| IN THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT FOR THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA | | |
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| UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, Plaintiff, vs. THOMAS E. CALDWELL, ET AL., Defendants. |)))) (CR No. 21-28) Washington, D.C.) September 8, 2021) 2:00 p.m.))) | |
| TRANSCRIPT OF MOTION HEARING PROCEEDINGS BEFORE THE HONORABLE AMIT P. MEHTA UNITED STATES DISTRICT JUDGE APPEARANCES: | | |
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| Proceedings recorded by mechanical stenography; transcript produced by computer-aided transcription | |
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PROCEEDINGS

2 THE COURT: Good afternoon, everyone. Please be 3

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seated. DEPUTY CLERK: Your Honor, this is Criminal Case No. 21-28, United States of America versus Defendant No. 1, Thomas Edward Caldwell; Defendant No. 2, Donovan Ray Crowl; Defendant No. 3, Jessica Marie Watkins; Defendant No. 4, Sandra Ruth Parker; Defendant No. 5, Bennie Alvin Parker; Defendant 7, Laura Steele; Defendant 8, Kelly Meggs; Defendant 9, Connie Meggs; Defendant 10, Kenneth Harrelson; Defendant 11, Roberto Minuta; Defendant 12, Joshua James; Defendant 13, Jonathan Walden; Defendant 14, Joseph Hackett; Defendant 15, Jason Dolan; Defendant 16, William Isaacs; and Defendant 17, David Moerschel; Defendant 18, Brian Ulrich. Jeffrey Nestler and Kathryn Rakoczy on behalf of

the government.

David Fischer on behalf of Mr. Caldwell; Carmen Hernandez on behalf of Mr. Crowl, Shelli Peterson on behalf of Ms. Watkins; John Machado on behalf of Ms. Parker; Stephen Brennwald for Mr. Parker; Peter Cooper for Ms. Steele; David Wilson for Mr. Meggs; Juli Haller and Stanley Woodward for Defendant Connie Meggs, Bradford Geyer and John Moseley for Defendant Harrelson; Jenifer Wicks for Defendant Minuta; Joni Robin and Chris Leibig for Defendant James; Thomas Spina and Ed MacMahon for Defendant Walden,

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Angie Halim for Defendant Hackett; Michael Van Der Veen for
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     Defendant Dolan; Eugene Rossi for Defendant Isaacs; Scott
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     Weinberg for Defendant Moerschel; and Attilio Joseph Balbo
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     for Defendant Ulrich.
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               Defendants Jessica Watkins, Kelly Meggs,
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     Kenneth Harrelson, Roberto Minuta, and Joshua James are
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     appearing in person for this matter.
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               Defendant Moerschel's presence has been waived by
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     counsel for this hearing.
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               And all other defendants are appearing remotely.
               THE COURT: Okay, Counsel, good afternoon.
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               To all of the defense, good afternoon.
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               To all of those who are here physically, welcome
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     to the courtroom.
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               For those of you who are here remotely, welcome.
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               Just a couple of housekeeping matters before we
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     get started:
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               For those of you who are here, it looks like
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     everybody is already on board, but please keep your masks on
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     unless you're addressing the Court, in which case if you're
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     comfortable, you can remove your mask while you're at the
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     lectern, that's fine by me. But otherwise, you should keep
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     your mask on at all times.
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               Secondly, the -- we have at least three
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     defendants, Mr. Meggs, Mr. Harrelson, and Ms. Watkins, they
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are, I believe, in the courthouse, but they are in a
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     separate overflow room and able to watch the hearing.
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     I just want to make sure their lawyers were all aware of
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     that; that that's how we've accommodated those three
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     defendants, because we were unable to link them up with the
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     Department of Corrections, okay?
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               Thirdly, Mr. Harrelson, is Mr. Geyer either
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     present or --
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               MR. GEYER: Yes, Your Honor. Present.
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               THE COURT: How are you doing, Mr. Geyer?
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               MR. GEYER: Good afternoon.
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               THE COURT: Why don't you just come on up here
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     quickly so we can just address your client's situation.
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               So just so the record reflects what's going on
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     with Mr. Harrelson, he originally had two counsel, which,
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     I believe, he had retained, he removed those counsel and
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    hired Mr. Pierce, John Pierce. Mr. Pierce has been
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     unavailable at least the last couple weeks, I don't know
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     what his current health situation is, but Mr. Harrelson, we
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     got word, I think it was late last week, that he intended to
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     replace Mr. Pierce, and you've entered your appearance.
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               Mr. Harrelson's first set of counsel did file a
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     fairly substantive motion in this case, and, in fact, there
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     are a couple of pending motions as well.
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               So I don't know where you find yourself in terms
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of your ability to present argument today or if you intend to present argument or you wish to at least consider the possibility of delaying it to another date with respect to those arguments that are raised in Mr. Harrelson's brief. MR. GEYER: So I spoke with the defendant's wife, who is the -- has power of attorney, on, I believe, Friday. I came on to the case technically sometime Friday night. Since that time, I've kind of reoriented my activities around this case. I came here today to ask for an additional I briefly discussed that with Mr. Nestler. I agree with your characterization, sir, of the motion to dismiss that was prepared by the initial law firm, but, again, that's on a first glance. I'd really like to dig into it and make sure that it's -- everything is comprehensively presented as it should be. I've noticed in some of the responses by the government, the brevity of them makes me wonder if maybe there was some information or evidence that was left on the table and didn't make it into a motion. I've never met Mr. Pierce. Thank you, by the way, to Mr. Nestler who reached out to me while I was meeting my client for the first time for one minute, Mr. Harrelson, and he told me about Mr. Pierce. I'm very relieved that his health has improved.

I have no way of -- I've never spoken to him, I've 1 2 never spoken to any of his people who work with him, I have 3 no way to evaluate that situation. 4 I briefly called -- I spoke to the client. 5 He said muddle forward as best you can. And I called the --6 his wife, and she said, we'd like you to stay on. And I 7 said, well, it's like an impossible situation for me here. 8 THE COURT: If I can just interrupt, Mr. Geyer. 9 I mean, look, I think the bottom line here is --10 what I'm hearing you say is that you're not prepared to --11 MR. GEYER: Yes. THE COURT: -- make argument today, and that's 12 13 completely understandable. 14 In terms of a 30-day continuance, I think what 15 I'll do is as follows: Let's just see where we are at the 16 end of today. I mean, I've read -- I've spent a lot of time 17 with these motions and the government's opposition and 18 planned to sort of go through the waterfront of all of the 19 arguments regardless of which particular counsel and 20 defendant raise them. And so at the end of the day, I may 21 not need a Harrelson-specific argument; I mean, the motion 22 is fairly comprehensive. But why don't we just see where we are at the end 23 24 of the day and then we can figure out whether we need to 25 schedule another hearing just on Mr. Harrelson's motion or

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not, if that's acceptable to you.
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               MR. GEYER: Yes, that is.
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               I'll mention real quick that I did speak with some
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     of the other counsel about the possibility of them at least
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    being supportive of some additional time.
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               There's been no coordination among defense
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     counsel. Something that we lost and are rescheduling now
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    might be regained with better coordination among the group.
     I'll just tender that for your consideration, sir.
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               THE COURT: All right.
               Well, you know, with a case involving, I think
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     we're up to 16 defendants, there's a lot of moving parts --
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               MR. GEYER: Yes, I understand.
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               THE COURT: -- and we're just trying to corral
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     everybody here and keep everybody moving in the right
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     direction, so...
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               MR. GEYER: All right.
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               THE COURT: All right.
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               Terrific.
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               MR. GEYER: Thank you, sir.
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               THE COURT: Thank you, Mr. Geyer, I appreciate
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     that.
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               In terms of -- just so that the record is clear,
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     the motions that we're going to deal with today are as
               There is the motion to dismiss that Mr. Caldwell
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     follows:
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filed at ECF 240. That motion has been joined, I think, by
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     all defendants.
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               Mr. James has a couple of motions filed at ECF 269
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              Those motions have been joined by some defendants.
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               Mr. Harrelson's motion, which I just mentioned at
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     ECF 278, and then there's Mr. Crowl's motion at 288.
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               There's also a motion to transfer venue at 273.
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     That motion has been joined, I think, by nearly everybody,
    maybe with the exception of one or two defendants.
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               There are a number of other outstanding motions
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     that were filed more recently, and let me just be clear on
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     what those are: There's a motion to sever and a motion to
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     suppress identification testimony. Those were filed by
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    Mr. Meggs at ECF 1 -- excuse me, 315, 316.
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               Mr. Harrelson has a motion to sever at 342, as
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     well as a bond review motion.
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               Mr. Meggs also has a bond review motion.
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               Mr. Crowl filed a motion to dismiss Counts 1 and 2
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     and a request for Grand Jury minutes at 382, also a motion
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     to dismiss Count 3 at 384.
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               Ms. Meggs, Connie Meggs, has recently filed a
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    motion to dismiss Count 1 through 4 at 386.
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               And Mr. Minuta also filed a motion that seemingly
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     is particular to him at 389 to dismiss the case.
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               None of those motions are before me today, they're
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not ripe or at least -- I shouldn't say they're not all ripe, but certainly the more recent motions that go to the indictment are not ripe, and so those aren't going to be argued today. If they need argument, we'll schedule something. But for now, we're going to focus on the motions that are before me and that I've just identified.

In terms how we're going to proceed today, what I would propose is as follows, is that we would simply just do this by count. Counts 1 and 2 are the counts that are most — as to which the arguments — the most substantive arguments have been directed; that is, the conspiracy count and the obstruction count, the substantive standalone obstruction count.

There are additional arguments concerning Count 4, that's the entry into a restricted area count, we can turn to that next.

And then Mr. James has some arguments, as well as a motion for bill of particulars with respect to Count 8, and, I believe, one other count that relates to him.

One of the arguments is essentially now moot by virtue of the fifth superseding indictment. An argument was made, I think, by multiple counsel, about either sort of duplicity concerns about -- I can't remember which count it was, but there were duplicity concerns with a particular count that -- I think it was the destruction of evidence

counts, the tampering with documents or proceedings, those counts that involved certain defendants and the destruction of Facebook postings or other material.

The fourth superseding indictment originally had identified the official proceeding as the FBI investigation or a Grand Jury investigation, at least two of the defendants noted that there's case law to the effect that the law enforcement investigation such as that alleged in this indictment is not an official proceeding for purposes of 1512(c)(1).

And then the fifth superseding indictment which followed those contentions dropped the FBI from those tampering counts, and so that it's only the Grand Jury investigation that is the official proceeding that is the subject of those counts. And so I think that argument is now moot for our present purposes. If anybody disagrees with me, you'll let me know when you stand up.

So with that, why don't we go ahead and turn to Count 1 and Count 2. And we'll start with Mr. Caldwell's counsel, Mr. Fischer. And then we've got Ms. Hernandez, who also has made a motion with respect to Count 1 and Count 2.

MR. MACHADO: Your Honor, prior to that -I apologize, this is Mr. Machado, on behalf of actually
Bennie and Sandra Parker.

My clients have an issue with regard to a family $\ensuremath{\mathsf{M}}$

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member, their daughter, and they are wondering if they could
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    be excused from this hearing, with the understanding that
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     we will provide them with the next court date, and they have
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     no problems waiving any -- tolling any time, wondering if
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     they might be able to be excused and I'll inform them of the
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     results of this hearing.
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               THE COURT: I mean, if they do not wish to be
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    present, they don't have to be present.
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               And so if they want to be excused from the
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    hearing, they are certainly free to not be present remotely.
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               MR. FISCHER: Thank you very much, Your Honor.
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     I apologize for interrupting.
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               THE COURT: No problem.
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               Mr. Fischer.
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               MR. FISCHER: Thank you, Your Honor.
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               If the Court would please.
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               Your Honor, as to Counts 1 and 2, there are two
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     issues that the Court needs to deal with as far as the
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     motions -- the motion that I filed.
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               Number one is the definition of "official
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    proceeding," and number two is the reach of the residual
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     clause, 1512(c)(2), which is what Mr. Caldwell is charged
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     under, as well as a number of other defendants as well.
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               Our position is that the term "official
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    proceeding" applies to congressional hearings, or it could
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apply to impeachment, but it applies to a hearing context, a judicial or quasi-judicial type proceeding.

As to 1512(c)(2), there are two issues; number one is -- our position is that the residual clause applies to conduct that is aimed exclusively at Congress's legislative power of inquiry and not other things, but aimed exclusively at the legislative power of inquiry.

And, third, as to 1512(c)(2), our position is that that statute applies to conduct that's intended to thwart justice or to cause a miscarriage of justice.

In short, Your Honor, we believe that the statute that Mr. Caldwell is charged under prosecutes — its intent to prosecute obstruction of justice, and that's not something ordinarily one would consider, interrupting an Electoral College certification.

Your Honor, the legislative history that I cited in detail that I discovered and I put in my reply brief is, I believe, is pretty compelling. On three different occasions, Congress attempted to pass the residual clause: 1979, which appears to be the first time Congress tried to pass what is now 1512, 1981, and also 1982. And the three times that they -- Congress put these bills forward, the language specifically laid out that the conduct in question only applied to Congress's power of legislative inquiry; in other words, it was clear Congress was --

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THE COURT: Doesn't the fact that the current statute doesn't reflect -- that limitation suggests that Congress didn't intend for the residual clause to be so limited? MR. FISCHER: Not at all, because I think, Your Honor, what happened, Congress, when they put 1515 forward, 18 U.S.C. 1515 forward, and they spelled out the various types of proceedings that are considered official proceedings, they were simply restating everything that they had stated in those prior proposed statutes. I mean, 1515 defines "official THE COURT: proceeding" to be simply a proceeding before Congress, right? I mean, Congress didn't include any qualification as to the type of proceeding before Congress, and so why would there need to be some judicial gloss that limits the type of proceeding before Congress that has to be the object of the conduct? MR. FISCHER: Because the word "proceeding," Your Honor, means a court-like activity, a hearing. That's what "proceeding" means. So when the Congress passed the statute --THE COURT: So what else -- I mean, what other proceeding before Congress other than impeachment would fall within that definition of yours?

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MR. FISCHER: Congressional hearings. THE COURT: But that's not a judicial-like or quasi-judicial -- I mean, an ordinary congressional hearing in which witnesses appear to testify about consideration of legislation, that's not quasi-judicial in any sense. They're not taking evidence. They're not -- nobody's --I mean, there's a chairman, but there's no presiding officer. They're not dealing with objections, for example. I mean, I'm not sure how anything other than impeachment would qualify under your narrow definition. MR. FISCHER: Well, Your Honor, apparently, Congress at one point intended my definition in the 1979, 1981, and 1982 proposals that were put forward. And I suspect it's much easier -- it would seem much more logical that Congress simply tightened the language when it constructed 1515 than it would be to think that Congress radically changed its intent, because it clearly intended, under these statutes, the 1979, '81, and '82 legislation, it clearly limited --THE COURT: So then how do I deal with the fact that Congress used very different language, in terms of defining the type of proceeding before Congress, just a few sections earlier in 1505, right? 1505 speaks to obstruction with respect to any -the very -- what you suggested: The power of inquiry under

which any inquiry or investigation is being had by either 1 2 house. 3 So, I mean, you know, one could sort of conclude 4 that if Congress intends to limit the type of proceeding 5 before it, it knows very well how to do that and did that in 6 a neighboring provision but chose to leave it relatively 7 broad here. MR. FISCHER: Well, Your Honor, I believe, first 8 9 of all, the other parts of 1515 regarding court hearings, 10 administrative hearings, they would be covered by the exact 11 same language that were used in these proposed bills. 12 Your Honor, the reality is, what Congress was 13 getting at was when they use the term "before Congress," 14 "before" is a term that implies it's before a hearing, it's 15 before a congressional committee. 16 And, Your Honor, a committee, they take testimony 17 under oath. 18 And logically, this is an obstruction-of-justice 19 statute. 20 THE COURT: I guess I don't understand that. 21 It seems odd to me that your argument is that a 22 committee hearing would qualify as an official proceeding, 23 but when both houses of Congress convene to carry out its 24 constitutional and statutory duty in a fairly regimented --25 when I mean regimented, I mean sort of a statutorily laid

out process, that that would not qualify. It seems backward to me, if anything.

MR. FISCHER: Your Honor, if you look at it from the point of view is of which is a more serious undertaking, obviously, Electoral College certification is a once-every-four-year event, and it's a very important event for our country. And legislative hearings are things that happen every other day in Congress.

But the difference is, at a legislative hearing, those hearings require — they need truthful testimony; they need to be able to take — to have witnesses come to hearings and not be intimidated out of testifying. They can't have a situation where Congress is trying to obtain documents for very important legislation or investigatory hearings and somebody is destroying the documents.

So it all comes back to this is an obstruction-of-justice statute, and there's absolutely nothing about an Electoral College certification that says — that the average person would believe is justice related. There was no testimony being taken, there were no witnesses being called, there were no documents to produce.

So, Your Honor, if you look at it from the point of view which is a more serious type of event, obviously, I mean, it would just be like if somebody interrupted Congress voting on a declaration of war. That's a very

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serious event, but it's not obstruction of justice.
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               So, Your Honor, if I can move along now, I'd also
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     point out that in the -- I cited also legislative history,
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     extensive legislative history, which pointed out that
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     section -- that these proposed statutes were designed to
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     incorporate the residual clauses in 1503 and 1505. And
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     I did point out, the government, the DOJ's prosecution
    manual, did state -- and it's still out there, it's been out
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     there for many, many years, and it states that the purpose
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     of the term "proceeding" is the same proceeding that is
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     under 1503 and 1505.
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               I mean, the reality is, Congress should engage in
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     legislative tightening and did not intend to expand the
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     reach of the statute beyond that.
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               THE COURT: But I mean -- I'm sorry, but -- well,
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     I mean, 1515 is pretty clear that the definition of
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     "official proceeding" that's set forth in 1515 is as it's
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     used in 1512 and 1513. So it's not the same meaning of
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     "proceeding" that Congress intended, perhaps, in 1503 or
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     1505. In fact, it's quite explicitly limited to two other
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     sections, right?
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               MR. FISCHER: Well, Your Honor, it's impossible to
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     say with 100 percent Congress's intent on anything.
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               THE COURT: I try to figure that out every day.
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               MR. FISCHER:
                             What we do know is there was an
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obvious intent -- I'll just put it this way: The government's position in the DOJ manual was that the purpose of this statute was to basically incorporate 1503 and 1505, the word "proceedings," and to eliminate the pending proceeding requirement. That's how the government interpreted the statute.

Your Honor, there's also the issue of what conduct

Your Honor, there's also the issue of what conduct does -- assuming that the contact reaches something outside of legislative inquiry matters, what conduct then constitutes a violation of the statute.

Now, I cited Yates, I know Ms. Hernandez cited the Yates case as well. At least in the Yates case, one could see that throwing fish overboard, contraband fish overboard, would be obstruction of justice, one could envision that being obstruction of justice. It's much more difficult to envision interrupting an Electoral College proceeding as obstruction of justice.

The statute, I think, should be read in light of 1512(c)(1), which is -- which deals with documents. This whole statute was under the -- or this provision was put into place by -- with the Sarbanes-Oxley legislation. And so the purpose of this statute would seem to be limited to obstructive acts that deal with document shredding or something of similar behavior. So it should be limited in that respect as well.

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So, Your Honor, unless the Court has any other
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     questions, those were the points.
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               THE COURT: Okay.
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               Thank you, Counsel. I'll give you an opportunity
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     if you'd like some rebuttal after I hear from the
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     government.
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               MR. FISCHER: Thank you, Your Honor.
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               THE COURT: All right.
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               Ms. Hernandez.
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               MS. HERNANDEZ: Good afternoon, Your Honor.
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               THE COURT: Good afternoon.
               MS. HERNANDEZ: Your Honor, initially I just want
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     to say, in case we don't cover any points, I think whatever
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     was stated in the briefs and the motions and in the reply
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    memo, including Mr. Harrelson's original motion, I would ask
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     if we don't mention it at the hearing or if I don't mention
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     it at the hearing, I don't mean to waive any statements
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    made, which are probably more articulate than anything
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     I will say to the Court today.
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               So, Your Honor, I think I would submit to the
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     Court that it's fairly clear that this statute, in two
22
     respects, fails the due-process clause, because it's
23
     overly -- at least as applied by the government to the facts
24
     of this case, it is unconstitutionally vague.
25
               And, of course, the Court is not ruling -- it's
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not being asked to rule on a clean slate. You've got the Poindexter opinion out of the D.C. Circuit, which has not been overruled, which has been applied by the Circuit and by other judges in this district.

And you've got the Yates opinion out of the Supreme Court, which interpreted a separate obstruction provision, but an obstruction provision that was enacted under Sarbanes-Oxley, so at the same time, and had a similar "otherwise" term.

And the Court there, I think, Justice Ginsburg, was clear that she said, you have to interpret that term, whatever comes after "otherwise," with reference to what the statute is about. I believe what the Court -- the term that the Justice Ginsberg used was the term "spoliation of evidence," which really goes to the notion that -- and goes hand in hand with obstruction statutes; it goes hand in hand with the notion that the action, the actus reus involved some attempt to falsify -- to attack the integrity of the evidence. People lie, suborn perjury, destroy documents.

THE COURT: Can I interrupt you, Ms. Hernandez.

I want to unpack the arguments that, I think, are in your brief and make sure I understand them.

I understand you to be making three arguments, and you tell me if I'm wrong. The first is the statute on its face -- let me do it in sort of reverse order, if you will.

The first is that the terms of the statute, in 1 2 particular the word "corruptly," is facially vague. 3 MS. HERNANDEZ: Correct. 4 THE COURT: That is, it's vague in all of its 5 applications, in any application. 6 The second argument you seem to make, that it is 7 vague as applied to your client and the other defendants in this case. 8 The third argument you seem to make is that the 9 10 statute itself does not reach the conduct, okay? 11 MS. HERNANDEZ: Okay. THE COURT: And those are three different 12 13 arguments, they're informed by different cases in different 14 sets of analytical frameworks. 15 The first argument about facially invalid seems 16 problematic to me, because even in Poindexter the Court said 17 that there is some core activity that is corrupt, right? 18 So -- in bribes, et cetera. And so facially invalid, at 19 least as I understand it, means that a statute or a word in 20 a statute is so vague that no one in any circumstance could 21 understand what it means. 22 MS. HERNANDEZ: Correct. 23 And I don't -- I mean, I think the statute in this 24 case relying on Poindexter, an argument could be made that 25 it's facially unconstitutional, the term "corruptly," and

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the Court, the Poindexter court says several times corruptly
 1
 2
     is --
               THE COURT: Well, that wasn't what the Court held
 3
 4
     in Poindexter.
 5
               MS. HERNANDEZ: Well -- right. But --
 6
               THE COURT: In fact, the holding is inconsistent
 7
     with that.
               MS. HERNANDEZ: It's facially unconstitutional so
 8
 9
     we're going to see if we can find some way that it's not --
10
     as applied, that it's constitutional.
11
               But the bottom line is, whether it's facially or
12
     as applied, I'm happy to live with as applied.
13
               THE COURT: Oh, I know, but I want to make sure
14
     that we're talking about the arguments you're actually
15
     making.
16
               So the second argument about facial -- excuse me,
17
     vague as applied, tell me whether you think Arthur Andersen
18
     affects -- the Supreme Court decision in Arthur Andersen
19
     affects the consideration of that argument. And
20
     specifically, as you know, the Court in Arthur Andersen
21
     found there to be a definition or held that there was a
22
     definition of knowingly corruptly in, I think, it's
23
     1512 (b) --
24
               MS. HERNANDEZ:
                               Right.
25
                           That was -- was not problematic.
               THE COURT:
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MS. HERNANDEZ: That would be dicta, because the
 1
 2
     Court -- first of all, the Court never uses the term
 3
     "vagueness" anyplace in the statute.
 4
               And it overturns the conviction because the
 5
     instruction, which was --
 6
               THE COURT: Right.
 7
               I mean, but you're relying on dicta in Poindexter,
     so it's kind of --
 8
 9
               MS. HERNANDEZ: Well, I don't think I'm relying on
10
     dicta.
11
               But the point is that I think it's hard to argue
12
     that if found, that there's some definition that is
13
     constitutional; and if found, that the definition that was
14
     given to the jury in Arthur Andersen was deficient, and,
15
     therefore, I think -- I mean, I think it --
16
               THE COURT: But the deficiency in Arthur Andersen
17
    had nothing to do with -- it had everything to do with
18
     corruptly, in the sense that the jury instruction didn't
19
     require two things; one, it didn't require a quilty mind;
20
     that is, the jury was actually instructed that an innocent
21
    mind could still result in a conviction; and two, the jury
22
     instruction did not require that there be a nexus between
23
     the conduct and the proceeding --
24
               MS. HERNANDEZ: I don't --
25
               THE COURT: -- right?
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1
               MS. HERNANDEZ:
 2
               THE COURT:
                          I mean, those were the two flaws with
 3
     the jury instructions in Arthur Andersen.
               MS. HERNANDEZ: Well, Your Honor, I don't want to
 4
 5
     concede that in this sense.
 6
               THE COURT: Okay.
 7
               MS. HERNANDEZ: When the Court says that the Court
 8
     found that the jury was allowed to find that non- -- or
 9
     legal conduct would be -- would violate the statute, that's
10
     not exactly, I don't think, what the Arthur Andersen court
11
     says, because the Arthur Andersen court talks about the
12
     problem with -- one of the big problems with the instruction
1.3
     is that the government persuaded the District Court to take
     out the word "dishonest" and instead just used "impede."
14
15
               THE COURT: Right.
16
               MS. HERNANDEZ: And so -- which is exactly what
17
     the government is doing here, because our statute, our
18
     statute, 1512(c)(2), one of the ways you can violate it is
19
     by impeding. So the Court --
20
               THE COURT: Right, but the government is not
21
     asking to drop "corruptly" from any --
22
               MS. HERNANDEZ: Yeah, but they're asking -- the
23
     key in Arthur Andersen was that dropping the "dishonest" --
24
               THE COURT: Let me just read --
25
               MS. HERNANDEZ:
                               -- definition.
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THE COURT: -- what the Court said in
 1
     Arthur Andersen.
 2
               They were referring to 1512, I think it's (b)(1):
 3
 4
     You know, "The parties have not pointed us to any
 5
     interpretation of 'knowingly ... corruptly' to guide us
 6
     here. In any event, the natural meaning of these terms
 7
     provides a clear answer. 'Knowledge' and 'knowingly' are
 8
     normally associated with awareness, understanding, or
     consciousness. 'Corrupt' and 'corruptly' are normally
 9
10
     associated with wrongful, immoral, depraved, or evil.
11
     Joining these meanings together here makes sense both
12
     linguistically and in the statutory scheme. Only persons
13
     conscious of wrongdoing can be said to 'knowingly ...
14
     corruptly persuade.' And limiting criminality to persuaders
15
     conscious of their wrongdoing sensibly allows 1512(b) to
16
     reach only those with the level of 'culpability ... we
17
     usually require in order to impose criminal liability."
18
              MS. HERNANDEZ: So I'll --
19
               THE COURT: Now, I'll admit to you that the
20
     current -- you know, 1512(c) doesn't have the word
21
     "knowingly" in it, but --
22
              MS. HERNANDEZ: I don't want to.
23
               THE COURT: -- let me assure you that if there's a
24
     jury trial in this case, they will be instructed that the
25
     actions have to be knowing, including the state of mind.
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MS. HERNANDEZ: So I would argue to the Court that
that passage is dicta, because it is some broad statement
that is not what they held and was not the instruction that
was produced -- that was submitted to the jury, so that was
not the instruction that was before the Court.
          And, frankly, the Poindexter court says very
clearly that moral, depraved, evil -- and it's not just
Poindexter, there's other Circuits who have said moral,
deprived people are unconstitutionally vague.
         And interesting, one of the cases the government
cites, the Seventh Circuit case where Justice Posner --
I mean, Judge Posner, for some reason, draws some value from
the fact that the Supreme Court failed to imply something.
But in that case, the District Court said, nobody knows what
"corruptly" means.
          But I would say to the Court --
          THE COURT: So would you -- is it your position
then that all of the -- I mean, if I accepted your position,
which is that "corruptly" is vague --
         MS. HERNANDEZ: It's vague as applied.
          THE COURT: -- as applied. Okay.
         MS. HERNANDEZ: It's absolutely vague as applied.
          There are -- Justice Scalia --
          THE COURT: So why is it vague as applied in this
case?
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MS. HERNANDEZ: Because --
 1
 2
               THE COURT: In -- hang on.
 3
               In other words --
 4
              MS. HERNANDEZ: Because my client didn't bribe
 5
     anybody, he didn't pay off anybody, he didn't seek to gain
 6
     any personal --
 7
               THE COURT: No, but he's alleged to have -- to
     cross barriers, rush past police officers --
 8
 9
               MS. HERNANDEZ: That's not accurate.
10
               THE COURT: -- entered the Capitol with the intent
11
    to obstruct an official proceeding.
12
              MS. HERNANDEZ: Okay. So --
13
               THE COURT: No. Hang on. You've got to let me
14
     finish.
15
              MS. HERNANDEZ: But that's not accurate.
16
               THE COURT: I don't interrupt you, Ms. Hernandez.
17
              MS. HERNANDEZ: Excuse me, Your Honor?
18
               THE COURT: I said, I don't interrupt you. So let
19
    me just finish.
20
              MS. HERNANDEZ: Sorry, Your Honor.
21
               THE COURT: You know --
22
              MS. HERNANDEZ: I'm not sure that's true, though.
23
               But, nonetheless, Your Honor, the Court has its --
24
    the Court deserves all my respect, and I'll just keep my
25
    mouth shut.
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In any event, it just seems to me that THE COURT: if you were to ask anybody, the average person, whether that kind of activity -- and I'm not saying they're quilty of anything, but that's what's alleged -- that that would meet the definition of "corrupt." MS. HERNANDEZ: That's abs- -- first -- I think the average person -- and it's -- the D.C. Circuit several times in Poindexter, in North, Judge Silberman in North, Scalia several times, said all --THE COURT: Yeah, but --MS. HERNANDEZ: -- I'm sorry -- they all cite dictionary definitions of "corrupt," which would bring in this notion of paying off, bribing, trying to get something for yourself that's not -- you know, I think the average person, that's their notion. A corrupt -- a corrupt politician. What does a corrupt politician do? He's taking money under the table to do something. "Corruption" for most people is doing something -paying off somebody, doing something that gives yourself person gain. And all the cases, including some of the cases that the government cites is, oh, look this case upheld this and this case -- they all -- this notion of dishonesty, this notion of putting money in our pocket that doesn't belong to you, no case -- and two things, Your Honor, about going back to Arthur Andersen. I don't think Arthur Andersen, whatever

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it said about the jury instruction in that case that the
 1
 2
     Court read, that's dicta, that's not what was before the
 3
     Court; two, it is -- and the D.C. Circuit is very clear on
 4
     that and other Circuits are very clear on that -- it is
 5
     different to say if you try to impede a witness from
 6
     testifying in a court hearing or if you try to impede or
 7
     prevent some document from being presented at a court
 8
     hearing, most people would say that's wrong, that's corrupt.
 9
     Influencing Congress, going to Congress and shouting and
10
    making a fool of yourself? That's what we Americans do.
11
     And we do -- that is done every day.
12
               THE COURT: Well, that may be.
13
               MS. HERNANDEZ: And it's done every day.
14
               THE COURT: Hang on.
15
              MS. HERNANDEZ: Let me finish this thought,
16
     please.
17
               And the Circuit is very clear that when you're
18
     dealing with attempts to "obstruct Congress," you've got a
19
     different analysis, because there's a lot of innocent
20
     conduct that falls within this notion of "attempt" -- it is
21
     impossible -- I think the Court says it's an absurd reading
22
     of 1505 and Poindexter to think that Congress intended to
23
     make illegal attempts to influence it. That's the
24
     First Amendment. So I don't think the cases that uphold --
25
     and, again --
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THE COURT: All right. 1 2 MS. HERNANDEZ: -- Arthur Andersen involved --3 THE COURT: I'm going to interrupt you now because 4 I haven't done so in a while. 5 But, look, you're right, people do stand up in 6 Congress all the time, and this is a question I have for the 7 government, but that's not what your clients -- or your defendant is accused of doing, okay? It's a different kind 8 of action than -- and we can have a discussion about the 9 10 last of your arguments in a moment, but you cannot compare 11 standing up necessarily in a committee room with what these 12 defendants are being accused of, at least in terms of state 1.3 of mind. 14 MS. HERNANDEZ: Absolutely not, Your Honor. 15 Those defendants, including the defendants in the 16 case that went to the Supreme Court where they got up and 17 interfered -- you know, interrupted the -- a Supreme Court 18 hearing time and time again. One would get pulled out and 19 the next one. Those defendants had the specific intent to 20 interrupt that hearing. 21 My client, there is -- the government -- the 22 indictment is --23 THE COURT: They weren't charged with obstruction. 24 MS. HERNANDEZ: Again, that's because of the 25 ability to arbitrarily apply the statute.

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They absolutely could have been charged under
1512(c)(2). They had the specific purpose to interfere,
impede that hearing, and that was an official proceeding,
and they were charged with misdemeanors.
          THE COURT:
                     So let's talk about that argument.
         MS. HERNANDEZ: But, Your Honor, I mean --
          THE COURT: Hang on.
         MS. HERNANDEZ: -- I dispute the way you --
          THE COURT: You know, Ms. Hernandez, it's better
not to interrupt me, okay?
         MS. HERNANDEZ: Excuse me?
          THE COURT: It's better not to interrupt me when I
want to move on to something else, okay?
         MS. HERNANDEZ: Yes, sir.
          THE COURT: Let's talk about the argument that,
I think, actually has given me a great deal of pause and is
one I want to spend a fair amount of time with when the
government gets up, and that is this Yates argument and
whether the statute actually reaches the conduct that's
alleged in this case, okay?
          Tell me why, in your view and in your estimate,
the plain text of this statute doesn't reach this conduct.
The conduct that is outlawed by 1512 is as follows: Someone
who corruptly "otherwise obstructs, influences, or impedes
any official proceeding, or attempts to do so."
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Why doesn't --
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 2
               MS. HERNANDEZ: If I --
 3
               THE COURT: Hang on.
 4
               Why doesn't someone, with the intent, as they've
 5
     been alleged to have done in this case, to interfere with,
 6
     to halt, to stop, hinder, those are the words used in the
 7
     conspiracy count, why doesn't that meet the definition of
     "obstructs, influences, or impedes" corruptly?
 8
               MS. HERNANDEZ: First of all, that may be what's
 9
10
     in the count, but what the statute says is "obstruct,
11
     impede, and influence."
12
               If you add "otherwise" and you add "evade,
13
     corrupt, " you've got nothing. Anybody could -- and not only
14
     that, every person who goes before Congress -- I mean, a
15
     couple of years ago, about two years ago, there were some
16
     handicapped persons who went before Congress, Congress was
17
    hearing a Medicaid bill, and they were there and they tried
18
     to -- they were in the hallway, it was a ghastly scene
19
     because they were dragged -- unceremoniously dragged out of
20
     the halls of Congress.
21
               During the confirmation of Justice Kavanaugh, that
22
     would be --
23
               THE COURT: Ms. Hernandez, you're not answering my
24
     question.
25
               MS. HERNANDEZ: Okay. So I'm sorry.
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THE COURT: My question is: Why doesn't this
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 2
     conduct fall within the plain terms that Congress used in
 3
     this statute?
 4
               MS. HERNANDEZ: So --
 5
               THE COURT: Otherwise -- hang on -- otherwise
 6
     obstructs, influences, or impedes any official proceeding.
 7
               You're making arguments about arbitrary
 8
     enforcement, selective enforcement. That may be part of
 9
     this, but I've asked you --
10
               MS. HERNANDEZ: For the reasons --
11
               THE COURT: Why doesn't the conduct that's alleged
12
     satisfy the statute on its face?
13
               MS. HERNANDEZ: For the reasons -- it doesn't
14
     satisfy the statute on its face, because the term
15
     "otherwise" cannot be read as broadly as the government
16
     wants it. And Yates makes that very clear. Justice
17
     Ginsburg said, we may want there to be some general
18
     spoliation statute, but that's not how we -- it's not our
19
     job, by that, meaning the Court's job, to broaden what
20
     Congress did.
21
               It is impossible to believe that the term
22
     "otherwise" -- it has never been applied to a demonstration
23
     in the manner that -- there's not one case in 20 years that
24
    has charged that kind of conduct. It doesn't reach that.
25
               THE COURT: You're making a different argument,
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I understand that.
 1
 2
               MS. HERNANDEZ: Well, the answer is --
 3
               THE COURT: You're making a different argument,
 4
    but that's okay.
 5
               MS. HERNANDEZ: Okay, the answer is what
 6
     Justice Ginsburg said. You have to look at the --
 7
               THE COURT: So otherwise -- so, Yates, the statute
 8
     at issue, involved a single sentence, document, something --
 9
     I can't remember -- document, record, or tangible object, it
10
     was in a serial -- series of terms.
11
               This section, this "otherwise" is separated in a
12
     separate subsection in 15(c) -- 1512(c). There's
13
     1512(c)(1), which talks about document destruction, and then
14
     otherwise.
15
               Why is that not better read as a catch-all
16
    provision that is divorced from the preceding section, which
17
     is (c)(1), and focuses strictly on document destruction?
18
               MS. HERNANDEZ: As the D.C. Circuit said -- I know
19
     that's the argument the government makes, that the
20
     concept -- the principle ejusdem generis doesn't apply.
21
               But the D.C. Circuit, in TransUnion, used, again,
22
     a nearly identical statute. The case is TransUnion
23
     Corporation versus FTC, cited at page 26 of my reply,
24
     81 F.3d 228 at 234, D.C. Circuit 1996, it is a statute
     almost identical. It has several subsections, full
25
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sentence -- or full phrases, with a semicolon separating the two, sort of like our (c)(1) and (c)(2).

And the government -- the D.C. Circuit in that case applied the Latin term, which is when a general term follows the specific one, the general term should be understood as a reference to subjects akin to the one with specific enumeration.

The D.C. Circuit said it applies in this case.

There's no difference between that formulation, that is, a phrase, semicolon, another phrase. That's exactly what

(c) (2) does. It has a (c) (1), semicolon, and a (c) (2).

You can't just -- it is a statute that was enacted to attack corporate fraud. I cite the legislative history. It is a statute that was to attack corporate fraud. It has never been used to prosecute demonstrators. It is impossible to believe that this passes due process constitutional fair notice to my client, that if he enters the Capitol, he will be -- he will expose himself to 20 years in prison.

There are -- we have thousands of criminal statutes in the United States Code. The government is free to prosecute each defendant in this case with whatever statute they feel applies to the facts, but they're not allowed to twist these words into a fashion that just eliminates any meaning that Congress intended or that these

words mean. 1 2 If the term "otherwise" is as broad as the 3 government proposes, then that's the only statute you would 4 need -- obstruction would have to be otherwise, and that 5 covers everything. Whereas, that's not it; that -- if 6 (c)(2) is read as the government wants it to, you don't need 7 anything else in 1512, because it covers everything. 8 And, again, as I say, particularly in a case where 9 you're talking about a congressional hearing with all the 10 legitimate and First Amendment protected rights that 11 Americans have to shout at and impede and try to influence 12 and do all these things to get their legislators to do what 13 they want, it just -- it boggles the mind that this statute 14 would be applied to these defendants or to my client. 15 I mean, if it falls over to others, fine, but my client is 16 not alleged to have beaten anybody up. And if he had --17 THE COURT: Okay. 18 MS. HERNANDEZ: -- 1512(a) would cover it --19 I mean, it wouldn't even cover it. 20 THE COURT: All right. 21 Anything further, Ms. Hernandez? I want to move 22 to the government. 23 MS. HERNANDEZ: I'm sorry? 24 THE COURT: I said, anything further? I want to 25 move to the government now, unless you have anything

additional to add. 1 2 MS. HERNANDEZ: With the Court's indulgence. 3 Every case that the government cites is 4 distinguishable or doesn't even say what the government 5 claims it says. 6 I mean, it throws out these cases because it 7 upheld prosecutions under 1512. And when you look at the instruction that was given to the jury, the instruction that 8 9 was given to the jury includes the term "dishonest." And 10 all the cases involve this notion of spoliation of evidence, 11 and that's it. If these defendants had gone in there and stolen 12 13 the votes or done something to prevent -- somebody from 14 test- -- that would be one thing. But the notion that this 15 statute applies, it just -- and, again, I think the Court is 16 not writing on a clean slate. Poindexter controls and so 17 does Yates, I would argue to the Court. 18 Thank you, Your Honor. 19 THE COURT: Thank you, Ms. Hernandez. 20 Okay. On behalf of -- before I do that, I ought 21 to at least -- does anybody else, on behalf of the 22 defendants, wish to add anything at this point? None of you 23 have written anything, but if there's anybody that wants to 24 add anything orally, I'll open the floor for a minute to do 25 that.

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Okay. Hearing no takers, we'll hear from the
 1
 2
     government.
 3
               Oh. Yes.
 4
               MS. HALLER: Your Honor, we filed our motion on
 5
     September 2nd, so it's not ripe yet. I represent Connie
 6
    Meggs, who still has argument. We do have argument on this
 7
     and we do have another point to raise on this issue.
 8
     I would respectfully request that I can --
 9
               THE COURT: Well, I guess -- the only issue with
10
    Ms. Meggs's more recent motion as that it's not ripe and I
11
     sort of said at the beginning --
12
              MS. HALLER: That's true.
13
               THE COURT: -- that we wouldn't be dealing with
14
          The government hasn't had an opportunity to respond to
15
     it so --
16
              MS. HALLER: Thank you, Your Honor.
17
               THE COURT: Okay?
18
              MR. FISCHER: Thank you, Your Honor.
19
               THE COURT: All right.
20
              Mr. Nestler.
21
              MR. NESTLER: Yes, Your Honor.
22
               So Mr. Fischer started with legislative history,
23
     which we believe to be very telling. The Supreme Court has
24
     counseled time and again that the Court should not look to
25
     legislative history, should not try to discern Congress's
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intent, which Mr. Fischer acknowledged we can never know with 100 percent certainty, when the text of the statute is unambiguous. And here, the text of the statute is unambiquous. And so the government's position, Your Honor, is that 1512(c)(2) is unambiguous, 1515(a)(1)(B) is unambiguous, and that ends the inquiry, there's no need to resort to looking at legislative history. THE COURT: So I wish it were that simple. And if it were, I would agree with you and this would be a very short hearing. But the Supreme Court has said something very different in Yates, and that's the case I want to focus on. And what the Court has said quite clearly is that "the dictionary definitions of terms in a criminal statute may not necessarily be the end-all in terms of determining what the meaning of the statute is." And the Court in that case goes through a number of different factors, looks at the title, looks at the placement of the provision, it looks at statutory canons of construction, and comes up with a definition of "tangible object" that is narrower than tangible object is ordinarily understood, okay? It seems to me -- and I don't want to -- it seems to me -- and I say this after having thought about this a

fair amount -- that this statute potentially suffers from

the same problems, at least as applied to this case, and I want to get your reaction as to why that's not so.

We have a statute here that was borne out of Sarbanes-Oxley that was focused on corporate crime and the destruction of property -- excuse me, destruction of evidence coming out of Enron. So context provides us one clue.

Secondly, it's put in a statutory provision that concerns interference of evidence and the destruction of evidence or the presentation of evidence. That's 1512 generally, tampering with witnesses, et cetera.

Thirdly, the statutory provision you're beginning with starts with "otherwise," a term that arguably links it to, in some way, the preceding section, which is limited to document shredding. It seems to me a fairly far leap to go from document shredding to the conduct that is at issue here.

And fourth, in Yates when it was all said and done, the Court relied on the Rule of Lenity to say, we're going to give this a more narrow interpretation.

So I could follow the Yates analysis here and follow that path and get to the position Ms. Hernandez has tried to articulate and it wouldn't be that hard. So tell me why that's wrong.

MR. NESTLER: Yes, Your Honor, several reasons.

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We'll start with the fact that Yates is a
plurality decision. And so the decision that Your Honor is
citing is the plurality. Justice Alito provided the fifth
vote in a concurrence. And he didn't just concur in the
judgment, that he concurred and wrote separately. And so we
want to start with recognizing that limitation of Yates.
          Secondly, 1519 and 1512 are different
structurally. 1519, which Yates considered, is one long
paragraph. And the Court resorted to the statutory
construction canon of ejusdem generis because the phrase
"tangible object" there was in the end of a sentence or a
clause of a sentence following several other words, like
"record" and "document," which is why the Court looked at
the phrase there.
          1512(c) is structured far differently. And so
Congress -- the government submits that ejusdem generis is
not an applicable canon when interpreting 1512(c) because of
the structure.
         And we'll go to -- I'll start, Your Honor, with
the Aquilar decision where Justice Scalia --
          THE COURT: Well, before you go to Aquilar --
         MR. NESTLER: Yes.
          THE COURT: So in Begay -- you're familiar with
U.S. versus Begay, right?
          MR. NESTLER: Yes, Your Honor.
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THE COURT: It's another case that involved the word "otherwise." And it was the armed career criminal offender provision.

And I will concede to you from the get-go that that provision is structured differently in two important respects; one, it sort of provides examples and then says "otherwise." And, two, like you've suggested, it's sort of in a string of words, as opposed to here, we've got two separate sections.

I'll agree with you that it's structurally a different statute. But at a minimum, what the Court does at least recognize and seems to recognize and Circuits have said this, actually, in some of the cases that you've cited, that that "otherwise" word actually means, at a minimum, that the conduct is -- and I'm just sort of reading what the Court said in Begay, "these considerations taken together convince us that to give effect to every word and clause of this statute, we should read the examples as limiting the crimes that clause covers to the crimes that are roughly similar in kind, as well as the degree of risk posed to the examples themselves."

The Court suggested that otherwise while it can be a different type of conduct, at least it ought to have some connectivity with the conduct that precedes it. And in this case, the conduct that precedes it is the shredding of

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     documents.
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               This resembles nothing like the shredding of
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     documents.
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               MR. NESTLER: That's correct.
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               So in some statutes, the word "otherwise" is
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     tethered to a list that precedes it. And in 1519, the word
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     "otherwise" wasn't used, but it's similar, which is -- and
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     that's where we go back to the canon of ejusdem generis,
     which is, when the word "otherwise" is following a list,
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     then the Court -- the Supreme Court has said we ought to
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     look to what precedes the words after "otherwise" to help
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     limit or give construction or definition to what comes after
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     "otherwise."
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               There are other statutes.
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               THE COURT: So do you think I should just ignore
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     what (c)(1) prohibits --
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               MR. NESTLER: In this situation?
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               THE COURT: -- and that "otherwise" is essentially
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     a catch-all that covers every other conceivable form of
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     obstructive conduct?
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               MR. NESTLER: Yes, Your Honor.
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               THE COURT: So there's no limitation on the
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     conduct that (c)(2) can capture?
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               MR. NESTLER: That's not what I said --
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               THE COURT: Okay.
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MR. NESTLER: -- but that is correct that we do
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     not believe that (c)(2) needs to be read in conjunction with
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     (c)(1).
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               THE COURT: Okay.
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               MR. NESTLER: They share a prefatory clause, which
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     is "whoever," and they share a penalty; otherwise, they
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     don't share any common attributes.
               In fact, (c)(1) has an additional and separate
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 9
    mens rea requirement --
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               THE COURT: Right.
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               MR. NESTLER: -- which is an intent to impair the
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     availability of a document for the proceeding.
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               (c) (2) does not have that separate mens rea
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     requirement.
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               THE COURT: So what's -- I mean, this is, I think,
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     the million-dollar question in many respects: What's the
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     limiting principle of how the government -- the Department
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     of Justice, United States, applies (c)(2)? What does the
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     work -- because I think even you would concede, or at least
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     I hope you would concede, that (c)(2) on its face clearly
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    brings in innocent conduct, somebody intends to influence
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     Congress, that -- there's nothing inherently unlawful about
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     that.
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               MR. NESTLER: So --
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               THE COURT:
                           I'm sorry?
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MR. NESTLER: I'm sorry, I didn't realize
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     Your Honor wasn't done.
               THE COURT: No, no, I just want -- I take it you
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     agree with that?
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               MR. NESTLER: Correct.
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               THE COURT: Right.
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               So what is it about (c)(1) then -- or, excuse me,
     1215 -- 1512(c) that provides the limiting principle that
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     distinguishes between unlawful conduct and lawful conduct?
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     Is it "corruptly"?
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               MR. NESTLER: There are two limiting principles.
     The first is "corruptly."
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               THE COURT: Okay.
               MR. NESTLER: The word "corruptly" does provide a
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     limiting principle.
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               So calling one's legislator and asking them to
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     vote or not vote on a bill is not corrupt. And so the
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     government submits that "corruptly" does a lot of the work
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     in terms of limiting (c)(2).
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               The other limiting principle comes from Aquilar
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     and Arthur Andersen. Aguilar, looking at 1503, and Arthur
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     Andersen looking at 1512(b), which is the nexus requirement.
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               And so both of those things, the government
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     submits, and when it comes time to talk about jury
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     instructions, Your Honor, we're prepared to talk about that,
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there are limiting principles there tied to the nexus 2 requirement that the Supreme Court has said are appropriate. 3 We agree. 4 THE COURT: So how much work does that really do, 5 in the following sense? 6 I mean, take the hypothetical that that is the 7 obvious one. Somebody stands up at a Senate confirmation 8 hearing for a Supreme Court justices and yells, "stop these proceedings." Is that a 20-year felony? 10 MR. NESTLER: Likely not. And there are a couple of reasons: Well, we have to look at the person's intent. What were they -- was their 12 13 intent corrupt and what did they intend to actually 14 accomplish? Did they intend to have their voice heard by 15 Congress and have their position known and to have a 16 momentary second or minutes? 17 THE COURT: So what if the person stands up and 18 says, "Stop these proceedings now," "These proceedings have 19 to come to a stop now, " because that's what you've alleged 20 the object of the conspiracy here is, was to halt these 21 proceedings, right? Would that be a 20-year felony? 22 MR. NESTLER: No. 23 But the object here was not just to halt the 24 proceedings, the object here was to scare Congress into 25 halting the proceedings.

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And so if a person stands up in a congressional
proceeding and says, "There is a bomb under all of your
chairs, stop the proceeding now, " their actions might be
corrupt.
          THE COURT: I mean, that's not what --
          MR. NESTLER: If they just say, "I want you to
stop" --
          THE COURT: Where do I look in the indictment for
that?
          I mean, now you've suggested that this bordered on
threatening conduct. You didn't use the word "threatening
conduct," but, I mean -- you know, the purpose of the
conspiracy was to stop, delay, and hinder the certification
of the Electoral College vote.
         MR. NESTLER: Correct.
          THE COURT: That was the purpose of the
conspiracy.
          MR. NESTLER: That was the purpose of the
conspiracy.
          THE COURT: Right.
          MR. NESTLER: But one of the means by which the
defendants evidenced their intent to act corruptly in doing
so was by their show of force; their numbers, their weapons
that they had stashed in Virginia, in this particular case;
mostly their numbers here and their use of force with the
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police officers.

The other important limiting factor, Your Honor, for the congressional proceeding hypothetical or the confirmation proceeding, is that those individuals were lawfully present at the time they made those statements.

So a person who attends a judge's confirmation hearing before the Senate Judiciary Committee, has a ticket, is there, is seated, is peaceful, and causes some sort of outburst or disruption. And so there are other statutes, obviously, that the government has used in the past in order to prosecute that conduct.

Here's, there's no allegation that any of the defendants here were lawfully present at the Capitol Grounds.

THE COURT: I mean, doesn't the concern that's raised in Supreme Court cases about -- I mean, essentially what you've said is, trust us, we know the difference between obstruction under (c)(2) -- we know what's obstructive under (c)(2) when we see it.

I mean, it has that feel to it. And that is a real problem when it comes to criminal statutes, to suggest that we know it when we see it and we'll pick and choose when we think it's an appropriate exercise of prosecutorial discretion.

MR. NESTLER: That is not what we are saying,

Your Honor.

We are saying when the defendants — the putative defendants' actions evidence their corrupt intent, and we understand the — whether something is corrupt is ultimately a jury question and ought not to be decided on a Rule 12 motion, whether the defendants' actions here were corrupt. I understood Ms. Hernandez to be arguing that her client was not corrupt, he didn't have the correct mens rea. And the government submits that's a jury question, ultimately the jury should decide that based on the instructions the parties and the Court formulate.

But it's not a trust-us situation. It's a -- if the defendants' conduct could fall within this statute that they were acting corruptly and that their conduct had a nexus in order to -- related to the official proceeding.

THE COURT: So if you're right that Congress intended 1512(c)(2) to reach as broadly as you've suggested, what then is left of the other obstruction statutes? Why do we need them? Why do we need 1505? Why do we need 1503? I mean, doesn't the very broad construction that you've suggested essentially swallow those other provisions?

MR. NESTLER: No.

And that's because this is how Congress typically does legislate. They give specific examples and specific statutes, and then sometimes Congress sees fit to include a

residual or a catch-all, either a statute or a subsection or 1 2 a part of a subsection, and Congress includes catch-alls. 3 And so we have several examples we cite in our 4 briefs, and I can provide with the Court with others, where 5 Congress provides a catch-all that, under the line of 6 thinking Your Honor just said, might encompass and swallow 7 up everything else that Congress brought before. But 8 Congress wants to give examples and give specificity, and sometimes then will provide a catch-all provision. 9 10 THE COURT: But what evidence is there -- what do 11 you think the best evidence is that Congress intended for 12 this catch-all -- and I'll concede to you it has a catch-all 13 quality to it -- was intended to reach as far as you 14 suggest; that is, to be completely unmoored from the other 15 aspects of 1512, right? 16 1512 addresses witness tampering, destruction of 17 documents. This is conduct that is arguably different in 18 kind and, in a sense, different in its object. Those other 19 portions -- those other portions of the statute has an 20 object, a witness, a piece of evidence, and the destruction 21 or influencing of testimony. 22 This is not that. This is an effort to stop a 23 proceeding, whether temporarily or permanently. 24 MR. NESTLER: A couple of answers to that,

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Your Honor.

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THE COURT:

First, we submit that it's not appropriate to look at Congress's intent, because Congress's intent is diffuse. Congress is a large, multi-hundred-person body. And so the intent of Congress is hard to discern, as we just talked about, by looking at legislative history. THE COURT: When I use that term, I mean through the statutory text and other clues of meaning. I don't mean what was in the head of particular Congressmen and women. MR. NESTLER: Right. And so the clearest example of that is the language that Congress settled on and negotiated and compromised on, and this is -- we believe that is clear. Secondly, Your Honor, court after court has looked at this exact question about whether (c)(2) is tethered or moored to (c)(1) and found that it's not, both before and after Yates. And so we can point the Court to Volpendesto, which was divided before Yates by the Seventh Circuit, but also the Petruk case, P-e-t-r-u-k, decided after Yates was decided. There is also a District Court decision in Texas from last year, De Bruhl-Daniels, it's at 491 F.Supp.3d 237, and it rejected this exact argument that otherwise limits (c)(2) to being tethered to (c)(1).

I mean, what's interesting to me, is

that, for example, the Seventh Circuit in Burge, which is 1 2 sort of a series of these cases that you've cited, agreed 3 with you, but not so far as what you've suggested. 4 I mean, they say Sections 1512(c)(1) and (2) are 5 linked with the word "otherwise," so we can safely infer 6 that Congress intended to target the same type of pretrial 7 misconduct that might otherwise obstruct a proceeding beyond 8 simple document destruction. 9 So, you know, at least the Seventh Circuit, for 10 lack of a better term, seems to at least suggest there has 11 to be some similarity in the type of conduct that is at 12 issue and being charged under (c)(2), as made unlawful under 13 (c)(1).14 MR. NESTLER: Well, the type of conduct is... 15 The type of conduct is the corrupt conduct. So 16 the type of conduct is the person committing the corrupt act 17 in order to obstruct the proceeding, whether it involves a 18 document or not a document, "otherwise." 19 THE COURT: But the conduct here is being done 20 corruptly. That's the state of mind. 21 But the conduct is unlawfully entering the Capitol 22 building and Capitol Grounds, pushing through police 23 officers, moving into the Rotunda, and, you know, at a 24 minimum, scaring the daylights out of everybody who was in

either the House or the Senate when people entered the

Rotunda. 1 2 That, it seems to me, is conduct that's very 3 different than destroying a document, intimidating a 4 witness, convincing somebody not to testify. 5 MR. NESTLER: In this situation, it's intimidating 6 Congress. That is what the government intends to prove at 7 trial; that the defendants here were corrupt because they 8 intended to intimidate Congress, obstruct Congress, 9 interfere with Congress. And they were corrupt because they 10 were intending to intimidate Congress into stopping what 11 Congress was doing. One person standing outside of the Capitol 12 13 building yelling "don't certify the Electoral College vote" 14 is not going to accomplish their ends. So what they did was 15 they broke through the doors and made Congress literally 16 flee from their seats so they couldn't do what they were 17 doing. The government's position is that's what evidences 18 their corrupt state of mind. 19 THE COURT: And so to take a hypothetical, if 20 somebody were to bust through the front doors, say a group 21 of people bust through the front doors of C Street with the 22 intent to halt these proceedings, that, in your view, would 23 be a violation of 1512(c)(2) potentially?

MR. NESTLER: Potentially a violation of 1512(c)(2), yes.

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And if a person came into the courtroom in order to convince Your Honor to leave the bench, to not rule on this motion, that could be a violation of 1512(c)(2), depending on what's inside of that person's mind, whether we would -- the government submits that they were acting corruptly. THE COURT: And how, in your view, would the ordinary person have notice that (c)(2) reaches that conduct? I mean, it's a different argument than whether the statute actually reaches it; the question of notice is a separate question. And so what's your position on what it is about the statute that -- and anything else? And it would include, for example, prior prosecutions, legislative history. I mean, what could the ordinary person look to, in your view, beyond the words of the statute, if there's anything else? Let me put the question differently, which is: What is the government relying upon to support the position that a person of ordinary understanding would know that this statute reaches the conduct that's alleged in this indictment? MR. NESTLER: Two things, Your Honor. One is the plain meaning -- I'm sorry, the plain text of the statute. A person of ordinary intelligence who

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were to read this statute would or should know that it would
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     criminalize or proscribe actually corruptly breaking into
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     the Senate chamber to stop the Senate from meeting.
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               Second is, court decisions. As I just indicated,
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     Petruk and, we believe, the Volpendesto decision. But even
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     the De Bruhl-Daniels decision says, when it's interpreting
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     the same statute, the Court there said that (c)(2) is an
     unlimited prohibition on obstructive behavior that extends
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    beyond merely tampering with tangible items.
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               THE COURT: I'm sorry, which case is that?
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               MR. NESTLER: That's De Bruhl-Daniels,
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     D-e B-r-u-h-l-Daniels. And that's the case from the
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     Southern District of Texas last year.
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               THE COURT: But do any of those cases involve
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     conduct like -- that's at issue here?
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               I mean, a lot of those cases involve false
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     statements in civil proceedings, they involve -- there's a
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     recent decision, I think somebody cited, about the burning
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     of bodies following a murder.
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               I mean, any case that you're aware of that has
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     comparable facts; that is, a crowd of people or even a
     single person attempting to halt a legislative or judicial
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     proceeding that's been prosecuted under (c)(2)?
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               MR. NESTLER: No.
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               And there's an easy answer for that: It's because
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it doesn't frequently come up. 1 2 THE COURT: Right. 3 MR. NESTLER: Firstly, the act of trying to 4 obstruct a proceeding by halting it is oftentimes 5 criminalized by other specific provisions without the need 6 to resort to a catch-all. So trying to prevent a juror from 7 showing up in the courtroom, or, more often, trying to 8 prevent a witness from showing up, there's a specific 9 statutory provision on that, so the government can more 10 easily and more acutely rely on those specific statutes. 11 It's rare that the government is forced to rely on 12 the catch-all, but the catch-alls exist for a reason. And 13 the Supreme Court has said this time and again: There's a 14 catch-all there, because we don't -- and Congress doesn't 15 always -- know what it is that some inventive criminal mind 16 is going to come up with. 17 And that is actually -- we cited that, and so did 18 Mr. Fischer, from the Senate Report from the early '80s when 19 1512 was initially passed, before it included 1512(c)(2); 20 that Congress, the Senate specifically, was concerned with 21 "the inventive criminal mind." Congress at that point was 22 considering a residual or a catch-all and wanted to make 23 sure that it could capture whatever some future criminal 24 came up with. 25 THE COURT: Right.

But we have no comparable legislative history with respect to this provision.

MR. NESTLER: That's correct.

And when we talk about the catch-alls, though, the government will point the Court to the *Iraq versus Beaty* case, the 2009 Supreme Court case, it's at 556 US 848.

And there, the Supreme Court said that the whole value of a generally phrased residual clause is that it serves as a catch-all for matters not specifically contemplated, what are known as known unknowns, and it cites Donald Rumsfeld's statement about known unknowns.

The Supreme Court in the Beaty case actually overruled the D.C. Circuit in that decision. And the Supreme Court talked about how it was not appropriate to look at Congress's intent in passing this provision of the Foreign Sovereign Immunities Act, because one could not ultimately know what Congress was intending. And so the Supreme Court said, let's look at what the language Congress used. Congress used a broad residual clause or a broad catch—all. And so courts should be wary about overriding clear, statutory texts with speculation about a law's true purpose.

That's the government's position here, Your Honor, that we should all be wary about overruling what Congress said by trying to interpret what it meant.

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Congress means what it says, and it said here very clearly, the phrase in 1512(c)(2), corruptly obstructs, interferes with an official proceeding. And it also defined official proceeding very clearly as any proceeding before the Congress. THE COURT: So what's your position on -- I mean, there's a lot riding on my understanding of "corruptly" in Poindexter. What's the government's response to whether "corruptly" in this case is a word that has sufficiently definite meaning that it can be understood and employed in a criminal statute? MR. NESTLER: It does. So as Your Honor indicated, Poindexter was an as-applied challenge case, not a facial challenge to the word "corruptly." The D.C. Circuit, after Poindexter, has upheld convictions and talked about the word "corruptly." The Morrison case from 1996 was a challenge to the word "corruptly" in 1512(b), and the D.C. Circuit in that case said that the word --THE COURT: But that was a case that involved sort of core corrupt conduct. MR. NESTLER: Correct. But the D.C. Circuit said that the word "corruptly" was not itself vague and could be given a

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definition.
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               As Your Honor already indicated, the Supreme Court
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     in Arthur Andersen provided some definition of the word
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     "corruptly."
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               THE COURT: Would the government agree -- and
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    maybe I'm asking something earlier than I need to. Would
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     the government agree that "corruptly," as an element in this
     case, under 1512(c)(2), also has a knowing component to it,
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     such that someone has to act knowingly corruptly?
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               MR. NESTLER: I think Your Honor's preface to that
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     question is correct. I'm not prepared to answer whether, at
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     the time we talk about jury instructions, we ought to
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     include the word "knowing."
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               If we look at the footnote in Arthur Andersen that
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     Your Honor was talking about a quote to Ms. Hernandez, the
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     Supreme Court actually indicated that the word "knowing" was
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    before the word "corruptly" in a couple of those statutes,
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     but not in 1512.
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               THE COURT: Right.
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               1512(c). It's not in 1512(c).
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               MR. NESTLER: Not in 1512(c).
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               THE COURT: Right.
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               MR. NESTLER: The word "knowingly" is in some
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     other provisions of 1512.
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               And so the government would have to consider
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whether we would agree that the word "knowingly" would need to be present.

THE COURT: I mean, I'll say this, that, you know, if you agree it includes the word "knowingly," then you're sort of all on -- you're sort of on -- at least you're more in line with Arthur Andersen and the Supreme Court's position that "knowingly corruptly" actually is a definite -- has sort of a definite meaning that can be used to prosecute and a phrase that has common understanding.

MR. NESTLER: The government believes that the word "corruptly" itself has a phrase that has knowing understandings -- or has -- not to use the word "knowing" twice in the same sentence differently, but has a common understanding that the Seventh Circuit actually has a jury instruction for 1512(c) on the word "corruptly." The word "corruptly" is defined elsewhere in the U.S. Code, including in 1515, not with reference to 1512, with reference to other statutes.

And court case after court case, including

Arthur Andersen, have provided definitions of the word

"corruptly." The government submits that it's not a word

that is not susceptible to some sort of concrete definition

that jurors would be able to look at the word "corruptly"

and look at the definition the Court ultimately provides

them with the jury instructions and render a decision about

whether these defendants' actions were done with the appropriate mens rea.

I mean, in all candor, your opposition brief didn't really address this argument, but we spent a lot of time doing it orally, and my intention here at the start was to suggest that maybe it ought to be briefed and addressed. And I mean, I think you and I have spent a fair amount of time, and I wonder whether you still think something like that would be useful.

I mean, the extent to which the government addressed Yates in its opposition only had to do with sort of the ambiguity argument in connection with the word "otherwise." It didn't address this question of, does the statute reach the conduct that's alleged in the sense that Yates looked at the question.

MR. NESTLER: The government submits, Your Honor, that the -- every court to have looked at this question that I've cited back to Your Honor about the breadth of (c)(2) has said that (c)(2) was not tethered to (c)(1) and so the government believes that that would be appropriate.

If the Court believes that additional briefing on this topic would be helpful for the Court's consideration, the government would be happy to put some of its thoughts in writing in order to drill down on the specific point about

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the word "otherwise" and the concept of ejusdem generis and
why it does not apply in this particular context because we
are not here dealing with a list.
          THE COURT: Okay.
          I mean, I've seen -- I know there was a -- I think
it may have been a surreply brief filed in one of
Judge Kelly's cases that addressed some of these issues.
          But, all right, why don't we put a pin on that for
a moment and then we'll figure out how we'll proceed at the
end of all this.
          MR. NESTLER: Yes, Judge.
          THE COURT: Okay.
          I'll give defense counsel a brief opportunity for
rebuttal, if you'd like it.
          MR. FISCHER: Your Honor, if the Court would
please, I just wanted to make one point based on
Mr. Nestler's comments regarding -- about legislative
history regarding the 1512.
          There was the -- in the government's reply -- and
I've cited this in my filing -- the government cited a
Senate Judiciary Committee Report regarding Section 1512
from 1982. And what it said, the government said, and I
quote, "But the Senate Judiciary Committee Report that
supported Section 1512 justified the inclusion of a 'broad
residual clause' by noting that the 'purpose of preventing
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an obstruction or miscarriage of justice cannot be fully carried out by a simple enumeration of the commonly prosecuted obstruction offenses. There must be protection against the rare type of conduct that is the product of the inventive criminal mind and which also thwarts justice." So, Your Honor, I would point out right there, that lays out in a nutshell how the Court should interpret or put the brakes on 15(c)(2). It has to be conduct that's intended to thwart justice. Not only that, it has to also involve documents as well, we would argue, but it has to be something that's aimed --THE COURT: If I could interrupt you, Mr. Fischer. I mean, look, there's a lot to think about here. I will say the following: That legislative history from 1982 regarding a statute that was then actually promulgated some decade -- two-plus decades later and whether it's cited by you or cited by the government, I don't know how terribly helpful that is in terms of divining the meaning of the statute that's before me. But I take your point that there's an argument to be made here that the statute, as it's written even, and it was adopted, requires some linkage between, you know, 15(c)(1) and the conduct that's actually unlawful under 17(c)(2). MR. FISCHER: Understood, Your Honor.

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Your Honor, there's also the point of the novel construction principle, I wanted to raise that as well. Court is aware, this would be the ultimate novel construction, because the government has never prosecuted anyone for this type of conduct under this statute. With that said, Your Honor, thank you. THE COURT: Thank you, Mr. Fischer. Ms. Hernandez. MS. HERNANDEZ: Thank you, Your Honor. Some of the questions that the Court asked about if someone came in here and tried to force their way in and interrupt, there is actually an obstruction statute, 1507, that applies to judicial proceedings. Again, going back to the difference between congressional and judicial proceedings, Congress enacted a statute that says if you picket, if you interrupt, if you do this, that's a violation. It could have added, Congress, it could have added "official proceedings." No, it specifically said "judicial proceedings." With respect to the government's citation of Morrison, Morrison, as the Court said, is core corrupt. person offered to buy a witness's furniture in return for her lying and providing an alibi. Yes, as applied in Morrison, "corruptly" has a definition. As applied in Arthur Andersen, which involved shredding documents, the

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Supreme Court could come up with a definition of "corrupt."
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               But every day -- but there's nothing -- and the
 3
     government's adding terms -- as the Court pointed out,
 4
     adding terms that are not in the indictment, what they claim
 5
     they're going to say. And what they claim, you know, the
 6
     reason these facts or these allegations fall within 1512.
 7
               "Otherwise" has to refer back to something. You
     have to -- it has to refer back to something. What does it
 8
     refer back -- if you didn't need to refer back, if it was an
 9
10
     open statement, then all you had to -- take the word
11
     "otherwise" out and just say "corruptly" this, this, that.
12
     But you put "otherwise" in there, it has to refer to
13
     something. What is it? It's in thin air, it's in the
14
     government's mind. That's just not the way the due process
15
     law works.
16
               And bottom line, Your Honor, the due process
17
     clause requires statutes to give a fair meaning so that a
18
     defendant can say, I'm not going to do that because that's a
19
     20-year violation.
20
               How many lawyers are in this room? I would say
21
     we're at least of normal intelligence. Some of us more
22
     intelligent than others. But bottom line is, I don't think
23
     we've come up with a single definition of what the term
24
     "corruptly" is.
25
               The judge in the Edwards case, the District Court
```

```
Judge in the Edwards case out of the Seventh Circuit, which
 1
 2
     the government cited, said on the record "nobody knows what
 3
     the term 'corruptly' means." The D.C. Circuit said "this
     word is vague." And as applied here, it's still vague.
 4
 5
               THE COURT: But it's a term that finds itself, it
 6
     appears, in countless criminal statutes --
 7
               MR. NESTLER: As applied.
 8
               THE COURT: -- countless.
 9
               MS. HERNANDEZ: As applied.
10
               No question.
               Of course, I agree, if you give a bribe to
11
12
     somebody, that's corrupt.
13
               If you vote in one way in order to help your --
14
               THE COURT: So if you rush into a courthouse with
15
     the intention of --
16
               MS. HERNANDEZ: 1507 covers that, Your Honor.
17
               THE COURT: Well, it doesn't only have to be
18
     covered by one statute.
19
               You rush into a courthouse intending to cause the
20
     judge and the jury to scamper and run for cover, that's not
21
     corrupt?
22
               MS. HERNANDEZ: As the D.C. Circuit, the
     Supreme Court, multiple courts have said, there is no way
23
24
     that one could look at conduct of that nature that
25
     interrupts the judicial proceeding and not see it as
```

```
1
     corrupt; however --
 2
               THE COURT: So why would it violate the other --
 3
               MS. HERNANDEZ: Because --
 4
               THE COURT: Hang on.
 5
               Why would it violate the other statute, which
 6
     I think is actually 1505 --
 7
               MS. HERNANDEZ: Because --
               THE COURT: -- let me finish -- which also uses
 8
 9
     "corruptly"?
10
               MS. HERNANDEZ: Because all those statutes have
11
    been upheld as applied.
12
               Every case that the government has cited -- as
13
     applied -- yes, I will admit to the Court that the "as
14
     applied" term is not unconstitutionally vague in every case
15
     that the government has cited, because every case that the
16
     government has cited involved attempts to mess up -- mess
17
     with the evidence, with the integrity of evidence in a
18
     judicial proceeding; to get somebody to lie; to suborn
19
     perjury; to destroy -- to false alibi.
20
               So, yes, in those as applied --
21
               THE COURT: So I guess I don't understand your
22
     argument.
23
               MS. HERNANDEZ: As applied --
24
               THE COURT: Which is -- hang on.
25
               You've conceded that the conduct that I just
```

```
described, which is bum rushing into a courthouse -- hang
 1
 2
     on -- entering a courthouse with the intention of disrupting
 3
     a court proceeding, causing a judge to leave the bench, the
 4
    marshals to come in, the jurors to scamper, that would be a
 5
     violation of 1503?
 6
               MS. HERNANDEZ: The Court has said that; the
    D.C. Circuit has said that.
 7
 8
               THE COURT: Okay. Hang on.
 9
               That same statute uses the term "corruptly," okay?
               So how is "corruptly" ambiguous when applied to
10
11
     1503 for the same conduct when the same word appears in
12
     1512(c)(2)?
13
               MS. HERNANDEZ: As applied, multiple courts,
14
     including the Poindexter court, and, I believe, the North
15
     court --
16
               THE COURT: You're missing my point.
17
              MS. HERNANDEZ: I'm going to answer you.
18
               THE COURT: You're not answering my question --
19
              MS. HERNANDEZ: I am, because --
20
               THE COURT: -- which is: I don't understand how
21
     the word can be --
              MS. HERNANDEZ: -- because --
22
23
               THE COURT: -- differently as applied across
24
     different statutes when you've conceded to me that the very
25
     same conduct that uses the term "corruptly" can violate
```

```
another statute that uses the word "corruptly."
 1
 2
               MS. HERNANDEZ: The language that the D.C. Circuit
 3
     has used, and that other courts have used, including,
 4
     I believe, some justices have used, is that, as applied,
 5
     conduct that seeks to interrupt a proceeding that is based
 6
     on facts and logic and that type of thing, that could be
 7
     viewed as corrupt. There's no way not to view it.
 8
               But conduct that seeks to interrupt the political
 9
     wing of the government, it cannot be viewed -- by its
10
     nature, that's what the First Amendment protects explicitly,
11
     for us to go and seek to influence Congress, that's what the
12
    First Amendment protects.
1.3
               THE COURT: So you think --
14
               MS. HERNANDEZ: But those statutes --
15
               THE COURT: You think these defendants were
16
     exercising their First Amendment rights?
17
              MS. HERNANDEZ: Yes.
18
               I am saying the following, Your Honor: These
19
     defendants --
20
               THE COURT: By rushing past police, rushing past
21
    barriers?
22
               MS. HERNANDEZ: So my client -- you're asking me a
23
     question?
24
               THE COURT: I'm just asking. Yeah.
25
               MS. HERNANDEZ:
                               Okay.
```

```
THE COURT: That's protected by the
 1
 2
     First Amendment?
 3
               MS. HERNANDEZ: Their conduct implicated the
 4
     First Amendment.
 5
               It may violate time, place, and manner, I'm not
 6
     suggesting that it may not.
 7
               But was the First Amendment implicated? Yes.
    My client did not attack any police officer and there's no
 8
     allegation -- I'm not making a factual argument. There's no
 9
10
     allegation in the indictment that he attacked anyone.
11
     He entered a door that was opened by others.
12
               THE COURT: I didn't say -- I never said he
13
     attacked anybody.
               MS. HERNANDEZ: Well, he didn't rush by. He
14
15
     didn't -- there's no -- there's nothing in the indictment
16
     that says he moved over barricades or anything.
17
               But the bottom line is, there is a distinction
18
     that the Courts have drawn --
19
               THE COURT: Let's --
20
               MS. HERNANDEZ: -- I agree with it --
21
               THE COURT: -- not pretend that this was --
22
               MS. HERNANDEZ: Excuse me?
23
               THE COURT: Let's not pretend that this was simple
24
    parading or picketting.
25
               MS. HERNANDEZ: It's --
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```
THE COURT: Let's at least acknowledge that the
 1
 2
     nature of the conduct was different.
 3
               MS. HERNANDEZ: Your Honor, here's the thing,
 4
     Your Honor: There were people at the Congress that day who
 5
     acted clearly illegally.
 6
               And I'm not saying that there may not be
 7
     statutes --
 8
               THE COURT: So ultimately, isn't this a jury
 9
     question?
10
               MS. HERNANDEZ: Well, no.
               I'm not saying that there may not be statutes that
11
12
     reach the conduct that is alleged against my client.
13
     I'm just saying this statute is unconstitutionally vague.
14
               And, again, I just want to go back to the
15
     question. What is the key question in a vaqueness argument?
16
     Does a person of ordinary intelligence know? I still don't
17
     know what the definition of "corruptly," as applied in this
18
     case, means, because there's not a single statement, there's
19
     not a single case that they have cited that would reach --
20
     that would explain this.
21
               And in -- I want to say, in Poindexter, which
22
     involved Poindexter lying, the Court found "corruptly" to be
23
     unconstitutionally vaque. They upheld the 1001 charge. It
     wasn't that they were protecting Poindexter from all his
24
25
     conduct.
               The false statement charge was not vague.
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```
15 -- the 1503 -- 1505 charge was unconstitutionally vague.
 1
 2
               But, again, a person of ordinary intelligence,
 3
     corrupt, maybe they were jerks, maybe some people were
 4
     violent, and that's illegal for some other reason. But the
 5
     nature of the inquiry is, does a person -- the Court
 6
     asked -- and the government's response is insufficient.
 7
               THE COURT: All right.
 8
               MS. HERNANDEZ:
                               I'm sorry, Your Honor, just one --
 9
               THE COURT: Ms. Hernandez, I've got to move on
10
     here.
11
               MS. HERNANDEZ: And just one last thing here.
12
               Again, the ejusdem -- you're supposed to review,
13
     you're supposed to decide -- there's a D.C. Circuit case --
14
               THE COURT:
                           I know. I'll take a look at it.
15
               MS. HERNANDEZ: Explicitly covers this.
16
               THE COURT: I'll take a look at it.
17
               All right.
18
               Why don't we, in the time we have remaining, why
19
     don't we move to Count 4. This is the count that concerns
20
     entering a restricted area and remaining in a restricted
21
     area, and I'll hear if there's additional argument that
22
     you'd like to make on that count.
23
               And, I guess, Mr. Fischer, before you even begin,
     let me just ask why you think Judge McFadden is wrong.
24
25
     I mean, look, he's done the work. And tell me what is
```

flawed about his reasoning and his conclusion? 1 2 MR. FISCHER: Well, Your Honor, his reasoning 3 basically lays the door open for chaos when it comes to how 4 law enforcement protects Secret Service protectees. 5 Judge McFadden's ruling, anybody could do the restricting of 6 the grounds. That would be -- that would lead to a 7 situation where local --THE COURT: But why do I need to be worried about 8 that in this case? 9 10 I mean, unless -- I mean, I know part of your 11 argument is that the statute requires the Secret Service to 12 cordon it off. But this isn't a case that involves, for 13 example, whether a local law enforcement -- this was a 14 federally protected area. There's no question -- even under 15 the Fourth Circuit case, there's not a question raised about 16 whether there's a federally -- whether federal agents can 17 cordon off an area. 18 MR. FISCHER: Well, Your Honor, certainly, it's 19 illegal to trespass on the grounds of the Capitol, our 20 Capitol buildings, at any time. You can't trespass, but 21 that's a separate statute. 22 In order to violate this statute, the grounds, we 23 would argue, have to specifically be restricted for the 24 purpose of the visit by the Secret Service protectee; in

this case, the Vice President or the Vice President-elect.

25

```
So, Your Honor, I think --
 1
 2
               THE COURT: If I can interrupt you.
 3
               Why isn't that a jury question ultimately?
 4
     I mean, why isn't -- for example, won't it be incumbent upon
 5
     the government to prove that the area was cordoned off
 6
    because the Vice President and the Vice President-elect were
 7
     going to be there that day? I mean, that seems to me a jury
     question. It certainly isn't alleged in the indictment.
 8
               MR. FISCHER: Well, Your Honor, I think it could
 9
10
     become a question of law if the government would answer
11
     whether they have knowledge if the Secret Service did.
               THE COURT: But that's a different question --
12
13
               MR. FISCHER: Sure.
14
               THE COURT: -- as to whether the Secret Service is
15
     to be the agency that cordons the area off.
16
               I'm just talking about why the area was cordoned
17
     off generally, even if it was done by Capitol Police.
18
               MR. FISCHER: And, quite frankly, Your Honor, if
19
     the Court would be leaning in that direction, we would have
20
     no objection to having a question for the jury on that
21
     issue.
22
               I'd also point out, Your Honor, in Mr. Caldwell's
     case, he never entered the Capitol building, and the statute
23
24
     differentiates between Capitol buildings and Capitol
25
     Grounds.
```

THE COURT: So here's a question for you: 1 2 Why isn't he part of the Capitol building? He was on the 3 balcony. 4 Yes, he didn't physically enter the building, but 5 isn't the balcony as much a part of the Capitol building as 6 being inside the Rotunda? 7 MR. FISCHER: It's not, Your Honor. In fact, I put that in my filing. I set that out 8 as far as the statutory definition of "Capitol buildings." 9 10 I mean, I looked at those and I looked THE COURT: 11 at the -- there's a map that's associated with one of the 12 statutes you cited. And if you look at that map, which is 13 an old -- I have it here somewhere printed out -- but it 14 shows the Capitol building to be part of the Capitol 15 Grounds. 16 MR. FISCHER: Well, Your Honor, I'm not sure 17 that -- I don't believe -- there are statutes, not just the 18 1752, but there are also numerous statutes in Title 40 that 19 differentiate between Capitol buildings and Capitol Grounds. 20 THE COURT: Yeah, that's what I was referring to. 21 I'm talking about those statutes that you cited in 22 your brief from Title 40. 23 MR. FISCHER: It would seem to me that if they're 24 differentiating, if Congress is differentiating between the 25 two, in this case, it would have a major implication because

```
Mr. Caldwell and the Vice President were never
 1
 2
     contemporaneously on the grounds.
 3
               Now, as far as the building, Your Honor, the
 4
     allegation is that he went on the balcony. The balcony is
 5
     not covered, it's not an interior of anyplace.
                                                     I believe
 6
     the balcony in question is the balcony where the
 7
     Inauguration -- the President speaks during the
 8
     Inauguration.
 9
               THE COURT: Right.
10
               MR. FISCHER: But I don't believe that constitutes
11
     a building under the statute.
12
               THE COURT: Okay.
13
               MR. FISCHER: And so, Your Honor, we'll submit on
14
     the papers besides that, unless the Court has any questions.
15
               THE COURT: No, nothing further.
16
               MR. FISCHER: Thank you, Your Honor.
17
               THE COURT: Thank you, Counsel.
18
               Any response with respect to Count 4, Mr. Nestler?
19
               MR. NESTLER: Yes, Your Honor, just briefly.
20
               One is, Mr. Fischer cited Title 50 of the U.S.
21
     Code. That is not applicable here. So the government
22
     charged 18 U.S.C. 1752. And if we just walk through the
23
     statute, it's very plain in the language.
24
               So 1752(a)(1) criminalizes knowingly entering or
25
     remaining in a restricted building or grounds. (c) (1) then
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```
defines "restricted builds or grounds."
 1
 2
               (c) (1) (B) has one of those definitions as any
 3
     grounds that are posted, cordoned off or otherwise
 4
     restricted in an area where a protectee will be visiting.
 5
               And then (c)(2) says that Secret Service
 6
    protectees are defined elsewhere at 18 U.S.C. 3056. And at
 7
     3056(a)(1), the statute says the Vice President is a Secret
 8
     Service protectee.
               That's the end of the analysis in terms of the
 9
10
     sufficiency of the indictment charging 1752.
11
               THE COURT: Does it matter, in your view, whether
    he was on the inside or the outside of the building?
12
13
               MR. NESTLER: No.
14
               THE COURT: In other words, the allegation is that
15
    he made his way to the west balcony. He -- that puts him in
16
     a restricted building, in your view, even though he's on the
17
     outer -- the exterior of that building?
18
               MR. NESTLER: Correct.
19
               And Your Honor's referring to the map that's at
20
     5102(a) -- so sorry, 50 U.S.C. 5102(a).
21
               THE COURT: Right.
22
               MR. NESTLER: Refers to the Capitol building and
23
     grounds as defined by a map from 1946.
24
               THE COURT: Correct.
25
               MR. NESTLER: And that map shows that the building
```

itself is part of the grounds. 1 2 THE COURT: Correct. 3 MR. NESTLER: And if the government had charged 4 the defendant with violating that statute, I think we would 5 be in the same position. But we didn't. The Grand Jury 6 indicted him on 1752. 7 And so the perimeter, the area that was "posted, cordoned off, or otherwise restricted," which in this 8 situation does include the entirety of the Capitol Grounds 9 10 that encompassed the building, is where Mr. Caldwell and the 11 other defendants are charged with being. There's no need to 12 resort to any other statutes. 13 THE COURT: All right. 14 Why don't we move forward and let's -- Ms. Robin, 15 why don't we bring you into the mix here. And if you want 16 to be heard about Count 8 and then the obstruction count, 17 the tampering count that's specific to Mr. James. 18 Thank you, Your Honor. MS. ROBIN: 19 Just to be clear, when I filed the initial motion, 20 it was count 8. It's now Count 9 in the fifth superseding 21 indictment. 22 THE COURT: Right. 23 MS. ROBIN: So I'll refer to it, for purposes of 24 this argument, as Count 9, and I'm referring to the assault 25 count.

```
So as Your Honor referenced earlier, we had filed
 1
 2
     two motions, the first was a motion to dismiss what is now
 3
     Count 9 and Count 13.
 4
               And as you alluded to, with the fifth superseding
 5
     indictment and the government changing the language, it
 6
     really rendered moot half of our argument on the motion to
 7
     dismiss, so I won't be making any argument on that.
 8
               THE COURT: Can I just -- and I'm sorry if I'm
 9
    preempting you, but can I just kind of cut to the chase on
10
     your argument --
11
               MS. ROBIN: Sure.
12
               THE COURT: -- with respect to Count 9, I believe
13
     it is --
14
               MS. ROBIN: Yes.
15
               THE COURT: -- which is, if I order the government
16
     to identify the officers who your client allegedly
17
     assaulted, would that --
18
               MS. ROBIN: Render moot?
19
               We believe that would remedy the issue that we
20
    have.
21
               THE COURT: All right.
22
               And then with respect to your request to identify
23
     the specific Grand Jury session --
24
               MS. ROBIN: Or proceeding, right.
25
               THE COURT: -- is it your position that the
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government, in order to prove a crime -- the crime that's alleged here, has to establish a specific Grand Jury session, or can a Grand Jury proceeding in general do? MS. ROBIN: So our position with respect to the request for a bill of particulars is that in order for us to adequately and intelligently prepare a defense for Mr. James and to avoid surprise at trial, we need to be able aware of the particular proceeding. I think --THE COURT: But if the government doesn't have to prove a particular Grand Jury proceeding, as opposed to just Grand Jury proceedings in general; that is, the process of bringing an indictment, the body that brings an indictment, if they don't have to prove a specific Grand Jury proceeding, then why does it matter which Grand Jury proceeding, if any, is at issue? MS. ROBIN: Because they have to prove a nexus that both Aquilar and Arthur Andersen talk about in order to

prove him quilty of this particular offense, right?

So the nexus, as you referenced earlier, is the nexus between the alleged obstructive conduct and the particular proceeding at issue. And that nexus really involves two things; it involves, number one, a relationship in time, so that it has to at least -- the proceeding has to at least have been foreseeable to the defendant that's

```
charged, but it also involves a nexus as to logic and/or
 1
 2
     causation -- relationship and logic or causation.
 3
               THE COURT: I agree with you that there's a nexus
 4
     requirement. But what does it matter -- I mean --
 5
     particularly in this case, I mean, when the allegation of
 6
     document -- or I can't remember whether it was documents
 7
     or -- with respect to Mr. James --
                          It's contents on a cell phone.
 8
               MS. ROBIN:
 9
               THE COURT: Well, so contents of a cell phone --
10
     I mean, it happens immediately in the aftermath, I don't
11
     remember if it happens on January 6th or not, but sort of in
     the immediate aftermath, certainly before any Grand Jury is
12
13
     convened, I believe.
14
               So what does it matter which particular Grand Jury
15
     that's been impaneled over the course of many months the
16
     government claims that was obstructed or impeded by virtue
17
     of Mr. James's conduct?
18
               MS. ROBIN: Sure.
19
                           I don't know which Grand Jury, for
               THE COURT:
20
     example, heard evidence about Mr. James, but I don't know
21
     that they have to prove the case with that degree of
22
     specificity, do they?
23
               MS. ROBIN: Well, they have to prove, like I said,
24
     the nexus, which kind of is really two different issues;
25
     one, that there's a foreseeability prong, right?
```

THE COURT: Right. 1 2 MS. ROBIN: So that gets to the dates. 3 Mr. James wasn't indicted by a Grand Jury until 4 the end of March, I believe. This alleged obstructive 5 conduct occurred on or about January 8th. 6 So certainly our defense, if the alleged 7 Grand Jury proceeding is the end of March, is going to vary 8 differently, significantly, I would say, than if it's a 9 Grand Jury proceeding that occurred maybe, you know, six 10 months later or three months prior. It goes to the issue of 11 foreseeability; the particular date of the proceedings 12 certainly does. 13 But also, the second really important point there 14 is that this alleged obstructive conduct consists of 15 Mr. James allegedly deleting the Signal chat from his own 16 cell phone and advising Mr. Grods to delete the Signal chat 17 from his cell phone. Mr. Grods was never indicted. He pled 18 quilty to a criminal information. So he was never the 19 subject of a Grand Jury indictment. 20 So certainly, again, when we're talking about that 21 nexus, we're talking about a concern also -- not just for 22 foreseeable, but also the issue of whether or not there's a causal or some sort of logical connection between -- and 23 24 really what we're going to here is intent. 25 And the way that the Supreme Court has kind of

talked about it in both Aguilar and, again, in --1 2 THE COURT: I guess your point is that the only 3 Grand Jury proceeding he could have really intended to 4 obstruct was the Grand Jury that heard the evidence against 5 him, and you want to know which Grand Jury heard the 6 evidence against him. 7 In other words, say there's a -- he got indicted at the end of March, the government couldn't come in and try 8 and prove that he obstructed the Grand Jury that sat in May 9 10 and didn't hear any evidence against him at all. 11 MS. ROBIN: I mean, I think that, in a nutshell, 12 is it. 13 I will say that the language in Aquilar, which is 14 adopted in Arthur Andersen, is also really telling here, and 15 that's that the conduct, the alleged conduct, must have "the 16 natural and probable effect of interfering with the 17 proceeding at issue." 18 So really what we're getting at is some sort of 19 defense that would incorporate this nexus requirement, is 20 essentially, did this particular Grand Jury proceeding even 21 request these cell phone contents? If they didn't, that 22 would certainly go towards an argument in terms of our 23 defense. But without knowing that, we have no ability to

certainly, the intent element is an important part of it.

really make some sort of informed intelligent defense. And

24

25

The language from Arthur Andersen really couldn't be any more succinct and applicable than when it says essentially that, you know, if the defendant lacks knowledge, that his actions are likely to affect a particular proceeding, he lacks the requisite intent.

And more specifically, quoting directly from Arthur Andersen, one can't be guilty under 1512 for destroying documents, or persuading others to destroy documents, when he doesn't have in mind any particular official proceedings in which those documents might be material.

So when you combine that with the language from Aguilar that the conduct or the endeavor must have the natural and probable effect of interfering, then certainly we need to know more about the particulars of the official Grand Jury proceeding that they're talking about.

And the final point I'll make on that is that the way that the government has structured the indictment, they're really trying to get around the language that the statute requires.

The statute requires that the obstruction be of an official proceeding. And when you look at the definitions of an "official proceeding," the one that's relevant here under 1515, is a proceeding before a Federal Grand Jury.

But that's not how they phrased it in the

```
indictment. They phrased it as just a general Grand Jury
 1
 2
     investigation of the events into January 6th. They haven't
 3
     given us any time frame of any particular proceeding other
 4
     than the FBI investigation which we know by now and they
 5
     know by now doesn't -- isn't relevant to this charge, does
 6
     not make up a 1512 offense.
 7
               THE COURT: Okay.
               Anything further, Ms. Robin?
 8
 9
               MS. ROBIN:
                           No. Thank you.
10
               THE COURT: Mr. Nestler, I assume it's still
11
     you --
12
               MR. NESTLER: Yes.
13
               THE COURT: -- maybe it's not. Busy afternoon for
14
     you.
15
               What's your objection to identifying the
16
    particular Grand Jury session that you allege Mr. James's
17
     conduct to have obstructed?
18
               MR. NESTLER: It's not required, Your Honor.
19
               So the government is not required to tell the
20
     defense which particular Grand Jury was seated or which
21
     particular meeting of that particular Grand Jury it was that
22
    Mr. James's conduct obstructed. It's sufficient, in the
23
     cases that the government cited in its brief, that the
24
     government to allege, at the Rule 12 stage, that his conduct
25
     obstructed a Grand Jury proceeding.
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THE COURT: Do you think at trial, you need to
 1
 2
     specify a particular Grand Jury proceeding?
               MR. NESTLER: No.
 3
 4
               We need to -- the government would need to specify
 5
     that a Grand Jury was seated, and the indictment itself
 6
     ought to be prima facie evidence of that.
 7
               And then the government will need to prove a
 8
     nexus, which is that Mr. James's intent was to obstruct a --
 9
     well, was to delete the Signal thread, and that he knew it
10
     was done corruptly, as we talked about with (c) (1)
11
     earlier -- or with (c)(2) earlier -- this is (c)(1), it was
12
     done corruptly with the intent to obstruct a proceeding,
1.3
     which is to make sure it was not available for the
14
     Grand Jury to use when investigating.
15
               The government will need to prove a nexus,
16
     Your Honor, we said so in our pleading.
17
               THE COURT: Right.
18
               MR. NESTLER: We agree with Aguilar and Arthur
19
     Andersen. And that's all. The government does not need to
20
    prove more.
21
               THE COURT: It's just interesting.
22
               You know, in a sense, the earlier the Grand Jury
23
    proceeding, maybe the harder it is for the government to
24
    prove its case.
25
               In other words, say he gets indicted six months
```

```
into the Grand Jury's -- various Grand Jury proceedings and
 1
 2
     sessions. The argument is probably more powerful for the
 3
     government that he most certainly -- well, it's harder to
 4
     know because the question is his state of mind at the time
 5
     he engaged in the obstruction. So maybe it matters less, in
 6
     terms of proving his state of mind, which Grand Jury session
 7
     the government claims was obstructed.
 8
               MR. NESTLER: That's correct.
 9
               And the Grand Jury did not have to be impaneled at
10
     the time that he obstructed.
11
               THE COURT: Right.
12
               MR. NESTLER: It doesn't have to be pending or
13
     even about to be instituted.
14
               And it's not necessarily the Grand Jury or a
15
     Grand Jury that was investigating Mr. James. Mr. James's
16
     conduct obstructed a Grand Jury investigation into
17
     co-defendants, let's say, or the events of January 6th writ
18
     large. So there are lots of different facets that the
19
     government could -- or lanes the government could choose at
20
     trial to prove that Mr. James's conduct obstructed the
21
     Grand Jury or a Grand Jury's investigation.
22
               THE COURT:
                           Okay.
23
               Thank you.
24
               MR. NESTLER:
                             Thank you.
25
               THE COURT: Ms. Robin, did you want a brief
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rebuttal?
 1
 2
               Oh, did you want to add anything?
 3
               MR. NESTLER: I didn't know if you wanted me to
 4
     address the APO charge.
 5
               THE COURT: The assaulting a police officer.
 6
               MR. NESTLER: Yes.
 7
               THE COURT: If you'd like, sure.
               MR. NESTLER: The government does not believe that
 8
 9
     it's required to allege in the indictment the name of the
10
     officer who was assaulted.
11
               THE COURT: Have you disclosed it in discovery?
12
               MR. NESTLER: Yes, Your Honor, we've disclosed the
13
    body-worn camera files and the names of the officers who had
14
     the body-worn cameras attached to their chest --
15
               THE COURT: Right.
               MR. NESTLER: -- and identified in the indictment
16
17
    the area and the time and the conduct that we're alleging
18
    Mr. James committed the assaults.
19
               THE COURT: And how many officers were in that
20
     area?
21
              MR. NESTLER: Many.
22
               Many officers were in the area.
23
               In the immediate area near Mr. James, there were
24
     about three.
25
               THE COURT: Okay.
```

```
MR. NESTLER: But there were many officers in the
 1
 2
     Rotunda at the time or in the area.
 3
               THE COURT: I assume the government knows which
 4
     officer Mr. James allegedly assaulted.
 5
               MR. NESTLER: Yes, though the government's
 6
    position is that the government does not need to prove to
 7
     the jury the name of the officer who was assaulted.
 8
               THE COURT: No, you don't need to prove the name.
 9
               MR. NESTLER: And --
10
               THE COURT: But you do need to prove it was an
11
     officer.
12
               MR. NESTLER: We have to prove --
13
               THE COURT: And presumably, the defense would like
14
     that information just to know which officer you claim it is
15
     that was assaulted.
16
               MR. NESTLER: The government's position is that
17
     the assaultive act is the unit of prosecution. And so
18
    Mr. James's act, not necessarily the victim of that act, is
19
     what the government is focused on.
20
               THE COURT: Sure.
21
               All right.
22
               Ms. Robin.
23
               MS. ROBIN: With respect to the obstruction count,
24
     the case cited by the government in their reply is
25
     completely inapplicable.
```

I mean, in that case, the Court essentially says, it's obvious from the rest of the indictment that he knows which Grand Jury proceeding it is. The defendant in that case actually testified at that particular Grand Jury and was also accused of perjuring himself in that Grand Jury.

So it's entirely distinguishable from this case, where we have hundreds potentially of Grand Jury proceedings to pick from and the defense has no idea which one when we're trying to mount an intelligent defense that Mr. James — that the conduct that Mr. James allegedly committed didn't have the sufficient nexus to the particular Grand Jury proceeding. So it's entirely distinguishable and I would simply say not even helpful to the assessment of the argument here.

Second, with respect to the assault on the law enforcement officer, I mean, the problem -- I didn't get into this before because there wasn't much argument, but the other problem is that without them identifying the victim, we're essentially facing a situation where the count is duplicitous.

They've alleged -- they claim to have alleged only one single assault. But then when they're in the paragraph that they -- paragraphs 165 to 167, the only alleged descriptive conduct that actually amounts to an assault says that he pushed -- says -- and this is paragraph 165 --

quote, "he yanked and pushed several riot officers out of the way."

So without some sort of description as to which particular officer he's accused of assaulting they've actually alleged a number of different crimes in a single count.

And when you're determining whether or not a count is faulty because it's duplications, I mean, the question is, you must determine if it sets forth separate offenses or if it merely prescribes various means of committing a single offense.

So we're not talking about -- we don't have any issue with the language about -- that they're alleging that he both assaulted, obstructed, all of that. Those are just different means of committing an offense. But what clearly makes a different offense is when you add multiple victims into the mix. So without identifying a particular victim, that count is faulty and can't survive.

So we're suggesting that an easy fix is simply to provide the bill of particulars. And, quite frankly, there's no reason not to identify the particular alleged victim of the offense. It's not as if it's a juvenile, it's not as if they don't know the identity of the officer, so there's no reason not to.

THE COURT: All right.

Thank you, Ms. Robin. 1 2 All right. 3 So the last motion of the day is the motion for 4 venue transfer. So I'm happy to hear some additional 5 argument from Mr. Fischer, if you'd like to make it. 6 MR. FISCHER: Your Honor, first of all, it's a 7 rare day, indeed, when a defendant tries to get their case 8 moved out of D.C., out into a rural or suburban -- more 9 rural or suburban area. I never thought I'd see the day 10 when I would try to have a case moved out of the District of 11 Columbia to one of those areas, but this is the type of case 12 that I believe is necessary and required for the Court to 13 do. 14 Your Honor, I fully understand that ordinarily the 15 Court would wait to -- wait until jury selection, wait until 16 the process of having questionnaires go out, but in this 17 case, there is so much prejudice against these defendants, 18 it's off the charts. 19 THE COURT: How do you know that, Mr. Fischer? 20 MR. FISCHER: I'm sorry, Your Honor? 21 THE COURT: How do you know that? 22 MR. FISCHER: Well, Your Honor, this city --23 people can differ politically, I understand that, but this city is very anti-Donald Trump. 24 25 THE COURT: So? And even if I accept that as

```
true, it doesn't mean your client can't get a fair trial.
 1
 2
               MR. FISCHER: Well, I think it does, Your Honor.
 3
               When you have people on the jury who --
 4
               THE COURT: You haven't put any evidence in front
 5
     of me, not any kind of surveys, not any kind of polling
 6
     data, nothing --
 7
               MR. FISCHER: Well --
               THE COURT: -- that would suggest that a jury pool
 8
 9
     in this city is predisposed to not fairly judging your
10
     client or any of these other defendants' conduct.
11
               MR. FISCHER: Well, Your Honor, unfortunately, my
12
     client doesn't have the 30- or $40,000 laying around to get
13
     a poll done.
14
               And I don't -- look, Your Honor, in this case,
15
     what separates this case from other cases involving
16
    prejudicial publicity --
17
               THE COURT: How about this?
18
               I mean, you wrote in your motion, "District
19
     residents, who largely style themselves as chic,
20
     sophisticated, worldly, highbrow urbanites, are repulsed" --
21
     repulsed -- "by rural America's traditional values,
22
    patriotism, religion, gun ownership, and perceived lack of
23
     education." In fact, you wrote that District residents
24
     despise many things that traditional America stands for.
25
               I think it would come as maybe news or surprise
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that people in D.C. aren't traditional Americans and don't
 1
 2
    have traditional values that you claim those of us who've
 3
     lived here for 20 years and longer, we lack those
 4
     traditional values.
               MR. FISCHER: Well, Your Honor, I don't believe
 5
 6
     that that was the intent of what I wrote, to say that people
 7
     in D.C. don't have American values. They certainly have
 8
     American values. They just happen to hate virtually
 9
     everything --
10
               THE COURT: "They despise many things that
11
     traditional America stands for."
12
               MR. FISCHER: And they do.
13
               THE COURT: Okay.
14
              MR. FISCHER: They absolutely do.
               Your Honor, it is not situation normal 15 miles
15
16
     outside of the Beltway for people to surround politicians'
17
     houses. It is not situation normal that --
18
               THE COURT: How do you know any of those people
19
     live in the District of Columbia?
20
               MR. FISCHER: That surround houses?
21
               THE COURT: Well?
22
               MR. FISCHER: Your Honor, it happens all the time.
23
               THE COURT: It happens at Mitch McConnell's house
24
     in Kentucky.
25
               MR. FISCHER: Well, Your Honor, the -- I mean,
```

you're talking about handful of people. 1 2 I mean, it's almost every day in this city, you 3 have a protest --4 THE COURT: All right. 5 You know, I'm not going to spend a lot of time on 6 this. I will just say the following, Mr. Fischer: I think you've done a wonderful job for your 7 client, I really do, but this brief -- and I will be 8 9 reserved about what I am about to say -- reads less like a 10 legal brief than something you might read on a blog, and 11 that's not acceptable. I mean, I would expect better from 12 you, I expect better from every other lawyer in this 13 courtroom. 14 There may be very valid grounds for you to be 15 concerned about whether your client can get a fair trial or 16 not. But painting with a broad brush is not the way to do 17 it. And casting aspersions upon the people that live in 18 this district is not the way to do it. 19 And I'm not telling you you may not be right, we 20 may have a difficult time picking a jury in this district, I 21 don't know, we'll find out, if and when we get to trial, but 22 writing a brief that looks like it's been ripped out of a 23 blog post isn't going to do it. 24 And Skilling demands more, the case law demands 25 more. And you just can't come in here and start sneaking

```
statements about things like traditional values and whether
 1
 2
    people in a particular city have them or despise them.
 3
     just not going to fly.
 4
               And so, you know, I don't know that we want to
 5
     spend a whole lot more time on this, but I just wanted you
 6
     to be aware of that, and I'll just ask you to be mindful of
 7
     that moving forward, okay?
 8
               MR. FISCHER: And, Your Honor, I appreciate the
 9
     Court's comments.
10
               And I do want to make it clear that I'm not trying
11
     to denigrate the citizens of the District of Columbia.
12
     There are major disagreements culturally and on issues.
13
               I do want to raise one additional issue --
14
               THE COURT: I will say this: I have never, not
15
     once in my time as a judge or a defense lawyer, thought that
16
     the people of the District of Columbia who've served on
17
     juries have done anything other than the job they've been
18
     asked to, which is dispassionately view the evidence without
19
     regard to what the conduct is that's alleged and who the
20
     defendant is.
21
               And Ms. Hernandez and I disagree about a lot of
22
     things, but she's shaking her head, so I know I'm doing okay
23
     if she agrees with me on that.
24
               MR. FISCHER: Well, Your Honor, if I could point
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out, part of the frustration -- I'm just going to raise one

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more issue and I'll sit down and shut up -- my client and
these defendants have been subjected to nonstop race-baiting
day after day after day. And, quite frankly, they're sick
and tired of it. My client's sick and tired of it. He's a
military veteran, he doesn't have a racist bone in his body,
yet every day, he has to see on TV, he has to read newspaper
articles where people write in The Washington Post and other
places that he's a white supremest, that he has the Attorney
General go out there and call him a white supremest, a white
nationalist, the Speaker of the House, the President of the
United States.
          And so, Your Honor, maybe the language I used was
a little bit strong, but my client did not enter -- he did
not enter the Capitol, he did not damage any property, he
was not involved in any conspiracy, and, quite frankly, he's
sick and tired of being painted -- I think I could speak for
the other defendants as well, they're sick and tired of news
media and politicians labeling them as racist. It's
disgusting, it's vile. And, Your Honor, maybe I was a
little bit extreme in my language, but it's very frustrating
to my client.
          So with that said, Your Honor, thank you.
          THE COURT: Thank you, Counsel.
          And, look, I'm not -- I'm not condoning that
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either, whether -- we ought not to be characterizing people

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in large groups. At least in this courtroom, people will be
 1
 2
     judged by their individual actions, and I anticipate that
 3
     any jury that's selected will do the same.
 4
               Ms. Hernandez.
 5
               MS. HERNANDEZ: We agree on a lot of things,
 6
     Your Honor.
 7
               But what I stood up for, Your Honor, the Court
 8
     asked some questions that I think were left, perhaps, not
 9
    properly answered or could be answered better, and I would
10
     just like to ask the Court for permission to file a
11
     supplemental brief on some of the questions that the Court
12
     asked.
13
               THE COURT: Will you file it by the deadline?
14
               MS. HERNANDEZ: I will -- Your Honor, my mind --
15
     I'm telling you, this is a very --
16
               THE COURT: You know, deadlines matter,
17
    Ms. Hernandez.
18
               MS. HERNANDEZ: I understand, Your Honor.
19
               THE COURT: And I don't want to be difficult here,
20
    but you and I have a history and you've in been in other
21
     cases before me --
22
               MS. HERNANDEZ: This is the only case --
23
               THE COURT: -- and deadlines are seemingly
24
     optional.
25
               MS. HERNANDEZ:
                               This is the only case where the
```

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deadlines were missed.
 1
 2
               But, Your Honor, I will say the following.
 3
               THE COURT: I think the record would show
 4
     otherwise, but anyway.
 5
               MS. HERNANDEZ: This is a very difficult issue.
 6
     It was like you'd read one case and that case cited ten
 7
     cases.
               THE COURT: All right.
               But don't ask me for a day and then not file it
 9
10
     and then file a 30-page brief on the eve of the argument.
11
               I mean, I read your brief, which won't surprise
12
    you, but don't do that.
13
               MS. HERNANDEZ: Let me say this, Your Honor:
14
    My view is I always try to give the Court the best work that
15
     I am able to.
16
               THE COURT: I know you do.
17
               MS. HERNANDEZ: I read as many cases, all the
18
     cases and more --
19
               THE COURT: Okay.
20
               MS. HERNANDEZ: -- so that I give the Court --
21
               THE COURT: I'm just asking you --
22
               MS. HERNANDEZ: I understand.
23
               THE COURT: -- file your papers in a timely way.
24
               MS. HERNANDEZ: Yes, I understand, Your Honor.
25
               THE COURT: All right.
```

Let's talk about what we're going to do next. 1 2 MS. HERNANDEZ: Thank you. 3 THE COURT: So I think I would like a more fulsome 4 written response from the government on the argument that's 5 raised in Ms. Hernandez's brief about whether the statute 6 encompasses the conduct that's alleged. 7 I mean, I think you and I have had a very long discussion about it here today, Mr. Nestler, but I think 8 it would be in everyone's interest, including my own, to 9 10 have that position articulated in writing. I know other 11 judges have asked for that to happen, including Judge Moss, and he already has a schedule in place in his case. 12 13 I think the question, Mr. Nestler, is how quickly 14 you think you can turn something around. 15 MR. NESTLER: About three weeks, Your Honor. 16 THE COURT: Okay. 17 I'll give you two, because I do want to get to 18 this, I don't want this to sit very long. 19 So I'll ask for some additional briefing from the 20 government by the 22nd. And if any of the defendants wish 21 to file essentially what would be a reply, they can do so by 2.2. October 6th. 23 Last bit of business, which is where we go from 24 here in terms of the case. I hoped to have enough time to 25 kind of talk about where things stand in terms of discovery

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and the like, but I've got to get to a meeting that I'm
 1
 2
     already 15 minutes late for.
 3
               So can we convene -- because we haven't had a
 4
     status conference in this case for at least 30 days -- can
 5
     we convene next Thursday at 11:00 a.m. for a status
 6
     conference? This obviously is addressed to the lawyers who
     are on -- who are remote as well.
 7
               MR. NESTLER: That's fine for the government,
 8
 9
     Your Honor.
10
               THE COURT: Okay.
               Any defense counsel have an intractable conflict
11
     on September 16th at 11:00 a.m.?
12
13
               MR. FISCHER: The 16th is --
14
               MR. NESTLER: Your Honor, Yom Kippur is the 17th,
15
     it starts the night of the 16th.
16
               THE COURT: Oh, okay.
17
               I was just having a conversation with Mr. Douyon
18
     about our detained defendants. We're going to have to bring
19
     them to the courthouse for that hearing. There are
20
     administrative changes being made at the jail with respect
21
     to the remote hearings policy. And while right now I think
22
     we have five rooms available for remote hearings, they're
23
     going to be reduced to two and we have three detained
24
     defendants and you can do the math and figure out that
25
     that's not going to work. So that's what that conversation
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```
1
     was about.
 2
               All right. So 11:00 a.m.
 3
               Yom Kippur doesn't present a problem, Mr. Nestler?
 4
               MR. NESTLER: No, Your Honor.
 5
               THE COURT: Okay.
 6
               So anybody unavailable at 11 a.m.?
 7
               You don't have to appear in person unless you want
 8
     to.
 9
               MR. MacMAHON: Your Honor, Edward MacMahon for
10
     Mr. Walden.
11
               I'll be out of the country, but I'm sure Mr. Spina
12
     can cover, if the Court is happy with that.
13
               THE COURT: That's fine, Mr. MacMahon.
14
     No problem.
15
               MR. MacMAHON: Thank you, Your Honor.
16
               MR. MACHADO: Your Honor, we didn't hear that
17
     comment that was made.
18
               THE COURT: Mr. MacMahon just said that he's
19
     unavailable, he's out of the country on the 16th, but his
20
     co-counsel, Mr. Spina, can certainly participate remotely
21
     and hasn't said he's unavailable.
22
               MR. FISCHER: Okay. Thank you.
23
               THE COURT: All right.
24
               So hearing no other conflicts, why don't we set
25
     11:00 a.m. on September the 16th for a status conference and
```

```
1
     we will look forward to seeing everybody on that date.
 2
               Thank you, everybody, for your presentations this
 3
     afternoon, it's a lot to think about.
 4
               Thanks, everyone.
 5
               Don't wait for me.
 6
               COURTROOM DEPUTY: All rise.
               This court now stands adjourned.
 7
 8
               (Proceedings concluded at 4:23 p.m.)
 9
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I, William P. Zaremba, RMR, CRR, certify that the foregoing is a correct transcript from the record of proceedings in the above-titled matter.

Date:__September 10, 2021____ /S/_ William P. Zaremba____
William P. Zaremba, RMR, CRR

Case 1:21-cr-000020876/P21/16/23/07038th 237/6 23/41 25/12002409/120/217 [1] 22/32 111 of [19/8][1] 57/22 77/10 78/8 78/11 78/15 35/22 55/19 73/6 78/1 **208-7500 [1]** 2/13 **4:23 [1]** 109/8 COURTROOM 104/5 104/14 104/18 **1507 [2]** 70/12 72/16 **21-28 [2]** 1/4 8/5 **DEPUTY: [1]** 109/6 104/22 104/25 105/5 **1512 [52]** 16/10 17/22 **21061-3065** [1] 2/4 **DEPUTY CLERK: [1] 50 [2]** 82/20 83/20 105/13 105/17 105/20 18/3 18/8 18/21 23/18 **215 [2]** 5/22 6/5 8/4 **501 [1]** 5/21 105/22 105/24 106/2 24/19 28/23 30/18 31/3 **21st [1]** 5/11 MR. FISCHER: [41] **503 [1]** 2/16 MS. 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