

OFFICIAL TRANSCRIPT
PROCEEDINGS BEFORE
THE SUPREME COURT
OF THE
UNITED STATES

CAPTION: FOOD AND DRUG ADMINISTRATION, ET AL.,
Petitioners v. BROWN & WILLIAMSON TOBACCO
CORPORATION, ET AL.

CASE NO: 98-1152 c.1

PLACE: Washington, D.C.

DATE: Wednesday, December 1, 1999

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1 IN THE SUPREME COURT OF THE UNITED STATES

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3 FOOD AND DRUG ADMINISTRATION, :
4 ET AL., :

5 Petitioners :
6 v. : No. 98-1152

7 BROWN & WILLIAMSON TOBACCO :
8 CORPORATION, ET AL. :

9 - - - - - X

10 Washington, D.C.

11 Wednesday, December 1, 1999

12 The above-entitled matter came on for oral
13 argument before the Supreme Court of the United States at
14 10:02 a.m.

15 APPEARANCES:

16 GEN. SETH P. WAXMAN, Solicitor General, U.S. Department of
17 Justice; on behalf of the Petitioners.

18 RICHARD M. COOPER, ESQ., Washington, D.C.; on behalf of
19 the Respondents.

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1 P R O C E E D I N G S

2 (10:02 a.m.)

3 CHIEF JUSTICE REHNQUIST: We'll hear argument
4 first this morning in Number 98-1152, Food and Drug
5 Administration v. Brown & Williamson Tobacco Corporation.
6 General Waxman.

7 ORAL ARGUMENT OF GEN. SETH P. WAXMAN

8 ON BEHALF OF THE PETITIONERS

9 GEN. WAXMAN: Mr. Chief Justice, and may it
10 please the Court:

11 Following the most extensive rulemaking in its
12 history, the Food and Drug Administration concluded that
13 nicotine in cigarettes and smokeless tobacco is highly
14 addictive and has three other strong pharmacological
15 effects on the body as a sedative, a stimulant, and an
16 appetite suppressant. The FDA found that the
17 manufacturers know this, that they know that consumers
18 predominantly use their products to obtain these effects,
19 and indeed that they engineer their products to deliver
20 the precise doses of nicotine that consumers need to
21 obtain its powerful effects.

22 The question presented in this case is, whether
23 given those findings, the FDA validly concluded that these
24 products are drug-delivery devices under the Food, Drug
25 and Cosmetic Act. The Act defines drugs and devices to

1 include, quote, "...articles (other than food) intended to
2 affect the structure or any function of the body...", and
3 the FDA found that nicotine is intended to do so in four
4 quintessentially drug-like ways. Like No Doz, nicotine
5 acts as a stimulant. Like Valium, it acts as a sedative.
6 Like Dexatrim, it suppresses appetite, and like Methadone,
7 it's used to satisfy an addiction.

8 The FDA also found that cigarettes and smokeless
9 tobacco have the classic characteristics of articles
10 subject to regulation by the FDA. They are taken within
11 the human body. They deliver a pharmacologically active
12 substance to the bloodstream.

13 QUESTION: Although they're not marketed, are
14 they, as products to treat or prevent disease or cure
15 disease and so forth?

16 GEN. WAXMAN: Traditionally, they are not, and
17 it is our submission that that does not in any way --

18 QUESTION: Well --

19 GEN. WAXMAN: -- affect the definition of
20 whether they --

21 QUESTION: Okay, but --

22 GEN. WAXMAN: -- are drugs or devices.

23 QUESTION: -- then the statute goes further and
24 contemplates that devices, if approved by the FDA, have to
25 be safe and effective, and is it the position of the

1 Government that the use of tobacco is safe and effective?

2 GEN. WAXMAN: The -- the FDA is --

3 QUESTION: I take it not. So, you know, it just
4 doesn't fit.

5 GEN. WAXMAN: Well, I -- may I respectfully
6 dissent --

7 QUESTION: Okay.

8 GEN. WAXMAN: -- and explain why?

9 QUESTION: Yeah.

10 GEN. WAXMAN: The Act requires that with respect
11 to devices -- and what we're talking about here is a
12 combination product which the FDA, beginning with the 1990
13 amendments, was authorized to regulate, that is, a product
14 that -- that combines drug components and device
15 components, but this combination product regulated under
16 the agency's device authorities must be found and marketed
17 under conditions, distributed under conditions that the
18 FDA finds to be reasonably safe and effective for its
19 intended uses.

20 With respect to devices that preexisted the
21 enactment of the 1976 device amendments and the 1990
22 combination product amendments, the Act contemplates and
23 requires that after the FDA asserts jurisdiction and
24 regulation over a particular device, but not before, the
25 FDA will engage in a classification process for the

1 devices which is explained in great detail in the Act at
2 Section 360(c), 360(d), and 360(e), and in that
3 classification process, which will take place with respect
4 to these products, the agency will be required to
5 determine what controls and under what conditions these
6 articles may be marketed and distributed with reasonable
7 assurances of safety and effectiveness.

8 Now, at this point -- we have not gotten to the
9 classification point yet, but at this point, where the
10 agency has determined in response to petitions and in
11 response to the overwhelming scientific data that it can
12 and should assert certain regulatory controls, it has
13 determined to -- to regulate these products as restricted
14 devices under its authority given to it in 1976 and
15 reflected in Section 360(j)(E).

16 QUESTION: So your answer is we don't know yet.

17 GEN. WAXMAN: The answer is the agency --

18 QUESTION: We don't know.

19 GEN. WAXMAN: The agency --

20 QUESTION: That's basically what you're saying.

21 GEN. WAXMAN: The agency has made -- and the
22 agency is required to make --

23 QUESTION: I understand that. Now, do you --
24 but the question, as I understood it, was do you think
25 there is any prospect of the agency being able to make

1 such a statement --

2 GEN. WAXMAN: The agency --

3 QUESTION: -- under any classification that this
4 stuff is safe?

5 GEN. WAXMAN: The agency not only thinks, but
6 the agency has explained in very considerable length in
7 its Final Rule that it -- it believes at this point that
8 it will be able to make determinations with respect to
9 both effectiveness and safety.

10 With respect to effectiveness, it has found that
11 for at least one of the four known pharmacological
12 effects, that is, addiction, that cigarette smoke and the
13 nicotine in cigarettes is in fact quite effective for
14 sustaining addiction, and it may also find through the
15 classification process that it is effective for the other
16 chemical effects, that is, to -- to provide sedation,
17 stimulation, and
18 weight --

19 QUESTION: It does have all of the harmful
20 effects that -- that is the purpose of -- of its
21 distribution.

22 GEN. WAXMAN: There -- there is no question.

23 QUESTION: Right. What about the second?

24 GEN. WAXMAN: No question.

25 QUESTION: What about the safety?

1 GEN. WAXMAN: Now, with respect to safety, the
2 Act requires that safety or, with the case of device,
3 reasonable assurance of safety be determined in the
4 classification process by means of a weighing process that
5 is specified in the statute and was outlined by this Court
6 in Rutherford in which the agency weighs not with respect
7 to the world at large, as the Respondents claim, but with
8 respect to the -- the public that consumes these products,
9 the risks versus benefits of using -- of making these
10 products available versus taking them off the market.

11 Now, in its rulemaking, the agency was careful
12 to say that it was not making a final determination about
13 this, but based on all of the evidence that it had
14 reviewed to date, both the scientific data with respect to
15 the properties of nicotine and the properties of these
16 devices and the epidemiological and behavioral science
17 data about why people use it and at what stage they use
18 it, it made a determination that on balance, the
19 appropriate means of regulating this product was twofold.

20 One, because almost all people who become
21 addicted smokers or addicted users of smokeless tobacco
22 begin when they are children or adolescents -- and the
23 data is overwhelming on this -- the -- the distribution or
24 sale to those people should be prohibited. They are
25 likely to be unsafe for those people for all purposes --

1 QUESTION: I want to know to whom --

2 GEN. WAXMAN: -- and second --

3 QUESTION: -- to whom it should not be
4 prohibited --

5 GEN. WAXMAN: I'll -- I --

6 QUESTION: -- because it would be safe.

7 GEN. WAXMAN: I thought you would, and I'm
8 coming --

9 QUESTION: That was my only question. I didn't
10 --

11 GEN. WAXMAN: I'm coming right to it.

12 QUESTION: Okay.

13 QUESTION: You really take an awful long time to
14 answer that.

15 GEN. WAXMAN: Well, with -- with -- I apologize,
16 but with all due respect, Mr. Chief Justice, the agency
17 made a determination with respect --

18 QUESTION: Well, yeah, but --

19 GEN. WAXMAN: -- to two categories of people.

20 QUESTION: But when -- when a member of the
21 Court asks you a question, it's better to give the answer
22 first and then explain, rather than give the answer after
23 a fairly long explanation.

24 GEN. WAXMAN: The -- the short explanation is
25 that for a portion of the population, that is, those under

1 18, the agencies made a preliminary safety-ness or
2 reasonable assurance of safety-ness determination that a
3 ban was required.

4 With respect to persons over 18, the majority of
5 whom the agency found are in fact addicted to these
6 products, the agency concluded that a ban would be more
7 dangerous to these people than allowing these people, most
8 of whom are addicted, to continue to use the products
9 pending a --

10 QUESTION: But it's --

11 GEN. WAXMAN: -- final review.

12 QUESTION: It -- it just -- it -- it strains
13 credibility to say that these products can be safe in
14 light of the findings. I just don't understand how
15 anybody could stand here and say fine, they're safe, so
16 we'll permit them to be used.

17 I think the conclusion under the statute is if
18 they are covered, they have to be -- it has to be banned.

19 GEN. WAXMAN: Well, but with all respect,
20 Justice O'Connor, the agency, first of all, has made only
21 a preliminary determination with respect to safety, and it
22 has made it clear that if during the classification
23 process, which requires the convening of panels, including
24 representatives of the manufacturers and the scientific
25 industry, that there are no controls or restrictions that

1 could make it safe, taking into account the balance, a ban
2 may be required of these products, and you may have the
3 result that the agency, which has concluded that that
4 might --

5 QUESTION: And do you think -- do you think it's
6 clear that Congress intended that under this Act?

7 GEN. WAXMAN: What I --

8 QUESTION: I mean, we certainly operated for a
9 long time with the understanding that it wasn't covered --

10 GEN. WAXMAN: Well, the --

11 QUESTION: -- and this is a very recent
12 phenomenon, and it just -- it doesn't fit very well under
13 the structure of the statute.

14 QUESTION: An understanding, I might add, that
15 -- that had been conveyed to Congress by -- by the heads
16 of the FDA on numerous occasions when Congress had various
17 pieces of legislation dealing with tobacco before it. It
18 seems to me Congress enacted these statutes on the
19 assumption of the state of the law that -- that they had
20 been assured by the agency itself existed at the time.

21 GEN. WAXMAN: Well, with respect to the prior
22 statements and the long assumption or assumption that
23 didn't exist, I think in order to go back and understand
24 what the Congress may or may not have concluded in 1938 --
25 and this Court has said many times that this is a statute

1 that was not directed at particular articles, but rather
2 laid out general principles and definitions and intended
3 the agency to apply its regulatory authorities to those
4 definitions where appropriate -- the agency, to be sure,
5 has stated repeatedly before Congress and in the courts
6 and in the public many times for a long period up until
7 1995, that it did not believe that it had sufficient
8 jurisdiction to regulate tobacco products absent claims
9 made about the effects that those products would have on
10 the body, and in order to understand why that was so, I
11 think it's -- it's probably best to look at what caused
12 the agency to change its mind.

13 This is an agency that is required to act on the
14 basis, first of all, of scientific data, not general
15 understandings, and, second of all, an agency that is
16 required to act with respect to not uses, but intended
17 uses, and since 1938, the agency has had in place a
18 regulation that explains that -- that the manufacturer's
19 intent is to be determined based on the totality of the
20 circumstances and it is the intent that a reasonable
21 fact-finder would impute to the manufacturer based on all
22 of the objective evidence.

23 Now, in 1995, the agency heard overwhelming
24 evidence and concluded, number one, that there was an
25 absolute scientific consensus that nicotine is a highly

1 addictive substance.

2 QUESTION: That certainly wasn't the first time
3 that that scientific consensus evolved, was it?

4 GEN. WAXMAN: Well, it -- it actually --

5 QUESTION: The Surgeon General's warning date --
6 dates back to the early '60s.

7 GEN. WAXMAN: Mr. Chief Justice, in 1994, the
8 chief executive officers of virtually all of the
9 Respondents sat 500 yards from this courtroom and
10 testified under oath that -- that nicotine in cigarette
11 products and smokeless products was not addictive and that
12 they did not engineer their products to manipulate
13 nicotine levels and --

14 QUESTION: As far as the former is concerned,
15 nobody believed them.

16 QUESTION: Nobody believed them.

17 QUESTION: I mean --

18 (Laughter.)

19 GEN. WAXMAN: At the -- with all due respect, at
20 the time the Surgeon General issued his report in 1994,
21 the Surgeon General found that there was not sufficient
22 evidence to conclude that nicotine was addictive. It was
23 only in 1988 that the Surgeon General did find that it was
24 addictive, and it was largely in the early and mid-'90s
25 that there became a consensus that this product was

1 addictive.

2 The agency also found and acted in 1996 --

3 QUESTION: Excuse me. What -- why is the
4 addictiveness alone necessary for the FDA's jurisdiction?

5 Wasn't it clear from the early '60s? Indeed, wasn't it
6 clear in 1938? Wasn't it clear much earlier than that?
7 States began -- some States had -- a number of States
8 banned cigarettes as early as 1900, and -- and those other
9 harmful effects, whether the addiction was obvious or not,
10 were surely well known, and wouldn't they alone have been
11 enough to require the FDA to come in? Do you need
12 addiction as well?

13 GEN. WAXMAN: No, no, no. What you need,
14 Justice Scalia, are intended effects. It's just not --
15 it's not just effects on the structure or function of the
16 body. It would have been unfair and implausible to charge
17 the manufacturers with the intent that people use
18 cigarettes and smokeless tobacco to get cancer and die
19 from emphysema.

20 QUESTION: Not to get cancer, but to have an
21 effect on the body and the very same effects on the body
22 that are now being described in detail by the addictive
23 mechanism. People have always smoked to get relaxation or
24 to keep going under pressure. We -- we may have hit some
25 question about the strict chemical mechanism by which the

1 effect is achieved, but certainly from the beginning,
2 there couldn't have been any doubt that people were taking
3 these things for their effect on the body and that they
4 were being sold for people for that purpose.

5 GEN. WAXMAN: Well, I -- with all due respect,
6 Justice Souter, there were -- I -- I -- I can't place
7 myself back in -- in 1938, but reading some of the
8 materials that the Respondents have submitted and others,
9 there were -- it was generally understood that people
10 smoked because it was soothing or because it gave them
11 status or --

12 QUESTION: That's an effect on the body.

13 GEN. WAXMAN: Yes.

14 QUESTION: It's an effect on the body.

15 GEN. WAXMAN: And with respect to that, again,
16 I -- without repeating myself, this is an agency that is
17 mandated and expected to act on the basis of scientific
18 evidence. That's just the way the FDA works, and I think
19 -- you know, in fact, the easiest way, at least for me, to
20 see what's different now than -- than was -- than was then
21 -- then -- and it is not our submission that all of a
22 sudden in 1996 something changed. Maybe the agency could
23 reasonably have regulated this in 1985, but if you look at
24 actually the case that --

25 QUESTION: Well, Mr. Waxman, can the agency

1 regulate the movie industry that produces horror movies
2 because so many people go to it to get scared and get the
3 adrenalin pumping? Suppose the studies show that?

4 GEN. WAXMAN: Well, Justice O'Connor --

5 QUESTION: I mean --

6 GEN. WAXMAN: -- no -- no one has ever seriously
7 suggested that the FDA exercise regulatory jurisdiction
8 over horror movies or guns or bayonets or --

9 QUESTION: Well, 30 years ago --

10 QUESTION: But why not?

11 QUESTION: Thirty years ago --

12 GEN. WAXMAN: But --

13 QUESTION: -- no one would have suggested they
14 exercise jurisdiction over cigarettes.

15 GEN. WAXMAN: And -- and they would not
16 reasonably have done so. What the -- and the reason --
17 what the agency does in response to a petition when
18 deciding to exercise its regulatory controls, is to look
19 at the language of the statute and see whether it's
20 covered and then to do what all other administrative
21 agencies and indeed courts do --

22 QUESTION: When -- when --

23 GEN. WAXMAN: -- which is to look --

24 QUESTION: When in your -- when in your view,
25 what year, what time, could the agency reasonably have

1 regulated cigarettes as a drug?

2 GEN. WAXMAN: That's a -- that's a
3 particularly hard question, Justice Kennedy, because I'm
4 -- I'm really not conversant with when the data became
5 what. I -- one of the things I've struggled with is the
6 agency's 1980 determination that is included as the last
7 document in the Joint Appendix in which --

8 QUESTION: Well, I interpreted your remarks as
9 saying it would not have -- I think I heard you right that
10 it could not reasonably have regulated tobacco as a drug
11 in 1938.

12 GEN. WAXMAN: '8. Oh, for sure. I -- I don't
13 think there's any dispute about that.

14 The agency -- in response to the horror movie
15 question and the gun question, the agency looks first to
16 the language of the Act, the definitional sections and the
17 operative provisions, to see whether or not this is
18 something that with respect to subsection (c) is intended
19 to affect the structure or any function of the body. It
20 then does what all agencies do and what all courts do,
21 which is to look at the practice, that is, does this
22 article and do its intended effects resemble the kinds of
23 articles and intended effects that have always been
24 regulated, the same process that this Court 150 years ago
25 explained in Trinity Church.

1 QUESTION: Well, that's fine, but addiction is
2 not the only one. There are other effects that were
3 clear, at least from the Surgeon General's report, harmful
4 effects upon the body. You did not need addiction in
5 addition to that, and the only novel scientific findings
6 you've brought to our attention that antedate the Surgeon
7 General's report are the scientific findings of -- of
8 addiction, although frankly most people suspected that
9 before then anyway.

10 So why at the time of the Surgeon General's
11 report, which, you know, resulted in a requirement to be
12 posted on cigarette packages -- Caution: The Surgeon
13 General has determined it to be harmful to your health --
14 why wasn't that fully enough at that point for the FDA to
15 -- to regulate --

16 GEN. WAXMAN: The agency --

17 QUESTION: -- although they claim they could
18 not?

19 GEN. WAXMAN: Right, and they still claim that
20 based -- that the fact that cigarette smoking is known to
21 cause cancer and emphysema and other dread diseases, does
22 not give it jurisdiction to regulate a product. There are
23 many products that are very, very dangerous to health that
24 the FDA does not have jurisdiction to regulate. It has
25 jurisdiction --

1 QUESTION: For example --

2 GEN. WAXMAN: It may be wrong, but it's --

3 QUESTION: For -- General Waxman, what -- I was
4 trying to see if there was an analogy to something else
5 that the FDA regulates, that is, something that is
6 purchased for its pleasurable effects that has these
7 dreadful, harmful effects, and is -- is there anything
8 that isn't being put forward as a cure?

9 GEN. WAXMAN: Well, the -- the answer is yes,
10 there are. I'm sure I can't recite anywhere near all of
11 them, but if you look at a recent example, the FDA had
12 regulated and permitted to be marketed a drug, I think,
13 called fenfluradine, which was used to reduce weight in
14 obese persons for a short period of time, and when it
15 became known to the FDA that it was commonly being used
16 with another drug that also starts with "fen" and was
17 producing an alarming incidence of mitral heart valve
18 failure, the FDA contacted the manufacturer, undertook
19 certain studies. The manufacturer withdrew it from the
20 market.

21 Many of the drugs that either are now or at some
22 point have become listed as controlled substances, were
23 regulated by the FDA long before they became controlled
24 and are still regulated by the FDA --

25 QUESTION: But -- but -- but --

1 GEN. WAXMAN: -- to the extent that they have
2 accepted medical uses, but --

3 QUESTION: But "fen" whatever it was, was
4 marketed as a means of altering your body chemistry. The
5 -- the manufacturer said take this and your body chemistry
6 will be altered, so you -- you can eat just as much and
7 not -- and not gain weight.

8 GEN. WAXMAN: That --

9 QUESTION: The difference here is that -- that
10 this is not what -- what the cigarette makers advertised.
11 So what you really need is an example where it -- you
12 know, it isn't advertised on that basis, but -- but people
13 enjoyed using it, and the reason they enjoyed using it
14 happened to be that chemical change which was not
15 advertised.

16 GEN. WAXMAN: Justice Scalia, we have cited in
17 our brief -- and I can recount them here -- many, many
18 instances of products that the FDA has regulated based on
19 their intended effects to the -- on the body that aren't
20 claimed, and it has been the FDA's consistent
21 interpretation since 1938 that intended use does not
22 equate to claimed use.

23 It is certainly true that most manufacturers
24 claim the uses that they intend their products to be made
25 for, but it would be the highest irony if you had a

1 product like tobacco that every -- and everyone knows what
2 it is used
3 for -- and today everyone knows that it has intended
4 effects on the body that completely escape regulation -- a
5 claims requirement would allow a manufacturer, for
6 example, of Prozac, just to sell Prozac and not make any
7 claims about it, or sell any drug as a generic drug and
8 make no health claims, or sell Valium and say it -- it's
9 soothing --

10 QUESTION: General --

11 GEN. WAXMAN: -- and there would be no
12 regulation.

13 QUESTION: I mean, I accept your argument, and
14 I -- I guess it would be fair to say that I accept your
15 argument on every one of the technical points that has
16 been raised here, but it still does not resolve the case
17 in my mind because I have, I guess, a Chevron Level II
18 basic question.

19 I agree with you. I think this is a Chevron
20 case, and I agree with you that -- that the -- that the --
21 the -- the agency has a potential role here in -- in
22 completing or clarifying a statutory scheme that is not
23 totally clear.

24 Where I have my trouble, when we get to Chevron
25 II and -- Part II, and say, is this reasonable, is not

1 with respect to any one of the technical problems that
2 have been raised and I think in -- in large part answered
3 by you, but in the totality of them.

4 Number one, there's -- there's no question that
5 the paradigm examples of FDA regulation is regulation of
6 substances that are put forward for purposes of -- of
7 health or -- or curing disease or whatnot, even though
8 there are exceptions.

9 Number two, it seems to me the paradigm way that
10 the FDA goes about it is on a claims-made basis. There
11 are exceptions to it, and you're entirely right under --
12 under intended use, but most of the time what's going on
13 is a response to a claims-made kind of scheme.

14 Number three, for a long period of time, the
15 agency, for whatever reason, said we have no jurisdiction
16 over this. It said that despite, at least in my judgment,
17 the fact that they could certainly bring cigarettes within
18 the definition of "drug" even if they weren't sure of the
19 mechanism.

20 Number four, the agency at this point at least
21 is saying we will regulate, but right now it seems to us
22 that there is a balance of goodness in favor of
23 cigarettes, so we're not going to ban, and that seems in
24 traditional practice to be a kind of unusual analysis.

25 And finally, given this -- this, in effect,

1 absence of FDA jurisdiction, the Congress has gone in, not
2 with a global regulatory scheme, but with a lot of
3 congressional statutes that attack various parts of the
4 cigarette problem.

5 When you take all of that together, what bothers
6 me about the Government's position is that it does not
7 seem to me that it is reasonable at this point for the
8 Government to construe its statutes in a way that asserts
9 regulation. It's the -- it's the global problem, not the
10 technical problems, that bother me.

11 GEN. WAXMAN: Justice Souter, I think in the
12 time remaining, I guess the best way that I can answer the
13 question is to posit the following.

14 The tobacco company's principal submission is
15 that their product, contrary to the testimony they gave a
16 few years ago, is so dangerous, that if the FDA has to
17 regulate it -- and they concede that there is nothing in
18 -- in the statute or in any of these later specific
19 statutes that either precludes or preempts the FDA from
20 exercising the authority that it has, but it is now so
21 dangerous that if the FDA regulates, it will have to ban,
22 and that is a ridiculous public health result that
23 Congress never could have intended.

24 Now, first of all, the FDA has construed and it
25 is in the rulemaking --

1 QUESTION: Why is --

2 GEN. WAXMAN: -- what --

3 QUESTION: Why is -- why is that? I -- I don't
4 -- what do you mean, "so dangerous"? All it has to be is
5 dangerous, harmful to human health.

6 GEN. WAXMAN: It is -- it -- there are --

7 QUESTION: That may well be -- that may well be
8 the result with respect to alcohol, too, and, you know, we
9 tried a ban of that and decided forget about it.

10 GEN. WAXMAN: The FDA regulates alcohol in every
11 respect except in which it appears as a food.

12 I -- I won't characterize. I'll let -- Mr.
13 Cooper can characterize his own argument very ably, but
14 the question that the FDA put is in light of all of this
15 evidence and in light of the plain language of the
16 definitions and the -- the striking similarity and the
17 characteristics of this --

18 QUESTION: But we know we can't just go with the
19 plain language of the definitions because they would lead
20 infinitely out. You'd be regulating clothing --

21 GEN. WAXMAN: And --

22 QUESTION: -- if you simply went by the -- the
23 definition alone.

24 GEN. WAXMAN: Justice Souter, when -- when one
25 is talking about a drug or a device that delivers a drug

1 to the body, like a cigarette or a syringe, there is no
2 problem applying the literal meaning, but in any event,
3 the FDA went way beyond applying a literal meaning and
4 looked at great length to the extent to which these
5 devices -- and their intended effects resembled things
6 over which they already regulated. But my point is if
7 they are right, if these products, because they are
8 dangerous, must be banned, and the FDA cannot work with
9 Congress to -- to accomplish an amendment to the statute
10 that would, like so many other product-specific
11 amendments, like saccharine, that have been enacted to
12 enable the FDA to continue to regulate in accordance with
13 its public health mandate, then two things will happen.
14 One, we will have an inability of this agency with the
15 paradigmatic responsibility to, for example, require them
16 to use a filter or add a substance that would make these
17 things less causing -- less able to cause cancer or less
18 addictive, and, number two, we would have them remain as
19 if not the only -- virtually the only finished product
20 that is ingested in the body that is regulated and
21 inspected by no Federal agency and yet is so dangerous.

22 May I reserve the balance of my time?

23 QUESTION: Very well, General Waxman.

24 Mr. Cooper, we'll hear from you.

25 ORAL ARGUMENT OF RICHARD M. COOPER

1 ON BEHALF OF THE RESPONDENTS

2 MR. COOPER: Mr. Chief Justice, and may it
3 please the Court:

4 The Solicitor General was not entirely accurate
5 in stating our position. We do contend that the
6 tobacco-specific statutes preclude FDA from exercising
7 jurisdiction, and that's an argument independent of the
8 Food, Drug and Cosmetic Act arguments.

9 I want to pick up on the answers to the
10 questions from Justice O'Connor and Justice Scalia. As to
11 the scope of FDA jurisdiction and the need for addiction,
12 I'm going to read from the passage in the Final Rule, page
13 44678, FDA speaking. The nature of a product's effect on
14 the structure or function of the body, therapeutic or
15 nontherapeutic, beneficial or adverse, thus, does not
16 determinate FDA's jurisdiction. The relevant inquiry is
17 simply whether a product has an effect on the structure or
18 any function of

19 the body.

20 So they don't need addiction. Their position is
21 that any effect, even an adverse one, brings a product
22 within the Food, Drug and Cosmetic Act.

23 QUESTION: But only if there's an intent. Isn't
24 the key --

25 MR. COOPER: Yes, has to -- yes. There has to

1 be an intent, but for them --

2 QUESTION: And isn't that the key question in
3 the case?

4 MR. COOPER: Yes. Well, it's one of the key
5 questions, Justice Stevens, but for them --

6 QUESTION: But would you concede there is an
7 intent?

8 MR. COOPER: I do not --

9 QUESTION: Would you lose if you did concede
10 there's an intent?

11 MR. COOPER: No, there's not an intent here.

12 QUESTION: But if you did concede there was an
13 intent, would you not lose?

14 MR. COOPER: I think not because the -- because,
15 again, the tobacco-specific statutes would preclude FDA
16 jurisdiction.

17 QUESTION: So you think there had been a partial
18 repeal of the FDA?

19 MR. COOPER: No. I think when the -- I think
20 the -- as in Estate of Romani, the issue of FDA
21 jurisdiction had not been determined favorably -- in favor
22 of jurisdiction prior to the enactment of the
23 tobacco-specific statutes. So it's a question of
24 harmonizing the statutes, reading them together, and these
25 statutes cannot be harmonized consistent with FDA

1 jurisdiction.

2 QUESTION: Your position, if I understand it, is
3 that although there may have been Chevron play in the
4 joints originally in the statute after there's other
5 legislation which has to be taken into account, step one
6 of Chevron is no longer passed.

7 MR. COOPER: Yes, with an addendum that there
8 are then multiple statutes, most of which are not
9 administered by FDA, so that deference under Chevron would
10 not be appropriate, and even at Chevron step one, before
11 the enactment of the tobacco-specific statutes, we still
12 have the Food, Drug and Cosmetic Act not being able to
13 accommodate these products.

14 QUESTION: But I still want to know. Do you
15 think that those statutes amended the Food, Drug -- the
16 Food Act?

17 MR. COOPER: They did not amend it.

18 QUESTION: So your basic position is that even
19 if none of those statutes had been passed, you would still
20 not be subject to the statute because you did not have the
21 requisite intent because you didn't advertise the
22 cigarettes as being addictive.

23 MR. COOPER: Because when you --

24 QUESTION: That's really your basic position.

25 MR. COOPER: Well, there's more -- there --

1 that -- that's part of our position. There's more to it
2 than that.

3 These products simply, as Justice O'Connor
4 noted, don't fit into the Food, Drug and Cosmetic Act.
5 There's an array of health and safety statutes in this
6 country. The Food, Drug and Cosmetic Act is unique among
7 them in that it requires, as to drugs and devices, the
8 weighing of benefits to health against risk.

9 QUESTION: Well, but, again, if --

10 MR. COOPER: There's no --

11 QUESTION: -- that's your basic argument, you
12 don't need all these -- these later statutes.

13 MR. COOPER: We don't need them, but they're
14 very helpful to us.

15 QUESTION: Well, I don't think they're --

16 [Laughter.]

17 QUESTION: It seems to me, they're totally
18 irrelevant --

19 MR. COOPER: No. I --

20 QUESTION: -- because they don't directly answer
21 the question --

22 MR. COOPER: I would --

23 QUESTION: -- and you may be right on the basic
24 question because they didn't advertise this product the
25 way they -- the way they claim you intended it to be used,

1 but I thought the heart of your argument was that there's
2 no intent because there's no claim that had these -- these
3 positions.

4 MR. COOPER: Our argument has multiple parts.

5 I would submit that the tobacco-specific
6 statutes are the most relevant because they're the ones
7 that tell us how Congress has dealt with tobacco and
8 health, how Congress wants these products --

9 QUESTION: Yes, but the problem with that -- let
10 me just get it right on the table. The problem with that
11 is it seems to me at least theoretically possible that
12 until 1990, say, you had no intent to make this stuff
13 addictive and there was no evidence, objective evidence of
14 such an intent, but in 1994 or '95, such evidence -- you
15 changed your minds, and you then decided on a new
16 marketing strategy with this intent, and then -- and then
17 for the first time became under the statute. It seems to
18 me, that's at least theoretically possible.

19 MR. COOPER: It's -- it's contrary to the facts,
20 however.

21 Let me read a passage from the 1964 Surgeon
22 General's report.

23 QUESTION: Well, that's just to the addiction.

24 MR. COOPER: Yeah.

25 QUESTION: I'm only focussing on intent, the

1 intent of the companies marketing the product. Is it not
2 possible that the intent was different in 1985 than it is
3 today?

4 MR. COOPER: The intent is derived from the
5 claims in the marketplace --

6 QUESTION: Well --

7 MR. COOPER: -- which have been essentially --

8 QUESTION: All right.

9 MR. COOPER: -- the same, and there's a reason
10 for that.

11 QUESTION: If you rely entirely on claims in the
12 marketplace, it's an easy case. You win. You don't need
13 all these statutes.

14 MR. COOPER: Well, we can win without them.

15 QUESTION: Well, but you don't really respond to
16 my question.

17 QUESTION: Why don't you -- why don't you -- why
18 don't you answer his question which relates not to claims
19 in the marketplace, but to what -- I know some -- some of
20 the literature talks about objective intent. I have no
21 idea what objective intent is, but let's assume--

22 MR. COOPER: That's in the FDA regulation.

23 QUESTION: We are --

24 MR. COOPER: I'm trying to answer the question.

25 QUESTION: Well, as I understand the question --

1 is never mind what the claims were.

2 MR. COOPER: Right.

3 QUESTION: Has -- isn't it possible that there
4 was an -- a change in the subjective intent of -- of those
5 who marketed the cigarettes, that only at a more recent
6 date was it clear that it was their intent to make
7 physical alterations --

8 MR. COOPER: Is it possible that there was a
9 change --

10 QUESTION: -- in the -- in the bodies --

11 MR. COOPER: -- in subjective intent?

12 QUESTION: Yes.

13 MR. COOPER: Yes. Is there an FDA finding on
14 that? No. Is subjective intent relevant under the
15 statute? I would submit not. The FDA regulation, as you
16 point out, Justice Scalia, requires an objective intent.
17 That's a very unusual term. It didn't say objective
18 evidence of intent. It says an objective intent.

19 QUESTION: Let me just change it. Supposing the
20 evidence of objective intent didn't surface until 1995.

21 MR. COOPER: Object -- evidence of objective
22 intent by its very nature must surface in the marketplace.
23 The evidence of objective intent is claims and
24 representations in the marketplace --

25 QUESTION: Or you could have --

1 MR. COOPER: -- and it's public.

2 QUESTION: Could you have aspirin? Couldn't you
3 have aspirin? Everybody knows what it does and you don't
4 need a claim. All you have to say is the word "aspirin."
5 Everybody knows what it does, and would you say there is
6 no intent there to cure headaches?

7 MR. COOPER: But there --

8 QUESTION: I mean, isn't claim evidentiary of
9 intent --

10 MR. COOPER: No.

11 QUESTION: -- rather than the other way around?

12 MR. COOPER: I would -- the -- the claim
13 establishes the objective intent. In the case of aspirin,
14 it was established by claims of pain, but --

15 QUESTION: Fine. If a claim establishes
16 objective intent, hear what they have now, but not
17 previously, is every smoker, no longer being able to kid
18 themselves -- knows that this nicotine through chemical
19 effect, metabolized in the body, creates feelings of
20 tranquility and or calmness and satisfies a craving
21 created by chemical addiction. They know it, the smokers.
22 The manufacturers know it, and nobody can kid themselves
23 anymore, though maybe they could have kidded themselves
24 before 1965.

25 Now, I take it that under those circumstances,

1 the FDA says this falls right within the language, the
2 purpose, the precedence, and everything else in the
3 statute.

4 MR. COOPER: But it -- no, it does not fit
5 within everything else in the statute, Justice Breyer.

6 The -- the approval process, for example, for
7 drugs and devices requires a finding of effectiveness, and
8 effectiveness, even before the 1962 drug amendments, was
9 an element of safety. If a product does not purport to
10 provide a benefit to health or body functioning or
11 structure, there is nothing to evaluate for effectiveness.
12 There is nothing to weigh against risks --

13 QUESTION: Sure there is.

14 MR. COOPER: -- in evaluating safety.

15 QUESTION: Sure there is. What there is, is
16 there's risk. That is to say, is the word "safety" in
17 this statute supposed to stop the FDA from looking at the
18 real world? What they say is overall we get more safety
19 by letting people smoke for a while because of the
20 addiction in the country, the risk of black market. In
21 other words, suppose aspirin turned out to have a chemical
22 that was very harmful, but it was also addictive. If they
23 discovered that for the first time, wouldn't they have the
24 power to treat these other sections of the statute,
25 looking to safety overall for the public rather than

1 suddenly withdrawing an additive substance?

2 MR. COOPER: But we are bound on this record by
3 FDA's findings, and FDA found these products unsafe. And
4 indeed, it said in the -- in the proposed rule at Page
5 41348 that if these were to be regulated as drugs, they
6 would have to be found safe or found generally recognized
7 as safe

8 and -- and I quote, "Neither of these outcomes can be
9 viewed as a realistic possibility," close quote, no
10 realistic possibility of finding these products safe.

11 QUESTION: For an individual, but, I mean, can't
12 they have a remedy that creates safety overall rather than
13 a remedy that will in fact lead to a lot of people being
14 hurt?

15 MR. COOPER: I submit not. The -- there --
16 there is no general public health standard under this
17 statute. Section 903 21 USC 393 requires FDA to ensure
18 that drugs are safe and effective, and under Section
19 360(c)(2)(a), that means for the people who use them,
20 and the statute also requires that there be a reasonable
21 assurance that medical devices are safe and effective.

22 This Court reviewed the standard for medical
23 device approval in Medtronic. It's a rigorous standard.
24 It relates to the health of the individuals who will use
25 the product.

1 QUESTION: I guess --

2 QUESTION: So if it --

3 QUESTION: I guess on the theory that Justice

4 Breyer is inquiring about, the FDA could -- could approve

5 the -- the sale of -- of cocaine, and in effect adopt the

6 -- the theory of many people who want legalization of

7 drugs; that the overall social benefit of legalizing them

8 will -- will outweigh the individual harm. You'll have

9 much less crime and so forth and so on. I suppose if the

10 FDA has -- can do this kind of a thing with cigarettes, it

11 could do it with -- with marijuana, with any of the other

12 drugs that -- you know, overall it would be better to have

13 a free market in this stuff, and some people would be

14 hurt, but the society at large would be helped. I guess

15 this is the theory we're talking about.

16 QUESTION: Yes.

17 QUESTION: You don't disagree with that, do you?

18 QUESTION: Yes, yes. I thought Methadone -- I

19 thought -- sorry -- cocaine and these drugs are the

20 Controlled Substances Act, a different act. I also

21 thought that Methadone in fact does involve such a theory.

22 MR. COOPER: But I don't -- I -- I -- that's not

23 the way the Food, Drug and Cosmetic Act requires drugs and

24 devices to be regulated.

25 QUESTION: But, Mr. Cooper, suppose -- suppose

1 that heroin, it wasn't unlawful. Suppose, as in the case
2 of cigarettes, it's lawful. Are you saying if -- if
3 heroin were legalized that the FDA then could not regulate
4 it?

5 MR. COOPER: If it does not purport to have a
6 health benefit, it's not subject to regulation under the
7 FDCA, but that doesn't mean it escapes regulation. It
8 could be regulated under the Controlled Substances Act, as
9 in fact it is.

10 QUESTION: But not by the FDA.

11 MR. COOPER: But not by the FDA.

12 QUESTION: So, if a product is simply harmful to
13 one's health, then it falls outside of the FDA.

14 MR. COOPER: There are thousands of products
15 that are potentially harmful or injurious that are --
16 that's why Congress --

17 QUESTION: But one that's ingested in the body.

18 MR. COOPER: Even ones that can be ingested into
19 the body. Household cleaning fluids, for example, can be
20 ingested by children, for example.

21 QUESTION: Yes, but where the -- where the core
22 use of it is ingesting it into the body --

23 MR. COOPER: Well --

24 QUESTION: -- not an accident.

25 MR. COOPER: Street drugs. Street drugs. If

1 somebody puts out a street drug and says this will -- is
2 for pleasure, that's not regulated by FDA. That's
3 regulated by the Drug Enforcement Administration.

4 QUESTION: Well, you're saying then if we
5 legalize marijuana on the theory it has some health
6 benefits for people with certain disease and so forth, you
7 say the FDA could not regulate marijuana?

8 MR. COOPER: Oh, no. If there's a theory that
9 it's for health benefits, then certainly FDA does regulate
10 it. That's where FDA comes in, where there is a claim of
11 health benefit.

12 QUESTION: But if the intent of the
13 manufacturers of cigarettes is to provide certain health
14 benefits, why is that different --

15 MR. COOPER: Well, there's --

16 QUESTION: -- if there is the intent, which, of
17 course, you dispute?

18 MR. COOPER: There's no finding by FDA that any
19 cigarette manufacturer has intended to provide a health
20 benefit.

21 QUESTION: What about some of these so-called --

22 QUESTION: What -- not the suppressant, the
23 suppressant of -- appetite suppressant and the three or
24 four things they mentioned, relaxant and stimulant and so
25 on?

1 MR. COOPER: FDA has said that those are
2 effects. It has not said that those are significant
3 enough to be beneficial. There's no such finding.

4 QUESTION: Well, suppose they made that finding.

5 MR. COOPER: We'd have a different case.

6 QUESTION: But they then regulate if -- if they
7 had the same evidence on intent?

8 MR. COOPER: They would have to have legally
9 sufficient evidence of intent, and --

10 QUESTION: They say they do.

11 MR. COOPER: -- that requires a claim.

12 QUESTION: They say they have such objective
13 evidence, and I didn't understand you to disagree with
14 that finding.

15 MR. COOPER: Oh. FDA says at page 45194 in the
16 Final Rule that they are not relying on any claims,
17 anything on the package labeling --

18 QUESTION: Not claims.

19 MR. COOPER: -- any representations made.
20 They're relying entirely on other kinds of evidence.

21 QUESTION: Are you saying that if the requisite
22 intent as hypothesized by Justice Stevens were found, that
23 FDA could regulate despite the existence of the
24 congressional statutes that have been enacted?

25 MR. COOPER: No. I think -- I think those

1 statutes --

2 QUESTION: So the statutory argument stands on
3 its own?

4 MR. COOPER: Yes, it does, and I think it --
5 technically, you would say it precludes a finding that a
6 -- that a tobacco product is within the jurisdiction of
7 FDA under the definitions.

8 QUESTION: Could I ask one other question which
9 is -- I mean, I seem -- to me, underlying your basic food
10 and cosmetic argument -- food -- the -- that Act, there
11 were two really basic points, and one you've dealt with,
12 which is the question of, well, what remedy. It doesn't
13 foresee a sense of a remedy, and that's a question of
14 flexibility. And the other thing is what I thought
15 Justice O'Connor asked earlier, which is it will produce a
16 whole lot of bizarre results such as, if you could
17 regulate tobacco, then they could regulate thermal gloves.
18 Have I focussed you on what I'm thinking of?

19 MR. COOPER: Yes.

20 QUESTION: Okay. Now, in thinking about that, I
21 wanted to ask you, suppose you got the thermal-glove
22 effect, you know, warm hands, through a pill. You know,
23 somebody said take this pill, it will toughen your skin
24 and bring gloves -- bring blood to your hand. Well, now
25 we're taking it through a pill and now it's going to

1 affect our metabolism and change the chemistry of the
2 brain or something. Well, is it absurd that the FDA could
3 regulate that kind of stuff if you got it through a pill?

4 MR. COOPER: With a claim of the type you
5 describe?

6 QUESTION: Well, that's what I'm interested in.
7 When is the claim part? And I think we've dealt with
8 that. Leave the -- I mean, not that you've -- I'm saying,
9 let's put that to the side for a minute and come back to
10 it if you'd like, but is there anything other than the
11 claim? You know, what they do is they say take this pill,
12 it's metabolized, it affects your brain, creates an
13 addiction, and lo and behold, you've got warm hands if it
14 gets cold in the winter.

15 MR. COOPER: Sounds like alcohol.

16 QUESTION: Yeah -- or no. Well, it's -- yeah,
17 maybe it is, and so could they regulate that if it's not
18 a food?

19 MR. COOPER: As a drug?

20 QUESTION: Yeah.

21 MR. COOPER: No. I would -- I would say they
22 could not.

23 QUESTION: They could not? Why not?

24 MR. COOPER: There are other statutes. There
25 are other statutes. If I put out --

1 QUESTION: Why -- why -- why not in terms of the
2 words of the Act, the purpose of the Act, the limitation
3 which has gotten -- see, I got the limitation by working
4 backwards from the device statute. Do you see what I mean
5 there?

6 MR. COOPER: Yes, because --

7 QUESTION: You know, if the device is not, well,
8 this is.

9 MR. COOPER: I think I understand.

10 QUESTION: Yeah.

11 MR. COOPER: The purpose of the Act, separate
12 from other health -- there are many other health and
13 safety statutes. The purpose of this statute is to
14 regulate products that purport to provide benefits to body
15 structure or functioning. If all --

16 QUESTION: This does it before.

17 MR. COOPER: If all a product does is present
18 risks and some other kinds of benefits, non-health
19 benefits, then you can regulate it under the Consumer
20 Product Safety Act
21 and --

22 QUESTION: Well, what about Marmola? I mean,
23 why -- why would a pill that keeps your hands warm be
24 different from a pill that makes you look slim and trim?

25 MR. COOPER: Unless there's a claim that it

1 keeps your hand warm, nobody would know.

2 QUESTION: Or -- but is then that -- is it only
3 the claim that makes the difference?

4 MR. COOPER: Yes.

5 QUESTION: Only the claim?

6 MR. COOPER: It's the -- it's the -- and the
7 nature of the claim.

8 QUESTION: Right, if it's only -- okay.

9 MR. COOPER: There's got to be a claim, and it's
10 got to be of a -- of a benefit.

11 QUESTION: Is it good enough to say the claim --
12 the claim, in our case of the hand-warmers, it keeps your
13 hand warm with Marmola, it keeps you thin, and with
14 cigarettes, what it does is it makes you feel tranquil,
15 stimulated, and cures a physical craving that it created
16 through addiction. That's the claim, okay? Now, under
17 those circumstances, aren't those three things the same?
18 Then we can get to whether there is a claim.

19 MR. COOPER: If there is a claim of a
20 non-trivial --

21 QUESTION: No, but I'm -- I'm trying to leave
22 the claim out of it for the moment. I'll -- have we got
23 three similar cases? Marmola, the hand-warming pill, and
24 let's call it the cigarette.

25 MR. COOPER: And all of which, just so I have

1 the question clear --

2 QUESTION: All of which you're saying in the one
3 case, we keep your hands warm, in the second case, we keep
4 you slim and trim, and in the third case, we keep you
5 tranquil, stimulated, and we cure an addiction, i.e., we
6 satisfy an addictive craving that we ourselves created.

7 MR. COOPER: I don't think that satisfying
8 addiction is sufficient.

9 QUESTION: Okay, we got --

10 MR. COOPER: But if you -- if -- if you have a
11 product that -- that makes a claim to stimulate or to
12 sedate, that's within FDA's jurisdiction.

13 QUESTION: Okay. Now, if that's so and all
14 we're left with is a --

15 MR. COOPER: It's not a tobacco product.

16 QUESTION: No, no.

17 MR. COOPER: We don't have the tobacco-specific
18 statutes.

19 QUESTION: Okay, got all that out.

20 All -- if all we've got left is the claim, now,
21 why isn't it the same as making a claim that everybody who
22 buys the product knows that you want it to do that and you
23 do want it to do that, and so they don't have to read
24 words on a package, they've got the point once you say
25 it's a cigarette?

1 MR. COOPER: Because the way the Food, Drug and
2 Cosmetic Act has always worked is that the initiative for
3 defining the purpose, the use of the product is with the
4 manufacturer. It's done through the approval process.
5 When the manufacturer submits the application to FDA, it
6 covers not only the product. It covers the proposed
7 labeling for the product, which specifies what the product
8 is to be
9 for -- is to be used for, and thereby specifies the
10 dimension of efficacy that's to be assessed by FDA.

11 QUESTION: All right. What -- what do you make
12 of the regulation which has apparently been on the books
13 for decades which we have referred to or the FDA has
14 referred to as objective intent? That seems to be an
15 alternative to a claims-made scheme.

16 MR. COOPER: No, I say it's the same. It's not
17 objective evidence of intent. It's objective intent, and
18 I say it's a strict analogy to congressional intent. Like
19 congressional intent, it's not what's in somebody's mind.
20 It's what's written on public documents that everybody can
21 see and everybody can know about.

22 We talk about the intent of --

23 QUESTION: It is certainly a very obscure way of
24 referring to an express claim.

25 MR. COOPER: If you -- if you go through the

1 various sentences in the regulations, FDA says objective
2 intent is determined by the representations of the
3 manufacturer or other vendor. In the absence of such
4 representations, we can look to objective circumstances.
5 FDA very easily --

6 QUESTION: And the objective circumstances are
7 the subject of Justice Breyer's question. Why are not
8 these objective circumstances subject to FDA notice even
9 though there is no express claim?

10 MR. COOPER: They come into play only where
11 there is no intended use established by other
12 representations. When the case of --

13 QUESTION: You mean it's a default rule?

14 MR. COOPER: It's a default rule.

15 In the case of tobacco products, we have had for
16 decades, time out of mind, representations that their
17 intended use is for smoking pleasure --

18 QUESTION: Okay. And what -- what is the --

19 MR. COOPER: -- and taste and so on.

20 QUESTION: What -- and I -- I think this has
21 passed over me because I didn't know it was coming. What
22 is the textual basis for your saying it is simply a
23 default rule?

24 MR. COOPER: Just reading it. I mean, it's in
25 the regulations.

1 QUESTION: Well, you were just referring -- you
2 were just referring --

3 MR. COOPER: It's in -- it's in the regulations.

4 QUESTION: -- to the text. What is -- what is
5 the textual phrase, if you can give it to me?

6 QUESTION: It's not statutory text. It's
7 regulatory text.

8 QUESTION: That's -- yeah.

9 MR. COOPER: This is -- it's in the regulations.
10 The words "intended use" or words of similar import refer
11 to the objective intent of the persons legally responsible
12 for the labeling of the drugs. Next sentence. The intent
13 is determined by such persons' expressions or may be shown
14 by the circumstances surrounding the distribution of the
15 article.

16 QUESTION: Well, "or" does not sound to me --

17 MR. COOPER: Right.

18 QUESTION: -- like a default rule. It sounds
19 like an alternative.

20 MR. COOPER: I'm just -- I'm -- that's how it
21 has been understood for decades. That -- there are many
22 drugs, for example --

23 QUESTION: You're saying it's been understood is
24 the default.

25 MR. COOPER: Well, there are many drugs and

1 devices, some of the most important in all of medicine,
2 that have off-label uses, that are not covered by the
3 representations by the manufacturer, that are widespread,
4 common, foreseeable, and medically necessary --

5 QUESTION: So your --

6 MR. COOPER: -- to save lives.

7 QUESTION: -- your -- your argument, I guess, is
8 if you're going to preserve the -- the concept of
9 off-label uses, you've got to take this default.

10 MR. COOPER: Yes. Otherwise, all of those
11 products become unlawful -- unlawful.

12 QUESTION: Okay.

13 QUESTION: The primary purpose --

14 QUESTION: Well, but then the --

15 QUESTION: -- primary purpose would serve the
16 same thing. It's the primary purpose of the cigarette
17 manufacturer to produce this satisfaction or tranquility
18 or stimulation through an addictive mechanism. It is not
19 the primary purpose of the drug manufacturer to produce
20 the off-label use.

21 MR. COOPER: It may well be. In the case of --

22 QUESTION: Oh. Well, if it is, then why --

23 MR. COOPER: In the case --

24 QUESTION: -- shouldn't they go --

25 MR. COOPER: Well --

1 QUESTION: -- through the process?

2 MR. COOPER: -- take a concrete example.

3 Children's aspirin is -- is virtually -- has virtually no
4 use for children these days because of Reye's syndrome, is
5 widely used by adults on the advice of physicians.

6 QUESTION: And on your view, the FDA could not
7 regulate the use of baby aspirin for adults.

8 MR. COOPER: Except if -- if FDA finds --

9 QUESTION: Under the way they now advertise it,
10 they could not regulate it; isn't that right?

11 MR. COOPER: Well, they can. They can. FDA can
12 always determine that overall it is an unsafe product,
13 taking everything into account.

14 QUESTION: Even though there are no claims
15 involved?

16 MR. COOPER: You -- you can take the adverse --
17 yes. You can take adverse effects --

18 QUESTION: Provided, though, it has to be
19 intended for -- for use on the human body.

20 MR. COOPER: No, no. FDA's safety assessment is
21 with respect to whether the benefits of the intended use
22 outweigh the risks from -- from all uses of the product.

23 QUESTION: Yes, but --

24 QUESTION: Most -- most children's aspirin says
25 on it, also for adult aspirin regime.

1 MR. COOPER: Yes, but without specifying what
2 it's for.

3 QUESTION: Well, it's not the end of the world
4 if they can regulate children's aspirin. I mean --

5 MR. COOPER: They do regulate it.

6 QUESTION: -- so they should. Right. So I
7 thought the claim, of course, is always present with
8 almost all drugs because drugs normally by their name
9 don't explain themselves, but the unusual thing here is
10 that we do have a product that everybody knows what it
11 does, and that's why I ask whether claim isn't really
12 indicative of intent rather than the other way around.
13 Why do you need the word "claim" which isn't in the
14 statute --

15 MR. COOPER: You need --

16 QUESTION: -- when in fact you have the product
17 that the manufacturer wants it used for X and everybody
18 knows it?

19 MR. COOPER: You need the word "claim" in order
20 to make the statute workable. You need it for several
21 reasons. You need it to avoid the -- making all drugs and
22 devices with off-label uses unlawful and depriving the
23 medical community of those products. Second, you need --

24 QUESTION: Why the -- the way around that -- the
25 way around that was primary purpose.

1 MR. COOPER: But that -- that's got no textual
2 basis either, with due respect.

3 QUESTION: Well, it would avoid the problem that
4 you have. A lot of this --

5 QUESTION: Mr. Cooper, are you going to talk
6 about your statutory argument? You say you have a whole
7 separate basis that -- that exists separately. Frankly,
8 my -- my whole concern with this thing is -- is that even
9 assuming that originally the Food and Drug Act could have
10 been interpreted to -- to apply to cigarettes, there's a
11 lot of water over the dam since then, including
12 representations
13 by -- by commissioners which have been the basis for other
14 Federal legislation. Now, do you want --

15 MR. COOPER: Let me say --

16 QUESTION: -- to discuss what that other Federal
17 legislation is --

18 MR. COOPER: I'd say two -- two things.

19 QUESTION: -- and why you think it's
20 inconsistent with -- with the Food and Drug Act?

21 QUESTION: Just as a preface to this same
22 subject, I -- I had the same concerns with the case, and
23 they were addressed by Justice Souter when he asked about
24 the global position of the case with reference to the
25 statute, and I wasn't quite sure that the Solicitor

1 General was able to -- to focus in on it either.

2 As part of your discussion, perhaps you could
3 tell me -- tell us, Section 1331, does this repeal the --
4 the original FDA in part and -- or -- or is it an
5 indication that Congress is now taking away jurisdiction
6 that once the FDA would have had?

7 MR. COOPER: Let me -- it's not a repeal, but I
8 -- it's -- it's analogous methodologically to Estate of
9 Romani and to U.S. v. Fausto. You have multiple statutes
10 and you need to read them together to make sense.

11 What I would say 1331 shows, that there's more
12 at stake here than health. Health problem is obviously
13 critical, but Congress in 1331 made it clear that it's
14 balancing and making tradeoffs among a number of interests
15 in addition to health. Economic interests, interests in
16 informed adult choice, those are beyond the ken of FDA.

17 As Commissioner Kessler said, the regulation of
18 tobacco raises, in his words, societal issues of great
19 complexity and magnitude. Those are not for FDA. Those
20 are for Congress. Congress addressed them in the Federal
21 Cigarette Labelling and Advertising Act, and it told how
22 it was going to do it and how -- how these products are to
23 be regulated in 1331.

24 QUESTION: What you're saying basically, there's
25 kind of a legal stenosis going on here; that because of

1 everything that has happened, the original grant to the --
2 to the FDA has been somewhat narrowed?

3 MR. COOPER: I -- I would say there was no
4 original grant to FDA. The possibility of an original
5 grant, the theoretical possibility has been eliminated --
6 was eliminated in 1965.

7 Give you one other example. FDA acknowledges
8 that the cigarette and smokeless statutes prevented from
9 requiring health information on packages of tobacco
10 products. These are products sold over the counter.
11 Health information on drugs and devices sold over the
12 counter is the predominant way that FDA ensures that these
13 products are safe and effective. If you take that away
14 from FDA, as Congress did with respect to tobacco
15 products, there's no way to ensure as a practical matter
16 that these products be safe and effective. It would make
17 no sense for Congress to delegate to FDA authority to
18 regulate tobacco products as over-the-counter drugs and
19 devices, but disable FDA from using the primary tool to
20 ensure the safety of these products.

21 You go into a drug store. You pick up a drug or
22 a device. It will tell you in great detail how to use it
23 safely and effectively, and FDA is disabled from using
24 that core power with respect to these products.

25 QUESTION: Do you read 1331 as saying -- as

1 being a congressional determination that tobacco is a
2 lawful product?

3 MR. COOPER: Yes, I do, and -- and -- and that
4 determination existed even in 1938. In the Agricultural
5 Adjustment Act of 1938, which is cited on page 10 of the
6 Philip Morris Lorillard brief, Congress in Section 311,
7 which today is 7 United States Code 1311, found that the
8 marketing of tobacco is one of the greatest basic
9 industries of the United States, and further found that
10 stable conditions therein are necessary to the general
11 welfare. That finding is absolutely incompatible not only
12 with a ban, but with a delegation to an agency of
13 authority to ban.

14 QUESTION: Which is conceivable. I guess
15 downhill skiing is not good for your health either, and --
16 and we do allow that, don't we?

17 MR. COOPER: We permit adults --

18 QUESTION: Yeah.

19 MR. COOPER: -- and others to do that.

20 I would submit that FDA's assertion of
21 jurisdiction here is lawless, and however admirable its
22 intentions, its motive, it is setting aside established
23 principles of law. It is doing real harm to the Food,
24 Drug and Cosmetic Act, potentially expanding the agency's
25 jurisdiction beyond limit, and severely weakening the

1 consumer protection provisions of the Act in the interest
2 of enhancing the Agency's discretion. That Congress
3 provided for the way these products are to be regulated,
4 and if there are new facts, the precedent of 1964 should
5 be followed when the Surgeon General made his report to
6 Congress and went and testified and Congress enacted a new
7 statute. That's what should happen here, and FDA's
8 assertion of authority should not stand.

9 Thank you.

10 QUESTION: Thank you, Mr. Cooper.

11 General Waxman, you have 2 minutes remaining.

12 REBUTTAL ARGUMENT OF GEN. SETH P. WAXMAN

13 ON BEHALF OF THE PETITIONERS

14 GEN. WAXMAN: Lawless. The agency has made a
15 reasoned determination about a statute that this Court has
16 always given it great deference to, and this -- which this
17 Court has uniformly said must be given a broad reading to
18 effectuate its purposes. It has found without dispute
19 that pharmacological effects are produced, they are
20 intended, and that the manufacturers secretly for years
21 have engineered their products to sustain those particular
22 uses.

23 The -- the notion that this somehow exceeds the
24 bounds of the law, I suppose, depends on either a notion
25 that although this statute is careful in different

1 sections to talk about intended use versus claims -- and
2 we've cited many of the instances in our -- in our brief
3 -- nonetheless, intended use has to be meant to read -- to
4 read claim.

5 That -- if this Court were to construe the FDCA to have
6 intended use mean market claims would revolutionalize the
7 way this agency has done business for more than 60 years,
8 and it would create the largest regulatory hole in
9 existence by allowing anyone, no matter how dangerous or
10 benign their product, to market it simply by saying that
11 it provides satisfaction, or it's ibuprofen, we're not
12 going to tell you what it -- what it regulates.

13 QUESTION: What do you do about -- about the
14 doctors using -- using medicines for non-prescribed uses?
15 What -- how do you explain that?

16 GEN. WAXMAN: As we've explained in our brief at
17 page 5 and with specific reference to the aspirin example,
18 which is the only example that they've given, the FDA does
19 not regulate off-label use by -- may I finish my answer?
20 -- does not regulate off-label use by physicians, but it
21 provides -- and there is a 1972 notice that was published
22 in the Federal Register that when it determines that an
23 off-label use becomes widespread or common, it will
24 inquire, ask the manufacturer to come in and may require
25 it to label it, which it has done with respect to baby

1 aspirin itself.

2 CHIEF JUSTICE REHNQUIST: Thank you, General
3 Waxman.

4 GEN. WAXMAN: Thank you very much.

5 CHIEF JUSTICE REHNQUIST: The case is submitted.

6 (Whereupon, at 10:59 a.m., the case in the
7 above-entitled matter was submitted.)

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