,19 **20**:19,21 **21**:6 **50**:10. 11 **51**:8.11 **75**:19 **76**:12 **79**: 14 84:9 Barrett's [1] 23:22 based [2] 48:9 49:25 basic [1] 33:8 basically [2] 42:14 97:16 basis [1] 31:9 bears [1] 48:25 began [1] 7:17 begged [1] 108:23 begun [1] 7:16 behalf [8] 2:2,5 3:4,7,14 4: 8 56:22 104:18 believe [1] 71:14 believes [1] 33:20 beneficial [1] 14:19 Bennis [1] 22:15 besides [1] 63:1 best [4] 58:13 60:4 66:17 93:23 better [5] 82:25 85:13,14 91:5 102:15 between [13] 6:13 12:2 13: 19 20:6 29:6 62:16 64:15 81:24 92:23 94:10 98:15 102:14 107:2 beyond [5] 5:18 18:18 19: 10 62:24 95:4 biased [2] 62:23 87:14 bill [3] 108:17,18,19 binding [1] 43:10 bit [1] 51:25 blaming [1] 30:9 blank [2] 66:10 82:7 **bolstered** [1] 82:19 bond [2] 33:17 69:8 borders [1] 108:12 both [9] 4:17 13:11 15:25 27:4 30:12 55:11 57:2 61: 3 85:10 bottom [1] 42:20 bottom-line [1] 104:3 brief [18] 32:7 37:22 38:3,9 **45**:12 **47**:9,17,17,18 **49**:8,9 50:24,25 80:10 97:8,12 98: 20 100:3 briefs [1] 79:11 bring [4] 40:25 44:12 88:8 99-13 British [1] 49:25 broad [2] 16:25 17:3 broadly [1] 68:2 brought [1] 94:15 bucket [1] 26:6 building [1] 72:13

built [1] 41:5 burden [6] 12:13 22:17,22, 24 92:7 93:6 business [2] 24:8 38:6

C

calculus [1] 12:23 call [4] 29:6 62:16 83:20 97: called [1] 37:10 came [4] 1:14 78:9,14 104: cannot [2] 57:18 109:22 capacity [1] 63:23 car [56] 10:10.14.25 11:7 **12:**15.18 **13:**9.13.16 **14:**15 15:13.21.23 16:9.13 22:5.7. 19,23 **23**:2,13,14,15 **27**:2, 10,11,11 29:6,18 34:23 36: 13 **39:**1,8,10,11,12,13,13, 17,24,25 **40**:14 **46**:7 **55**:1,6 **61**:14 **67**:19 **72**:2,9 **82**:22 89:17 98:24 107:3 108:15, 23 109:1 cards [1] 29:11 care [1] 99:3 carried [1] 49:5 carries [1] 76:25 cars [15] 35:25 70:7 71:13. 17,18 **73:**20 **74:**4,4 **77:**13, 16 **83**:25 **84**:3 **101**:9 **108**: 13 109:15 Case [87] 4:4,22 7:7,14 9:8 12:4 13:2,9 14:12 15:3 21: 24 24:6,20 25:9 29:12,24 30:3,14,18 32:24 33:17 39: 8 40:20 42:5 43:6 44:5 45: 15 **46**:4 **51**:10 **52**:6.9 **53**: 13.13 54:7 58:6.23 59:13 60:6.8.24 65:4 66:14.19 68:3.17 69:4 70:10 73:2. 12.25 **78:**10 **82:**2.18 **84:**2. 25 **86**:3,4 **87**:14 **89**:16 **90**: 8 91:9 93:7 94:8,13,22 95: 22 96:15 98:3,7 99:22 100: 11,14,21 101:11,24 102:16 103:24 105:2,4 107:21 **108:**9,9,11,14,22 **110:**2,3 cases [33] 4:16 7:5 13:11 16:2 20:14 39:10 40:7.10 50:17 57:19.25 58:14 63: 23 65:10 67:17 68:4 70:15. 18 73:19 74:2.6.8 81:25 85:7.16.17 92:12.12 95:5. 19 99:15 102:2,6 cash [2] 73:21 81:25 cast [1] 59:15 categorical [6] 45:18,19, 23 46:1,5 84:24 category [2] 92:12 95:19 cause [14] 12:14 20:25 22:

1 27:21 28:3 41:21 42:1

18

56:1,5,5 **60**:2 **69**:1,13 **105**:

caused [1] 73:4 cell [3] 108:17,18,19 Center's [1] 50:24 centuries [1] 57:16 cert [3] 30:4,6 100:21 certain [1] 45:18 certainly [6] 63:6 71:15 96: 12,16 97:24 103:18 cetera [6] 71:4,11 81:8 99: 2 102:17.17 challenge [2] 88:17,19 chance [1] 40:15 change [1] 12:23 changes [2] 77:7 97:10 CHIEF [31] 4:3,9 9:12,16 **32:**3,11,25 **34:**2,4,25 **36:**5 **41**:11 **45**:9 **46**:19 **50**:9 **51**: 12 56:18,23 79:1 81:1,4 84:8 89:22 90:4 92:14,19, 22 101:12 104:14,19 109: children [2] 70:20 99:1 choice [1] 6:13 choose [1] 6:21 choosing [1] 102:11 chose [1] 52:12 chosen [1] 5:17 Circuit [9] 15:1 24:5 50:15 **66:**3 **83:**23,24 **84:**1 **86:**1,2 Circuit's [1] 96:1 Circuits [2] 5:5 6:3 circumstances [8] 21:11 26:2 40:7 43:13 55:18 72: 21 79:23 102:7 cited [1] 100:2 City [2] 40:6 105:20 civil [24] 4:13.16.21 10:5 21: 3 24:16 29:4 32:10.12.13 48:25 49:4.24 55:18 58:11 61:11 68:17 69:17 78:3 86: 3 87:2 92:5,15,25 claim [30] 8:17 10:20,21 20: 6 **21**:17 **22**:8 **24**:23 **26**:2, 13,19 **52**:20 **54**:18 **60**:14, 20 62:4,6 70:17 74:21 75: 7 78:21 87:4.11.12.15 89: 10 92:2 98:13,16 99:14 106:20 claimant [15] 14:19 15:4 **16**:3 **17**:11 **27**:7 **32**:19 **34**: 17 **54**:7 **59**:7 **86**:4 **90**:10. 15 93:6 99:6 106:10 claimant's [2] 15:10 60:10 claimants [8] 6:5 26:8 27: 5 **58**:2,4 **69**:7 **85**:21 **98**:25 claimants' [1] 81:8 claiming [3] 5:10 55:14,16 claims [13] 25:18 44:11 54: 22 55:13 56:12 64:11 11 71:6 88:21 91:6 97:4 98:7 102:6

clear [15] 6:8 16:23,25 20: 16 **23**:3 **48**:13 **52**:6 **57**:7 **63**:13 **79**:15 **80**:7 **83**:4 **97**: 19 99:22 103:16 clearer [4] 16:5 20:10 80:9, clearly [5] 29:3 72:7 77:25 79:20 95:20 client [2] 12:4 29:13 clients' [1] 109:15 close-to-teenage [1] 70: 20 closer [1] 76:17 closest [1] 92:5 closing [1] 38:9 coffers [1] 63:19 colleague [1] 63:8 colleagues [1] 37:7 Collection [3] 57:5 93:24 94:9 come [12] 9:2 21:14 46:13 66:25 74:16.19.21 75:2.6 85:7 10 104:2 comes [11] 7:5 17:23 38:25 40:13 76:9 77:5 93:7.24 **97**:1.2 **100**:12 comfortable [1] 67:2 coming [4] 15:18 66:12 95: 25 96:1 commands [1] 28:23 comments [1] 16:15 common [13] 9:19 48:13, 17 **49**:4.11.22.22 **76**:6 **79**:7. 8 20 80:7 108:10 communicate [1] 108:20 communications [1] 108: 24 competing [1] 77:4 complain [1] 87:8 complained [1] 98:10 complaining [3] 26:4 52: 11 **55**:2 complaint [1] 61:22 complete [2] 15:12 82:6 comply [1] 108:25 component [3] 62:4,5 63: components [1] 62:3 comport [3] 6:2 67:6 78:24 compromised [1] 33:3 compromising [1] 33:7 concede [1] 98:11 conceded [1] 71:22 conceding [1] 87:5 conception [1] 78:6 conceptually [1] 56:6 concern [2] 5:7 99:7 concerned [5] 26:11 28:25 33:14 63:21 99:6 concerns [1] 38:19 concessions [1] 95:12 conclude [2] 77:1 80:16 concluded [2] 57:8 80:25 count [1] 94:14

conclusion [3] 51:21 102:

5 104:3 concrete [1] 105:20 concurrence [1] 50:15 conduct [2] 14:2 40:19 conducted [1] 40:18 confers [1] 17:15 confused [3] 24:20 25:1 45.11 Congresses [1] 93:25 connection [1] 33:12 consider [5] 54:25 81:16 98:23 108:4 109:24 consideration [2] 92:17 93:5 considerations [1] 95:4 considered [7] 9:21 31:8 **49**:23 **59**:2 **107**:15 **108**:5 109:10 considering [1] 107:12 consistent [5] 84:14 86:16 93:22 97:9 102:16 consistently [1] 4:19 Constitution [4] 22:13 37: 9 52:21 65:24 Constitution's [1] 5:22 constitutional [10] 6:15 8: 11,17 14:13,18 21:13 35: 12 **50**:23 **52**:23 **109**:22 constitutionalizing [1] 47: constitutionally [1] 106: 15 contentions [1] 6:9 contesting [1] 25:24 context [28] 6:16 9:15 10:5 **17:4 18:22 20:5 21:**3.9.12 27:16 44:14 45:21 66:8.9. 16 **69**:17 **77**:23 **78**:3 **80**:19 81:21 82:19 83:24 85:18 **87**:1,2,9 **103**:3 **107**:9 continue [2] 41:3 93:14 continued [1] 47:23 continuing [2] 71:10 103: contrary [1] 6:8 contrast [1] 76:3 control [1] 94:19 controversy [1] 69:5 convincing [1] 23:3 copy [1] 46:11 correct [20] 10:10,14 11:1, 7,22 **12**:9,20 **13**:23 **14**:8 **25**:11 **42**:9 **44**:18 **45**:1,5 **56**:10,13,16 **81**:9 **103**:19 104.12 correctly [2] 25:3 26:16 costs [2] 109:19.21 couldn't [2] 16:4 31:1 Counsel [13] 28:17 32:4 34:5 56:19 71:5 79:2 14 84:23 89:23 94:5 101:13

Clause [1] 28:23

clarify [3] 36:10 45:11 101:

21

104:15 **110**:1

counterpart [1] 60:17

counterparts [1] 53:22
country [3] 41:18 63:11 66:
12
County [2] 30:17 76:4
couple 6 21:5 38:7 41:2
64 :4 68 :1 81 :6
course [9] 46:24 52:24 65:
1,5 69 :18 91 :24 92 :20 100 : 10 107 :19
COURT [89] 1:1,15 4:10,19
5 :11,18 6 :20 7 :4 9 :3,4,7
10 :23 15 :14 16 :4,18 17 :24
18 :12,19 19 :10,13,25 20 :1
22 :14 24 :11 25 :8 28 :9 30 :
3 31 :10 33 :23,23 35 :11 42 :
23 43 :15 44 :5,6 47 :25 52 : 15 53 :13 54 :24 56 :24 58 :
18 59 :2 60 :1,1,5 61 :5,13
62 :22 63 :1,10 64 :7,21 66 :
3,5,13 74 :17,24 77 :10,12
78: 2,17 87: 16 90: 5,8,13
93 :3,5 95 :15 96 :2,3,17 98 :
2 99: 14 102: 20 103: 8,16,
19,21 104 :3 105 :2,7,7,11,
16,19,23 106 :16 107 :15 109 :23
Court's [10] 6:11 20:15 58:
20 82 :15 88 :25 91 :10,15
93:11 97:11 109:17
courts [21] 4:12 5:14,15 9:
8,13,14 17 :1 23 :18 49 :10
58 :10,15 65 :9 74 :24 79 :13
80:23 98:21 105:3,9 106:4
108:3 109:24 craft [1] 65:25
create [4] 20:16 36:19 53:9
63: 17
created [7] 20:13 35:22 36:
3,10,25 78 :15 89: 1
creates [1] 22:17
crime [7] 33:21 38:21 39:2
57:1 69: 20 70: 3,4 criminal [16] 21: 4,9,12,22
27 :16 49 :4,6 55 :22 70 :7,
10,14,18 74 :18 77 :22,25
107: 9
criminals [5] 70:2,12 71:
12,16 74 :25
critical [1] 56:25
criticize [1] 58:21
cross-examine [2] 39:23 40:16
crossing [1] 108:11
CULLEY [2] 1:3 4:4
Culley's [2] 82:2 108:22
curiae (য় 2:8 3:11 90:2
current [1] 22:24
curtail [1] 37:4
custody [4] 10:14,25 11:6
customize [1] 48:4
customs [1] 48:23
D
l ———

D.C [3] 1:11 2:2.7 DA's [2] 108:24,25 dangers [1] 95:23 date [1] 49:11 day [7] 24:12 29:16 31:3,7 **62**:19 **71**:24 **96**:3 daylight [1] 81:24 days [13] 8:15 24:8 31:22 **38**:6 **49**:10 **56**:4 **57**:13 **72**: 9 11 77:20 78:23 85:2 101: de [1] 15:22 deadlines [1] 98:3 deal [2] 33:16 65:9 dealing [6] 66:4,11 67:17 70:25 71:8 73:20 dealt [1] 96:15 decide [14] 10:9 24:12.19 **25**:8 **30**:14 **37**:18 **38**:13 **44**: 6 60:7 68:9 82:10 94:13 104.22 23 decided [8] 5:1 59:6 62:6 67:25 68:17 95:16 102:21 103:25 deciding [2] 77:11 78:19 decision [9] 60:1 78:17 80: 13 88:25 91:10 94:21 96:1 103:5 109:17 decisionmaker [1] 38:22 deeply [1] 63:17 default [2] 4:15 58:3 defaulted [1] 86:5 defendant [4] 21:4 22:18 97:11 defendants [2] 21:22 70:7 defense [31] 12:5 15:9.17 19:5.6.9.12 20:3 21:25 22: 3.12 29:17 31:3 35:23 36: 1,20 37:1 39:16 42:2 46:8 **48**:16 **77**:6,17 **78**:8,9,12 99:18,23 100:12 101:4 107:24 defenses [2] 77:23 78:1 deficient [2] 85:12 87:4 defined [1] 50:17 definitely [2] 26:22 96:2 **definitive** [1] **16**:19 definitively [1] 9:11 delay [9] 29:21 46:4 61:8 **64**:17,17 **72**:7,13 **86**:20 **87**: delays [1] 49:13 demanded [2] 80:24.25 denial [1] 48:21 Department [1] 2:7 depend [1] 9:6 depending [3] 6:20 56:11 102:6 depends [1] 44:24 deprivation [5] 20:9 61:23 **72**:10 **91**:1 **104**:24 deprived [6] 55:19 61:15. 18.19 **72:**9.10

describes [1] 38:3

describing [1] 86:18 designed [1] 106:21 despite [1] 80:17 detention [1] 91:2 determinate [1] 86:10 determination [31] 12:3,9, 17,21 **13:**21 **14:**14 **18:**21, 22 20:7,8,25 22:2,6 27:19, 21 28:3.8.13.16 35:11 41:7 **42**:4 **45**:14 **48**:8 **55**:15 17 56:1.5 69:1 101:25 105:18 determinative [2] 50:21 determine [7] 4:20 10:13 **11:**20 **25:**5,9 **89:**12 **91:**8 determined [1] 40:1 determining [5] 9:25 10:4 **58:24 106:3 108:6** deterring [1] 57:1 developed [1] 9:22 dicta [2] 42:4 43:6 dictate [1] 47:25 difference [6] 11:16 12:2 20:6 98:15 102:14 107:2 differences [1] 13:19 different [37] 10:17 12:13 **13**:14,25 **14**:24,25 **15**:16 **26**:18,21,25 **32**:13 **34**:12 **35**:16 **44**:20 **46**:14 **47**:5,7, 13 **52**:3 **53**:16 **55**:10,13 **61**: 18 **65**:3 **68**:5,5 **76**:10 **78**: 11 **85**:19,20,21 **92**:13 **93**: 10 **100**:25 **104**:25 **105**:25 108:9 dis [1] 8:24 disadvantage [2] 73:14,17 disagreeing [1] 53:7 disagrees [1] 91:3 disappear [2] 82:20 83:1 disappearing [1] 38:19 discovery [7] 7:25 8:2 10: 21 12:22 14:2 107:22,24 discretion [2] 9:7 89:4 discretionary [10] 18:4,17 **35:**21,23 **36:**7,8,11 **52:**5 53:10 73:15 discussing [3] 34:20,25 47:21 dismiss [1] 98:3 dismissal [2] 107:9.10 dispense [1] 109:20 disposition [3] 5:8 33:18 105:1 dispositive [1] 58:14 dispute [1] 72:6 disputed [1] 10:19 dissent [2] 48:20 76:4 distinction [1] 54:1 distinctions [1] 16:24 distinguishing [1] 53:17 distributed [1] 71:4 District [3] 82:2 84:1 88:25 distrust [1] 49:24

doctrinally [1] 18:2 documented [1] 41:18 doing [7] 24:21 31:4 42:10 49:25 82:8 93:19 98:22 domestic [1] 39:14 done [3] 6:7 25:25 31:20 doubt [2] 62:24 70:6 down [3] 58:10 63:21 95: 24 drawback [1] 84:18 drawing [1] 50:16 draws [1] 59:24 driving [3] 23:14 39:12,13 drug [5] 39:2 70:20,25 71:8 drugs [4] 23:15 71:3 87:24 88:4 due [79] 4:15,20 5:22 6:2 8: 5,12,19 **9**:6 **10**:5 **16**:7,12, 18 **17**:8,12,14,16,24 **18**:2, 13.16 **19:**3.11 **20:**2.15.18 **21**:16 **24**:23 **25**:6.10.17 **28**: 22 29:25 36:2.16 39:5 41: 6 **42**:7.19 **43**:11 **44**:11.13. 21 46:15,16,17,25 52:19, 22 **54**:16 **57**:3.10 **58**:18 **61**: 10 **62**:2.25 **63**:7 **67**:6 **78**: 18 **79**:22 **88**:22 **89**:3,12 **91**: 24 **92**:1,8,16 **95**:3 **96**:6,7, 10,20 **97**:14 **98**:9 **103**:6 **105**:5,12 **106**:4,22 **107**:13 during [7] 15:23 28:11 38: 16 55:1.5.6.20 **DVORETZKY** [98] 2:2 3:3. 13 **4**:6,7,9 **6**:18,25 **7**:19,24 **8**:13,19,24 **9**:1,16 **10**:11,15 **11:**2.8.21.23 **12:**10.19.25 **13**:3.17 **14**:23 **16**:1 **17**:2 18:9,12,24,25 19:8,18 20:4, 20 21:5 22:10,14,20 23:4, 16 **24:**1,5 **25:**2,12 **26:**15 **27**:13 **28**:18 **30**:2,9,13,24 **31:**5,12,15,25 **32:**11 **33:**10 **34**:3,11 **35**:18 **36**:9,15,23 **37**:16 **38**:1 **39**:22 **40**:9 **42**: 21 43:1,4,14,22 44:2,10,19 **45**:2.6.22 **47**:19 **49**:15.20 **50:**3.8 **51:**4.9.19 **53:**6.24 **55**:12 **56**:10,13,16 **104**:16, 17,19 Ε each [3] 44:24 45:14 58:6

earlier [6] 20:14 34:21 55: 22 69:10 80:2 99:20 early [7] 29:2 32:8 50:5 78: 8 **79**:13 **80**:13 **90**:19 easier [1] 85:13 easiest [1] 6:1 EDMUND [3] 2:4 3:6 56:21 effect [3] 15:22 36:10 99: effective [1] 6:10

efficient [1] 109:20

effort [1] 109:19 Either [7] 31:11,14 33:6,16, 23 42:1 91:10 elaborates [1] 33:1 Eldridge [10] 26:6 45:13, 16,17 **81**:18 **82**:8,9 **91**:7 92:4 104:2 else's [1] 75:1 embodied [1] 57:23 emphasize [1] 91:11 emphasizes [1] **46**:24 empirically [1] 14:8 end [5] 13:15 35:6 38:12 50: 5 109:16 enforcement [2] 68:21 95: engage [1] 95:11 English [1] 79:8 enough [10] 11:20 42:13 **44**:1 **52**:12 **55**:14,17 **60**:2 66:15 67:14 98:13 ensure [2] 5:21 6:2 ensuring [1] 35:4 entering [1] 33:18 entire [1] 42:6 entirely [2] 35:21 107:25 entitled [13] 12:15,18 13: 12,16 **14**:15 **15**:7,19,21 **27**: 11 32:20 90:10 95:21 97:3 entitlement [4] 9:11 95:17 99:20 104:5 entitles [1] 106:10 error [4] 4:19 83:8.10.14 ESQ [4] 3:3.6.9.13 **ESQUIRE** [1] 2:2 essentially [8] 15:3 18:4 32:22 34:13.18 58:8 69:11 102:20 established [1] 79:21 ET [8] 1:3,7 71:4,11 81:8 99: 2 102:17 17 even [33] 18:15 19:13,25 20:1,5,19 21:8,12,14 22:1, 5 **28**:15 **30**:23,25 **35**:5 **40**: 25 46:17 47:6 48:6 67:22 **68**:7 **75**:3 **78**:1 **80**:4 **85**:9, 19 92:4 96:1 101:1 103:23 104:1 106:13 24 event [1] 18:6 everybody [1] 54:15 everyone [2] 54:13 75:3 evidence [20] 9:13 23:3 31: 10,14 33:20 38:10,19,19, 20 39:1 40:22 71:7 74:23 **76:8 80:21,21 84:12 88:9** 93:23 98:25 ex [6] 33:22 38:21 39:4 40: 23 41.1 71.5 exactly [6] 14:20 16:16 45: 12 59:4 101:8 106:17 example [9] 23:22 32:17 **62**:14.23 **82**:16 **87**:13 **105**:

diversity [1] 57:25

16 107:1.21

except [2] 79:15 83:7

Excuse [2] 100:6 104:6 exercise [1] 9:7 exist [4] 48:16 79:23 88:21, existed [2] 17:25 101:11 existing [1] 51:21 exists [2] 59:21 100:18 expanded [1] 80:3 expect [3] 23:11 39:23 75: 24 expedite [4] 8:7 9:8.15 66: 20 expedited [1] 31:9 expense [1] 109:19 experience [2] 6:7 70:11 experiment [1] 48:4 explain [2] 26:23 86:20 explained [4] 5:5 6:3 15:1 **48**:19 explains [1] 49:9 explanations [1] 44:4 explicit [1] 73:1 explore [1] 10:23 extending [1] 64:18 extensively [1] 99:17 extent [2] 53:1 70:24 extraordinary [1] 9:3 extremely [1] 90:24 F

facie [1] 100:13 fact [16] 10:19 14:17 19:13 **25**:17 **31**:19 **45**:24 **58**:14 67:25 68:4 80:17 83:7 98: 20 99:1,17 107:16 109:9 fact-bound [1] 58:6 fact-sensitive [3] 84:17.20 85:16 facto [1] 15:22 factor [3] 81:13 86:21 93:8 factors [18] 5:20 9:20 10:3 32:23 44:25 45:16 59:3.4 **71**:19 **72**:4,19,25 **73**:3 **81**: 16 84:12,13,21 86:9 facts [15] 10:22 29:18 30: 16,16,17,22 39:9 41:13 43: 16,17 85:3 94:17 96:15 **107**:14 **108**:8 factual [1] 16:24 failing [1] 37:23 fair [1] 67:5 fairer [1] 100:19 fairly [4] 29:21 63:24 64:1. fairness [1] 78:25 far [7] 19:14 28:24 51:7,9 **64**:24 **66**:5 **109**:4 fashion [1] 87:7 fast [2] 55:14,17 faster [5] 52:21 69:25 73: 12 100:23 101:3 fault [1] 30:6 favor [1] 80:10

federal [20] 32:12,15,18,19 **37**:3 **47**:4,13 **50**:5 **57**:14 **58:**10,12 **65:**23 **73:**17 **78:** 16 **90**:7 **94**:9 **99**:11 **105**:9 106:58 feels [1] 102:9 few [11] 13:19 16:20 23:19 25 **24**:2 4 **40**:17 **48**:22 **57**: 16 **84**:23 **91**:17 Fifth [1] 84:1 figure [4] 55:5 83:16 105: 10 **106**:6 figuring [1] 24:22 file [1] 99:10 filed [5] 7:14 29:13 31:7 94: 6 99:10 filing [4] 29:16 31:1 48:9 49:10 final [37] 5:7 12:3,8,17,21 **13**:15 **18**:20.21 **20**:6.7 **27**: 19 28:12 36:21 55:14 17 64:6 65:22 66:2 67:23 68: 11 69:12 75:11.18 76:16 77:19 78:2.22 79:9 83:6 90:11 94:3 97:22 98:11.12 **101:**22 **104:**25 **105:**13 finally [3] 54:3 86:24 91:3 financial [1] 14:4 find [3] 39:11 71:1,1 finding [1] 103:17 fine [2] 55:3 67:11 finish [1] 83:15 first [23] 17:5 12 19 20 19:9 21:7 23:17 34:20 37:16 42: 11 **48**:13 **55**:13 **61**:6 **70**:6 77:18 81:7.12.13 93:7 94: 8 104:21 106:23 108:4 fit [3] 58:23 91:5 106:20 five [2] 8:2 107:21 flexibility [7] 41:5 46:13 47: 24 48:10 106:8 107:7,12 flexible [2] 39:5 85:5 focus [5] 10:16,17 11:16 **59**:20 **63**:22 focused [2] 72:5 99:17 following [1] 54:10 forcing [2] 14:14 60:5 foreclose [1] 44:10 forever [1] 49:17 forfeit [1] 15:8 forfeited [1] 48:14 forfeiture [85] 4:13,21 6:17 **7**:17 **12**:3,8 **14**:5 **15**:22 **16**: 6,10 **17**:6 **18**:23 **21**:3 **29**:4 **32**:10,12,13,15 **33**:3 **35**:6, 10,13 36:21 38:17 41:17 48:21,25 49:4,7,22,24 52:8, 13.18.22.25 53:2.15.17.19. 20 54:14.17 55:8 56:25 57: 7 9 20 25 **60**:15 **61**:11 **67**:4 **68**:18 **69**:17.19 **73**:19 **75**: 11,23 79:9,17 82:19 85:18 87:2.3.6 90:12.20 91:20

features [2] 42:12 43:9

92:15 93:1 94:4.6.11 96:9 97:22,25 98:12 99:9,9 100: 14 **101**:23 **107**:11 **108**:10, 20 109:6 forfeitures [3] 80:1,3 95:8 forgiveness [1] 34:18 former [1] 26:4 forth [1] 108:1 forward [7] 7:6 15:18 40: 13 75:2 7 76:25 86:3 found [2] 90:8 103:9 founders [1] 49:24 founding [2] 49:7 90:18 founding-era [1] 93:25 Fourth [3] 79:10,10 80:10 framework [1] 97:19 framing [1] 57:1 friend [5] 58:7 69:11 71:22 73:13 84:17 friends [2] 70:22 74:22 front [8] 62:21 66:3 13 69:5 **73**:10 **77**:3 **81**:11 15 front-line [1] 91:4 Fuentes [1] 109:17 full [1] 69:19 fully [1] 97:9 functions [1] 67:12 fund [1] 95:8 fundamental 3 5:22 57: 15 **78**:25 fundamentally [1] 34:12 funding [1] 29:5 further [4] 34:6 42:18 79:3 101:16 future [2] 73:18 85:1

G

gain [1] 69:15

gap [2] 92:23 93:2

gave [1] 30:18 GENERAL [9] 1:7 2:4.6 27: 14 32:7 33:1 67:13 75:19 81:19 General's [1] 47:17 generally [4] 6:4 23:19 49: 25 87:2 generous [2] 13:6 27:6 Gerstein [11] 20:23 21:8 23:21 24:1 27:20 28:1,4 55:25 80:20 105:15.16 gets [3] 21:4 35:5 41:25 getting [5] 21:20 25:14 27: 18 28:7 86:24 give [14] 10:25 13:5,24 14: 9 20:17 25:20,21 32:5,18 36:16 43:11 53:11 84:4 95: given [10] 11:16 41:19 45:4 **52**:10 **67**:3 **71**:13 **87**:9 **91**: 9 94:14 101:2 gives [4] 15:20 17:16 36:1 48:17 giving [1] 54:19 goods [1] 70:13

30:5,12,23,25 31:11,13,24 **32**:2 **41**:15 **46**:20 **61**:24 **62**: 1,9,14 63:3,15 64:2,8,10, 19 **65**:1,4,8,13,17,20 **66**:23 **67**:1,10 **81**:2,3 **87**:18 **94**: 12,23 96:14 101:18 Gorsuch's [1] 86:24 qot [6] 8:10 15:5 55:3 62: 15 63:1 68:25 gotcha [1] 15:5 gotten [4] 8:14,22 13:9 31: govern [1] 51:6 governed [2] 92:4,5 government [57] 10:20,21 **12**:16 **13**:4,7,23 **14**:1,3,8 **15**:7 **22**:25 **25**:19,24 **33**:14, 19,24 **34**:15 **38**:25 **40**:15, 17 **47**:4,13 **53**:10 **54**:19 **57**: 14 58:12 60:5 66:24 69:14, 18 **70**:25 **71**:4 **72**:5 **75**:12 82:17 83:17 86:19 19 90:7 **91:**3.6.11 **93:**9.11.14.15.18 94:9 95:11 97:4 102:1.10. 13 **105**:10 **106**:5 **109**:7.8 government's [14] 34:21, 23 35:1,3 38:15,18,24 39:6 60:9 73:5 82:12 83:2 94: 24 104:8 governmental [4] 4:17 5: 24 7:11 73:6 grant [1] 9:15 granted [3] 30:3,6 31:21 granting [1] 100:21 great [1] 73:7 greater [1] 21:20 grossly [1] 64:22 ground [1] 77:2 group [1] 70:16 guarantee [5] 5:23 8:5 31: 6 **46**:15 **100**:22 quard [1] 4:18 guess [12] 13:10 14:11 24: 20 25:15 26:11 28:25 54:9 **60:**15 **73:**2 **86:**13.15 **98:**17 quidance [4] 46:1 84:5 105:11 21 auided [1] 16:25 guns [3] 73:20 74:3,15 н HALIMA [1] 1:3

GORSUCH [38] 28:17.20

Hand [1] 80:13 handing [1] 58:10 handled [1] 47:13 hands [2] 43:10 93:19 happen [9] 24:8,13,13 40:6 **52**:14 **56**:3 **86**:12 **87**:7 **98**: happened [3] 76:16 87:7 108:2 happening [4] 29:9 52:11

63:10 75:8

happens [5] 12:23 24:16 **37**:13 **38**:6 **64**:20 hard [2] 19:22 87:17 hardship [9] 32:21,22 48:7 72:14 73:8 81:8 97:5,6 106:12 harm [1] 95:14 head's [1] 28:25 headed [1] 41:14 hear [2] 4:3 30:6 heard [10] 29:2 57:21 58:7 60:17 62:5 77:18.24 78:21. 23 105:6 hearing [132] 5:9 6:5,24 7: 1,3,7,10 **10:**1,13,18 **11:**1 **12**:2,8,14 **13**:20,25 **14**:10 **16**:7,11 **17**:7 **19**:4,7 **20**:2, 24 23:7 25:6 27:2 28:1 30: 20,21 **32**:1 **33**:4,12,23 **34**: 19 36:22 37:10,24 38:2,5,8 40:12 41:4 44:22 45:16 47: 3 48:1.6.7 52:14.19 53:20 **54**:17 20 22 **55**:3 9 **56**:5 **57**:10.12 **58**:25 **60**:21 **62**: 15.19 64:6 65:22 66:2.21 67:21 68:12 69:12,23 70:8, 12 71:6 74:9,17 75:6,11,13, 15,18,23 76:1,16 77:19 78: 2,22 79:10 82:11 83:6,7,25 **84**:3 **85**:2 **87**:6 **88**:17 **90**: 12,16,19,20 91:8,14 93:13, 16,17 94:2,4,7 95:18,21 96: 7.11.23 97:3.5.17.21.23 98: 12 **99**:15.20 **101**:6.23 **102**: 3 104:6,7 106:13 109:3,11, 14 18 hearings [15] 5:12 6:9.16 **11**:17 **24**:7 **32**:8 **38**:4 **44**: 18 **46**:12 **70**:24 **80**:20 **90**: 23 97:15 98:21 109:12 held [6] 14:21 22:14 61:13 77:18 82:2 94:3 help [4] 54:10 65:14,14,14 helpful [1] 90:6 hidden [1] 82:21 high [2] 69:17 71:15 highlights [2] 47:9 76:5 historical [4] 48:21 50:18 **75**:21 **76**:25 historically [1] 47:2 history [26] 47:2 48:12,12 **50**:3,21,25 **51**:3,6,6 **57**:2, 19 59:24 74:12 76:2 79:11, 12 80:2,9,17,18 82:6 90:17, 24 93:21,23 109:5 hoe [1] 19:22 hold [4] 18:15 42:17,23 90: holding [5] 17:11 19:11,15 **75**:17 **93**:19 holdinas [1] 103:20 home [2] 71:2.8

fear [1] 41:14

honest [1] 29:11

Honor [28] 59:2.22 60:18

61:13 **62:**8 **63:**2.14 **64:**13. 23 65:12,19 66:20 67:8 69: 3 **71:**21 **72:**7,15,20 **74:**11, 20 80:8 81:10,14 82:14 84: 16 87:12 88:24 89:16 hope [2] 42:17 64:3 hours [4] 23:7 27:21,24 28: Hurtado [1] 50:17 hypo [1] 54:10 hypothetical [4] 27:22 30: 18 60:16 88:1

Hypothetically [3] 9:1 28:

14 **56:**3

idea [4] 39:18 40:14 62:10 82:6 identified [2] 29:24 91:12 ignore [1] 103:22 ignored [1] 58:16 ignoring [1] 33:6 II [1] 64:17 IJ [1] 49:8 ill [1] 58:23 imagine [1] 59:4 immediate [2] 32:20 106: immediately [2] 74:9 75: impaired [1] 29:15 important [5] 63:7 68:15 **70**:15 **99**:16 **101**:1

inappropriate [1] 92:6 incentive [3] 14:4 41:23 100:16 incentives [2] 41:19 68:20

imposes [1] 109:18

incident [1] 22:5 including [3] 4:21 33:7 39:

inconsistent [1] 50:6 increase [1] 83:9 incumbent [1] 66:21

Indeed [1] 6:6 independent [2] 77:9 78:

indicated [2] 90:9 96:17 indictment [2] 27:23 107:

individual [8] 13:1 45:14 73:8 80:23 82:13 83:18 88: 6 91:23

individual's [1] 60:4 individualized [1] 46:4 individuals [1] 108:12 inevitably [1] 102:12 Ingram [2] 24:6 30:18 inherently [1] 46:2 initial [1] 41:7

initiating [1] 94:10 innocence [3] 5:10 22:8

innocent [55] 6:6 12:5.7 15:

8,17 **19**:4,5,9,12 **20**:3 **21**: 25 22:3,12 29:17 31:2 35: 22,25 **36**:1,11,12,20,25 **38**: 7 **39:**16 **40:**2,12 **42:**2 **46:**8 **48**:15,15 **70**:16 **71**:7,9,16, 17 74:19 75:2,3,9 77:6 78: 12,21 80:5 83:12,13 87:22 88:10 98:24 99:18 100:11 101:4.5.6 105:13 107:23 inquiry [1] 32:22 instance [1] 108:4 instead [1] 58:9 Institute [4] 49:9 77:1 80: 14.16

instituted [2] 57:8 60:6 insufficient [1] 7:8 interest [25] 16:9 17:12,16, 25 18:3,14,16 28:3,7,11 35: 2.4 60:11 61:14 69:18,20 **73**:6 **76**:3.11 **77**:9.13.16 **78**:6 **83**:18 **104**:24 interested [2] 37:7,8 interesting [1] 100:15 interests [35] 4:18 5:24 7: 10,11 28:5 33:7,11 38:15, 24 39:6 60:9,10 71:20 72: 5,8 73:5 75:14 77:4 80:4 81:8 82:12,13,17 83:2 86: 19 91:12 93:10,12,14 97:4, 6 105:24 107:1 109:8,8 interim [16] 5:8 13:14 16:4 20:9 28:16 47:3 55:1 68: 13 90:16 91:8 94:1 95:17 96:6.11.23 97:21 interpreted [1] 23:19

interrupt [3] 24:3 37:21 94: intervening [2] 35:14,16 investigation [3] 12:22 40: 19 **41**:2

investigations [1] 58:2 invoke [1] 58:9 involve [5] 30:16 58:1 70: 18.21 **87:**21

involved [5] 70:20,25 74: 14.15.16 involving [3] 74:2,6 80:5

irregularity [1] 92:1 isn't [9] 6:13 12:9 27:12 42: 10 **50**:21 **54**:6 **61**:20 **93**:18 100:16

isolated [2] 11:6 79:16 issue [22] 10:19 11:18,19 20:9,14 21:14 28:8 43:7,8, 9 52:8 59:18 79:7 89:15, 16 **90**:14 **92**:13 **94**:21 **100**: 10.12 101:24 103:24 issues [6] 32:14 41:20 21

44:17 62:25 96:8 it'll [3] 50:13 87:17 109:2 itself [5] 33:9 43:7 76:16 **86**:8 **109**:13

JACKSON [44] 24:17.19 **25:**3,7,13 **26:**16,20,24 **43:** 24 **51**:13,14,24 **53**:12 **54**:2 **56**:8,11,15,17 **60**:12,23 **61**: 2,5,17 **78**:4 **84**:10,11,20 **85**: 8,22 86:6,23 87:15 89:7,9, 18,21 **98**:17 **101**:19,20 **102**: 23 103:10,13 104:8,13 iob [2] 99:1 108:16 JR [3] 2:4 3:6 56:21

judge [22] 8:7 33:16 38:22 **40**:22 **41**:1.3 **50**:14 **51**:1 **59**:5 **60**:7 **62**:22 **65**:23 **66**: 4.13.16 73:10.11 79:23 80: 13 81:11,15 87:13

judges [15] **58:**5,5,8,8 **73:** 17 **77:**2 **85:**1,6,6 **86:**7,8 105:7788

judging [1] 88:22 judgment [20] 7:15,23,25 **8:**4,7 **9:**9 **10:**9,22 **11:**5,7, 15 **29**:14.16 **31**:2.7.21 **71**: 24 94:16 107:18 108:3

iudicial [1] 52:7 iurisdiction [1] 6:1 jurisdictions [5] 29:4 42:8

44:16 45:5 46:7 jurisprudence [1] 20:16

jurisprudentially [1] 105: Justice [275] 2:7 4:3,9 6:12

18,22 **7**:13,21 **8**:9,18,20,25 9:12.16 10:7.8.12.16 11:2. 4,9,10,12,13,14,22,23,25 **12**:12.24 **13**:1.4.17 **14**:11 **15**:25 **16**:2 **17**:2 **18**:7.10. 24 19:1.3.16.19.22 20:19. 21 21:6 22:9,11,16 23:1,6, 16,21,25 24:2,17,18,19 25: 3,7,13,14 26:16,20,22,24 27:1 28:17,20 30:5,12,23, 25 **31:**11,13,24 **32:**2,3,11, 25 34:2,4,6,7 35:1,8,18 36: 4,5,5,6,14,19 37:6,20 39:7 40:5 41:9,11,11,13,15 42: 22,25 43:2,5,20,23,24,24 44:7.9.15.23 45:3.7.9.9.10. 22 46:19.19.21.22 47:20 **48:**19 **49:**2.9.14.16 **50:**2.4. 9,10,11,12 **51:**8,11,12,12, 14,24 **52**:1 **53**:12 **54**:2 **56**: 8,11,15,17,18,23 58:21 59: 14,16 **60**:12,23 **61**:2,5,17, 24 62:1,9,14 63:3,11,15,20,

92:14.19.22 **94**:12.23 **95**:2 **96**:4,14,19,22,25 **97**:14 **98**: 17,18 **100**:1,4,7,15 **101**:12, 14,15,16,17,18,19,20 **102**: 23 103:10,13 104:8,13,14, 20 109:25

iustified [1] 75:14 justify [2] 60:3 75:15

Κ

KAGAN [18] 11:10,13,25 **12**:12.24 **13**:1.4.17 **14**:11 **26:**22 **27:**1 **45:**9.10.22 **67:** 13 76:12 81:1 101:17 Kagan's [1] 25:14 Kaley [1] 82:16 kangaroo [6] 62:21 63:10 **64**:7,20 **66**:4 **87**:16 KAVANAUGH [24] 11:9 15: 25 **16:**2 **17:**2 **18:**7,10 **19:**3, 22 **46**:21,22 **47**:20 **49**:14, 16 50:2,4,12 81:5,6,12,17 82:4 83:15 84:6 96:4 keep [18] 13:8 14:5,6 15:21 34:16 36:13 39:3 41:20 42: 16 **49**:16.17 **55**:1.6 **65**:12 98:18 99:16 101:1 108:16 keepina [2] 71:13.16 keeps [2] 10:14 11:6 kev [2] 13:19 86:21 kicking [1] 95:24 kicks [1] 106:24 kind [16] 12:1 18:16 19:21 **25**:21 **26**:2,19 **47**:3 **48**:6 **50**:22 **54**:7 **60**:14 **68**:5,11, 20 88:19 103:15 kinds [4] 65:10 68:19 76: 13 14 knows [2] 88:3 102:1 Krimstock [4] 24:7 44:16

46:11 96:2

LaCOUR [64] 2:4 3:6 56:20. 21.23 59:1.15.22 60:18 61: 1.4.12.21.25 **62:**8.13 **63:**2. 14 64:4,9,13,23 65:2,7,11, 16,19,21 66:24 67:8,11 69: 3 71:21 72:1,6,15,20 73:9, 16,24 74:5,10,20 75:24 76: 21 78:10 79:25 80:8 81:10, 14,23 82:14 83:21 84:7,16, 22 **85**:15,25 **86**:17 **87**:12 88:24 89:8.14.19 land [1] 82:9 language [9] 16:5 17:3 19: 23 52:16 53:1,16 76:22,23 102:25 large [1] 39:11 largely [2] 79:15 91:6 last [3] 37:21 49:21 103:22 Lastly [2] 109:7,16

later [7] 13:20 14:1 16:10

29:14 **40**:1,24 **71**:18

latter [2] 79:24 103:5 Laughter [3] 30:8,11 49:19 law [33] 15:19,20 17:15 20: 14 **21**:22 **22**:21 **37**:3 **41**:14 48:13,17 49:4,11,22 66:8 **68:**20 **76:**6 **78:**16 **79:**7,8, 20 80:7 92:6 95:7 99:21, 21 100:5,8,10 101:5,11 102:5 17 108:10 laws [3] 5:21 6:2 48:21 lawvers' [1] 50:24 lav [1] 90:7 layer [1] 92:11 lays [1] 79:11 lead [7] 10:22 33:13 51:20

84:14 102:5,12 107:9 least [2] 82:25 109:2 leave [3] 42:7 50:7 95:1

leaving [2] 42:9 48:10 led [1] 41:24 left [1] 47:12 Legal [1] 38:3

legislatures [2] 5:25 58:10 legitimacy [1] 41:21 length [2] 5:7 72:7 Leonard [1] 48:20 less [3] 69:22,25 72:9

letting [1] 86:7 level [7] 27:14 45:23 46:1,5, 9 97:56

liberty [4] 76:3,10,11 80:18 lies [1] 52:22 likely [6] 12:20.25 13:2.3 36:16 45:20

limited [4] 48:22.22 68:11 96:14 line [2] 24:10 42:20

lines [1] 34:25 listen [1] 50:16 literally [1] 68:3 litigant [1] 7:5 litigants [2] 5:9 66:12 litigation [3] 24:16 55:18 107:20

little [5] 49:1 51:25 81:23 86:18 98:15 livelihood [1] 107:3 long [18] 9:14 15:11 42:16

50:13 **58:**4 **59:**6.7 **67:**2.18. 22 75:14 86:22 88:17 89: 17 **93**:16 **98**:4 **99**:8 **107**:18 Long-windedly [1] 64:2

longer [1] 64:18 look [19] 19:23 22:21 27:13 **29**:10 **47**:1 **55**:16 **59**:5.24 68:23 77:22 82:15 83:6 84:

25 **93**:1.4 **94**:24 **98**:1 **100**: 22 105:22 looked [4] 44:17 59:25 82:

16 103:25 lookina [3] 26:10.15 86:21 looks [4] 38:2 44:25 46:3 108:9

lose [2] 12:17 69:16

25 **64**:2,8,10,19 **65**:1,4,8,

13,17,20,25 66:23 67:1,10,

13 **68**:14 **70**:5 **71**:25 **72**:3,

12,17,24 73:14,22 74:1,7,

13 **75**:19 **76**:4,12,12 **78**:4

79:1,3,4,5,6,14 **80**:1 **81**:1,

1.2.3.4.4.6.12.17 82:4 83:

15 84:6.8.8.10.11.20 85:8.

22 86:6.23.24 87:15.18.21

loses [3] 13:24 14:9 82:3 losing [2] 63:23 108:15 lost [3] 13:7 99:1 108:13 lot [9] 18:2 20:10 68:16 74: 5 80:9,9,11 83:6 84:5 lots [3] 47:5,7 85:19 lower [7] 23:18 25:8 105:3. 8 106:4 108:3 109:24

M

made [10] 22:2 25:18 48:8, 24 60:14 63:16 77:9 79:14 87:11 100:13 magistrate [1] 76:6 majority [1] 71:14 manner [1] 88:2 many [3] 24:25 70:18.23 MARSHALL [2] 1:6 4:5 massive [1] 72:13 material [1] 97:10 materially [1] 81:20 Mathews [71] 4:12,14,15 5: 3,6,13,17,20,20 **6**:13,20 **7**: 2,4,9 **9:**20 **10:**3 **19:**18 **24:** 22 26:6 31:16.19 32:23 33: 13 42:14.23 44:12.17.25 45:13.15.17.21.25 46:6.13. 18 47:22 50:16.20 51:2.15. 20 58:9.22 66:9 72:25 73: 1,13 **81**:18 **82**:3,8,9 **83**:22 **84:**15,21,23 **85:**10,11,23, 25 **86**:16 **97**:9 **102**:15 **104**: 2 106:2,2 107:6 108:5 109: 10,12,23 matter [10] 1:14 9:18 15:19 31:21 56:4 77:21 85:3 102: 20 104:10.11 mean [31] 11:25 12:3.16.17 **16**:4 **19**:20 **20**:22 **24**:3.4. 20 27:8.15 28:4.23 29:8 **50**:4 **51**:16 **56**:6 **62**:2 **67**: 13.14 76:13 78:12 79:21. 22 82:14 84:12 87:1 95:6 96:25 103:10 meaningful [5] 57:21,22 60:22 78:1 105:12 means [2] 72:22 99:19 meant [1] 14:20 Meanwhile [1] 54:21 measure [1] 59:3 measured [2] 8:14 24:14 measures [1] 33:25 mechanisms [1] 29:5 medical [1] 108:15 meeting [1] 16:11 meets [1] 92:15 mention [1] 23:9 mentioned [2] 69:8 74:14 mercy [1] 34:17 mere [1] 57:13 merely [1] 83:13 merit [1] 84:19 merits [4] 9:11 13:20 55:15. meth [1] 39:11 methamphetamine [1] 82: method [1] 88:14 methodological [9] 5:19 **9**:24 **16**:21 **19**:15,17,20 **30**: 19 37:18 46:23 Methodologically [3] 16: 22 **19**:25 **51**:1 methodology [2] 25:4 104:

Michigan [1] 22:15 micromanage [2] 5:25 106:17 middle [1] 41:2 might [23] 10:19,20,21 29: 21 33:13 35:1,3 39:1,8 40: 25,25 44:12,20 56:4 64:11 66:7,9 83:1 92:8 95:4 106: 8 **107**:5 **109**:11 mind [3] 65:12 99:16 101:1 minds [1] 22:6 mini-trial [4] 57:12 69:24 **75**:25 **80**:17 minimum [1] 39:22

misreading [1] 53:5 missed [1] 108:15 misused [4] 29:19 70:3 82: 21 83:1 modern [1] 79:24

moments [1] 84:23 Monday [1] 1:12 money [4] 16:13 74:3,4,15 Montgomery [1] 2:4 months [18] 8:2.15 15:23

24:15 **29**:14 **41**:24 **49**:12 **54**:14.18.22.23 **55**:3.4.5 **71**: 18 **72**:14 **107**:22 **109**:2

moot [1] 56:4 mooted [1] 28:2 moreover [1] 9:9

morning [2] 4:4 23:9 most [7] 12:20,25 13:2,3 70:15 93:13 94:17

motion [9] 7:14 29:16 31:2 7 21 94:16 97:2 99:11 12 motions [1] 9:15

movable [2] 82:20 85:17 move [4] 49:8 60:8 66:20 73:11

moved [3] 31:12 71:23 107:

17 moving [1] 98:1 Ms [27] 60:20 82:2 89:24 90: 4 91:16,22 92:18,21 93:3

94:20 95:15 96:12,20,24 97:13,18 99:5 100:2,6,9,24 **102**:18 **103**:4,12,18 **104**:12

much [13] 12:7 14:19 16:5 36:17 42:15 52:16 59:17 70:6 76:16 96:14 100:19 **102**:25 **109**:14

multiple [1] 59:2

municipal [1] 50:24 must [2] 23:2 109:9

name [1] 75:1

narrow [5] 4:11 52:17 94: 21 95:13 109:5 narrower [1] 102:25 national [1] 47:25 nationwide [1] 46:10 nature [2] 53:19 98:21 nearly [1] 90:22 necessarily [2] 51:16 92:3 necessary [8] 24:25 33:2 37:15 40:21 52:25 82:11 106:5 107:3 need [20] 5:8.18 20:1 25:25 27:25 31:23 35:13 41:2 44: 5 **66**:17,18 **74**:21,22 **78**:23

80:13 94:13 96:9 105:3 106:17 107:5 needed [2] 35:7 36:2 needs [9] 10:21,23 24:11, 12,13 44:6 72:21 105:22,

Neumann [35] 5:1.6.10 15: 6 **17**:9.10.22 **18**:20 **19**:24 20:8.11 21:15 26:5 28:9 34:8 35:11.19 42:5 44:7 52:2 54:1 57:6 61:3.7 65: 22 77:8 78:14 80:25 90:9 102:21,25 103:4,22 104:21

Neumann's [2] 16:8 61:22 never [2] 29:8 86:13 new [21] 17:16 24:7 38:4,5 40:6 48:17 58:11 70:10 76: 13.14 80:5 82:10 89:2.6 **100:**5.8.10.22.24 **101:**2.5 next [2] 62:19 73:18 NICOLE [3] 2:6 3:9 90:1 non-responsive [1] 107:

none [2] 43:6,9 normal [1] 94:2 nothing [3] 87:23 88:18 93:

notice [2] 104:6,7 noticing [1] 57:16 noting [1] 69:10 notion [1] 54:5 Number [2] 54:17.21

numerous [1] 6:6

obligation [1] 9:4 obtaining [1] 69:19 obviously [2] 63:18 88:8 occur [2] 23:7 61:11 October [1] 1:12 odds [2] 82:24,25 offer [1] 6:4 offering [1] 25:25 Office [3] 88:25 108:25,25 officers [2] 68:21 100:17 often [4] 9:14 41:24 91:13 109:20 oftentimes [1] 74:25 Okay [14] 31:24 41:22 49: 14 **51**:8,24 **62**:12,18 **63**:3, 15 **81**:17 **82**:8 **85**:8 **89**:18 105:21 older [1] 74:5 once [4] 94:2.6 100:16 101:

one [33] 13:22 14:24 25:7. 18.21 27:5 28:6 29:16 30: 2,25 31:1,3,8 33:5 39:9 44: 12 45:24 46:4 47:21 55:13, 16 **57**:16 **59**:23 **62**:3 **69**:24 70:15 71:24 73:16 74:2 99: 16 **100**:20 **101**:21 **102**:15 onerous [1] 90:24 ones [3] 33:11 70:21 105:

ongoing [2] 97:25 99:8 Only [20] 5:13 15:2 19:14 27:1 36:21 40:23 49:20.21 **53**:2.19 **57**:23 **61**:10 **69**:23

90:10.20 97:21 100:12 101:22 107:8 108:22 open [3] 42:7 68:9 95:1 opening [2] 38:9 96:16 operates [1] 45:17 operating [1] 68:20

82:16 95:13 opportunity [6] 14:2 32:5 40:20 54:24 57:21 109:21 opposed [5] 41:20 53:18 **59**:20 **77**:19 **102**:13

opinion [5] 17:11,23 18:20

opposing [2] 71:5 79:14 option [1] 52:12 oral [8] 1:15 3:2,5,8 4:7 16: 15 56:21 90:1

order [6] 15:11 33:18,25 63: 18 **78**:24 **105**:12 ordinarily [1] 24:16

ordinary [2] 107:20 109:21 Osborne [1] 89:1 other [29] 7:11 14:4 26:7 33:5 46:23 53:20.22 54:11 **55**:16 **60**:10,14,15 **63**:9 **68**: 17 **69**:11 **71**:3 **74**:3.16 **79**:

16 83:12,19 86:12,13 88: 23 95:12,25 96:7,8 107:4 others [3] 45:4 58:1,3

otherwise [3] 33:25 35:4 66:1

ought [1] 68:9 out [35] 19:23 20:22 21:2 24:22 29:9 42:17 43:18.21 **49**:2 **55**:5 **62**:17.22 **63**:12 **71**:1.1 **74**:2 **75**:10 **76**:13 79:11 80:11 82:1 83:16.16 85:10 90:7 96:1.10 98:20 100:13,16 103:3,15 105:10

106:6 **108**:8

outlier [1] 47:7 outside [1] 95:12 outweigh [1] 109:22 outweighs [1] 83:19 over [10] 5:6,17 13:9 45:25 47:12 58:17 71:15 75:16 82:23 87:14 overarching [2] 21:10 47:

overriding [1] 42:11 overwhelmingly [1] 5:17 own [3] 22:6 57:19 87:23 owner [61] 6:6 10:25 12:5, 7 **15**:9,17 **19**:5,6,9,12 **20**:3 21:25 22:3,12,18,23 23:2, 13 29:17 31:2 35:5,22 36: 1,11,12,20 37:1,15 38:8 39: 12,14,16,17,24,24 40:2,12, 13 **42**:1,2 **46**:8 **48**:15,16 **52**:11 **71**:7,9 **75**:3,4,9 **78**: 12 83:13 88:10.12 98:24 99:18 100:12 101:4.5.6 105:13 107:23 owners [11] 32:16 35:24 **46**:7 **70**:16 **71**:16.17 **74**:19 **80**:5 **83**:12 **87**:22 **108**:11

owns [3] 10:10 22:7 55:5 Р

ownership [6] 10:20 29:18

75:7,8 **77**:6 **78**:21

p.m [2] 29:6 62:16 PAGE [3] 3:2 97:12 100:2 pages [1] 16:10 panoply [1] 21:21 paper [1] 48:9 pardon [2] 18:5 34:14 parents [1] 70:19 Parker [1] 14:22 part [13] 17:8.10.20.22 37: 25 **52**:18 **53**:15 **77**:11 **83**: 21 100:4.7 103:5 109:9 parte [6] 33:22 38:21 39:4 40:23 41:1 71:5 particular [17] 24:12 26:1 30:22 32:24 33:17 46:4 48: 1,2,2 81:19 91:6 93:6,6 95: 22 98:7 102:6 105:4 particularly [1] 21:24 parties [1] 77:3 partner [1] 39:14 party [1] 72:8 passed [1] 93:25 pay [4] 69:21 70:3 108:17, paying [1] 108:18 Pearson [3] 91:12 93:12 104:4 penalty [1] 40:1 pendency [3] 15:23 38:16

55:20

105:13

pending [3] 10:25 11:7

people [14] 23:24 27:9 40:

11 43:11 67:21 70:12.16. 17 **74**:14,15,15,18,19 **87**: percent [1] 71:15 percolation [1] 105:19 perfectly [1] 106:14 perhaps [3] 31:22 41:1 48: period [9] 23:12 32:9 39:15 48:2 55:1 7 68:13 96:7 98: perjure [1] 40:11 perjury [2] 40:1,6 permanent [1] 62:17 permanently [1] 61:18 person [10] 22:8 23:14 39: 12,13 70:24 71:2 88:3,7,12 89:10 personal [1] 90:11 persons [2] 21:21 91:2 perspective [1] 16:23 petition [7] 34:8,12,14 77: 10 **78**:14,16 **103**:8 Petitioner [5] 59:17 78:7 94:15 97:2 99:17 Petitioners [15] 1:4 2:3 3: 4,14 **4:**8 **57:**11 **58:**15.17 **59:**12 **90:**23 **95:**20 **98:**8 101:3 9 104:18 Petitioners' [7] 37:23 73:3 **75**:20 **76**:18 **84**:22 **91**:5 **94**: petitions [1] 95:25 phone [3] 108:17,18,19 phrase [1] 105:6 picked [1] 102:10 piece [1] 107:4 piracy [1] 48:23 pirate [4] 73:21 74:6,7 79: pirates [1] 108:11 place [4] 17:12 44:4 71:3 **74**:18 placed [1] 92:7 Plaintiff [3] 54:16,21 87:5 plaintiffs [2] 86:25 107:17 play [1] 99:18 pleaded [1] 108:23 please [4] 4:10 11:13 56: 24 90:5 point [23] 5:20 13:5 20:22 21:7 22:7 36:24 37:3 41:6 43:3 48:11 49:21 50:18 52: 17 53:7 54:23 67:15 68:15 74:2,11 82:5,15 86:25 108: pointed [3] 49:2 63:12 76: 13 pointing [1] 19:23 points [5] 21:2,5 47:20 64: 4 86:15 police [8] 22:2.4 23:12 37: 14 39:10 41:19 100:17 108:23

policy [3] 47:1,11 83:20 poor [1] 106:20 posed [1] 16:17 position [3] 51:15 91:4 108·19 possibility [3] 8:6 42:7 95: post [1] 10:17 post-seizure [8] 6:5 10:13 17:7 57:3.10.12 79:8 90: posted [1] 69:8 potential [2] 21:16 44:11 potentially [6] 33:16 38:20 44:21 46:14 48:8 70:2 practicable [1] 37:14 practical [2] 9:18 23:11 practice [1] 50:18 pre [1] 104:6 pre-2022 [1] 22:22 pre-forfeiture [1] 104:5 pre-seizure [1] 93:13 precedent [5] 46:24 51:2 **57:**2.19 **82:**5 precedents [1] 28:22 precise [4] 46:11 51:5 68:1 precursor [2] 33:5 80:19 predictable [3] 83:23 84: 13 86:11 prefer [2] 4:23 85:5 preferred [1] 96:13 prejudice [3] 32:9 40:24 59.9 prejudiced [2] 77:14,17 premise [2] 13:23 34:15 premises [1] 80:12 present [1] 94:18 presented [10] 4:11 5:16, 19 20:12 25:4 28:24 38:10 76:6 102:19 104:22 presents [2] 29:25 32:13 preservation [2] 33:8,15 preserve [1] 33:25 press [1] 58:3 pressed [1] 78:13 presumably [2] 92:23 94: 17 presume [1] 88:5 presuming [1] 11:17 pretrial [2] 90:25 91:1 pretty [5] 12:7 52:6 67:16 71:1 103:16 prevailed [1] 90:21 prima [1] 100:13 primarily [1] 32:7 primary [1] 4:25 principal [1] 32:17 principles [1] 67:6 prior [2] 102:16 109:18 private [5] 4:17 5:23 7:10 72:8 106:25

probable [17] 12:14 20:25

22:1.8 27:20 28:3 34:21.

22 **38**:13 **41**:21 **42**:1 **56**:1. 4,5 **60**:2 **69**:1 **105**:18 probably [6] 8:16 13:5 39: 2 **51**:6 **72**:1 **89**:15 problem [9] 8:11,12,20 29: 23,25 **75**:5 **83**:11,11,22 problems [4] 68:24,25 69: 14 96:10 procedural [9] 14:1 24:23 **25**:10 **37**:1 **48**:18 **61**:10 **89**: 2.8 91:25 procedure [8] 25:20 36:18 **51:**3.17 **58:**11 **62:**11 **86:**3 104.7 procedures [10] 8:22 9:23 **25**:24 **32**:10 **33**:2 **62**:6 **68**: 5 76:15 87:3.8 proceed [1] 8:22 proceeded [2] 98:4 101:10 proceeding [22] 16:6,11 **17**:6 **18**:3.17 **35**:7.10.17.20. 21 **52**:25 **54**:14 **57**:7 9 20 **74:**18 **92:**15 **93:**16.17 **94:**6 98:11 107:11 proceedings [19] 4:14 7: 17 **14**:5 **15**:12,24 **35**:10 **38**: 17,21 48:25 49:8 91:20,25 92:11 96:9 97:25 99:7,9, 10 108:21 proceeds [1] 14:6 process [124] 4:13,15,20, 24 5:22 6:2 7:6,12,16 8:5, 12 **9**:6 **10**:5 **16**:8.12.17 **17**: 8.12.14.16.24 **18:**3.13.16 **19:**3.11 **20:**15.18 **21:**2.3.16 **24**:23 **25**:11.17 **27**:8.9 **28**: 23 29:25 31:18.19 35:14 36:2.16 38:8 39:5 41:6 42: 6,9,12,13,18 43:6,7,8,9,11, 25 **44**:11,13,21 **46**:15,17, 17,25 49:6 51:21,22 52:19, 22 53:4,8 54:16 57:3,10 58:17,18 61:10 62:2,25 63: 7 66:11 67:6 68:6 69:6 73: 15 78:18,19 79:9,17,21,21 83:4 86:14 87:20 88:22 89: 3.13 90:10.25 91:19.24 92: 2.8.16 **95:**3.12 **96:**6.8.11. 20 97:14 98:9 100:23 101: 2.3 **103**:6 **105**:5.12 **106**:3. 22 107:13,16 108:7 109:1 process's [1] 27:9 processes [4] 63:17 67:3 89:5 100:25 prohibiting [1] 33:18 project [1] 73:18 projections [1] 84:24 prompt [7] 6:4 23:10,17 55: 25 **75**:17 **105**:17 **107**:17 prompter [1] 109:14 promptly [10] 8:13 24:14 **57**:8 **58**:5 **60**:7.8 **77**:1.1 **80**: 16 16

proof [6] 22:18,22,24 88:14 92:7 97:7 proper [2] 58:6 75:8 property [53] 7:15,22 8:10, 14,23 **15**:8 **16**:3,8 **21**:20 23:24 28:11 32:21 33:8,15, 19,20,24 34:16 35:2,5 38: 14,16 **41**:20,25 **42**:16 **48**: 14 **53**:11 **55**:19 **57**:4 **63**:18 **70:**1 **74:**25 **75:**10 **76:**9.10. 14 **80**:4 **82**:20 **83**:14 **85**:16. 17.19.20 **87:**23 **90:**11.19 91:1 93:15.20 94:2 95:10 106:11 107:4 prosecution [2] 40:4,24 prosecutions [1] 40:6 protect [5] 5:21 16:8 37:2 39:6 105:13 protected [2] 17:24 60:4 protecting [1] 80:23 protection [3] 21:21 23:24 43:12 protections [8] 20:18 21: 22 36:2.17 37:1 48:18 49: 5 89:3 protective [1] 32:16 prove [5] 12:13 23:2,12 62: 23 88:15 proved [1] 12:18 provide [7] 9:5 37:23 40: 23 46:1 60:17 105:11 107: provided [6] 7:6 39:25 69: 7 79:8 83:5 105:20 provides [6] 16:7 17:7 48: 12 **57**:9 **107**:7 **109**:14 providing [1] 40:3 proving [2] 9:10 88:3 proximity [1] **76:**17 public [2] 83:11 91:11 purely [2] 82:7,8 purportedly [2] 75:2 83:13 purpose [2] 10:8,12 purposes [2] 54:16 77:11 pursuant [1] 62:7 pursuing [2] 13:8 14:5 pushing [1] 59:8 put [4] 29:11 62:2 74:25 78: puts [1] 100:18 putting [3] 63:24,25 74:4 Q

QP [1] 104:11 quantity [1] 39:11 question [69] 4:11 5:2,14, 16,19 6:14,19 9:24 10:10 11:5,6 12:11 13:18 14:21 15:3 16:16,21 19:20,24 20: 1,12,22 23:22 24:25 25:3, 14 26:17 27:3,14 28:24 30: 4,15,19 31:16 37:8,8,19,25 41:16 42:3,12,24 43:25 46: 16,17,23 47:1,11 49:3,12

16,17

receive [1] 54:17

receives [1] 54:21

received [3] 58:17 64:6 78:

receiving [3] 60:21 71:17

50:12 **51**:5 **54**:6 **60**:19 **67**: 15,16 68:1 79:19 87:18 88: 20 89:13,20 91:23 92:24 **95**:1 **102**:8,19 **104**:22 **106**: questions [11] 6:11 12:6 14:25 27:4.16 29:2 37:2 **58:**20 **81:**21 **91:**15.17 quick [3] 62:15,18 69:1 quicker [1] 80:2 quickly [16] 25:19 27:19 31: 12 **49**:8 **52**:12.14 **62**:4 **63**: 1 **64**:20 **67**:24 **71**:1 **73**:11 **75**:9 **81**:11.15 **98**:13 quite [4] 32:16 48:21 91:17 100:15 quote [1] 109:16 quoted [3] 17:6,19 52:16 R

raise [2] 6:5 99:7 raised [3] 21:17 32:6 79:14 raises [1] 68:14 raising [3] 12:4 77:16 78:7 rare [1] 80:3 rarely [3] 9:8.13 74:16 rather [9] 5:8 8:15 20:23 **24**:14.15 **28**:22 **52**:13 **75**: 17 109:21 reach [3] 28:12 44:5 64:15 react [1] 60:16 reaction [1] 54:11 read [4] 45:12 53:22 103:2, reading [1] 51:2 real [2] 28:18 68:24 Realistically [1] 9:8 realize [1] 36:3 really [22] 13:11.13 18:1.15 47:9 52:22 55:11 59:24 60: 19 64:20 69:1.23 81:19 83: 5 84:4 86:2 93:10.22 98:7. 14 102:25 104:10 reason [6] 4:16 6:22 27:1 29:20 64:16 69:24 reasonable [3] 8:23 39:20 reasonably [6] 6:4 17:13 23:10,17 24:13 67:5 reasons [3] 79:13 100:20 REAVES [27] 2:6 3:9 89:24 90:1.4 91:16.22 92:18.21 93:3 94:20 95:15 96:12.20. 24 97:13,18 99:5 100:2,6,9, 24 102:18 103:4,12,18 104: REBUTTAL [3] 3:12 104:

prong [1] 106:23

91:24 recently [1] 24:6 recognize [3] 37:12,17 105:24 recognized [4] 60:2 74:24 105:17 109:5 record [3] 9:17,19 69:4 referred [2] 11:9 16:20 referring [1] 17:20 reflects [1] 70:11 regardless [2] 43:16 48:14 regime [3] 32:10,13,15 regular [1] 95:12 related [2] 60:14 96:8 relationship [2] 71:2,11 relative [1] 53:3 relatively [1] 66:19 release [2] 32:20 106:11 released [2] 70:1 74:8 relevant [2] 33:21 53:25 reliance [1] 21:8 relief [1] 9:3 relies [1] 98:24 rem [1] 48:24 remains [2] 54:6 68:9 remand [4] 9:22 25:8 31: 18 109:24 remedy [2] 107:8,8 remission [22] 18:3 34:9, 13,14 35:14,20,20 36:18 **52:**2,13,14,18 **53:**4,14,18 **75:**25 **76:**1 **77:**10 **78:**14,16 103:7.8 removed [3] 64:24 66:6 109:4 repeated [1] 16:9 repeatedly [2] 41:18 82:18 repetitive [2] 33:4,5 reply [1] 98:11 request [3] 34:13 38:7 90: requests [3] 8:3 107:22,25 require [8] 33:6 39:20 46: 11 **50**:13 **90**:25 **95**:9 **97**:10, required [21] 6:24 7:1,3 10: 1 **16**:7 **20**:20 **22**:12 **30**:20. 21 44:18 45:4 17 47:3 48: 1 **51**:17.23 **52**:19 **57**:10.12 90:21 91:9 requirement [4] 6:15 94:1, 7 **95**:19 requirements [2] 17:17 92: requires [4] 8:6 17:8 37:10 41:7 requiring [5] 32:8 33:17 64:15 92:11 99:14 resemblance [1] 49:1 resisted [1] 100:21 respect [10] 10:19 16:13 **17:**5.18 **21:**18 **26:**1 **48:**11 **61**:11 **106**:19 **107**:14 respond [6] 8:2 32:6 47:15

75:20 101:7 107:22 Respondents [9] 1:8 2:5, 9 3:7,11 4:23 5:4 56:22 90: Respondents' [2] 4:25 6:8 response [1] 47:20 Restore [2] 79:10 80:10 result [4] 86:14 108:14.17 109:11 results [1] 84:14 retain [5] 33:24 34:23 35: 24 63:18 93:15 retaining [4] 28:11 35:2 38: 14.16 retention [42] 5:12 6:9 12: 2,8,14 13:20,24 14:10 19:7 20:2 23:6 27:2 32:8 33:12 34:9,19 35:16 37:10,24 38: 2 41:24 44:18,19,22 45:16 60:3 67:21 68:12 69:23 70: 8.12 74:9,17 76:1 83:5,25 84:3 92:20.24 97:17 99:15 109:11 retrospective [1] 46:3 return [1] 80:14 returned [2] 41:25 101:9 revolution [1] 50:1 rights [9] 15:20 20:17 37: 23 52:23 53:9 56:7 57:15 **58:**3 **59:**8 rigid [1] 24:10 rise [5] 17:16 20:17 36:1,16 48.17 risk [2] 83:8 10 risks [1] 4:18 Riverside [2] 76:4 105:20 road [2] 63:22 95:24 ROBERTS [24] 4:3 9:12 32: 3.25 34:2.4 36:5 41:11 45: 9 46:19 50:9 51:12 56:18 79:1 81:1,4 84:8 89:22 92: 14,19,22 101:12 104:14 109:25 robust [3] 21:2 79:11.17 robustness [1] 62:12 room [2] 48:3.10 routinely [1] 31:21 row [1] 19:22 rule [19] 14:13.16.17.18 27: 5,6,7,12 **46**:10 **47**:22,25 **49**: 10 90:18 94:2 96:10,13,14 99:11 12 rules [5] 45:18,19,20 58:11 86:2 ruling [1] 94:25

S

rushed [1] 83:8

rushing [1] 75:6

sake [1] 27:9 Sam [3] 62:17,17 64:15 same [24] 12:1,7,11 13:12, 18 14:20 27:15 30:22 36: 17 60:19 61:14 75:13 77:

15 **78**:3.13.20 **81**:20.20.21 82:1 85:10,20 104:4 107:5 satisfies [1] 16:12 satisfy [2] 44:21 46:14 save [1] 96:2 saw [1] 26:5 saying [18] 7:2 11:18 13:14 **15**:18 **18**:14 **42**:15 **44**:24 **50**:5 **55**:4 **61**:9 **71**:6.23 **80**: 13 85:9.23 89:11 96:10 98: says [11] 7:6 14:13 37:22 **39:**1 **61:**6 **82:**6 **87:**5,21 **88:** 5 97:2 103:14 scale [1] 24:14 Scalia's [1] 76:4 scenario [4] 26:7 54:12 64: 25 66:5 scheme [5] 31:23 32:14,18, 19 106:16 Second [11] 5:4 6:3 14:25 **17**:18 22 **34**:24 **38**:15 **48**: 11 19 83:23 86:1 section [4] 17:10 103:10. 13.22 Security [1] 66:9 see [10] 35:15 54:9 66:23 67:1 69:6 72:25 77:12 81: 23 84:18 96:22 seeing [1] 73:4 seek [1] 70:8 seeking [1] 5:11 seeks [2] 101:5.6 seem [7] 6:23 16:14 50:6 **58:**23 **60:**12.13 **65:**9 seemingly [1] 16:23 seems [8] 28:20 35:9 50: 22 52:6 59:16.19 73:3 97: seen [1] 75:25 sees [1] 90:7 seize [3] 41:19 75:13 98:9 seized [6] 32:20 57:4 90:11, 20 94:3 106:11 seizing [1] 22:4 seizure [15] 22:3 23:8 41: 22 54:15.18 57:13 58:16 **60**:3 **75**:14 16 **76**:17 **77**:20 20 78:24 94:10

several [1] 105:18 shadow [1] 62:24 SHAY [5] 2:2 3:3,13 4:7 104:17 she's [7] 12:18,18 13:9 55: 2.4 71:6.9 shifted [1] 76:15 ships [5] 73:21 74:6,7 79: 15 108:11 short [3] 23:12 35:10 39:15 shouldn't [4] 43:15 55:19 **65**:25 **69**:2 show [8] 21:8 31:18 32:21 **57:**2.19 **85:**3 **106:**12 **108:**9 shows [1] 88:9 side [6] 7:11 46:23 53:23 **54**:11 **63**:9 **69**:11 significance [1] 93:1 significant [4] 72:10 82:17 92:12.17 similar [8] 34:9 39:9 50:11 **67**:16 **76**:8 **77**:8 **79**:12 **106**: similarities [1] 68:8 Similarly [1] 66:2 simple [2] 58:1 66:19 simplistic [1] 26:11 simply [4] 14:9 21:8 25:4 53:7 since [3] 17:1 57:1 88:7 single [1] 75:23 sitting [2] 87:13 93:18 situated [1] 66:17 situation [13] 8:16 15:14 26:13 27:23.25 28:2 38:23 **39:**3.21 **51:**17 **56:**2 **88:**23 89:12 six [7] 54:14,22,23 55:3,4,5 109:2 Sixth [7] 5:5 6:3 14:25 24:5 50:15 86:1 95:25 slate [2] 66:11 82:7 Slocum [3] 57:6 59:25 80: 12 slow [1] 54:19 slowly [2] 25:19 98:1 Social [1] 66:8 Society [1] 38:3 Solicitor [6] 2:4.6 32:7 33: 1 47:17 81:18 solved [2] 68:25 92:10 somebody [3] 9:2 15:18 **95**:9 somebody's [1] 107:2 somehow [4] 21:20 78:11 85:11 99:19 someone [10] 29:8 64:15 **66**:18 **71**:10 **75**:1,1,6 **82**: 23 92:7 97:24 someone's [1] 93:19 sometimes [2] 95:9 98:12 somewhat [2] 33:4 50:6

somewhere [1] 76:1

son [1] 88:8

soon [1] 37:13 sooner [3] 27:3,12 72:2 sorry [8] 11:12,13 15:6 18: 9 24:3 70:5 78:4 94:12 sort [15] 22:1 26:10 33:12 **39**:8 **41**:7 **45**:20 **49**:12 **67**: 4 91:23.25 94:1 95:21 99: 6 106:16 109:13 sorts [3] 33:2 59:4 80:4 **SOTOMAYOR** [51] **10:**7 12 16 **11**:3.4.12.14.22.24 **41**: 12.13 42:22.25 43:2.5.20. 23 44:8,9,15,23 45:3,7 63: 11,25 **68**:14 **70**:5 **71**:25 **72**: 3,12,17,24 73:14,22 74:1,7, 13 **79**:5,6 **80**:1 **87**:21 **96**: 19,22,25 **97**:14 **98**:18 **100**: 1,4,7,15 101:16 Sotomayor's [1] 63:20 sound [1] 89:14 sounds [1] 80:15 Southern [2] 82:1 84:1 speaking [1] 76:22 species [1] 25:17 specific [2] 48:22 86:18 speed [7] 18:21 20:7 59:3 **66**:17 **69**:15 **76**:22 **88**:18 speedy [5] 27:18 55:23 58: 22 60:11 63:4 spin [1] 103:15 spot [1] 88:1 **spouse** [1] **39:1**3 spouses [1] 70:22 squared [1] 57:18 stake [1] 5:24 stakes [1] 69:16 standard [8] 4:16 9:10 12: 15 **13**:7 **14**:1 **23**:18,20 **39**: started [1] 41:15 starters [1] 106:23 state [34] 5:15,25 8:1,1 15: 19,20,22 20:13 21:2,19 22: 17 29:22 31:18 36:3,12,19 **37**:4 **39**:19,20,23 **58**:15 **63**: 19 66:3 87:25 88:2 4 89:4 99:24 100:13 101:6,10 107:20 21 23 state's [3] 44:24 51:21 94: 14 state-by-state [1] 45:20 statement [1] 16:23 statements [2] 16:25 17:3 **STATES** [26] **1**:1,16 **2**:8 **3**: 10 **6:**7 **14:**4 **20:**16 **42:**8,15 44:20 46:2,12,13 47:4,8,12, 24 **48**:3 **57**:14 **58**:11 **68**:18 90:2 95:7 105:9 106:5 109: states' [2] 47:8,18 statistic [1] 71:14 stature [1] 35:12 statute [2] 52:8 106:9

seizures [1] 79:16

sentences [1] 68:1

separately [1] 55:8

serious [1] 69:13

18 59:12 98:2.20

settled [1] 75:22

Seventh [1] 83:24

23 61:7

sense [7] 5:2 18:2 20:21

46:6 **48**:24 **59**:10 **109**:5

sentence [6] 17:5,13,18,20,

separate [10] 27:20 28:2,5,

10 43:7 56:7,9 77:13,16

set [7] 26:1 27:4 43:12 45:

statutes [1] 50:5

stay [1] 69:4 steps [2] 52:24 53:21 **STEVEN** [1] **1:**6 still [6] 27:15 28:25 35:6 48: 3 72:13 76:22 stopped [1] 39:10 stored [1] 71:3 strange [1] 28:21 strangely [1] 102:10 strike [1] 58:5 striking [1] 57:24 strip [2] 65:9 105:3 strong [3] 69:18,19 83:3 strongly [1] 91:13 stuck [1] 29:1 stuff [2] 63:10 75:15 subject [3] 40:3 48:23 68: submitted [2] 110:2,4 **substantial** [3] **32**:21.22 106:12 substantive [10] 12:11 13: 18 17:15 18:23 20:13 17 **35**:24 **36**:25 **53**:9 **62**:10 substantively [1] 91:18 substitute [1] 48:7 sufficiency [1] 4:13 sufficiency-of-process sufficient [4] 10:24 51:22 64:7 106:15 suggest [1] 89:1 suggested [3] 73:13 94:5 98.6 suggesting [1] 60:13 suggestion [2] 26:12 76: suggests [4] 13:10 63:9 66:1 81:19 summary [18] 7:15,23,25 8: 4,7 **9**:9 **10**:9 **11**:4,15 **29**:13, 16 **31**:2,7,20 **71**:23 **94**:16 107:17 108:2 superfast [1] 28:1 support [2] 33:2 90:17 supporting [3] 2:8 3:11 90: suppose [6] 12:24 27:22 39:17 82:4.5.7 supposed [1] 82:12 **SUPREME** [3] 1:1,15 5:15 surprised [1] 51:25 survival [1] 98:25 sustain [1] 35:12 Sutton's [2] 107:21 108:14 sympathetic [2] 29:23 67: system [9] 41:17 87:25 88: 2,14 99:11,12 100:18,19, system's [2] 100:25 101:2 table [1] 29:11

talked [1] 93:11 talks [1] 109:7 **TARIFFA** [1] **1:**3 task [1] 72:23 teed [1] 60:20 teenage [1] 70:19 teeth [2] 72:22 73:1 tells [2] 46:18 80:24 temporarily [2] 61:15,19 temporary [2] 61:22 104: 24 tend [1] 68:21 terms [8] 9:19 24:22 38:1 52:23 88:15 89:5 102:16 106:7 test [32] 6:20 7:4 10:4 15: 15 16:12 21:10 25:5,15 26: 18 29:3 44:17 56:14 57:23 **59**:11 **65**:25 **66**:10 **76**:24. 25 85:5 86:8,10 88:11,22, 23 89:11 97:9 101:24 102: 8 11 14 15 106:3 testifies [2] 39:17 40:13 testimony [2] 39:25 40:3 tests [4] 11:19 56:9 81:24 102:4 Texas [1] 48:20 Thapar [1] 50:14 Thapar's [1] 51:2 theme [1] 47:16 themselves [3] 40:11 87:3 **95**:9 theory [1] 12:20 there's [45] 6:15 8:7 12:16 **13**:25 **14**:18 18 **15**:16 **19**: 12 **20**:2 **21**:21 **27**:25 **28**:6 10 31:9.9.13 39:16 41:5 **42**:11,18 **49**:3 **62**:9 **64**:4,5 **71**:8 **76**:8 **78**:11.22 **80**:12 82:25 89:2 91:16 92:6.23 95:17 96:6,10,18 97:20 98: 14,25 99:18,19 104:5 109: therefore [5] 10:17 15:13 **52**:20 **58**:19 **83**:8 they've [2] 13:7 89:17 thinks [1] 102:1 third [1] 17:22 THOMAS [25] 6:12.18.22 7: 13,21 8:9,18,20,25 10:8 34: 6.7 **35**:8.18 **36**:4 **48**:19 **49**: 2 52:1 58:21 59:14,16 79: 3 91:16 95:3 101:14 though [6] 18:8 24:20 35:9 **62:11 68:7 85:9** thousand [1] 73:19 three [4] 69:12 72:4,14 94: 10 throughout [1] 41:18 throwing [1] 43:10 tied [2] 19:4 70:13 timeline [1] 44:4

timeliness [3] 57:23 92:16

99:14

timely [12] 28:7 57:20 87:7 90:11,20 91:21 97:22 98: 19,19,23 101:22 103:7 timing [30] 21:15 25:16 26: 5,14,17 **27:**3,4,5,6,7,12,14 **43**:8 **54**:3,6,7 **55**:11 **59**:17, 20 60:15 61:3 63:6,22 73: 4,4 **89:**15,19 **95:**4 **98:**8,14 title [2] 63:5 74:25 today [7] 26:9 47:6 48:25 **58**:7 **77**:1 **80**:24 **105**:6 took [5] 8:2 44:4 88:17 105: 18 **107**:21 tool [2] 38:23 56:25 tools [2] 65:9 105:3 totally [2] 65:2 67:24 toward [1] 68:21 tracking [1] 32:23 tracks [1] 26:17 tradition [3] 75:23 90:17 93:22 traditional [3] 10:4 67:6 97:11 traditionally [2] 26:7 67:4 traffic [1] 82:24 transcript [1] 16:16 trap [1] 65:18 tremendous [1] 89:4 trial [13] 27:18.24 28:2.15 **55**:24 **56**:3 **58**:22 **60**:3 **63**: 5 **77**:25 **85**:1.6.6 true [7] 30:12 31:3 53:12 **77**:15 **78**:3.20 **97**:24 trust [3] 58:8 65:23 105:8 try [2] 73:18 82:18 trying [1] 15:4 Tuesday [1] 29:7 turn [1] 82:22 turning [1] 75:15 turns [2] 62:17,22 two [23] 11:19 16:9 24:6,8, 11 **28**:21 **47**:19 **53**:15 **55**: 10,13 56:7,9 58:16 66:12, 21 67:17 68:4 69:12 77:19, 20 78:23,23 85:16 type [4] 48:1 61:10 85:20 98:16 types [2] 79:16 85:19 typical [4] 39:8 73:19,24 84:25 typically [1] 77:24

U.S. [1] 109:18 U.S.C. [1] 106:9 ultimate [5] 9:10 10:9 11:7 28:7 89:12 ultimately [6] 15:7 30:21 41:25 67:3 81:20 107:24 uncommon [1] 74:23 under [44] 7:9 8:21 9:4 12: 14 13:6 21:19,22 22:21,23 23:20 27:20 28:4 31:16,19, 22 32:10,19 39:25 40:7 42:

13 43:12 44:17 45:15 46: 13 **52**:8,21 **55**:17 **64**:16 **67**: 22 **82**:3,3 **88**:11 **92**:24,25 93:4,7 94:8,14 98:1 101:4, 10 104:1 106:2,23 underlying [4] 30:16 33:21 38:21 39:2 understand [10] 13:14 19: 2 19 24:24 26:23 29:13 35: 8 **50**:20 **65**:6 **78**:8 understood [6] 17:4.13 25: 2 26:3 29:20 89:7 unfair [6] **63**:17 **64**:21.22 87:20 88:4.15 uniqueness [1] 45:4 UNITED [5] 1:1,16 2:8 3:10 90:2 unlikely [1] 71:9 unnecessary [1] 35:12 unreasonable [1] 4:18 unrelated [1] 71:10 until [10] 54:18 57:16 60:3 67:18 75:17 77:24 78:2 79: 17 **94:**3 **109:**2 up [17] 13:5,24 14:9 21:14 **43**:10 **45**:18 **46**:13 **60**:20 72:23 73:12 74:22 88:1 94: 9 95:25 98:22 99:14 101:7 upend [1] 90:24 uphold [1] 65:24 useful [1] 66:10 uses [1] 95:8 using [1] 29:4 Utah [1] 106:15

V

vacation [1] 62:18 validity [2] 34:22 38:14 valuable [1] 106:13 value [6] 7:12 9:23 31:17 41:20 107:15 108:6 values [1] 85:21 various [2] 25:17 62:3 Vasquez [1] 60:20 vast [1] 71:13 vehicle [4] 32:16 61:15,18, vehicles [2] 69:9 98:10 verdict [1] 27:24 version [4] 22:22.24 99:21 100:11 versus [7] 4:5 20:8 22:15 24:22 48:20 97:6 99:24 view [14] 20:1 21:19 57:18 85:24 86:13 87:10 88:20 90:8,13 94:25 102:18,24 103:23 104:9 vigorously [1] 58:2 vindicated [2] 59:19 78:22 violated [1] 37:22 violating [1] 57:15 violation [2] 25:11 61:10 vis-à-vis [1] 85:12 Von [35] 5:1.6.9 15:6 16:8

17:9,10,22 18:20 19:24 20: 8,11 21:15 26:5 28:8 35: 19 42:4 44:7 52:1 54:1 57: 6 61:2,7,21 65:22 77:8 78: 13 80:25 90:9 102:21,24 103:4,22 104:21 106:1

W

wait [1] 77:14

waited [1] 15:11

Wallace [1] 99:24 wanted [4] 52:13 94:18 96: wants [3] 16:3 95:10 102: Washington [3] 1:11 2:2.7 wav [31] 6:1 7:2.8 8:1 12:16 **23**:18 **26**:11 **31**:11,14 **36**: 17 37:5 39:24 40:20 41:14 42:23 44:12 47:10 53:21 60:19 62:2 64:7 72:11 77: 14 82:1 84:15 85:10,13,25 91:10 103:2 107:5 Wayne [1] 30:17 wavs [8] 32:15 37:19 44:20 46:14 47:14 59:3 99:13 106:13 wear [1] 43:18 wearing [1] 43:20 week [1] 7:15 weeks [18] 8:15 23:19 24:3, 4,6,9,11,14,25 38:7 40:18 41:3 57:13 58:16 66:21 69: 13 77:19 78:23 weigh [6] 10:24 77:3,4 82: 12 85:6 91:13 weighed [2] 109:9.9 weird [1] 28:24 welcome [5] 6:11 43:18.21 58:20 91:15 whatever [7] 29:3.14 33:4 40:18 42:5 53:21 70:9 whatsoever [2] 42:17 43: whereas [2] 35:21 46:2 Whereupon [1] 110:3 whether [51] 4:20 6:14 7:3 **9**:6,25 **10**:4,24 **11**:15,20 12:6 19:15 20:2 24:22 25: 5.10 30:15.20.21 42:13 43: 25 **44:**13 **45:**13.15.17 **48:** 15 **49**:3.5 **53**:10 **54**:4.25 **58:**24 **59:**5.18.20 **60:**21 **68:** 9 82:10 83:17 86:4.5 91:7. 8 **92:**15 **95:**16 **104:**10,23 105:4 106:3,22 107:12,16 whichever [1] 25:7 who's [4] 14:15 71:10 82:

23 87:13

whole [1] 84:4

wife [1] 71:6

wholly [2] 62:23 64:22

wide-ranging [1] 58:1

whom [2] 70:7,13

will [18] 32:9 33:3,6 38:13 **48:**3 **57:**25 **58:**1,2,3 **69:**15, 16 **70**:3,3,9 **71**:1 **91**:13 **95**: 24 **102:**11 win [1] 71:16 Wingo [1] 57:24 within [16] 23:7,12 24:8 27: 21,24 28:15 38:6 39:15 48: 1 **49**:10 **54**:23 **55**:3 **56**:3 **58:**15 **69:**4 **85:**2 without [6] 16:6 17:7 27: 10 57:9 80:6 99:14 witnesses [1] 38:11 won [3] 7:22,24 8:5 wondering [1] 29:24 word [1] 62:10 work [2] 45:13,21 workable [1] 6:10 worked [1] 38:4 works [2] 106:6,18 world [2] 28:19 68:23 worried [1] 30:1 worry [1] 28:16 write [2] 65:14 95:13 writing [1] 66:10 written [1] 68:2 wrongdoing [1] 40:15

Υ

Yacht [3] 91:12 93:12 104: 4
year [4] 55:24 58:17 98:22
106:24
years [11] 8:15 15:23 24:15
38:4 41:24 47:12 57:17 71: 18 90:22 94:10 105:19
years-long [1] 49:13
York [4] 24:7 38:4,5 40:6
York's [1] 70:11
young [1] 70:19

__

zero [1] 82:25