1	IN THE SUPREME COURT OF THE UNITED STATES
2	x
3	DANIEL GIRMAI NEGUSIE, :
4	Petitioner :
5	v. : No. 07-499
6	MICHAEL B. MUKASEY, :
7	ATTORNEY GENERAL. :
8	x
9	Washington, D.C.
LO	Wednesday, November 5, 2008
L1	
L2	The above-entitled matter came on for oral
L3	argument before the Supreme Court of the United States
L4	at 10:04 a.m.
L5	APPEARANCES:
L6	ANDREW J. PINCUS, ESQ., Washington, D.C.; on behalf of
L7	the Petitioner.
L8	GREGORY G. KATSAS, ESQ., Assistant Attorney General,
L9	Department of Justice, Washington, D.C.; on behalf
20	of the Respondent.
21	
22	
23	
24	
25	

1	CONTENTS	
2	ORAL ARGUMENT OF	PAGE
3	ANDREW J. PINCUS, ESQ.	
4	On behalf of the Petitioner	3
5	GREGORY G. KATSAS, ESQ.	
6	On behalf of the Respondent	26
7	REBUTTAL ARGUMENT OF	
8	ANDREW J. PINCUS, ESQ.	
9	On behalf of the Petitioner	50
10		
11		
12		
13		
14		
15		
16		
17		
18		
19		
20		
21		
22		
23		
24		
25		

1	PROCEEDINGS
2	(10:04 a.m.)
3	CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: We will hear
4	argument first this morning in Case 07-499, Negusie v.
5	Mukasey.
6	Mr. Pincus.
7	ORAL ARGUMENT OF ANDREW J. PINCUS
8	ON BEHALF OF THE PETITIONER
9	MR. PINCUS: Thank you, Mr. Chief Justice,
10	and may it please the Court:
11	A father forced at gunpoint to engage in
12	incest with his daughter because of his religion, race,
13	or political views, and told that he and his daughter
14	will be killed if he refuses, is far outside the class
15	of persons brought to mind by the ordinary meaning of
16	the phrase at issue in this case, which is reprinted on
17	page 1 of our brief, quoting from section (a)(42): "Any
18	person who ordered, incited, assisted, or otherwise
19	participated in the persecution of any person" on
20	account of a prohibited factor.
21	The same is true if of someone who, as
22	part of the religious persecution directed against him,
23	is forced on threat of death to disrupt a prayer meeting
24	and injure his co-religionists. The father and the
25	co-religionists are victims of persecution. They would

- 1 not be described in ordinary parlance as "persecutors."
- 2 And we think that that really under the Government's
- 3 view, the persecutor bar turns solely on what they term
- 4 "objective effect of an individual's acts." But that
- 5 means that the act need not be accompanied by any of the
- 6 indicia of moral offensiveness that the law typically
- 7 requires, even if the individual acted under duress,
- 8 under threat of death, even if the individual did not
- 9 know that his conduct related to persecution, and even
- 10 if the individual.
- 11 JUSTICE KENNEDY: Do we begin with the
- 12 assumption that this is a Chevron deference case? And I
- 13 think Aguirre, INS v. Aguirre, would tell us that it is.
- 14 It was a different statute. Do we begin with that
- 15 assumption?
- MR. PINCUS: Well, I think under Chevron
- 17 that, one, the first question is is there a gap to be
- 18 filled here? The language --
- 19 JUSTICE KENNEDY: Well, do I begin with
- 20 Chevron?
- 21 MR. PINCUS: Well, yes. We think Chevron
- 22 supplies the framework. The first question is, is there
- 23 ambiguity. We would -- we argue that here and our
- 24 principal submission is that there is no ambiguity here
- 25 and that there is therefore no occasion for deference.

- 1 If the Court were to disagree with that --
- 2 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: I take it your
- 3 position is that there's no ambiguity in the way the
- 4 term is used in the statute, as opposed to no ambiguity
- 5 in some abstract sense?
- 6 MR. PINCUS: Yes, our submission,
- 7 Mr. Chief Justice, is that the phrase here, using the
- 8 principle that the Court applied in Watson and looking
- 9 at the phrase and looking at the picture that it brings
- 10 to mind, would never bring to mind the examples that I
- 11 cited as conduct that would be captured by this
- 12 provision.
- 13 JUSTICE SCALIA: Mr. Pincus, could I ask
- 14 about your description of the Government's position as
- 15 saying that it's purely objective and that there's no
- 16 mental factor whatever. Is it clear that the Government
- 17 not only would not take into account coercion, the fact
- 18 that it was done under coercion, but also would not take
- 19 into account the fact that the individual even knew?
- MR. PINCUS: There are cases --
- 21 JUSTICE SCALIA: -- that he was persecuting
- 22 somebody?
- MR. PINCUS: Yes, Your Honor, there are
- 24 cases, some of which that determination has been
- 25 reversed by a court of appeals. But the BIA has taken

- 1 the position that --
- 2 JUSTICE SCALIA: Has the Government taken
- 3 that position here in in this case?
- 4 MR. PINCUS: The -- well, we pointed out
- 5 that that is the position that the BIA has taken and the
- 6 Government has not disavowed it. So I don't know
- 7 whether they're --
- 8 JUSTICE SCALIA: I guess I should ask the
- 9 Government?
- 10 MR. PINCUS: Yes, Your Honor. But there
- 11 certainly have been a number of decisions along that
- 12 line, including one, for example, where an individual
- 13 was told, you know, "Stand here. "
- JUSTICE SCALIA: I could think that that's
- 15 wrong without thinking that you also have to take into
- 16 account whether there was coercion.
- MR. PINCUS: You could, Your Honor, although
- 18 the underlying -- the Government's underlying theory for
- 19 all three of its positions, both that coercion doesn't
- 20 matter, that knowledge doesn't matter, and that
- 21 subjective intent doesn't matter, is its view that these
- words require only objective acts. Once you've
- 23 determined that the words require something more --
- JUSTICE SCALIA: Well, but it's very -- -
- 25 it's very common in -- in criminal statutes to require

- 1 knowledge of the act. Indeed, if the person doesn't
- 2 know what he's doing, you know, he may be insane, but
- 3 he's not a criminal. Whereas, it is not automatically
- 4 clear that the fact that the -- you killed somebody
- 5 because otherwise they'd break your arm would -- would
- 6 be a justification. I mean, it seems to me the two are
- 7 quite separable.
- 8 MR. PINCUS: Well, two responses, Your
- 9 Honor. Certainly in the criminal context, duress is a
- 10 well-recognized defense and this Court has said that in
- 11 Dixon and other cases. But I just want to be clear that
- 12 the knowledge that we are talking about here that the
- 13 Government has disavowed is not knowledge that you
- 14 engaged in an act. They don't -- they don't take the
- 15 position that sleepwalking is -- can be a persecutive
- 16 act. But their view is even if you don't know that your
- 17 act is contributing to persecution -- you're kept in the
- 18 dark by the actual persecutors; they just ask you to do
- 19 something that in fact is contributing to persecution --
- 20 they say that doesn't matter, and that it all rests on
- 21 what we think is their wrong-headed construction of the
- 22 statute.
- I just want to return to --
- JUSTICE ALITO: Your position is that any
- 25 threat of serious injury is sufficient?

- 1 MR. PINCUS: Excuse me? 2 JUSTICE ALITO: Your position is that any 3 threat of serious injury is sufficient? 4 MR. PINCUS: No, Your Honor. I mean, 5 obviously --6 JUSTICE ALITO: But that's what your brief 7 says: "Being forced upon threat of death or serious injury to participate in the persecutory acts of his 8 9 oppressors." 10 MR. PINCUS: Yes, and our position is that 11 that's a logical starting point. There is of course a body of law that's been developed in the criminal 12 13 context about the parameters about the defense of duress 14 and that would be a pretty logical starting point, we 15 think. The Attorney General would have discretion, once 16 the Court corrected the view that the statute doesn't --
- 19 JUSTICE ALITO: If someone said, if you

of Chevron, define what the coercion test is.

- 20 don't -- there are 500 men, women and children in a
- 21 shed; if you don't administer lethal gas to them, we are

that coercion is irrelevant, just to, within the limits

- 22 going to administer 20 lashes, that would be sufficient
- 23 in your view?

17

18

- 24 MR. PINCUS: Well, under some -- under some
- 25 conceptions of this defense, there is a balancing test

- 1 between the threat that is directed against the
- 2 individual and the threat -- and what the injury that he
- 3 is asked to carry out. That could be part of the test.
- 4 JUSTICE ALITO: Well, that's not very
- 5 helpful. How would the balancing be struck? How would
- 6 you strike it there?
- 7 MR. PINCUS: Well, what the courts have said
- 8 in the criminal context is that there are three
- 9 criteria: An immediate threat of death or serious
- 10 bodily injury; a well-grounded fear that it will be
- 11 carried out; and no reasonable opportunity to escape.
- 12 That's the general standard. So in the criminal context
- 13 --
- JUSTICE SCALIA: So you wouldn't balance.
- 15 So, you know, gas these 20,000 people or we will kill
- 16 you?
- 17 MR. PINCUS: It might be appropriate --
- JUSTICE SCALIA: You gas the 20,000 people,
- 19 right, and that's okay?
- MR. PINCUS: Well, some courts have said
- 21 that murder is a different kettle of fish and that there
- 22 is a question unanswered in the Federal system about
- 23 whether or not there is a direct defense for murder.
- 24 The States are divided. The Model Penal Code has said
- 25 yes, there should be. That is one of the issues that

- 1 would be open for the Attorney General to the extent he
- 2 wishes to exercise his discretion to decide.
- What's clear, though, is, we think, the
- 4 rule -- the current construction of the statute is not
- 5 right. There is a body of law out there that is well
- 6 developed in the criminal context that could be a very
- 7 logical starting point.
- 8 JUSTICE GINSBURG: Why shouldn't the
- 9 starting point be what this Court decided in the
- 10 Fedorenko case? The wording of this provision is very
- 11 close to the wording of that statute, much closer than
- 12 the UN covenant that you have referred to.
- MR. PINCUS: Well, Your Honor, two responses
- 14 to that. First of all, the language in Fedorenko, the
- 15 text was very context-specific and it shows that. The
- 16 language that applied there specifically referred to the
- 17 enemy and specifically referred to persecution of
- 18 civilians, making it quite clear that that was a statute
- 19 that was targeted in the specific World War II context,
- 20 which was all that it applied to.
- 21 JUSTICE SOUTER: It was also the distinction
- 22 about the use of the word "voluntary," in which the
- 23 operative language which barred those people didn't have
- 24 "voluntary" in it, and I forget what it was, the next
- 25 textual section it was there, so it was reason to infer

- 1 that voluntary activity was not a criteria for the bar.
- 2 Isn't that right?
- MR. PINCUS: Exactly, Your Honor, and the
- 4 Court said the deliberate omission -- it specifically
- 5 looked at the fact that these sections were adopted at
- 6 the same time, followed on each other immediately, and
- 7 one had "voluntary," and then it said this was a
- 8 deliberate omission and we conclude that that deliberate
- 9 omission provides the basis for interpreting the
- 10 language --
- 11 JUSTICE KENNEDY: Do you take the position
- 12 that the Government is wrong in saying that it's bound
- 13 by Fedorenko and that's the reason perhaps for us to
- 14 send it back?
- 15 MR. PINCUS: Exactly, Your Honor. I was
- 16 going to get to the second part of your Chevron question
- 17 and respond just that. If the Court were to conclude,
- 18 contrary to our submission, that the language here is
- 19 ambiguous and there's a gap to fill, our position is --
- 20 and we think it's quite well borne out by the decisions
- 21 -- that the BIA's decisions here rested on the mistaken
- 22 assumption that Fedorenko bound it in this case.
- JUSTICE KENNEDY: And do we begin with the
- 24 decision in Rodriguez-Majano, the BIA decision --
- MR. PINCUS: Yes.

1	JUSTICE KENNEDY: which cited Fedorenko?
2	MR. PINCUS: Rodriguez-Majano was the first
3	one. The issue was not even raised in that case. It
4	was dicta in the paragraph before citing Fedorenko> In
5	fact, the BIA says: "The service agreed at oral
6	argument that the actions don't constitute participation
7	and persecution." So there really wasn't an issue
8	there. But all that's there is a sentence and a
9	reliance on Fedorenko, seems pretty clear that that
10	decision just mistakenly believed Fedorenko controlled
11	the case.
12	JUSTICE SCALIA: Well, to give the devil his
13	due, it's not just the BIA that took that view, it's
14	every court of appeals that that has looked at this
15	provision has said that Fedorenko is a guide to what it
16	means, right?
17	MR. PINCUS: Yes.
18	JUSTICE SCALIA: So you are faulting the BIA
19	for you are saying it's beyond reasonable
20	interpretation for the BIA to adopt the the
21	resolution of the ambiguity, assuming there is an
22	ambiguity, which comports with every court of appeals to
23	address the matter has said?
24	MR. PINCUS: I think there are there are
25	two different questions here, Justice Scalia. If the

25

- 1 BIA purported to -- if the -- if the BIA said there is a
- 2 gap to fill here, we are going to exercise our expertise
- 3 and discretion and decide that, that would be one
- 4 situation. We think it's quite clear here that the BIA
- 5 believed erroneously that Fedorenko compelled the
- 6 result, that it thought this was a Chevron step one
- 7 case, and it was merely reciting what it believed to be
- 8 the rule and saying that Fedorenko controls. So we
- 9 think --
- 10 JUSTICE SCALIA: Why do you think that's
- 11 clear? What's -- what's the text you rely on?
- MR. PINCUS: The text that we are relying on
- is -- is the actual decision, which just makes a flat
- 14 statement, again in dicta: "The participation or" -- I
- 15 am reading from Rodriguez-Majano.
- 16 JUSTICE SCALIA: Do I have it in front of
- 17 me?
- 18 MR. PINCUS: You don't. It's a decision of
- 19 the BIA.
- JUSTICE SCALIA: Well, gee. I mean, if this
- 21 is central to your case, don't you think I ought to have
- 22 the language in front of me somewhere?
- MR. PINCUS: Well, actually the language is
- 24 on page 27 of our yellow brief.
- JUSTICE SCALIA: Wonderful.

- 1 MR. PINCUS: At the very top of the page.
- 2 So all that there is there is a recitation of the rule
- 3 and a citation to Fedorenko. And our submission is --
- 4 JUSTICE SCALIA: It's a "see" citation,
- 5 right?
- 6 MR. PINCUS: Yes.
- 7 JUSTICE SCALIA: Well, I mean, you know,
- 8 it's just not a flat citation which would say that
- 9 governs. It means this is a relevant case that you
- 10 should look to. And you don't deny that it's relevant.
- 11 You try to distinguish it, but it's certainly something
- 12 you should consider, no?
- MR. PINCUS: Well, Your Honor, it is
- 14 certainly --
- 15 JUSTICE SCALIA: And that's all you have to
- 16 say that they -- they based it on Fedorenko?
- 17 MR. PINCUS: Yes. Well, first of all, as I
- 18 say --
- 19 JUSTICE SCALIA: That's not very much.
- 20 MR. PINCUS: -- the statement in this
- 21 decision is dicta. Here I'm not sure whether they
- 22 consulted the Bluebook before they picked the "see"
- 23 cite, but -- but it -- it seems to me that -- that all
- 24 we have here is a legal rule and a legal rule that
- 25 generally has been perceived to be the rule that -- that

- 1 was announced by Fedorenko, not tied in any way to the
- 2 different statutory language at issue in this case or
- 3 anything else.
- 4 Let me -- let me also turn to the second
- 5 decision that is relied on, which is the decision in
- 6 this case. And there -- and I am looking at -- at page
- 7 6a of the petition. And the BIA says, citing to -- to
- 8 its prior decision in Matter of Fedorenko, it -- it
- 9 recites this rule. Now --
- 10 JUSTICE SCALIA: It's a "see" cite again,
- 11 isn't it?
- 12 MR. PINCUS: It's another "see" cite.
- 13 JUSTICE SCALIA: All right, that's good.
- 14 MR. PINCUS: Which they indicate because
- 15 they are actually directly -- well, anyway.
- 16 The Matter of Fedorenko, that's a case --
- 17 and I apologize. In our brief we said that was the case
- 18 that relied on the DPA. That's actually a case that
- 19 involved the Holtzman Amendment, again not the statute
- 20 at issue in this case, and therefore just sort of
- 21 reflexively taking a rule in a different case and
- 22 applying it to this very different statute without any
- 23 analysis. And not to get into too much of a train of
- 24 BIA logic, but I think it is important.
- The second case cited here, Matter of

- 1 Laipenieks, which is the actually the -- the precedent
- 2 that Matter of Fedorenko relies on, again specifically
- 3 called out the language of Fedorenko and says, as in
- 4 Fedorenko -- and I am quoting from page 464 of that
- 5 decision -- as in Fedorenko, the plain language mandates
- 6 the result.
- 7 So here in -- in all of the BIA analysis,
- 8 there is no analysis in terms of exercising expertise
- 9 and discretion.
- 10 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: I'm sorry. Where --
- 11 the plain language dictates the result, where do I see
- 12 that?
- 13 MR. PINCUS: I apologize. It's in a
- 14 different BIA decision. It's In the Matter of
- 15 Laipenieks decision at page 464.
- 16 JUSTICE SCALIA: You say "Citing Matter of
- 17 Laipenieks"?
- MR. PINCUS: Yes.
- 19 JUSTICE SCALIA: Citing it. It says "citing
- 20 Matter of Laipenieks." Do you know if they cited it
- 21 just flatly or was it a "see" cite?
- MR. PINCUS: That I don't know, Your Honor.
- JUSTICE SCALIA: Do you want to bet?
- MR. PINCUS: I'm betting on "see."
- 25 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: If -- if they say

- 1 that the plain language of the statute dictates a
- 2 particular result, I say -- I suspect that that's a
- 3 concession we are in Chevron step one, rather than two.
- 4 MR. PINCUS: Exactly, Your Honor. And
- 5 that's why in -- my response to Justice Kennedy's
- 6 question is that if the Court were to disagree with us
- 7 and conclude, contrary to our submission that the
- 8 language is ambiguous, then we don't have an exercise of
- 9 agency discretion under step one or step two, because
- 10 all the agency decisions rest on the belief that the
- 11 statutory language forecloses that -- the -- the.
- 12 Exercise of that discretion.
- So in that event we submit the appropriate
- 14 result would be to remand the case, but --
- 15 JUSTICE SCALIA: Mr. Pincus, can you tell
- 16 me: What is the consequence of this? I mean if,
- 17 indeed, your client is -- is denied asylum because --
- 18 because he participated in -- in, under coercion or not,
- 19 discriminatory action against others, what is the
- 20 consequence? He is not sent back to the -- to the
- 21 country that -- that is persecuting him, is he?
- 22 Well, his -- his deportation has been
- 23 deferred under the Convention Against Torture. So he
- 24 has some -- some protection, not the protection, not the
- 25 full protections that he would be entitled to if he were

- 1 found to be a refugee.
- 2 JUSTICE SCALIA: What -- what happens to
- 3 him? Does he -- does he stay here or --
- 4 MR. PINCUS: He gets to stay here --
- 5 JUSTICE SCALIA: Until some other country
- 6 other than the one that will persecute him will receive
- 7 him, is that -- is that it?
- 8 MR. PINCUS: Yes. Or if -- if he were to --
- 9 he gets to stay here as long as sending him back would
- 10 not involve torture. So the protection is narrower than
- 11 the protection that generally would be available in two
- 12 senses:
- 13 First of all, it only applies to torture.
- 14 If you were sent back and you were going to be
- 15 imprisoned for life for your -- for the acts that are
- 16 protected --
- 17 JUSTICE SCALIA: Oh, really?
- 18 MR. PINCUS: -- the CAT would not protect
- 19 you. And CAT also does not protect you against
- 20 non-state actions. So especially in the world today,
- 21 where a lot of the bad things that happen in other
- 22 countries are by rebels and non-state actors, the
- 23 Convention Against Torture would not provide protection
- 24 in that situation. So it's broader protection for a
- 25 broader -- for a somewhat broader group of people.

1	JUSTICE SCALIA: Okay.
2	JUSTICE ALITO: Let me ask you let me ask
3	you about another practical consequence of your
4	provision. I I have seen a lot of these asylum
5	cases, and usually the evidence consists almost entirely
6	of the uncorroborated statement made by the person who
7	is claiming asylum.
8	So in your view the immigration judges are
9	going to have to decide the degree of the threat that
10	the asylum claimant underwent and the consequences of
11	failing to comply with whatever he was directed to do.
12	And they are going to have to do that based solely on
13	the credibility determination made about an
14	uncorroborated witness who's typically testifying
15	through an interpreter and who has all of the mannerisms
16	and aspects of speech of someone who comes from an
17	entirely different culture. That's the consequences of
18	the position that you are advocating?
19	MR. PINCUS: Yes, Your Honor, just just
20	as in the initial question about whether someone has
21	been subject to persecution in the first place, that's
22	that is the process that we have. And immigration
23	judges are quite skilled in getting to the bottom of
24	what's going on.

25

They also have, in addition -- and as relied

- 1 on in this case --
- JUSTICE ALITO: You really think that's
- 3 true? They are quite skilled at getting to the bottom
- 4 of making --
- 5 MR. PINCUS: Well, I think -- I think it is
- 6 their job. I think they also have the country reports
- 7 that the State Department prepares, and they were relied
- 8 on in this case. If -- if, for example, someone were to
- 9 come in and say, I am a victim of coercion, and the
- 10 country report does not provide any indication that that
- is happening in the country, that's obviously a reason
- 12 to look quite skeptically --
- JUDGE SCALIA: Well, if I claim I would be
- 14 subject to persecution in Denmark if I were sent there,
- 15 that might be an easy question. But they typically come
- 16 from a country where there is persecution, and they
- 17 could easily have been subjected to it, or they could
- 18 also just as easily have read about it or heard about it
- 19 in -- along their way here.
- You think that's an easy determination?
- 21 MR. PINCUS: If -- but -- well, but it's
- 22 true of the initial claim of persecution. But if -- if
- 23 the refugee, an asylum applicant, comes and says, I have
- 24 been subject to persecution, and there is no issue of
- 25 coercion in the case, that is -- the concern that you

- 1 have identified arises there. If a case-specific, the
- 2 case-specific decision has to be made, this is an
- 3 additional question that will have to be answered.
- 4 JUSTICE SCALIA: Your unprovable question
- 5 upon unprovable question. I mean, to say that one
- 6 question is really, really hard to figure out is no
- 7 justification for laying on another one.
- 8 MR. PINCUS: And -- and we also think it's
- 9 significant in this respect, that the Secretary of
- 10 Homeland Security has in connection with a different
- 11 disability, the material support disability, said that,
- 12 promulgated an exclusion for -- in some circumstances
- 13 for people who are coerced to provide material support.
- 14 JUSTICE BREYER: I am quite curious why -- I
- 15 am curious, why did you answer Justice Alito's question
- 16 "yes"? I -- I would have thought that if you win this
- 17 case, the Attorney General would still have tremendous
- 18 leeway in deciding where, when, under what
- 19 circumstances, the duress defense applied. Why isn't
- 20 that so?
- 21 MR. PINCUS: That's absolutely right,
- 22 Justice Breyer.
- JUSTICE BREYER: If that's right, then why
- 24 do you not -- why was your answer yes?
- MR. PINCUS: My answer was in the absence of

- 1 action by the Attorney General. But I think you are
- 2 absolutely right that the important thing to point out
- 3 here is, as with the standard itself, the Attorney
- 4 General could in the asylum context decide that in
- 5 certain kinds of situations that this coercion is not
- 6 relevant.
- JUSTICE STEVENS: Mr. Pincus, refresh my
- 8 recollection about something about the Fedorenko case,
- 9 which I should have reread, but I honestly didn't in
- 10 detail. Am I not correct that the point that
- 11 Justice Alito makes was really part of the background of
- 12 the case there was that nobody really believed his
- 13 testimony? It was assumed, for purposes of decision,
- 14 that he was telling the truth, but it was pretty clear
- 15 he was not. Whereas here everybody does assume, for
- 16 purposes of decision, that this man is telling the
- 17 truth?
- 18 MR. PINCUS: Yes, I think that's -- that's
- 19 correct, Justice Stevens. And part of what was going on
- 20 there was the sheer -- two things: The sheer
- 21 administrative burden of millions of refugees and the
- 22 need to process them in some kind of expeditious
- 23 fashion; and the fact that it was known that there was
- 24 sort of an organized effort by people who had been
- 25 participating, especially in the concentration camps, to

- 1 come up with this defense.
- JUSTICE SCALIA: Mr. Pincus, I didn't -- I
- 3 didn't get the bottom line of your exchange with
- 4 Justice Breyer. Is it your position that there -- there
- 5 has to be some -- some coercion defense, but it's up to
- 6 the Attorney General to say what it is? I mean, he
- 7 could say only if he were threatened with death?
- 8 MR. PINCUS: Yes.
- 9 JUSTICE SCALIA: And only if you were
- 10 threatened with torture, not if it was threatened that
- 11 your family would be exterminated? Where do you get
- 12 that discretion in the -- in the statute?
- MR. PINCUS: Well, the Attorney General has
- 14 rulemaking authority in the asylum area, certainly. And
- 15 we think even in -- even with respect --
- 16 JUSTICE SCALIA: Any old coercion defense he
- 17 can do -- make. So long as there is some coercion
- 18 defense, that's all you want. Some coercion defense?
- 19 MR. PINCUS: Well, we think the question now
- 20 before the Court is, is there no coercion defense?
- 21 That's the -- that's the Government's position --
- 22 flatly, totally irrelevant.
- JUSTICE KENNEDY: But why does the Attorney
- 24 General have expertise in -- in that area? I can
- 25 understand why he has expertise when he knows that, from

- 1 experience, that certain defenses are harder to prove
- 2 than others, that certain evidence is harder to obtain
- 3 than other evidence. But does the Attorney General
- 4 really have expertise in determining degrees of duress,
- 5 degrees of culpability? Is that within the Chevron
- 6 framework?
- 7 MR. PINCUS: Well, it -- it seems to
- 8 me it could well -- I mean, obviously, that would be a
- 9 question that would come up, but -- but given that --
- 10 JUSTICE KENNEDY: I don't know why you -- I
- 11 don't know why you concede that.
- MR. PINCUS: Well, I think once there is a
- 13 coercion defense, it would be fleshed out in the
- 14 administrative process.
- 15 JUSTICE SCALIA: You said -- you never get
- 16 past step one of Chevron. You say that this statute is
- 17 clear. You say it's not ambiguous.
- 18 MR. PINCUS: Absolutely. Well, we --
- 19 JUSTICE SCALIA: I think it's pretty
- 20 ambiguous if, you know, there is some old coercion
- 21 defense, but we don't really know what it is.
- MR. PINCUS: Well --
- JUSTICE SCALIA: It seems to me if you are
- 24 going to say step one is clear, there has to be some
- 25 coercion defense that -- you know, of -- of a

- 1 substantial nature that the Attorney General cannot
- 2 fritter away.
- MR. PINCUS: We agree with that, Your Honor,
- 4 and I apologize if I suggested to the contrary.
- 5 JUSTICE GINSBURG: What would be -- what
- 6 would be the minimum. You say the statute is clear. It
- 7 requires some culpability, how would you verbalize what
- 8 is the lowest standard that the Attorney General could
- 9 impose to read statute to infuse in it some element of
- 10 culpability?
- 11 MR. PINCUS: Because the statutory context
- 12 here was to implement our treaty obligations, and the
- 13 treaty obligations refers -- refer to criminal
- 14 conduct -- we think the logical starting point that --
- 15 that you are asking about, Justice Ginsburg, would be
- 16 the criminal law standards, which, as I say, are well
- 17 developed in the Federal system.
- 18 JUSTICE SOUTER: Serious bodily harm?
- MR. PINCUS: Yes, it's a -- it's a
- 20 three-part test: Threat of serious bodily harm; no
- 21 reasonable well-grounded fear that it will be carried
- 22 out; and no reasonable way to avoid it.
- Unless the Court has any further questions,
- 24 I'll reserve the time.
- 25 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Thank you, Mr.

- 1 Pincus.
- 2 Mr. Katsas.
- 3 ORAL ARGUMENT OF GREGORY G. KATSAS
- 4 ON BEHALF OF THE RESPONDENT
- 5 MR. KATSAS: Mr. Chief Justice, and may it
- 6 please the Court:
- 7 In categorical terms, the Immigration and
- 8 Nationality Act provides that persons who assist or
- 9 otherwise participate in persecution may not obtain
- 10 certain immigration benefits.
- 11 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Where you stopped --
- 12 you stopped in the part that interests me, "participated
- in persecution on account of race, religion, nationality
- or membership in a particular group. When these people
- 15 are forced to engage in persecution, it's not because of
- 16 the victim's race or religion; it's because someone's
- 17 got a gun at their head.
- So, you ask them, "Well, why did you do
- 19 that? Why did you, you know, whip that person? They
- 20 will say: Because they were going to kill me. They are
- 21 not going to say, I -- you know, because I was biased
- 22 against his race or religion.
- MR. KATSAS: No, but the -- the "on account
- 24 of phrase, Mr. Chief Justice, modifies the
- 25 "persecution." The persecution in this case was

- 1 directed --
- 2 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Well, how do you
- 3 know that? Why can't it just as easily modify
- 4 "incited," "participated in"? You have persecution.
- 5 Did they participate in the persecution on account of
- 6 race; or did they participate, again, in the persecution
- 7 on account of what the -- what the force exerted against
- 8 them was?
- 9 MR. KATSAS: I think grammatically, the
- 10 immediately preceding noun is "persecution." If the "on
- 11 account of "phrase modified -- modified the assistance,
- 12 Mr. Chief Justice, it seems to me that would prove far
- 13 too much, in that a prison guard who served voluntarily,
- 14 voluntarily in order to get a paycheck, wouldn't be
- 15 within the bar because he would -- he wouldn't be
- 16 assisting on account of --
- 17 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Well, that just
- 18 bring you back to what "assistance" means. If you --
- 19 normal statutory canon, you have got "ordered,"
- 20 "incited," "assisted."
- 21 MR. KATSAS: Right.
- 22 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: "Assistance" can be
- 23 read in the same sense as ordered or incited with terms
- 24 of an active -- I don't know what it is --
- 25 predisposition or desire. Or it can be read in the

- 1 manner you suggested, somebody who's just doing it
- 2 for -- for the paycheck.
- 3 So, if we read it in eiusdem generis terms,
- 4 then I think your response falls short.
- 5 MR. KATSAS: I don't -- I don't think so,
- 6 Mr. Chief Justice, in that the question here -- the
- 7 question here is the availability of a duress defense.
- 8 One can -- one can order persecution under duress just
- 9 as one could assist in persecution under duress.
- 10 Imagine, for instance, the camp commandant
- 11 at Treblinka ordering the slaughter of thousands of
- 12 innocent people. He could say: Well, I'm doing that
- 13 under duress because if I don't, if I don't order
- 14 persecution, someone up my chain of command will kill
- 15 me, which is precisely what's wrong with Petitioner's
- 16 theory here, its -- its unbounded nature.
- 17 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Well, but that
- 18 argument is at one extreme, where if this does apply as
- 19 the way Petitioner suggests we assume the Attorney
- 20 General can exercise his discretion and not afford
- 21 relief. But on the other hand, it could go to some of
- 22 the horrific examples that Mr. Pincus suggested; and in
- 23 those circumstances the Attorney General could exercise
- 24 his discretion to afford relief.
- 25 MR. KATSAS: The Attorney General does not

- 1 have discretion with respect to withholding. And
- 2 remember, the persecutor bar in the asylum statute is
- 3 identical to the persecutor bar in the withholding
- 4 statute.
- 5 But in any event, this Court said in cases
- 6 like Phinpathya the fact that the text goes to an
- 7 eligibility requirement is not a ground for the Court
- 8 reading in limitations that aren't there on the theory
- 9 that the Attorney General can address something case by
- 10 case. That's because immigration is subject to the
- 11 plenary control of Congress, and when Congress writes a
- 12 rule and this Court converts it into a standard, it's
- 13 shifting control over the immigration laws from Congress
- 14 to the Executive and ultimately to the courts.
- 15 It seems to us that reasoning governs here.
- 16 With respect to your question about hard hypotheticals,
- 17 I don't dispute that there are hard, sympathetic --
- 18 sympathetic persecutors on Mr. Pincus' side of the case,
- 19 but keep in mind what is at stake here.
- 20 Persecution is not typically a grassroots
- 21 phenomenon. It's a -- it's a phenomenon typically
- 22 ordered by governments or rebel groups aspiring to be
- 23 governments. It's typically carried out through
- 24 coercion. So if Petitioners are correct, not only the
- 25 prison guard in this case who held a gun to keep people

- 1 out in the sun until they died, not only would he have a
- 2 colorable defense, but so too would every single guard
- 3 at Treblinka.
- 4 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: And so too would, I
- 5 gather, the person who is threatened with harm if he
- 6 doesn't build the prison walls, right? He knows they
- 7 are going to be used to persecute people and hold them
- 8 in. I mean, if -- you know, if you push the extreme
- 9 interpretations they go either way.
- 10 MR. KATSAS: But the point --
- 11 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Does he -- does he
- 12 persecute people on account of race?
- MR. KATSAS: Well --
- 14 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: We have a prison
- 15 here; we are going to hold members of a particular
- 16 racial group here, and we are going to force you to
- 17 build the walls.
- 18 MR. KATSAS: Mr. Chief Justice, you are
- 19 absolutely correct that there will, of course, be hard
- 20 cases about how broadly to draw the circle. But in
- 21 Fedorenko, this Court instructed that the way to deal
- 22 with that problem is not by reading in a -- a
- 23 voluntariness exception into a statute that simply
- 24 doesn't contain it, but rather by --
- JUSTICE KENNEDY: Well, but your position is

- 1 that it is unbounded. If the legislature passes a
- 2 statute requiring specific intent, scienter, concepts of
- 3 personal responsibility, we don't say this is unbounded.
- 4 MR. KATSAS: Of course, Justice Kennedy,
- 5 Congress could pass a statute with whatever --
- 6 JUSTICE KENNEDY: I'm saying in the general
- 7 criminal law. We don't say, oh, this is unbounded.
- 8 This is what courts are for. This is what adjudication
- 9 is for, is to establish and define what duress means,
- 10 what scienter means, what degree of intent is culpable,
- 11 what isn't. It's not unbounded.
- 12 MR. KATSAS: That's true in the context of
- 13 criminal law. But think about why it's true,
- 14 Justice Kennedy. It's true because Congress when it
- 15 passes criminal statutes legislates against a background
- 16 of hundreds of years of common law precedent in the
- 17 criminal area; and this Court has said presumptively
- 18 Congress legislates against that common law background,
- 19 and that is the theory for on some occasions reading
- 20 mens rea requirements and common law defenses like
- 21 duress into criminal statutes.
- 22 JUSTICE BREYER: Why not any statute? I'm
- 23 mean, starting where Justice Kennedy left off, you said
- 24 a hundred years. It's thousands of years. You could go
- 25 back into the history of the human race --

1	MR. KATSAS: Exactly.
2	JUSTICE BREYER: and you will discover,
3	of course, that your word "involuntary" is never
4	something where the action is involuntary that we praise
5	or blame people. Rather, every action where we praise
6	or blame people must be a voluntary action. The classic
7	example is: "The wind blew my arm." Now, you are
8	saying that if this person's arm was blown by the wind,
9	that this statute prevents him having asylum in the
10	United States or having you know, withholding. How
11	could one assume that involuntary actions are covered by
12	this statute are not covered?
13	MR. KATSAS: Justice Breyer, the case
14	JUSTICE BREYER: Are covered.
15	MR. KATSAS: Two points. With respect
16	with respect to involuntary actions, this case this

- 18 JUSTICE BREYER: All right. Then once you
- 19 say that, then let's talk about intentional actions.
- MR. KATSAS: Okay.

case doesn't present that question.

- JUSTICE BREYER: And are you going to have
- 22 intentional actions?

17

- MR. KATSAS: Yes.
- JUSTICE BREYER: Because praise or blame
- 25 typically involves a voluntary action, an intentional

- 1 action, and an action where there is a degree of
- 2 freedom, which is to say that the choice is not too
- 3 skewed. And we see that in the criminal law by a
- 4 reading into statutes that say nothing of the word
- 5 "intentional," and by the use of the duress defense.
- Now what reason do we have for thinking that
- 7 Congress didn't mean these words here in exactly that
- 8 way, which traces back at least to Aristotle?
- 9 MR. KATSAS: Because the thousand-year
- 10 tradition that you correctly identify is a criminal law
- 11 tradition.
- JUSTICE BREYER: Oh, but Aristotle doesn't
- 13 say criminal law. He says praise or blame.
- MR. KATSAS: Justice Breyer, this is a
- 15 statute -- this is a statute that allocates immigration
- 16 benefits. Immigration law is a creature of statute.
- 17 There is no background in common law --
- 18 JUSTICE BREYER: That's absolutely right.
- 19 But do you think Congress intended that this absolute
- 20 bar should apply where the person is in no sense
- 21 blameworthy?
- MR. KATSAS: The question -- with respect to
- 23 intentional conduct, the conduct at issue here,
- 24 Justice Breyer, is knowing and intentional. So there is
- 25 no question about --

1	JUSTICE SOUTER: No, the reasoning here, Mr.
2	Katsas, it seems to me implicates exactly what
3	Justice Breyer brings up. We had a colloquy earlier on
4	on the extent of the reliance by the BIA for its
5	general policy on Fedorenko, and what the does a see
6	cite mean and so on. But in in this particular case,
7	going to page 6a or 7a from which Mr. Pincus was was
8	earlier quoting, if you look on page 7a, the reason that
9	Fedorenko is thought to be appropriate here is, he
LO	that is to say, the Petitioner here has not
L1	demonstrated his conduct is distinguishable from that of
L2	the alien in that case. The conduct of the alien in
L3	that case was identified as relevant by the
L4	voluntary/involuntary distinction. It was so identified
L5	because of the text of the statute, voluntary was used
L6	in one place; it wasn't used in the place where the bar
L7	was set up.
L8	So that it seems to me that by the express
L9	reasoning in this case, this case is governed by a rule
20	that in effect says the distinction between voluntary
21	and involuntary action is not a relevant distinction.
22	So I don't thin k you can get by in this
23	case without confronting just what Justice Breyer says.
24	And I don't see how you can answer his point in this
25	case without admitting that Fedorenko in fact was was

- 1 improvidently relied upon, because it's not good
- 2 authority here.
- 3 MR. KATSAS: I -- I don't know why it --
- 4 with respect to the BIA's reasoning, this decision is a
- 5 straightforward application of 20 years of BIA precedent
- 6 concluding -- consistent with Fedorenko that
- 7 voluntariness is not relevant matter.
- 8 JUSTICE SOUTER: This is not really
- 9 consistency with Fedorenko. This -- in this case the
- 10 BIA is saying that he cannot say that his conduct in
- 11 effect is different from the conduct in Fedorenko. And
- 12 what was relevant about the Fedorenko conduct was it did
- 13 not have to be voluntary conduct.
- So it is bringing -- it seems to me, the
- 15 reasoning in this case is relying upon a rule that says
- 16 that the voluntary/involuntary distinction is not
- 17 significant.
- 18 MR. KATSAS: Right. That was the
- 19 construction -- with the construction --
- 20 JUSTICE SOUTER: Which answers
- 21 Justice Breyer's question.
- MR. KATSAS: But the -- I may be missing
- 23 some of the subtlety of your point. But let me try --
- JUSTICE SOUTER: I doubt it, but go ahead.
- 25 (Laughter.)

- 1 MR. KATSAS: Let me try it this way. The --2 the statutory formulation that we are discussing is the 3 concept of assistance in persecution. Fedorenko in the 4 context of the displaced person's act construes that 5 provision to make involuntariness irrelevant as a matter 6 of law. 7 JUSTICE SOUTER: Right. 8 MR. KATSAS: Many courts of appeals and the BIA repeatedly over the last 20 years have held that the 9 10 reasoning that Fedorenko governs not only the displaced 11 person's act, where it is of course directly
- 13 no fewer than seven, using essentially the identical

controlling, but subsequent statutes, of which there are

- 14 formulation of assistance in persecution: Congress
- 15 carries forward that formulation in a canonical way
- 16 statute after statute.

12

- 17 If you look to legislative history, you will
- 18 see that Congress repeatedly expresses an affirmative
- 19 intent that all of these persecutor bar provisions be
- 20 construed in pari materia and against that backdrop we
- 21 have administrative precedent.
- 22 JUSTICE SOUTER: But one thing that Congress
- 23 has not done and it didn't do it in this Act, is to make
- 24 the express voluntary/involuntary distinction textually
- 25 that the DPA made in Fedorenko. And it seems to me that

- 1 the reasoning set out in this case says this is exactly
- 2 like the Fedorenko situation; that implies that the same
- 3 rule in Fedorenko should apply. If the same rule
- 4 applies, presumably it should be on the basis of a
- 5 statute which is identical on the -- on the textual
- 6 voluntariness point to the statute in Fedorenko. This
- 7 one -- this one is not.
- 8 MR. KATSAS: Identical or not textually
- 9 distinguishable, to the extent that --
- 10 JUSTICE SOUTER: Well, you don't have the
- 11 voluntary/involuntary distinction here in -- or -- in
- 12 textual treatment that you had in -- in the DPA statute
- in Fedorenko, do you?
- MR. KATSAS: You -- well, you have the same
- 15 operative language of assisting persecution.
- 16 JUSTICE SOUTER: You don't -- you don't
- 17 follow that with the section that uses the word
- 18 "voluntary," whereas the bar does not use the word
- 19 "voluntary," right?
- 20 MR. KATSAS: Except you do. Throughout the
- 21 -- throughout the INA are provisions that are expressly
- 22 keyed to voluntariness. So you have the same -- the
- 23 same contrast can be made with respect to the INA bars
- 24 as Fedorenko made with respect to the DPA bar.
- JUSTICE SOUTER: Can you --

1 MR. KATSAS: And they --2 JUSTICE SOUTER: Can you give me a couple of examples of the voluntariness that creates in effect the 3 4 same distinction here as under the DPA? 5 MR. KATSAS: Sure. Let me give you one: 6 The asylum -- the asylum statute -- the substantive 7 asylum statute itself in 8 U.S.C. 1158 provides --JUSTICE SOUTER: Was that passed as part of 8 the same legislation that created the bar section we are 9 10 dealing with? 11 MR. KATSAS: Yes and no. Let me explain. Section 1158, the substantive asylum law, did not have a 12 13 persecutor bar as originally enacted by the Refugee Act 14 of 1980. The persecutor bar in the substantive asylum 15 statute was added in 1996 by the IIRIRA statute, which 16 in the same statute, in the same section, has a 17 provision that asylum can be terminated if the alien 18 voluntarily decides to return to his home. 19 So you have a contrast in the same section 20 of the same statute. Conduct-based --21 JUSTICE SOUTER: But it's -- I don't want to 22 split hairs here, but I mean the voluntary return 23 behavior is a behavior of the alien in this country with 24 respect to, in effect, an election under existing 25 federal law; whereas, the voluntary/involuntary

- 1 distinction in the DPA was a distinction that referred
- 2 to the alien's conduct overseas at the relevant time.
- 3 MR. KATSAS: That's a fair point,
- 4 Justice Souter, but to the extent part of the reasoning
- 5 in Fedorenko rests on the -- and the inference from the
- 6 contrast, those same contrasts are present here where --
- 7 the point of the example --
- 8 JUSTICE SOUTER: You have convinced me there
- 9 are contrasts, but I am not sure that they are contrasts
- 10 that raise the implication in a clear way as it was
- 11 raised in the DPA. And I think that's my only
- 12 disagreement with you at this point.
- MR. KATSAS: Well, you have --
- JUSTICE SCALIA: Mr. Katsas, can I bring you
- 15 back to Aristotle?
- 16 (Laughter.)
- 17 MR. KATSAS: Absolutely.
- 18 JUSTICE SCALIA: Thank you. This is not a
- 19 criminal statute.
- MR. KATSAS: Exactly.
- 21 JUSTICE SCALIA: The government is not
- 22 imposing punishment upon this person --
- MR. KATSAS: Exactly.
- JUSTICE SCALIA: -- for some malfeasance.
- 25 Rather, it's -- it's giving a grant of a great benefit

1 2 MR. KATSAS: Exactly. JUSTICE SCALIA: -- to a class of people. 3 4 And your position is that it has narrowed that class, 5 perhaps now more than was necessary, but that the government thought that, rather than letting in and 6 7 giving asylum to the commandant of Trebenko, it would be 8 better to have a provision that simply excludes those who, under coercion or not, persecuted others. Isn't 9 10 that --11 MR. KATSAS: That's --12 JUSTICE SCALIA: Did Aristotle say anything 13 about that? Limiting --14 MR. KATSAS: I'm not sure. 15 JUSTICE SCALIA: Limiting the nation's 16 generosity on the basis of a provision that may or may 17 not have anything to do with blame? 18 MR. KATSAS: I don't know what Aristotle had 19 to say about it, but --20 JUSTICE SOUTER: But you do know that Aristotle was not construing this Federal statute, don't 21 22 you? 23 (Laughter.) 24 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Well, speaking of --

to get back to the language, what's wrong with saying,

25

- 1 you have a clause that says "otherwise participated,"
- 2 right?
- 3 MR. KATSAS: Right.
- 4 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: So that must mean, I
- 5 gather, or could mean that "assisted" does not have as
- 6 broad a meeting as you suggest, because otherwise the
- 7 "otherwise participated" language would be unnecessary
- 8 and redundant.
- 9 MR. KATSAS: I don't think so,
- 10 Mr. Chief Justice, because the statutory sequence is the
- 11 word "assist" goes all the way back to the Displaced
- 12 Persons Act in the 1977 -- when Congress changes
- 13 "assist" to "assists or otherwise participates in" --
- 14 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Right.
- 15 MR. KATSAS: -- the only consequence of
- 16 that, if any, could be a broadening, not a narrowing.
- 17 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Well, I'm not sure
- 18 that's right, because if "otherwise participated" covers
- 19 -- "assisted" does not include "otherwise participated,"
- 20 and I understood your broad reading of "assisted" to
- 21 cover the prison walls, and if it does, then I would say
- 22 "assisted" needs to be interpreted with "ordered" and
- 23 "incited," and if it is, then "otherwise participated"
- 24 should be interpreted along the same lines.
- 25 MR. KATSAS: Mr. Chief Justice, the word

- 1 "assist" was construed in Fedorenko not to -- not to
- 2 contain an implicit voluntariness exception. Congress
- 3 adds to that the word "participate," which this Court in
- 4 Yeskey construed not to have an implicit involuntariness
- 5 --
- 6 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: So you think there
- 7 was just a -- it was a belt-and-suspenders redundancy?
- 8 MR. KATSAS: Either belt-and-suspenders or
- 9 broadening the circle in ways that are difficult to
- 10 describe in the abstract. But "participate" -- this
- 11 Court has said in Reves, "participate" is a term of
- 12 breadth. So I don't -- I don't see the argument that by
- 13 adding an additional term of breadth to the scheme
- 14 Congress somehow narrowed what would otherwise apply.
- 15 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: What I may have
- 16 missed, what was your answer to the prison walls? The
- 17 guy who builds the prison walls?
- 18 MR. KATSAS: Yes.
- 19 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Is he or is he not
- 20 participating in the persecution?
- 21 MR. KATSAS: My answer is that the analysis
- 22 of that question does not turn on whether or not he is
- 23 compelled to build the prison walls; it turns on
- 24 footnote 34 of Fedorenko, which says that courts will
- 25 have to draw difficult lines in distinguishing between

- 1 the kind of aid that constitutes assistance within the
- 2 meaning of the statute and the kind of aid that does
- 3 not.
- 4 JUSTICE SCALIA: That's very helpful.
- 5 (Laughter.)
- 6 MR. KATSAS: But --
- 7 JUSTICE SCALIA: You -- can I get from you
- 8 an answer to the question that I put to Mr. Pincus? Do
- 9 you -- does the Government deny even the necessity of
- 10 knowledge that what you are doing is assisting in the
- 11 persecution of somebody? You don't even have to know
- 12 that you are assisting in the persecution?
- 13 MR. KATSAS: In this case, Justice Scalia,
- 14 our position is that knowledge is a sufficient mens rea
- 15 and is clearly satisfied here where Petitioner, by his
- 16 own testimony, knew about the mistreatment.
- JUSTICE STEVENS: What is your answer to the
- 18 question?
- 19 MR. KATSAS: We have taken the position,
- 20 Justice Stevens, in other cases, that knowledge is not
- 21 required.
- JUSTICE STEVENS: All right.
- MR. KATSAS: It's been rejected by a few
- 24 courts of appeals.
- 25 JUSTICE SCALIA: Good for them. I mean,

- 1 that is really an extreme position.
- 2 MR. KATSAS: It is a broader position, but
- 3 happily for me, it is not the position before the Court
- 4 today, particularly --
- 5 (Laughter.)
- 6 MR. KATSAS: -- particularly in light of
- 7 Fedorenko, Justice Scalia, which puts a gloss on
- 8 voluntariness, but does not address --
- 9 JUSTICE STEVENS: Voluntariness is the
- 10 purpose the statute. What is the difference between
- 11 intent and knowledge, in terms of the purpose of the
- 12 statute? Why is intent different -- lack of intent any
- 13 different from lack of knowledge? If you read this
- 14 statute literally?
- MR. KATSAS: The question -- I'm not sure
- 16 the distinction.
- JUSTICE STEVENS: You say that, do you not,
- 18 that with a case involving lack of knowledge.
- 19 MR. KATSAS: Or intent.
- JUSTICE STEVENS: Pardon?
- 21 MR. KATSAS: Or intent, Justice Stevens.
- 22 The conduct here intentional. The question is whether
- 23 there is duress exception to it.
- 24 JUSTICE STEVENS: There was an intent to
- 25 persecute or an intent to perform certain acts that

- 1 constitute persecution?
- 2 MR. KATSAS: Intent to perform the acts that
- 3 constitute --
- 4 JUSTICE BREYER: People use that word
- 5 "intent" in the course of the human race to encompass
- 6 the notion of duress. I mean, that's -- that's
- 7 sometimes done, sometimes not. They are part and parcel
- 8 of the same thing, which is whether you can blame the
- 9 person for what he did.
- 10 MR. KATSAS: They were not the same thing,
- 11 even in the criminal --
- 12 JUSTICE BREYER: In criminal law they were
- 13 not, I agree --
- MR. KATSAS: Right.
- 15 JUSTICE BREYER: -- because that's --
- 16 because we've seen the need for specificity. But the
- 17 question, I think, Justice Stevens had, and certainly I
- 18 have, is why do you read some aspects of what it takes
- 19 to hold a person responsible into the statute, but you
- 20 don't read other aspects of what it takes to hold a
- 21 person responsible morally into the statute?
- MR. KATSAS: We don't read -- our position
- 23 is it's not fair to -- it's not fair to incorporate the
- 24 full common law background criminal concepts, including
- 25 that of duress. The question by Justice Breyer whether

- 1 assistance in persecution contains an implicit duress
- 2 limitation seems to me very different from the question
- 3 whether it contains an implied knowledge limitation.
- 4 And the latter question is not present here with respect
- 5 to a prison guard who, by his own admission, knew
- 6 exactly what was going on and deliberately implemented
- 7 torture by keeping people in the sun, exposed in the sun
- 8 to the point of death.
- 9 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Your concession --
- 10 statement earlier on, that there are going to be
- 11 situations for judicial line-drawing --
- MR. KATSAS: Right.
- 13 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: And it suggests to
- 14 me that BIA's discretion isn't applicable here under
- 15 Chevron step two. Because what you are saying is this
- 16 is not a situation where the statute never applies.
- 17 In a situation where you can logically
- 18 determine and your answer on the knowledge question is
- 19 pertinent, you can logically draw a line between what a
- 20 person's doing and persecution; and yet you said the c
- 21 courts are going to have to draw lines. So BIA -- the
- 22 board might get discretion with respect to where that
- 23 line is drawn and when, but they do not get discretion
- 24 on the question of does it ever apply. And what your
- 25 position is, that this never applies, whenever there is

- 1 a but-for logical intention between the action and
- 2 persecution.
- 3 MR. KATSAS: Mr. Chief Justice, they
- 4 certainly get discretion in conducting the analysis of
- 5 what constitutes assistance. But Fedorenko said that
- 6 that -- that inquiry is independent of any question of
- 7 duress on -- it said that the inquiry should happen
- 8 case-by-case, that's fine; but it gave -- the footnote
- 9 in Fedorenko gave us two clear data points to help frame
- 10 the analysis.
- 11 One is the conduct of a woman who does
- 12 nothing more than cut the hair of people bound for
- 13 execution. Court said, as a matter of law, that cannot
- 14 constitute assistance. The other data point is the case
- 15 of an armed prison guard who, perimeter guard who keeps
- 16 people in a camp; and the Court said, of course, that
- 17 constitutes assistance.
- 18 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: But you would say
- 19 the woman who cuts the hair does participate in the
- 20 persecution if there is a guideline that says look, we
- 21 are not going to execute anybody unless -- before their
- 22 hair is cut, right?
- MR. KATSAS: I would not say that. I think
- 24 Fedorenko --
- 25 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: You would view that

- 1 as a case that's not covered by the statute, even if the
- 2 person is not going to be executed unless the woman does
- 3 her job?
- 4 MR. KATSAS: I think Fedorenko -- Fedorenko
- 5 says that the -- the level and degree and character of
- 6 assistance of the woman simply cutting the hair does not
- 7 constitute assistance. At the other continuum of
- 8 conduct, Fedorenko says that the conduct of an armed
- 9 prison guard does constitute assistance, even if, as in
- 10 Fedorenko, the guard served under duress.
- 11 And Justice Stevens, if I could come back to
- 12 the facts of Fedorenko, the district court in that case
- 13 found that if Fedorenko did not serve at the prison
- 14 guard -- at the prison camp, he would have been
- 15 executed. That finding was not reversed either by the
- 16 Fifth Circuit or by this Court, which held that duress
- 17 was not relevant to the inquiry of assistance.
- 18 JUSTICE GINSBURG: Mr. Katsas --
- 19 MR. KATSAS: Petitioner --
- 20 JUSTICE GINSBURG: What -- what about the
- 21 position that the displaced person's act was special to
- 22 the Holocaust? I mean, we are dealing with people who
- 23 said we were just following orders, and we did not want
- 24 to grant those people asylum.
- Now in this post-World War II effort, we are

- 1 engaged in an enterprise where other countries in the
- 2 world -- and should we look to see how they are
- 3 interpreting this notion of duress, coercion? Are they
- 4 considering it irrelevant; would just look to see if the
- 5 person in fact was provided some material assistance to
- 6 persecution?
- 7 MR. KATSAS: Justice Ginsburg, it's true
- 8 that the Displaced Persons Act was limited to the Nazi
- 9 regime, and later statutes, the Refugee Act generalizes
- 10 in the sense of eliminating the time and place
- 11 restrictions on the definition of refugee.
- 12 On the specific question of the persecutor
- 13 bar, Congress carries forward the same language with an
- 14 affirmative indication of intent to preserve the
- 15 concept.
- 16 With respect to your point about the Nazis
- 17 being singularly horrific in human history, think of how
- 18 that feature plays out under Petitioner's theory. Under
- 19 Petitioner's theory, the uniquely horrific nature of the
- 20 Nazi regime gives rise to a dramatically expanded class
- 21 of people who can credibly raise a duress defense on
- 22 anyone under -- anyone under Adolf Hitler in the
- 23 organization chart of the Nazi government could credibly
- 24 say, if I didn't kill Jews, I would be killed myself.
- 25 The Executive permissibly rejected that construction of

- 1 things in -- in construing the persecutor bar at issue
- 2 here.
- 3 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Thank you, Mr.
- 4 Katsas.
- 5 Mr. Pincus, you have four minutes.
- 6 REBUTTAL ARGUMENT OF ANDREW J. PINCUS
- 7 ON BEHALF OF THE PETITIONER
- 8 MR. PINCUS: Thank you, Mr. Chief Justice.
- 9 JUSTICE SCALIA: Mr. Pincus, who has the
- 10 burden of proof? Assume there is an exception for
- 11 coercion.
- 12 MR. PINCUS: The applicant would have the
- 13 burden of proof.
- 14 JUSTICE SCALIA: The applicant would. And
- 15 -- and what -- how do you decide? There's not going to
- 16 be any evidence on the other side, I assume. The
- 17 applicant's going to say I was coerced. And -- and the
- 18 only basis for rejecting is -- a sufficient basis is
- 19 just, I -- "I don't believe you"?
- 20 MR. PINCUS: Yes. Credibility
- 21 determinations are made all the time. And there is some
- 22 -- I mean here, the applicant --
- JUSTICE GINSBURG: What do you mean they
- 24 were made all the time?
- JUSTICE: But how are they made? How are

- 1 they made? I looked into the person's eyes and they
- 2 looked shifty? No, they have to -- they search around
- 3 for some little contradiction in the testimony. If the
- 4 if the IJ has a suspicion that this person's who
- 5 testifying through an interpreter -- what language did
- 6 the Petitioner here speak?
- 7 MR. PINCUS: I'm not -- not English.
- JUSTICE ALITO: You don't know.
- 9 MR. PINCUS: I don't know, but not English.
- 10 There was an interpreter at the hearing.
- 11 JUSTICE ALITO: How many interpreters are
- 12 there of that language in the United States and what are
- 13 the quality of the interpreters?
- JUSTICE SCALIA: And do they have shifty
- 15 eyes?
- 16 (Laughter.)
- 17 MR. PINCUS: But these are -- I mean --
- 18 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Do they typically
- 19 have views on the underlying persecution issue that is
- 20 at issue?
- MR. PINCUS: Do the interpreters?
- 22 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Yes. I mean, it is
- 23 not at all unreasonable, if you have a clash between two
- 24 ethnic groups in a particular country, that the
- 25 interpreters are going to have views one way or the

- 1 other. They are going to come from one of the groups of
- 2 one or the other.
- MR. PINCUS: They may, Your Honor. But that
- 4 -- that's a problem -- we already have a system where we
- 5 were deciding whether someone is persecuted and all
- 6 these issues arise. We are already looking very
- 7 specifically at all the facts. The same facts -- the
- 8 same factual development would be relevant to the
- 9 coercion issue. As I said, the applicant will bear the
- 10 burden of proof.
- 11 And here, the -- as in other cases, the
- 12 country reports are often relied on and are revealing as
- 13 to whether what the situation is, what the specific
- 14 context is, makes sense.
- 15 If I could turn to the criminal law question
- 16 that Justice Scalia asked. I think the criminal law
- 17 background is very relevant here as well, because the
- 18 treaty that this statute was enacted to implement our
- 19 obligations with respect to, right -- referred
- 20 specifically to crimes. The exclusion that was -- that
- 21 is authorized by the treaty says, and I am quoting from
- 22 an excerpt on page 11 of our reply brief: "has
- 23 committed a crime against people" -- "a war crime or a
- 24 crime against humanity." That therefore makes very
- 25 relevant this body of law that has been developed in the

- 1 criminal --
- 2 JUSTICE ALITO: Why is that an apt analogy?
- 3 If we looked at all the duress cases that have been
- 4 decided since the beginning, are we going to find cases
- 5 where someone said -- someone claims that I was told I
- 6 had to kill 25 people, 100 people; I had to put people
- 7 out in the sun until they died, because if I didn't do
- 8 that, I was going to be shot?
- 9 Aren't the situations entirely different?
- 10 MR. PINCUS: I think you are combining two
- 11 questions, Your Honor. One -- one is should this
- 12 language be interpreted to have a coercive -- to require
- 13 uncoerced conduct in order to label someone a
- 14 persecutor. We think this is very relevant in deciding
- 15 that question, because the underlying treaty that was
- 16 implemented specifically referred to crimes, and crimes
- 17 generally have that -- that -- crimes don't -- a
- 18 criminal liability doesn't apply to someone who acts if
- 19 they are coerced.
- 20 Whether the precise standards that have been
- 21 developed in the federal criminal context control in all
- 22 situations here, I think that is something that may not
- 23 be clear. As I suggested, the Attorney General may have
- 24 discretion to flesh out, and the board may, what is
- 25 coercion in this context; and there is a debate as I

- 1 said before, about whether intentional murder,
- 2 especially the intentional murder of a group of people,
- 3 is -- is an act for which coercion is -- a coercion
- 4 defense is ever available.
- 5 But those are issues that -- that don't take
- 6 away from the fact that here the Government's position
- 7 is there is coercion is totally irrelevant.
- 8 If I could just -- one other issue, the
- 9 voluntariness provisions in the statute that my
- 10 colleague raised in response to Justice Souter's
- 11 question, those provisions were enacted subsequently.
- The 1980 Refugee Act adopted the language
- 13 that's at issue here. May I finish my answer?
- 14 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: It's not actually an
- 15 answer but go ahead.
- 16 (Laughter.)
- 17 MR. PINCUS: Well, I'm sorry. May I finish
- 18 my --
- 19 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: You finish your
- 20 sentence.
- 21 MR. PINCUS: -- my thought. The language at
- 22 issue here, those came later in the re-enactment of that
- 23 language in another context.
- 24 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Thank you, Counsel.
- 25 The case is submitted.

1		(Wł	nereupoi	n, a	ıt	11:05	a.m.,	the	case	in	the
2	above-entit	led	matter	was	ទ ន	ubmit	ted.)				
3											
4											
5											
6											
7											
8											
9											
10											
11											
12											
13											
14											
15											
16											
17											
18											
19											
20											
21											
22											
23											
24											
25											

	adjudication	2:3,8 3:7 50:6	Aristotle 33:8	authority 23:14
above-entitled	31:8	announced 15:1	33:12 39:15	35:2
1:12 55:2	administer 8:21	answer 21:15,24	40:12,18,21	authorized
absence 21:25	8:22	21:25 34:24	arm 7:5 32:7,8	52:21
absolute 33:19	administrative	42:16,21 43:8	armed 47:15	automatically
absolutely 21:21	22:21 24:14	43:17 46:18	48:8	7:3
22:2 24:18	36:21	54:13,15	asked 9:3 52:16	availability 28:7
30:19 33:18	admission 46:5	answered 21:3	asking 25:15	available 18:11
39:17	admitting 34:25	answers 35:20	aspects 19:16	54:4
abstract 5:5	Adolf 49:22	anybody 47:21	45:18,20	avoid 25:22
42:10	adopt 12:20	anyway 15:15	aspiring 29:22	a.m 1:14 3:2
accompanied	adopted 11:5	apologize 15:17	assist 26:8 28:9	55:1
4:5	54:12	16:13 25:4	41:11,13 42:1	
account 3:20	advocating	appeals 5:25	assistance 27:11	B
5:17,19 6:16	19:18	12:14,22 36:8	27:18,22 36:3	B 1:6
26:13,23 27:5	affirmative	43:24	36:14 43:1	back 11:14
27:7,11,16	36:18 49:14	APPEARAN	46:1 47:5,14	17:20 18:9,14
30:12	afford 28:20,24	1:15	47:17 48:6,7,9	27:18 31:25
act 4:5 7:1,14,16	agency 17:9,10	applicable 46:14	48:17 49:5	33:8 39:15
7:17 26:8 36:4	agree 25:3 45:13	applicant 20:23	Assistant 1:18	40:25 41:11
36:11,23 38:13	agreed 12:5	50:12,14,22	assisted 3:18	48:11
41:12 48:21	Aguirre 4:13,13	52:9	27:20 41:5,19	backdrop 36:20
49:8,9 54:3,12	ahead 35:24	applicant's	41:20,22	background
acted 4:7	54:15	50:17	assisting 27:16	22:11 31:15,18
action 17:19	aid 43:1,2	application 35:5	37:15 43:10,12	33:17 45:24
22:1 32:4,5,6	alien 34:12,12	applied 5:8	assists 41:13	52:17
32:25 33:1,1	38:17,23	10:16,20 21:19	assume 22:15	bad 18:21
34:21 47:1	alien's 39:2	applies 18:13	28:19 32:11	balance 9:14
actions 12:6	Alito 7:24 8:2,6	37:4 46:16,25	50:10,16	balancing 8:25
18:20 32:11,16	8:19 9:4 19:2	apply 28:18	assumed 22:13	9:5
32:19,22	20:2 22:11	33:20 37:3	assuming 12:21	bar 4:3 11:1
active 27:24	51:8,11 53:2	42:14 46:24	assumption 4:12	27:15 29:2,3
activity 11:1	Alito's 21:15	53:18	4:15 11:22	33:20 34:16
actors 18:22	allocates 33:15	applying 15:22	asylum 17:17	36:19 37:18,24
acts 4:4 6:22 8:8	ambiguity 4:23	appropriate	19:4,7,10	38:9,13,14
18:15 44:25	4:24 5:3,4	9:17 17:13	20:23 22:4	49:13 50:1
45:2 53:18	12:21,22	34:9	23:14 29:2	barred 10:23
actual 7:18	ambiguous	apt 53:2	32:9 38:6,6,7	bars 37:23
13:13	11:19 17:8	area 23:14,24	38:12,14,17	based 14:16
added 38:15	24:17,20	31:17	40:7 48:24	19:12
adding 42:13	Amendment	argue 4:23	Attorney 1:7,18	basis 11:9 37:4
addition 19:25	15:19	argument 1:13	8:15 10:1	40:16 50:18,18
additional 21:3	analogy 53:2	2:2,7 3:4,7	21:17 22:1,3	bear 52:9
42:13	analysis 15:23	12:6 26:3	23:6,13,23	beginning 53:4
address 12:23	16:7,8 42:21	28:18 42:12	24:3 25:1,8	behalf 1:16,19
29:9 44:8	47:4,10	50:6	28:19,23,25	2:4,6,9 3:8
adds 42:3	ANDREW 1:16	arises 21:1	29:9 53:23	26:4 50:7
	<u> </u>	<u> </u>	<u> </u>	<u> </u>

				1
behavior 38:23	Breyer 21:14,22	15:2,6,16,17	41:14,17,25	23:5,16,17,18
38:23	21:23 23:4	15:18,20,21,25	42:6,15,19	23:20 24:13,20
belief 17:10	31:22 32:2,13	17:14 20:1,8	46:9,13 47:3	24:25 29:24
believe 50:19	32:14,18,21,24	20:25 21:17	47:18,25 50:3	40:9 49:3
believed 12:10	33:12,14,18,24	22:8,12 26:25	50:8 51:18,22	50:11 52:9
13:5,7 22:12	34:3,23 45:4	29:9,10,18,25	54:14,19,24	53:25 54:3,3,7
belt-and-susp	45:12,15,25	32:13,16,17	children 8:20	coercive 53:12
42:7,8	Breyer's 35:21	34:6,12,13,19	choice 33:2	colleague 54:10
benefit 39:25	brief 3:17 8:6	34:19,23,25	circle 30:20 42:9	colloquy 34:3
benefits 26:10	13:24 15:17	35:9,15 37:1	Circuit 48:16	colorable 30:2
33:16	52:22	43:13 44:18	circumstances	combining
bet 16:23	bring 5:10 27:18	47:14 48:1,12	21:12,19 28:23	53:10
better 40:8	39:14	54:25 55:1	citation 14:3,4,8	come 20:9,15
betting 16:24	bringing 35:14	cases 5:20,24	cite 14:23 15:10	23:1 24:9
beyond 12:19	brings 5:9 34:3	7:11 19:5 29:5	15:12 16:21	48:11 52:1
BIA 5:25 6:5	broad 41:6,20	30:20 43:20	34:6	comes 19:16
11:24 12:5,13	broadening	52:11 53:3,4	cited 5:11 12:1	20:23
12:18,20 13:1	41:16 42:9	case-by-case	15:25 16:20	command 28:14
13:1,4,19 15:7	broader 18:24	47:8	citing 12:4 15:7	commandant
15:24 16:7,14	18:25,25 44:2	case-specific	16:16,19,19	28:10 40:7
34:4 35:5,10	broadly 30:20	21:1,2	civilians 10:18	committed
36:9 46:21	brought 3:15	CAT 18:18,19	claim 20:13,22	52:23
biased 26:21	build 30:6,17	categorical 26:7	claimant 19:10	common 6:25
BIA's 11:21	42:23	central 13:21	claiming 19:7	31:16,18,20
35:4 46:14	builds 42:17	certain 22:5	claims 53:5	33:17 45:24
blame 32:5,6,24	burden 22:21	24:1,2 26:10	clash 51:23	compelled 13:5
33:13 40:17	50:10,13 52:10	44:25	class 3:14 40:3,4	42:23
45:8	but-for 47:1	certainly 6:11	49:20	comply 19:11
blameworthy		7:9 14:11,14	classic 32:6	comports 12:22
33:21	<u>C</u>	23:14 45:17	clause 41:1	concede 24:11
blew 32:7	c 2:1 3:1 46:20	47:4	clear 5:16 7:4,11	concentration
blown 32:8	called 16:3	chain 28:14	10:3,18 12:9	22:25
Bluebook 14:22	camp 28:10	changes 41:12	13:4,11 22:14	concept 36:3
board 46:22	47:16 48:14	character 48:5	24:17,24 25:6	49:15
53:24	camps 22:25	chart 49:23	39:10 47:9	conceptions
bodily 9:10	canon 27:19	Chevron 4:12	53:23	8:25
25:18,20	canonical 36:15	4:16,20,21	clearly 43:15	concepts 31:2
body 8:12 10:5	captured 5:11	8:18 11:16	client 17:17	45:24
52:25	carried 9:11	13:6 17:3 24:5	close 10:11	concern 20:25
borne 11:20	25:21 29:23	24:16 46:15	closer 10:11	concession 17:3
bottom 19:23	carries 36:15	Chief 3:3,9 5:2,7	Code 9:24	46:9
20:3 23:3	49:13	16:10,25 25:25	coerced 21:13	conclude 11:8
bound 11:12,22	carry 9:3	26:5,11,24	50:17 53:19	11:17 17:7
47:12	case 3:4,16 4:12	27:2,12,17,22	coercion 5:17,18	concluding 35:6
breadth 42:12	6:3 10:10	28:6,17 30:4	6:16,19 8:17	conduct 4:9 5:11
42:13	11:22 12:3,11	30:11,14,18	8:18 17:18	25:14 33:23,23
break 7:5	13:7,21 14:9	40:24 41:4,10	20:9,25 22:5	34:11,12 35:10
	<u> </u>	<u> </u>	<u> </u>	<u> </u>

	l	l	I	ı
35:11,12,13	22:4 25:11	12:22 17:6	cutting 48:6	31:10 33:1
39:2 44:22	31:12 36:4	23:20 25:23		48:5
47:11 48:8,8	52:14 53:21,25	26:6 29:5,7,12	D	degrees 24:4,5
53:13	54:23	30:21 31:17	D 3:1	deliberate 11:4
conducting 47:4	context-specific	42:3,11 44:3	DANIEL 1:3	11:8,8
Conduct-based	10:15	47:13,16 48:12	dark 7:18	deliberately
38:20	continuum 48:7	48:16	data 47:9,14	46:6
confronting	contradiction	courts 9:7,20	daughter 3:12	demonstrated
34:23	51:3	29:14 31:8	3:13	34:11
Congress 29:11	contrary 11:18	36:8 42:24	deal 30:21	denied 17:17
29:11,13 31:5	17:7 25:4	43:24 46:21	dealing 38:10	Denmark 20:14
31:14,18 33:7	contrast 37:23	covenant 10:12	48:22	deny 14:10 43:9
33:19 36:14,18	38:19 39:6	cover 41:21	death 3:23 4:8	Department
36:22 41:12	contrasts 39:6,9	covered 32:11	8:7 9:9 23:7	1:19 20:7
42:2,14 49:13	39:9	32:12,14 48:1	46:8	deportation
connection	contributing	covers 41:18	debate 53:25	17:22
21:10	7:17,19	co-religionists	decide 10:2 13:3	describe 42:10
consequence	control 29:11,13	3:24,25	19:9 22:4	described 4:1
17:16,20 19:3	53:21	created 38:9	50:15	description 5:14
41:15	controlled 12:10	creates 38:3	decided 10:9	desire 27:25
consequences	controlling	creature 33:16	53:4	detail 22:10
19:10,17	36:12	credibility 19:13	decides 38:18	determination
consider 14:12	controls 13:8	50:20	deciding 21:18	5:24 19:13
considering	Convention	credibly 49:21	52:5 53:14	20:20
49:4	17:23 18:23	49:23	decision 11:24	determinations
consistency 35:9	converts 29:12	crime 52:23,23	11:24 12:10	50:21
consistent 35:6	convinced 39:8	52:24	13:13,18 14:21	determine 46:18
consists 19:5	correct 22:10,19	crimes 52:20	15:5,5,8 16:5	determined 6:23
constitute 12:6	29:24 30:19	53:16,16,17	16:14,15 21:2	determining
45:1,3 47:14	corrected 8:16	criminal 6:25	22:13,16 35:4	24:4
48:7,9	correctly 33:10	7:3,9 8:12 9:8	decisions 6:11	developed 8:12
constitutes 43:1	Counsel 54:24	9:12 10:6	11:20,21 17:10	10:6 25:17
47:5,17	countries 18:22	25:13,16 31:7	defense 7:10	52:25 53:21
construction	49:1	31:13,15,17,21	8:13,25 9:23	development
7:21 10:4	country 17:21	33:3,10,13	21:19 23:1,5	52:8
35:19,19 49:25	18:5 20:6,10	39:19 45:11,12	23:16,18,18,20	devil 12:12
construed 36:20	20:11,16 38:23	45:24 52:15,16	24:13,21,25	dicta 12:4 13:14
42:1,4	51:24 52:12	53:1,18,21	28:7 30:2 33:5	14:21
construes 36:4	couple 38:2	criteria 9:9 11:1	49:21 54:4	dictates 16:11
construing	course 8:11	culpability 24:5	defenses 24:1	17:1
40:21 50:1	30:19 31:4	25:7,10	31:20	died 30:1 53:7
consulted 14:22	32:3 36:11	culpable 31:10	deference 4:12 4:25	difference 44:10
contain 30:24	45:5 47:16	culture 19:17	4:25 deferred 17:23	different 4:14
42:2	court 1:1,13	curious 21:14,15	define 8:18 31:9	9:21 12:25
contains 46:1,3	3:10 5:1,8,25	current 10:4	definition 49:11	15:2,21,22
context 7:9 8:13	7:10 8:16 10:9	cut 47:12,22	degree 19:9	16:14 19:17
9:8,12 10:6,19	11:4,17 12:14	cuts 47:19	ucgiec 17.7	21:10 35:11
	<u> </u>	<u> </u>	<u> </u>	<u> </u>

	l	l	l	1
44:12,13 46:2	28:12 43:10	engaged 7:14	13:2 17:8,12	federal 9:22
53:9	46:20	49:1	28:20,23	25:17 38:25
difficult 42:9,25	doubt 35:24	English 51:7,9	exercising 16:8	40:21 53:21
direct 9:23	DPA 15:18	enterprise 49:1	exerted 27:7	Fedorenko
directed 3:22	36:25 37:12,24	entirely 19:5,17	existing 38:24	10:10,14 11:13
9:1 19:11 27:1	38:4 39:1,11	53:9	expanded 49:20	11:22 12:1,4,9
directly 15:15	dramatically	entitled 17:25	expeditious	12:10,15 13:5
36:11	49:20	erroneously	22:22	13:8 14:3,16
disability 21:11	draw 30:20	13:5	experience 24:1	15:1,8,16 16:2
21:11	42:25 46:19,21	escape 9:11	expertise 13:2	16:3,4,5 22:8
disagree 5:1	drawn 46:23	especially 18:20	16:8 23:24,25	30:21 34:5,9
17:6	due 12:13	22:25 54:2	24:4	34:25 35:6,9
disagreement	duress 4:7 7:9	ESQ 1:16,18 2:3	explain 38:11	35:11,12 36:3
39:12	8:13 21:19	2:5,8	exposed 46:7	36:10,25 37:2
disavowed 6:6	24:4 28:7,8,9	essentially 36:13	express 34:18	37:3,6,13,24
7:13	28:13 31:9,21	establish 31:9	36:24	39:5 42:1,24
discover 32:2	33:5 44:23	ethnic 51:24	expresses 36:18	44:7 47:5,9,24
discretion 8:15	45:6,25 46:1	event 17:13 29:5	expressly 37:21	48:4,4,8,10,12
10:2 13:3 16:9	47:7 48:10,16	everybody	extent 10:1 34:4	48:13
17:9,12 23:12	49:3,21 53:3	22:15	37:9 39:4	fewer 36:13
28:20,24 29:1	D.C 1:9,16,19	evidence 19:5	exterminated	Fifth 48:16
46:14,22,23		24:2,3 50:16	23:11	figure 21:6
47:4 53:24	-	exactly 11:3,15	extreme 28:18	fill 11:19 13:2
discriminatory	E 2:1 3:1,1	17:4 32:1 33:7	30:8 44:1	filled 4:18
17:19	earlier 34:3,8	34:2 37:1	eyes 51:1,15	find 53:4
discussing 36:2	46:10	39:20,23 40:2	F	finding 48:15
displaced 36:4	easily 20:17,18	46:6		fine 47:8
36:10 41:11	27:3	example 6:12	fact 5:17,19 7:4	finish 54:13,17
48:21 49:8	easy 20:15,20	20:8 32:7 39:7	7:19 11:5 12:5	54:19
dispute 29:17	effect 4:4 34:20	examples 5:10	22:23 29:6	first 3:4 4:17,22
disrupt 3:23	35:11 38:3,24	28:22 38:3	34:25 49:5	10:14 12:2
distinction	effort 22:24	exception 30:23	54:6 5 -242-20-5-16	14:17 18:13
10:21 34:14,20	48:25	42:2 44:23	factor 3:20 5:16	19:21
34:21 35:16	either 30:9 42:8	50:10	facts 48:12 52:7	fish 9:21
36:24 37:11	48:15	excerpt 52:22	52:7	flat 13:13 14:8
38:4 39:1,1	eiusdem 28:3	exchange 23:3	factual 52:8	flatly 16:21
44:16	election 38:24	excludes 40:8	failing 19:11	23:22
distinguish	element 25:9	exclusion 21:12	fair 39:3 45:23	flesh 53:24
14:11	eligibility 29:7	52:20	45:23	fleshed 24:13
distinguishable	eliminating 49:10	Excuse 8:1	falls 28:4 family 23:11	follow 37:17
34:11 37:9	enacted 38:13	execute 47:21	far 3:14 27:12	followed 11:6
distinguishing	52:18 54:11	executed 48:2	fashion 22:23	following 48:23
42:25	encompass 45:5	48:15	father 3:11,24	footnote 42:24
district 48:12	enemy 10:17	execution 47:13	faulting 12:18	47:8
divided 9:24	engage 3:11	Executive 29:14	fear 9:10 25:21	force 27:7 30:16
Dixon 7:11	26:15	49:25	feature 49:18	forced 3:11,23
doing 7:2 28:1	20.13	exercise 10:2	10ature 47.10	8:7 26:15
	<u> </u>	<u> </u>	<u> </u>	<u> </u>

forecloses 17:11	38:5	54:2	21:10	important 15:24
	given 24:9		honestly 22:9	22:2
forget 10:24 formulation	gives 49:20	groups 29:22 51:24 52:1	Honor 5:23 6:10	*
	0	guard 27:13		impose 25:9
36:2,14,15	giving 39:25 40:7	29:25 30:2	6:17 7:9 8:4	imposing 39:22
forward 36:15			10:13 11:3,15	imprisoned
49:13	gloss 44:7	46:5 47:15,15	14:13 16:22	18:15
found 18:1	go 28:21 30:9 31:24 35:24	48:9,10,14	17:4 19:19	improvidently
48:13		guess 6:8	25:3 52:3	35:1
four 50:5	54:15	guide 12:15	53:11	INA 37:21,23
frame 47:9	goes 29:6 41:11	guideline 47:20	horrific 28:22	incest 3:12
framework 4:22	going 8:22 11:16	gun 26:17 29:25	49:17,19	incited 3:18 27:4
24:6	13:2 18:14	gunpoint 3:11	human 31:25	27:20,23 41:23
freedom 33:2	19:9,12,24	guy 42:17	45:5 49:17	include 41:19
fritter 25:2	22:19 24:24	H	humanity 52:24	including 6:12
front 13:16,22	26:20,21 30:7	hair 47:12,19,22	hundred 31:24	45:24
full 17:25 45:24	30:15,16 32:21	48:6	hundreds 31:16	incorporate
further 25:23	34:7 46:6,10	hairs 38:22	hypotheticals	45:23
G	46:21 47:21	hand 28:21	29:16	independent
G 1:18 2:5 3:1	48:2 50:15,17	happen 18:21	I	47:6
26:3	51:25 52:1	47:7	identical 29:3	indicate 15:14
gap 4:17 11:19	53:4,8	happening	36:13 37:5,8	indication 20:10
13:2	good 15:13 35:1	20:11	identified 21:1	49:14
gas 8:21 9:15,18	43:25	happens 18:2	34:13,14	indicia 4:6
gather 30:5 41:5	governed 34:19	happily 44:3	identify 33:10	individual 4:7,8
gee 13:20	government	hard 21:6 29:16	II 10:19 48:25	4:10 5:19 6:12
general 1:7,18	5:16 6:2,6,9	29:17 30:19	IIRIRA 38:15	9:2
8:15 9:12 10:1	7:13 11:12	harder 24:1,2	IJ 51:4	individual's 4:4
21:17 22:1,4	39:21 40:6	harm 25:18,20	Imagine 28:10	infer 10:25
23:6,13,24	43:9 49:23	30:5	immediate 9:9	inference 39:5
24:3 25:1,8	governments	head 26:17	immediately	infuse 25:9
28:20,23,25	29:22,23	hear 3:3	11:6 27:10	initial 19:20
29:9 31:6 34:5	Government's	heard 20:18		20:22
53:23	4:2 5:14 6:18	hearing 51:10	immigration 19:8,22 26:7	injure 3:24
generalizes 49:9	23:21 54:6	held 29:25 36:9	26:10 29:10,13	injury 7:25 8:3
generally 14:25	governs 14:9	48:16	33:15,16	8:8 9:2,10
18:11 53:17	29:15 36:10	help 47:9	implement	innocent 28:12
generis 28:3	grammatically	helpful 9:5 43:4	25:12 52:18	inquiry 47:6,7
generosity 40:16	27:9	history 31:25	implemented	48:17
getting 19:23	grant 39:25	36:17 49:17	46:6 53:16	INS 4:13
20:3	48:24	Hitler 49:22	implicates 34:2	insane 7:2
Ginsburg 10:8	grassroots 29:20	hold 30:7,15	implicates 54:2	instance 28:10
25:5,15 48:18	great 39:25	45:19,20	39:10	instructed 30:21
48:20 49:7	GREGORY	Holocaust 48:22	implicit 42:2,4	intended 33:19
50:23	1:18 2:5 26:3	Holtzman 15:19	46:1	intent 6:21 31:2
GIRMAI 1:3	ground 29:7	home 38:18	implied 46:3	31:10 36:19
give 12:12 38:2	group 18:25	Homeland	implies 37:2	44:11,12,12,19
give 12.12 30.2	26:14 30:16	110111Clallu	implies 37.2	44:21,24,25
		l	l	l

	I			I
45:2,5 49:14	Justice 1:19 3:3	50:25 51:8,11	killed 3:14 7:4	10:5 25:16
intention 47:1	3:9 4:11,19 5:2	51:14,18,22	49:24	31:7,13,16,18
intentional	5:7,13,21 6:2,8	52:16 53:2	kind 22:22 43:1	31:20 33:3,10
32:19,22,25	6:14,24 7:24	54:10,14,19,24	43:2	33:13,16,17
33:5,23,24	8:2,6,19 9:4,14	justification 7:6	kinds 22:5	36:6 38:12,25
44:22 54:1,2	9:18 10:8,21	21:7	knew 5:19 43:16	45:12,24 47:13
interests 26:12	11:11,23 12:1		46:5	52:15,16,25
interpretation	12:12,18,25	K	know 4:9 6:6,13	laws 29:13
12:20	13:10,16,20,25	k 34:22	7:2,2,16 9:15	laying 21:7
interpretations	14:4,7,15,19	Katsas 1:18 2:5	14:7 16:20,22	leeway 21:18
30:9	15:10,13 16:10	26:2,3,5,23	24:10,11,20,21	left 31:23
interpreted	16:16,19,23,25	27:9,21 28:5	24:25 26:19,21	legal 14:24,24
41:22,24 53:12	17:5,15 18:2,5	28:25 30:10,13	27:3,24 30:8	legislates 31:15
interpreter	18:17 19:1,2	30:18 31:4,12	32:10 35:3	31:18
19:15 51:5,10	20:2 21:4,14	32:1,13,15,20	40:18,20 43:11	legislation 38:9
interpreters	21:15,22,23	32:23 33:9,14	51:8,9	legislative 36:17
51:11,13,21,25	22:7,11,19	33:22 34:2	knowing 33:24	legislature 31:1
interpreting	23:2,4,9,16,23	35:3,18,22	knowledge 6:20	lethal 8:21
11:9 49:3	24:10,15,19,23	36:1,8 37:8,14	7:1,12,13	letting 40:6
involuntariness	25:5,15,18,25	37:20 38:1,5	43:10,14,20	let's 32:19
36:5 42:4	26:5,11,24	38:11 39:3,13	44:11,13,18	level 48:5
involuntary	27:2,12,17,22	39:14,17,20,23	46:3,18	liability 53:18
32:3,4,11,16	28:6,17 30:4	40:2,11,14,18	known 22:23	life 18:15
34:21	30:11,14,18,25	41:3,9,15,25	knows 23:25	light 44:6
involve 18:10	31:4,6,14,22	42:8,18,21	30:6	limitation 46:2,3
involved 15:19	31:23 32:2,13	43:6,13,19,23		limitations 29:8
involves 32:25	32:14,18,21,24	44:2,6,15,19	L	limited 49:8
involving 44:18	33:12,14,18,24	44:21 45:2,10	label 53:13	Limiting 40:13
irrelevant 8:17	34:1,3,23 35:8	45:14,22 46:12	lack 44:12,13,18	40:15
23:22 36:5	35:20,21,24	47:3,23 48:4	Laipenieks 16:1	limits 8:17
49:4 54:7	36:7,22 37:10	48:18,19 49:7	16:15,17,20	line 6:12 23:3
issue 3:16 12:3,7	37:16,25 38:2	50:4	language 4:18	46:19,23
15:2,20 20:24	38:8,21 39:4,8	keep 29:19,25	10:14,16,23	lines 41:24
33:23 50:1	39:14,18,21,24	keeping 46:7	11:10,18 13:22	42:25 46:21
51:19,20 52:9	40:3,12,15,20	keeps 47:15	13:23 15:2	line-drawing
54:8,13,22	40:24 41:4,10	Kennedy 4:11	16:3,5,11 17:1	46:11
issues 9:25 52:6	41:14,17,25	4:19 11:11,23	17:8,11 37:15	literally 44:14
54:5	42:6,15,19	12:1 23:23	40:25 41:7	little 51:3
	43:4,7,13,17	24:10 30:25	49:13 51:5,12	logic 15:24
J	43:20,22,25	31:4,6,14,23	53:12 54:12,21	logical 8:11,14
J 1:16 2:3,8 3:7	44:7,9,17,20	Kennedy's 17:5	54:23	10:7 25:14
50:6	44:21,24 45:4	kept 7:17	lashes 8:22	47:1
Jews 49:24	45:12,15,17,25	kettle 9:21	Laughter 35:25	logically 46:17
job 20:6 48:3	46:9,13 47:3	keyed 37:22	39:16 40:23	46:19
JUDGE 20:13	47:18,25 48:11	kill 9:15 26:20	43:5 44:5	long 18:9 23:17
judges 19:8,23	48:18,20 49:7	28:14 49:24	51:16 54:16	look 14:10 20:12
judicial 46:11	50:3,8,9,14,23	53:6	law 4:6 8:12	34:8 36:17
		<u> </u>	<u> </u>	

47:20 49:2,4	membership	necessity 43:9	28:13 53:13	particular 17:2
looked 11:5	26:14	need 4:5 22:22	ordered 3:18	26:14 30:15
12:14 51:1,2	men 8:20	45:16	27:19,23 29:22	34:6 51:24
53:3	mens 31:20	needs 41:22	41:22	particularly
looking 5:8,9	43:14	Negusie 1:3 3:4	ordering 28:11	44:4.6
15:6 52:6	mental 5:16	never 5:10 24:15	orders 48:23	pass 31:5
lot 18:21 19:4	merely 13:7	32:3 46:16,25	ordinary 3:15	passed 38:8
lowest 25:8	MICHAEL 1:6	non-state 18:20	4:1	passes 31:1,15
	millions 22:21	18:22	organization	paycheck 27:14
M	mind 3:15 5:10	normal 27:19	49:23	28:2
making 10:18	5:10 29:19	notion 45:6 49:3	organized 22:24	Penal 9:24
20:4	minimum 25:6	noun 27:10	originally 38:13	people 9:15,18
malfeasance	minutes 50:5	November 1:10	ought 13:21	10:23 18:25
39:24	missed 42:16	number 6:11	outside 3:14	21:13 22:24
man 22:16	missing 35:22		overseas 39:2	26:14 28:12
mandates 16:5	mistaken 11:21	0		29:25 30:7,12
manner 28:1	mistakenly	O 2:1 3:1	P	32:5,6 40:3
mannerisms	12:10	objective 4:4	P 3:1	45:4 46:7
19:15	mistreatment	5:15 6:22	page 2:2 3:17	47:12,16 48:22
materia 36:20	43:16	obligations	13:24 14:1	48:24 49:21
material 21:11	Model 9:24	25:12,13 52:19	15:6 16:4,15	52:23 53:6,6,6
21:13 49:5	modified 27:11	obtain 24:2 26:9	34:7,8 52:22	54:2
matter 1:12 6:20	27:11	obviously 8:5	paragraph 12:4	perceived 14:25
6:20,21 7:20	modifies 26:24	20:11 24:8	parameters 8:13	perform 44:25
12:23 15:8,16	modify 27:3	occasion 4:25	parcel 45:7	45:2
15:25 16:2,14	moral 4:6	occasions 31:19	Pardon 44:20	perimeter 47:15
16:16,20 35:7	morally 45:21	offensiveness	pari 36:20	permissibly
36:5 47:13	morning 3:4	4:6	parlance 4:1	49:25
55:2	Mukasey 1:6 3:5	oh 18:17 31:7	part 3:22 9:3	persecute 18:6
mean 7:6 8:4	murder 9:21,23	33:12	11:16 22:11,19	30:7,12 44:25
13:20 14:7	54:1,2	okay 9:19 19:1	26:12 38:8	persecuted 40:9
17:16 21:5		32:20	39:4 45:7	52:5
23:6 24:8 30:8	N	old 23:16 24:20	participate 8:8	persecuting
31:23 33:7	N 2:1,1 3:1	omission 11:4,8	26:9 27:5,6	5:21 17:21
34:6 38:22	narrowed 40:4	11:9	42:3,10,11	persecution
41:4,5 43:25	42:14	once 6:22 8:15	47:19	3:19,22,25 4:9
45:6 48:22	narrower 18:10	24:12 32:18	participated	7:17,19 10:17
50:22,23 51:17	narrowing	open 10:1	3:19 17:18	12:7 19:21
51:22	41:16	operative 10:23	26:12 27:4	20:14,16,22,24
meaning 3:15	nationality 26:8	37:15	41:1,7,18,19	26:9,13,15,25
43:2	26:13	opportunity	41:23	26:25 27:4,5,6
means 4:5 12:16	nation's 40:15	9:11	participates	27:10 28:8,9
14:9 27:18	nature 25:1	opposed 5:4	41:13	28:14 29:20
31:9,10	28:16 49:19	oppressors 8:9	participating	36:3,14 37:15
meeting 3:23	Nazi 49:8,20,23	oral 1:12 2:2 3:7	22:25 42:20	42:20 43:11,12
41:6	Nazis 49:16	12:5 26:3	participation	45:1 46:1,20
members 30:15	necessary 40:5	order 27:14 28:8	12:6 13:14	47:2,20 49:6

51.10	0.10.04.0.7.17	40 4 42 14 10	52.10	40 10 50 15
51:19	8:10,24 9:7,17	40:4 43:14,19	52:10	49:12 52:15
persecutive 7:15	9:20 10:13	44:1,2,3 45:22	protect 18:18,19	53:15 54:11
persecutor 4:3	11:3,15,25	46:25 48:21	protected 18:16	questions 12:25
29:2,3 36:19	12:2,17,24	54:6	protection 17:24	25:23 53:11
38:13,14 49:12	13:12,18,23	positions 6:19	17:24 18:10,11	quite 7:7 10:18
50:1 53:14	14:1,6,13,17	post-World	18:23,24	11:20 13:4
persecutors 4:1	14:20 15:12,14	48:25	protections	19:23 20:3,12
7:18 29:18	16:13,18,22,24	practical 19:3	17:25	21:14
persecutory 8:8	17:4,15 18:4,8	praise 32:4,5,24	prove 24:1	quoting 3:17
person 3:18,19	18:18 19:19	33:13	27:12	16:4 34:8
7:1 19:6 26:19	20:5,21 21:8	prayer 3:23	provide 18:23	52:21
30:5 33:20	21:21,25 22:7	precedent 16:1	20:10 21:13	R
39:22 45:9,19	22:18 23:2,8	31:16 35:5	provided 49:5	
45:21 48:2	23:13,19 24:7	36:21	provides 11:9	R 3:1
49:5	24:12,18,22	preceding 27:10	26:8 38:7	race 3:12 26:13
personal 31:3	25:3,11,19	precise 53:20	provision 5:12	26:16,22 27:6
persons 3:15	26:1 28:22	precisely 28:15	10:10 12:15	30:12 31:25
26:8 41:12	29:18 34:7	predisposition	19:4 36:5	45:5
49:8	43:8 50:5,6,8,9	27:25	38:17 40:8,16	racial 30:16
person's 32:8	50:12,20 51:7	prepares 20:7	provisions 36:19	raise 39:10
36:4,11 46:20	51:9,17,21	present 32:17	37:21 54:9,11	49:21
48:21 51:1,4	52:3 53:10	39:6 46:4	punishment	raised 12:3
pertinent 46:19	54:17,21	preserve 49:14	39:22	39:11 54:10
petition 15:7	place 19:21	presumably	purely 5:15	rea 31:20 43:14
Petitioner 1:4	34:16,16 49:10	37:4	purported 13:1	read 20:18 25:9
1:17 2:4,9 3:8	plain 16:5,11	presumptively	purpose 44:10	27:23,25 28:3
28:19 34:10	17:1	31:17	44:11	44:13 45:18,20
43:15 48:19	plays 49:18	pretty 8:14 12:9	purposes 22:13	45:22
50:7 51:6	please 3:10 26:6	22:14 24:19	22:16	reading 13:15
Petitioners	plenary 29:11	prevents 32:9	push 30:8	29:8 30:22
29:24	point 8:11,14	principal 4:24	put 43:8 53:6	31:19 33:4
Petitioner's	10:7,9 22:2,10	principle 5:8	puts 44:7	41:20
28:15 49:18,19	25:14 30:10	prior 15:8		really 4:2 12:7
phenomenon	34:24 35:23	prison 27:13	Q	18:17 20:2
29:21,21	37:6 39:3,7,12	29:25 30:6,14	quality 51:13	21:6,6 22:11
Phinpathya	46:8 47:14	41:21 42:16,17	question 4:17,22	22:12 24:4,21
29:6	49:16	42:23 46:5	9:22 11:16	35:8 44:1
phrase 3:16 5:7	pointed 6:4	47:15 48:9,13	17:6 19:20	reason 10:25
5:9 26:24	points 32:15	48:14	20:15 21:3,4,5	11:13 20:11
27:11	47:9	problem 30:22	21:6,15 23:19	33:6 34:8
picked 14:22	policy 34:5	52:4	24:9 28:6,7	reasonable 9:11
picture 5:9	political 3:13	process 19:22	29:16 32:17	12:19 25:21,22
Pincus 1:16 2:3	position 5:3,14	22:22 24:14	33:22,25 35:21	reasoning 29:15
2:8 3:6,7,9	6:1,3,5 7:15,24	prohibited 3:20	42:22 43:8,18	34:1,19 35:4
4:16,21 5:6,13	8:2,10 11:11	promulgated	44:15,22 45:17	35:15 36:10
5:20,23 6:4,10	11:19 19:18	21:12	45:25 46:2,4	37:1 39:4
6:17 7:8 8:1,4	23:4,21 30:25	proof 50:10,13	46:18,24 47:6	rebel 29:22
		1-11-11-11-11-11-11-11-11-11-11-11-11-1		
	•	•	•	•

	 I		 I	I
rebels 18:22	35:15	return 7:23	11:12 12:19	sense 5:5 27:23
REBUTTAL	remand 17:14	38:18,22	13:8 31:6 32:8	33:20 49:10
2:7 50:6	remember 29:2	revealing 52:12	35:10 40:25	52:14
receive 18:6	repeatedly 36:9	reversed 5:25	46:15	senses 18:12
recitation 14:2	36:18	48:15	says 8:7 12:5	sent 17:20 18:14
recites 15:9	reply 52:22	Reves 42:11	15:7 16:3,19	20:14
reciting 13:7	report 20:10	re-enactment	20:23 33:13	sentence 12:8
recollection	reports 20:6	54:22	34:20,23 35:15	54:20
22:8	52:12	right 9:19 10:5	37:1 41:1	separable 7:7
redundancy	reprinted 3:16	11:2 12:16	42:24 47:20	sequence 41:10
42:7	require 6:22,23	14:5 15:13	48:5,8 52:21	serious 7:25 8:3
redundant 41:8	6:25 53:12	21:21,23 22:2	Scalia 5:13,21	8:7 9:9 25:18
refer 25:13	required 43:21	27:21 30:6	6:2,8,14,24	25:20
referred 10:12	requirement	32:18 33:18	9:14,18 12:12	serve 48:13
10:16,17 39:1	29:7	35:18 36:7	12:18,25 13:10	served 27:13
52:19 53:16	requirements	37:19 41:2,3	13:16,20,25	48:10
refers 25:13	31:20	41:14,18 43:22	14:4,7,15,19	service 12:5
reflexively	requires 4:7	45:14 46:12	15:10,13 16:16	set 34:17 37:1
15:21	25:7	47:22 52:19	16:19,23 17:15	seven 36:13
refresh 22:7	requiring 31:2	rise 49:20	18:2,5,17 19:1	shed 8:21
refugee 18:1	reread 22:9	ROBERTS 3:3	20:13 21:4	sheer 22:20,20
20:23 38:13	reserve 25:24	5:2 16:10,25	23:2,9,16	shifting 29:13
49:9,11 54:12	resolution 12:21	25:25 26:11	24:15,19,23	shifty 51:2,14
refugees 22:21	respect 21:9	27:2,17,22	39:14,18,21,24	short 28:4
refuses 3:14	23:15 29:1,16	28:17 30:4,11	40:3,12,15	shot 53:8
regime 49:9,20	32:15,16 33:22	30:14 40:24	43:4,7,13,25	shows 10:15
rejected 43:23	35:4 37:23,24	41:4,14,17	44:7 50:9,14	side 29:18 50:16
49:25	38:24 46:4,22	42:6,15,19	51:14 52:16	significant 21:9
rejecting 50:18	49:16 52:19	46:9,13 47:18	scheme 42:13	35:17
related 4:9	respond 11:17	47:25 50:3	scienter 31:2,10	simply 30:23
relevant 14:9,10	Respondent	51:18,22 54:14	search 51:2	40:8 48:6
22:6 34:13,21	1:20 2:6 26:4	54:19,24	second 11:16	single 30:2
35:7,12 39:2	response 17:5	Rodriguez-M	15:4,25	singularly 49:17
48:17 52:8,17	28:4 54:10	11:24 12:2	Secretary 21:9	situation 13:4
52:25 53:14	responses 7:8	13:15	section 3:17	18:24 37:2
reliance 12:9	10:13	rule 10:4 13:8	10:25 37:17	46:16,17 52:13
34:4	responsibility	14:2,24,24,25	38:9,12,16,19	situations 22:5
relied 15:5,18	31:3	15:9,21 29:12	sections 11:5	46:11 53:9,22
19:25 20:7	responsible	34:19 35:15	Security 21:10	skeptically
35:1 52:12	45:19,21	37:3,3	see 14:4,22	20:12
relief 28:21,24	rest 17:10	rulemaking	15:10,12 16:11	skewed 33:3
relies 16:2	rested 11:21	23:14	16:21,24 33:3	skilled 19:23
religion 3:12	restrictions	S	34:5,24 36:18	20:3
26:13,16,22	49:11	$\frac{5}{$2:1}$ 3:1	42:12 49:2,4	slaughter 28:11
religious 3:22	rests 7:20 39:5	satisfied 43:15	seen 19:4 45:16	sleepwalking
rely 13:11	result 13:6 16:6	satisfied 45.15 saying 5:15	send 11:14	7:15
relying 13:12	16:11 17:2,14	saying J.13	sending 18:9	solely 4:3 19:12
	<u> </u>	l	<u> </u>	l

	1	1		ı
somebody 5:22	10:11,18 15:19	55:2	42:11,13	53:22
7:4 28:1 43:11	15:22 17:1	subsequent	terminated	thinking 6:15
someone's 26:16	23:12 24:16	36:12	38:17	33:6
somewhat 18:25	25:6,9 29:2,4	subsequently	terms 16:8 26:7	thought 13:6
sorry 16:10	30:23 31:2,5	54:11	27:23 28:3	21:16 34:9
54:17	31:22 32:9,12	substantial 25:1	44:11	40:6 54:21
sort 15:20 22:24	33:15,15,16	substantive 38:6	test 8:18,25 9:3	thousands 28:11
Souter 10:21	34:15 36:16,16	38:12,14	25:20	31:24
25:18 34:1	37:5,6,12 38:6	subtlety 35:23	testifying 19:14	thousand-year
35:8,20,24	38:7,15,15,16	sufficient 7:25	51:5	33:9
36:7,22 37:10	38:20 39:19	8:3,22 43:14	testimony 22:13	threat 3:23 4:8
37:16,25 38:2	40:21 43:2	50:18	43:16 51:3	7:25 8:3,7 9:1
38:8,21 39:4,8	44:10,12,14	suggest 41:6	text 10:15 13:11	9:2,9 19:9
40:20	45:19,21 46:16	suggested 25:4	13:12 29:6	25:20
Souter's 54:10	48:1 52:18	28:1,22 53:23	34:15	threatened 23:7
speak 51:6	54:9	suggests 28:19	textual 10:25	23:10,10 30:5
speaking 40:24	statutes 6:25	46:13	37:5,12	three 6:19 9:8
special 48:21	31:15,21 33:4	sun 30:1 46:7,7	textually 36:24	three-part 25:20
specific 10:19	36:12 49:9	53:7	37:8	tied 15:1
31:2 49:12	statutory 15:2	supplies 4:22	Thank 3:9 25:25	time 11:6 25:24
52:13	17:11 25:11	support 21:11	39:18 50:3,8	39:2 49:10
specifically	27:19 36:2	21:13	54:24	50:21,24
10:16,17 11:4	41:10	Supreme 1:1,13	theory 6:18	today 18:20 44:4
16:2 52:7,20	stay 18:3,4,9	sure 14:21 38:5	28:16 29:8	told 3:13 6:13
53:16	step 13:6 17:3,9	39:9 40:14	31:19 49:18,19	53:5
specificity 45:16	17:9 24:16,24	41:17 44:15	they'd 7:5	top 14:1
speech 19:16	46:15	suspect 17:2	thin 34:22	torture 17:23
split 38:22	Stevens 22:7,19	suspicion 51:4	thing 22:2 36:22	18:10,13,23
stake 29:19	43:17,20,22	sympathetic	45:8,10	23:10 46:7
Stand 6:13	44:9,17,20,21	29:17,18	things 18:21	totally 23:22
standard 9:12	44:24 45:17	system 9:22	22:20 50:1	54:7
22:3 25:8	48:11	25:17 52:4	think 4:2,13,16	traces 33:8
29:12	stopped 26:11		4:21 6:14 7:21	tradition 33:10
standards 25:16	26:12	T	8:15 10:3	33:11
53:20	straightforward	T 2:1,1	11:20 12:24	train 15:23
starting 8:11,14	35:5	take 5:2,17,18	13:4,9,10,21	treatment 37:12
10:7,9 25:14	strike 9:6	6:15 7:14	15:24 20:2,5,5	treaty 25:12,13
31:23	struck 9:5	11:11 54:5	20:6,20 21:8	52:18,21 53:15
State 20:7	subject 19:21	taken 5:25 6:2,5	22:1,18 23:15	Trebenko 40:7
statement 13:14	20:14,24 29:10	43:19	23:19 24:12,19	Treblinka 28:11
14:20 19:6	subjected 20:17	takes 45:18,20	25:14 27:9	30:3
46:10	subjective 6:21	talk 32:19	28:4,5 31:13	tremendous
States 1:1,13	submission 4:24	talking 7:12	33:19 39:11	21:17
9:24 32:10	5:6 11:18 14:3	targeted 10:19	41:9 42:6	true 3:21 20:3
51:12	17:7	tell 4:13 17:15	45:17 47:23	20:22 31:12,13
statute 4:14 5:4	submit 17:13	telling 22:14,16	48:4 49:17	31:14 49:7
7:22 8:16 10:4	submitted 54:25	term 4:3 5:4	52:16 53:10,14	truth 22:14,17
	<u> </u>	<u> </u>	<u> </u>	<u> </u>

	<u> </u>	<u> </u>	ı	1
try 14:11 35:23	uses 37:17	way 5:3 15:1	Y	7a 34:7,8
36:1	usually 19:5	20:19 25:22	years 31:16,24	
turn 15:4 42:22	U.S.C 38:7	28:19 30:9,21	31:24 35:5	8
52:15		33:8 36:1,15	36:9	8 38:7
turns 4:3 42:23	V	39:10 41:11	yellow 13:24	
two 7:6,8 10:13	v 1:5 3:4 4:13	51:25	Yeskey 42:4	
12:25 17:3,9	verbalize 25:7	ways 42:9		
18:11 22:20	victim 20:9	Wednesday	0	
32:15 46:15	victims 3:25	1:10	07-499 1:5 3:4	
47:9 51:23	victim's 26:16	well-grounded		
53:10	view 4:3 6:21	9:10 25:21	1	
typically 4:6	7:16 8:16,23	well-recognized	1 3:17	
19:14 20:15	12:13 19:8	7:10	10:04 1:14 3:2	
29:20,21,23	47:25	we've 45:16	100 53:6	
32:25 51:18	views 3:13 51:19	whip 26:19	11 52:22	
	51:25	win 21:16	11:05 55:1	
U	voluntarily	wind 32:7,8	1158 38:7,12	
ultimately 29:14	27:13,14 38:18	wishes 10:2	1977 41:12	
UN 10:12	voluntariness	withholding	1980 38:14	
unanswered	30:23 35:7	29:1,3 32:10	54:12	
9:22	37:6,22 38:3	witness 19:14	1996 38:15	
unbounded	42:2 44:8,9	woman 47:11,19		
28:16 31:1,3,7	54:9	48:2,6	2	
31:11	voluntary 10:22	women 8:20	20 8:22 35:5	
uncoerced 53:13	10:24 11:1,7	Wonderful	36:9	
uncorroborated	32:6,25 34:15	13:25	20,000 9:15,18	
19:6,14	34:20 35:13	word 10:22 32:3	2008 1:10	
underlying 6:18	37:18,19 38:22	33:4 37:17,18	25 53:6	
6:18 51:19	voluntary/inv	41:11,25 42:3	26 2:6	
53:15	34:14 35:16	45:4	27 13:24	
understand	36:24 37:11	wording 10:10	3	
23:25	38:25	10:11		
understood		words 6:22,23	32:4	
41:20		33:7	34 42:24	
underwent	walls 30:6,17	world 10:19	4	
19:10	41:21 42:16,17	18:20 49:2	42 3:17	
uniquely 49:19	42:23	wouldn't 9:14	464 16:4,15	
United 1:1,13	want 7:11,23	27:14,15		
32:10 51:12	16:23 23:18	writes 29:11	5	
unnecessary	38:21 48:23	wrong 6:15	5 1:10	
41:7	war 10:19 48:25	11:12 28:15	50 2:9	
unprovable 21:4	52:23 Washington 1:0	40:25	500 8:20	
21:5	Washington 1:9 1:16,19	wrong-headed		
unreasonable	wasn't 12:7	7:21	6	
51:23	34:16	X	6a 15:7 34:7	
use 10:22 33:5	Watson 5:8	-		
37:18 45:4	vvaisum J.O	x 1:2,8	7	
			<u> </u>	<u> </u>