

OFFICIAL TRANSCRIPT
PROCEEDINGS BEFORE
THE SUPREME COURT
OF THE
UNITED STATES

CAPTION: LLOYD BENTSEN, SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY,
Petitioner v. COORS BREWING COMPANY

CASE NO: No. 93-1631

PLACE: Washington, D.C.

DATE: Wednesday, November 30, 1994

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1 IN THE SUPREME COURT OF THE UNITED STATES

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3 LLOYD BENTSEN, SECRETARY OF :

4 THE TREASURY, :

5 Petitioner :

6 v. : No. 93-1631

7 COORS BREWING COMPANY :

8 - - - - -X

9 Washington, D.C.

10 Wednesday, November 30, 1994

11 The above-entitled matter came on for oral
12 argument before the Supreme Court of the United States at
13 10:03 a.m.

14 APPEARANCES:

15 EDWIN S. KNEEDLER, ESQ., Deputy Solicitor General,
16 Department of Justice, Washington, D.C.; on behalf of
17 the Petitioner.

18 BRUCE J. ENNIS, JR, ESQ., Washington, D.C.; on
19 behalf of the Respondent.

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P R O C E E D I N G S

(10:02 a.m.)

CHIEF JUSTICE REHNQUIST: We'll hear argument next in Number 93-1631, Lloyd Bentsen v. The Coors Brewing Company.

Mr. Kneedler.

ORAL ARGUMENT OF EDWIN S. KNEEDLER

ON BEHALF OF THE PETITIONER

MR. KNEEDLER: Mr. Chief Justice and may it please the Court:

The court of appeals in this case held unconstitutional a provision in section 5(e) of the Federal Alcohol Administration Act that has regulated the interstate sale of malt beverages for almost 60 years.

Specifically, paragraph (2) of section 5(e) prohibits statements of alcohol content on the labels of malt beverages unless such statements are required by State law.

That provision was enacted soon after adoption of the Twenty-First Amendment, and was designed to implement it, and it reflected a considered judgment by Congress, as stated in the House committee report, that malt beverages should not be sold on the basis of alcohol content.

This restriction serves the substantial

1 governmental interest of not facilitating or encouraging
2 the purchase or consumption of malt beverages for the
3 purpose of getting intoxicated.

4 QUESTION: Mr. Kneedler --

5 MR. KNEEDLER: Yes.

6 QUESTION: -- here is both an advertising ban
7 and a labeling ban --

8 MR. KNEEDLER: Yes.

9 QUESTION: -- for malt beverages?

10 MR. KNEEDLER: Yes.

11 QUESTION: But as I understand it, the
12 advertising ban applies only in States that have imposed
13 similar restrictions.

14 MR. KNEEDLER: That's correct.

15 QUESTION: But the labeling ban applies unless
16 States affirmatively require disclosure.

17 MR. KNEEDLER: That's correct. By virtue of the
18 way the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms has
19 construed it, the parenthetical clause in section 5(e)(2)
20 specifically addresses the interaction of State and
21 Federal law.

22 QUESTION: Well, that leads to a very curious
23 result, because in a majority of States, then, it seems to
24 me that the statute would leave the brewers free to
25 advertise alcohol content on malt beverages but not to

1 place that information on the labels, and that just seems
2 a very odd scheme to me.

3 MR. KNEEDLER: Well, I --

4 QUESTION: Am I correct?

5 MR. KNEEDLER: There can be that difference in
6 those States, but first of all, I -- Congress could
7 reasonably conclude that having the alcohol content on the
8 bottle, on the very product that is the subject of the
9 commercial transaction, would enable -- facilitate impulse
10 buying at the point of sale, so at the very time the
11 consumer is going to buy --

12 QUESTION: Well, I thought the defense was
13 something about encouraging price wars, or something, and
14 I would have thought that advertising it would be much
15 more likely to result in the problem --

16 MR. KNEEDLER: Right.

17 QUESTION: -- that the Government is concerned
18 about than would putting a truthful piece of information
19 on a label.

20 MR. KNEEDLER: Well, thus far, although I think
21 the materials suggest that we're beginning to see some
22 movement into traditional advertising, that has not been a
23 problem, and perhaps because advertising is often at a
24 national level, particularly media advertising, so that
25 advertising, if it's not lawful everywhere, for instance,

1 in network TV, that it wouldn't be placed because it
2 wouldn't be lawful in a number of States into which it
3 would go.

4 And of course, if the States perceive a problem
5 in this area, they may enact laws addressing that.

6 QUESTION: But it certainly weakens the
7 Government's position with regard to the justification for
8 the labeling ban.

9 MR. KNEEDLER: No, I think it -- first of all,
10 the point you're raising I think would only go to the
11 application, in any event, to the labeling ban in those
12 States that allow advertising but don't require the
13 labeling, and thus far in this case respondent has not
14 challenged the application of the labeling requirement on
15 a State-by-State basis in that manner, and again, the
16 substantial governmental interest here includes the
17 interest in accommodating State regulations, so the
18 labeling restriction applies unless a State strikes a
19 different balance.

20 Now, if in those States that have not prohibited
21 advertising the Federal regulation on labeling were
22 thought to be somewhat undermined, that would be a problem
23 only in those States. But again, that has not been the
24 burden of respondent's argument in this case.

25 Respondent's submission of its labels to ATF was

1 across the board and, in fact, at page 61 of the Joint
2 Appendix respondent asks, specifically asks ATF to
3 consider its submission as a package, as a program,
4 including, in fact, both advertising and labeling
5 restrictions. ATF denied it except in those States that
6 allowed it in the manner that you've described, and then
7 respondent brought this suit under the APA to challenge
8 ATF's restriction across the board.

9 If it -- if -- an as-applied, or a State-by-
10 State challenge of the sort you're describing, would be a
11 different lawsuit.

12 QUESTION: Well, Mr. Kneedler, am I right in
13 thinking that the advertising ban is not being challenged
14 here?

15 MR. KNEEDLER: That is correct. The advertising
16 ban was sustained by the district court, and respondent
17 has not challenged that.

18 In fact, it's interesting, at page 35 of the
19 appendix to the petition, where the district court's
20 decision on remand is set forth, the district court
21 specifically acknowledges in the first paragraph on page
22 35a, I agree after hearing the evidence that attempts to
23 market alcohol content as a product attribute are not
24 legitimate attempts. They are contrary to substantial
25 governmental policy.

1 That is precisely the judgment that was set
2 forth in the House report in 1935. The district court
3 accepted that very judgment with respect to advertising,
4 but then inconsistently, in our view, declined to accept
5 and recognize the very same purpose as it applies in
6 labeling. As this Court --

7 QUESTION: Of course, labeling isn't always for
8 promotive purposes. Sometimes you have warning labels.
9 What if they said, warning, you have 4 percent alcohol in
10 this stuff, that's dangerous?

11 MR. KNEEDLER: That is one type of labeling, but
12 that is not the sort of labeling that respondent is
13 promoting here. It's signif --

14 QUESTION: Well, they say it is. They say they
15 want to inform the consumer about how much alcohol is in
16 the beer.

17 MR. KNEEDLER: Well, with all respect, it seems
18 quite clear from the record in this case that respondent's
19 very purpose in challenging the labeling restriction
20 was --

21 QUESTION: Mr. Kneedler, are we to look at the
22 purpose? This is a flat ban. It says, thou shall not put
23 the content of alcohol on the label. Is the
24 constitutionality dependent on the motive of the
25 particular challenger, when all that's at issue is whether

1 there can be a flat ban?

2 MR. KNEEDLER: No. It's relevant in this
3 precise -- in this particular sense, and it's a sense that
4 was recognized by this Court in both Posadas and in
5 Central Hudson, and that is that a restriction such as
6 this rests on the common sense judgment that a dampening
7 of advertising or promotion will dampen the demand for the
8 product, and in this case the restriction of the demand on
9 the basis of this particular attribute, alcohol content,
10 would dampen the demand to buy the product for the purpose
11 of getting intoxicated on the basis of that attribute.

12 In Posadas and Central Hudson --

13 QUESTION: Is it common sense to allow that to
14 be put on billboards but not on the label, and is it
15 common sense not to allow the percentage to be shown, but
16 to allow it to be called on the label and in advertising
17 malt liquor, or I suppose supermalt liquor?

18 MR. KNEEDLER: With respect to malt liquor, in
19 particular, last -- in the spring of 1993, ATF solicited
20 public comments on precisely the use of malt liquor.

21 Historically malt liquor -- now, malt liquor is
22 understood as a category of malt beverage that has a
23 higher alcohol content, but historically malt liquor was a
24 term that encompassed the entire category of malt
25 beverages, and this is an understanding that goes way

1 back, so when those labels were first approved in the
2 early sixties, ATF presumably concluded that malt liquor
3 did not have a particular --

4 QUESTION: Had it changed its meaning by the
5 early sixties? You don't think when it came out as malt
6 liquor in the early sixties that wasn't known to --

7 MR. KNEEDLER: Apparently -- apparently ATF does
8 not have an explanation in its records for why they were
9 approved, but this is now being considered. But again, if
10 malt liquor is thought to be a particular problem, then
11 that's something that ATF can address under what
12 respondent concedes to be its powers under the other
13 labeling provisions, and ATF is considering precisely
14 that.

15 QUESTION: Well, one step at a time is a fine
16 thing when you're not in the First Amendment area, but it
17 seems to me we demand a higher level of rationality when
18 you're prohibiting the conveying of information, and I
19 think it is, it seems to me, quite irrational to allow the
20 notion that this beverage contains a higher than ordinary
21 alcoholic content to be conveyed in all other ways but not
22 by saying it has 4 percent alcohol.

23 MR. KNEEDLER: To reiterate, Justice Scalia,
24 that rationale would apply only in those particular States
25 where advertising was permitted and the labeling

1 restriction applied. Much like Edge Broadcasting, this
2 statute furthers the additional interest of
3 accommodating --

4 QUESTION: Oh, I disagree. You can say malt
5 liquor on the can.

6 MR. KNEEDLER: Oh, I'm sorry, but with respect
7 to malt liquor, well, that -- that was not the basis of
8 the district court, or court of appeals judgment in this
9 case, and I think there is a question whether, I suppose a
10 legislative judgment for ATF to make in the first instance
11 whether malt liquor in fact conveys that sense.

12 QUESTION: Is it true that ATF itself is giving
13 out the alcohol content? If someone calls and says, I'd
14 like to know the alcohol content of Coors Beer, or some
15 other beer, the ATF --

16 MR. KNEEDLER: Yes, one of the ATF witnesses at
17 trial said that, but again, that I think furthers --
18 highlights that this is not a blanket prohibition on any
19 public utterance or information about alcohol content.

20 QUESTION: But if the Government is giving out
21 the information for the asking, what sense does it make to
22 prohibit that information on the label so that the
23 consumer will be saved a telephone call?

24 MR. KNEEDLER: Well, what it is, Justice
25 Ginsburg, is the difference between making information

1 available for consumers who want to look to that
2 information if they should want to compare on the basis of
3 selecting on the basis of low alcohol content, for
4 example, on the one hand, and on the other hand making,
5 not allowing brewers and others to use precisely the
6 alcohol content of the beverage for purposes of promoting
7 it, and this --

8 QUESTION: It seems to me, Mr. Kneedler, that if
9 you were to prevail in this case and one of us was
10 assigned the majority opinion, we'd begin by saying, the
11 Government has a legitimate interest in ensuring that
12 consumers are not fully informed, and then after that the
13 opinion would get rather difficult, it seems to me.

14 (Laughter.)

15 MR. KNEEDLER: Well, with all respect, Justice
16 Kennedy, in 1935, when Congress looked at this precise
17 question, and in fact before that in 1934, when the
18 Federal Alcohol Control Administration looked at this
19 question, there was virtually unanimous agreement among
20 the brewing industry itself that competition on the basis
21 of alcohol content specifically including the labeling
22 was --

23 QUESTION: Well, there probably was unanimous
24 agreement that all competition was undesirable, too, in
25 that time.

1 MR. KNEEDLER: Well, but -- but --

2 (Laughter.)

3 QUESTION: That was a pretty rigid industry in
4 1933.

5 MR. KNEEDLER: Well, but first of all in the --

6 QUESTION: One of the classic examples, the
7 antitrust enforcement throughout this industry, at that
8 period.

9 MR. KNEEDLER: Well, but the Twenty-First
10 Amendment, which had just been adopted, recognizes that
11 there can often be a very substantial governmental
12 interest in not promoting competition on the basis of, in
13 particular, alcohol --

14 QUESTION: On the basis of alcohol content for
15 this rather limited product, but what about everything
16 else, like wine, and whiskey, and other alcoholic
17 beverages? Why doesn't the same interest work there?

18 MR. KNEEDLER: Well, the problem that Congress
19 had before it in 1934 --

20 QUESTION: As the industry presented it.

21 MR. KNEEDLER: -- was one specifically related
22 to malt beverage and the behavior of brewers in the malt
23 beverage industry that in fact had promoted beer as an
24 intoxicant rather than as a beverage or as a food type
25 beverage.

1 In Posadas, for example, the Court recognized
2 that Puerto Rico had not prohibited advertising concerning
3 all forms of gambling, but had focused on the particular
4 form of gambling that had led to the particular social ill
5 that was being addressed, in that case casino gambling,
6 and this case, in our view, is exactly like Posadas and in
7 fact --

8 QUESTION: But Mr. Kneedler, one thing we know
9 about Posadas is fairly recent, so the legislature could
10 have taken into account that commercial advertising is
11 subject to a First Amendment check. Isn't it true that
12 back in 1935 there was no notion that commercial
13 advertising was within the First Amendment --

14 MR. KNEEDLER: I --

15 QUESTION: -- so that wasn't the attitude to
16 this kind of legislation more or less anything goes?

17 MR. KNEEDLER: Well, I think the point you're
18 making in fact cuts the other way.

19 This statute was passed in the immediate wake of
20 the Twenty-First Amendment, which conferred on the States
21 what this Court has recognized as an extra measure of
22 power to regulate in the area of alcohol production and
23 sale and, in fact, traditionally the alcohol industry has
24 been subject to perhaps the most stringent regulations of
25 any area for -- and principally to regulate access to the

1 product.

2 QUESTION: There was once a case in this Court
3 of a statute that regulated the sale of, in fact, a malt
4 beverage, and the law was defended -- this was the law
5 that said boys couldn't buy 3.2 beer until they are 21,
6 girls could at 18.

7 MR. KNEEDLER: Right.

8 QUESTION: The defense was, boys drive more,
9 drink more, commit more alcohol-related offenses. All of
10 that was true. That was shown to be true, and yet this
11 Court held the law unconstitutional despite the Twenty-
12 First Amendment, so I don't buy your argument that because
13 we're in Twenty-First Amendment territory, therefore the
14 constitutional checks on Government action are so diluted
15 that we don't have to worry about them.

16 MR. KNEEDLER: I -- our submission is not that
17 the First Amendment is inapplicable in this context, and
18 in the case you're speaking of, that was a situation where
19 the State was operating in an area where class-based
20 stereotypes were simply not -- were not permissible.

21 In this case, first of all in the First
22 Amendment speech case, both before and after Craig v.
23 Boren, this Court has recognized in California v. LaRue
24 and subsequent cases that the First Amendment in
25 connection with the sale of alcohol has to be accommodated

1 or the State government may properly accommodate the First
2 Amendment to the compelling governmental interest in
3 regulating alcohol.

4 And in LaRue, in fact, the Court deferred to
5 what it termed the reasonable judgment by the California
6 legislature that nude dancing should not take place where
7 alcohol is sold even though it was alleged that the
8 conduct there should have been examined under the O'Brien
9 test, and the Court said that the O'Brien test was
10 unnecessary precisely because the State was operating in
11 an area governed by the Twenty-First Amendment.

12 And we think that if that rationale applied in
13 LaRue, it applies a fortiori here because what we were
14 talking --

15 QUESTION: Even though you don't have a nude
16 dancer.

17 (Laughter.)

18 MR. KNEEDLER: But what we do have is, we think,
19 something even more compelling, and that is that this
20 Court has recognized that commercial speech is subject to
21 regulation precisely because it is closely related to
22 commercial transactions.

23 QUESTION: Mr. Kneedler, what do we do if we
24 have a case in which Congress has a legitimate and
25 sustainable interest in restricting commercial speech when

1 it passes a statute, but then because of the passage of
2 time and changes in marketing and changes in consumer
3 habits, that interest is quite evidently, let's assume, no
4 longer legitimate, no longer compelling?

5 Is the statute then subject to attack, do you
6 think, or can you defend it on the grounds that at the
7 time it was enacted there was a legitimate interest?

8 MR. KNEEDLER: Oh, I think the statute carries
9 with it a strong presumption that the circumstances that
10 gave rise to it continue to obtain, and I do -- and I
11 think it's important that what is being alleged here are
12 changes in the market, or changes in consumer preferences,
13 which are themselves subject to change and, in fact, one
14 thing that respondent doesn't acknowledge is that the very
15 consumer preferences that respondent is suggesting are
16 happening -- a push toward low alcohol beer -- are
17 undoubtedly influenced in large part by the very
18 restrictions that respondent is challenging in this case.

19 QUESTION: So you cast it something in terms of
20 a presumption and indicate that perhaps consumer tastes
21 being fickle would change in the near future and this
22 statute would again --

23 MR. KNEEDLER: Yes, but I also think that
24 what -- where the governmental regulation is directed to
25 market influences, that the fact that the market might

1 change doesn't alter the fact that there is an inherent
2 possibility that a certain type of advertising will
3 promote the conduct, and so --

4 QUESTION: Mr. Kneedler, what evidence does the
5 Government have, what hard evidence, that there will be a
6 war of brewers fighting to put in more expensive alcohol
7 into their beer when this -- what hard evidence is there?

8 MR. KNEEDLER: Well --

9 QUESTION: I have friends who consume hard
10 whiskey, and they tell me that the alcoholic content of
11 that has gone down over the years, to their great
12 disappointment, from 90 --

13 (Laughter.)

14 QUESTION: From 90 to 86 to 80.

15 MR. KNEEDLER: Well, first of all, even if some
16 segments of the market, on average, the alcohol content is
17 going down, that doesn't mean that the governmental
18 purpose here is not directly advanced as to those portions
19 of the market where there would be promotion on the basis
20 of high content.

21 QUESTION: If there's any evidence that there
22 would be a price -- that there would be a, you know, an
23 alcoholic content war.

24 MR. KNEEDLER: Well, there is -- there is --

25 QUESTION: What evidence is there such a thing

1 would happen?

2 MR. KNEEDLER: Several things I would point to.
3 First of all was the very substantial evidence in 1934 and
4 1935 when this was first adopted by the Federal Alcohol
5 Control Administration and by Congress, and then today,
6 with respect to the malt beverage -- excuse me, the malt
7 liquor segment of the market, which is a market that I
8 think there's general acknowledgement it's a higher
9 alcohol content beer, or malt beverage, and it is promoted
10 on the basis of its alcoholic content.

11 And also, again, with respect to Coors, the
12 record contains cards that were handed out by Coors, and
13 in fact Coors entered into a settlement with ATF, or at
14 least handed out by a distributor, identifying the alcohol
15 content of Coors beverages as compared to other beers
16 within various price ranges.

17 QUESTION: Mr. Kneedler, supposing that the
18 market is consumed of a variety of consumers, some of whom
19 want to get drunk as fast as they can, and they're the
20 people you're concerned about, and others of whom would
21 like to be careful and moderate in their drinking and be
22 able to drive without violating the statutes and so forth.
23 They have an interest in knowing how much alcohol is in
24 the beer, not for that purpose but for a good, legitimate
25 purpose of safety, and health, and all the rest.

1 Do we weigh their interest in the balance, or is
2 it sufficient to sustain the statute to say, well, maybe
3 the 15, 20 percent of the people are hard drinkers and
4 want to get drunk, and we're going to focus on them and
5 ignore the others? Is that a sufficient justification for
6 sustaining the statute?

7 MR. KNEEDLER: For the most part, yes. I mean,
8 the Court made this point in Central Hudson, for example,
9 in -- where the Court said it was up to the agency to
10 balance the judgment as to whether the off-peak and on-
11 peak electric demand would go up or down depending on what
12 sort of advertising would take place, and we think a
13 similar point is true here.

14 What there is, there may be competing interest
15 with respect to whether disclosure of the content would
16 actually further -- would, on balance, be preferable, or
17 whether not allowing promotion of the product on the basis
18 of the precise attribute that the Twenty-First Amendment
19 addresses, whether prohibiting that is, on balance, the
20 preferable approach.

21 QUESTION: Is there any other example in all of
22 food and drug labeling law where knowledge is prohibited,
23 knowledge of the content of what one is ingesting is
24 prohibited on the label?

25 MR. KNEEDLER: Well, I suppose in this sense,

1 that if the Food & Drug Administration prescribes a
2 certain list of ingredients that shall be on there and
3 nothing else --

4 QUESTION: Is there a law? Here we're dealing
5 with a statute passed by Congress. Has Congress said in
6 any -- for any other food or drug, there shalt not tell
7 the public what's in this commodity?

8 MR. KNEEDLER: Not that I'm aware of, but again,
9 going back to Justice Stevens' point, it really is a
10 question of striking a balance, and what this statute
11 does, for example, is to allow the States in the exercise
12 of their Twenty-First Amendment power to strike a
13 different balance and perhaps conclude that the interest
14 in disclosure outweighs the concerns about promoting the
15 product for the purposes of getting intoxicated, and in --
16 on page 16a of --

17 QUESTION: But supposing the market is equally
18 divided between the two kinds of people I described, does
19 the First Amendment require us to give preference to one
20 interest rather than the other?

21 MR. KNEEDLER: I don't believe so. I think as
22 long as --

23 QUESTION: The First Amendment is neutral on
24 whether there should be disclosure and public knowledge of
25 important information.

1 MR. KNEEDLER: I think as long as the
2 legislature could reasonably conclude --

3 QUESTION: That half the people would benefit
4 from a paternalistic denial of information --

5 MR. KNEEDLER: Well, half the people might
6 benefit, but the risks associated with the other half
7 getting the information might be far worse.

8 This Court has recognized in the past the
9 dangers associated with alcohol consumption, and it's
10 precisely the people most prone to use alcohol -- young
11 people, for example, unsafe driving on the highway, who
12 would be attracted to the alcohol because of its higher
13 content.

14 QUESTION: Mr. Kneedler, what test or standard
15 do you suggest that we apply in testing this ban on
16 commercial speech? Ordinarily, we would apply the Central
17 Hudson test, but it seems you are urging us not even to
18 employ that standard.

19 MR. KNEEDLER: We think the statute satisfies
20 the Central Hudson test for the reasons I've explained.
21 It directly advances the goal of not promoting alcohol
22 consumption for the purpose of getting intoxicated, and
23 it's tailored to that end by focusing on that attribute,
24 but we do think it's significant that this regulation
25 takes place in the context of what this Court recognized

1 in Posadas as socially harmful activities.

2 Although Posadas involved gambling, it also
3 specifically identified alcohol consumption as another
4 socially harmful activity, and like gambling, it can have
5 adverse consequences on third parties. It's not simply
6 the individual himself or herself who might want the
7 information, but it may have --

8 QUESTION: The Government can look over the vast
9 range of activities that are lawful, that are not wicked
10 enough to be made unlawful, and say, well, some of them
11 are questionable enough that we don't want the people to
12 have information about them.

13 I mean, that has great possibility. What about
14 automobiles? I guess car manufacturers can be prohibited
15 from advertising how fast a car can go.

16 MR. KNEEDLER: No, we think that --

17 QUESTION: Perhaps even how many horsepower the
18 engine has.

19 MR. KNEEDLER: We think the --

20 QUESTION: People tend to drive too fast.

21 MR. KNEEDLER: We think the activities
22 identified in Posadas are ones in which there is a
23 tradition in history of -- of considerable social ill, of
24 governmental concern, and a history of stringent
25 regulation.

1 QUESTION: That's not so with driving
2 automobiles?

3 MR. KNEEDLER: It may --

4 QUESTION: It's hard to think of what's more
5 heavily regulated than that.

6 MR. KNEEDLER: But the -- I suppose one could
7 identify the categories associated with morality or vice,
8 but in this case it's not even necessary to identify what
9 the category might be in the abstract on the basis of
10 Posadas. Here, in --

11 QUESTION: But even in Posadas, with gambling,
12 that was advertising that was justified, not refusal of
13 labeling. That wouldn't justify a statute that said that
14 the black jack table can't post the actual odds of winning
15 or losing, or something like that, would it?

16 MR. KNEEDLER: But in this Court's decision in
17 Kordel it recognized that labeling is a form of
18 advertising, but what I --

19 QUESTION: You think anything that you can
20 prohibit in terms of advertising you can also prohibit in
21 labeling. That's your solution?

22 MR. KNEEDLER: At least with respect to alcohol,
23 and we think in this case there's no need to consider what
24 the parameters of the Posadas category might be, because
25 the Twenty-First Amendment embodies in the Constitution

1 itself the compelling governmental interest in regulating
2 that category of commercial activity.

3 QUESTION: But the Twenty-First Amendment,
4 Mr. Kneedler, conferred authority on the States, not on
5 the Federal Government.

6 MR. KNEEDLER: Yes, but this statute among other
7 things advances the State interest because States -- a
8 number of States, in fact almost every State, either by
9 operation of this statute or their own statutes, have a
10 restriction on labeling.

11 But my point is that the Twenty-First Amendment,
12 while conferring authority directly on the States, does
13 recognize in the Constitution itself the important
14 governmental interest in regulating alcohol.

15 QUESTION: Do you think that if we rule in favor
16 of Coors that the State statutes would necessarily be
17 invalid too, State antilabeling?

18 MR. KNEEDLER: It would at least call them into
19 question, and it doesn't seem to us that the governmental
20 interest in this should necessarily depend upon a State-
21 by-State examination of the interest.

22 QUESTION: Well, then it would seem to me to
23 follow from that that the State statutes would be invalid
24 as well.

25 MR. KNEEDLER: Well, I think the States should

1 not be precluded from demonstrating what their interests
2 are and what information has been -- has been gathered,
3 and on what basis they acted.

4 QUESTION: What interests would the States have
5 that you have not been able to identify and adduce in your
6 brief?

7 MR. KNEEDLER: Well, if the Court were to
8 conclude, contrary to our submission, that there had to be
9 broader factual findings, we wouldn't think that the
10 States should be foreclosed from doing that.

11 But again, the Twenty-First Amendment we think
12 empowers the States to nip in the bud the potential for
13 promotion of alcohol on the basis of alcohol content.
14 They should not have to wait for the damaging effects.

15 If I could reserve the balance of my time.

16 QUESTION: Very well, Mr. Kneedler.

17 Mr. Ennis.

18 ORAL ARGUMENT OF BRUCE J. ENNIS, JR.

19 ON BEHALF OF THE RESPONDENT

20 MR. ENNIS: Mr. Chief Justice, and may it please
21 the Court:

22 The labeling prohibition bans factual
23 information that is concededly truthful, accurate, and not
24 misleading. The Government's assertion that Congress
25 wanted to ban even accurate information in order to deter

1 strength wars finds no support in the text of the act, in
2 the committee reports, the Senate report or the House
3 report, in the floor debates, or in the congressional
4 testimony. Congress' articulated and only concern was the
5 prevention of false or misleading speech.

6 In any event, two courts have found that there
7 is no evidence that accurate disclosure of alcohol content
8 on beer labels would result in strength wars. To the
9 contrary. They found that the vast majority of consumers
10 would use that information to choose moderate or low
11 strength beers.

12 QUESTION: Well, Mr. Ennis, how do we treat that
13 here? Is it an appropriate function for, say, a district
14 court to say that, well, we know that Congress thought
15 there were going to be strength wars but we don't think
16 there will be, therefore the statute that Congress passed
17 is invalid?

18 MR. ENNIS: Well, Chief Justice Rehnquist, even
19 if it were clear that Congress thought there would be
20 strength wars, and I'll return to that in a moment,
21 because there's no reason to think Congress did, it's
22 still the requirement under the Central Hudson test for
23 the Court to determine, based on the evidence, whether the
24 means chosen by Congress would actually advance, directly
25 and materially, that goal.

1 In this case, applying the central Hudson test,
2 both district courts found there was no evidence that,
3 even if that was the congressional goal, this labeling ban
4 would further it.

5 QUESTION: And no deference is given to the
6 congressional determination that it was?

7 MR. ENNIS: Your Honor, there could be some
8 degree of deference to congressional findings that there
9 would be strength wars, but in this case there were no
10 congressional findings whatsoever, and if you look at the
11 legislative history of the act, and even the legislative
12 history of the precursor FACA regulations, you will find
13 no reason to believe that Congress was the least bit
14 concerned with strength wars.

15 QUESTION: I'm sorry, you think a statute
16 survives judicial attack if Congress makes findings which
17 it would not survive if Congress didn't, so we're telling
18 Congress to legislate in a certain fashion?

19 MR. ENNIS: No, no, not at all, Justice Scalia.

20 QUESTION: Don't we assume that the necessary
21 findings sustain any congressional statute? Isn't that
22 the assumption?

23 MR. ENNIS: No, Justice Scalia, it's not. As
24 this Court pointed out in the Sable case, it was precisely
25 the absence of any congressional findings of fact that

1 resulted in the striking down of that law under the First
2 Amendment.

3 The only point I'm trying to make is that in
4 terms of deference --

5 QUESTION: This would be valid if there were
6 findings of fact --

7 MR. ENNIS: No.

8 QUESTION: -- but since Congress did not make
9 findings of fact it's invalid?

10 MR. ENNIS: No. If Congress had made findings
11 of fact, then there would be an argument that the courts
12 should show some deference to those congressional findings
13 of fact. It should never --

14 QUESTION: But otherwise a statute could be
15 valid, could be invalid, we don't assume that the findings
16 were there?

17 MR. ENNIS: You simply apply the Central Hudson
18 test. There's no congressional finding to which the Court
19 should defer.

20 QUESTION: That's not my understanding. I think
21 every piece of legislation comes to us with a presumption
22 of validity, with a presumption that the -- it's not a
23 conclusive presumption, but certainly we take it that
24 going in, Congress did its job.

25 MR. ENNIS: That's why statutes are subjected to

1 judicial review under the Central Hudson test, and on
2 applying the Central Hudson test, the Court found there
3 was no evidence -- no evidence that in fact accurate
4 disclosure of alcohol content on beer labels would result
5 in strength wars.

6 And to return to your question, Chief Justice
7 Rehnquist, those concurrent findings of fact by two lower
8 courts should be binding here. The Government is
9 inappropriately attempting to reargue the very same
10 evidence it argued in the lower courts.

11 QUESTION: That's the sort of finding just as if
12 two lower courts had made a finding in a diversity
13 accident case that the stop light was green rather than
14 red?

15 MR. ENNIS: Your Honor, essentially the answer
16 to that question is yes. I realize this is a First
17 Amendment case, but the Court's special rule for de novo
18 review of lower court findings of fact in First Amendment
19 cases has always been applied in cases where the lower
20 court findings of fact were against the First Amendment --

21 QUESTION: Is this truly a finding of fact when
22 you're challenging what is thought to be a legislative
23 premise?

24 MR. ENNIS: It is truly a finding of fact, Your
25 Honor. There were witnesses and testimony and studies and

1 hearings on the empirical question of whether disclosure
2 of alcohol content would result in strength wars, and the
3 evidence --

4 QUESTION: As of 1934?

5 MR. ENNIS: As of the present time, Your Honor.

6 QUESTION: Well, how could that contradict a
7 congressional determination as of 1934?

8 MR. ENNIS: There was no congressional
9 determination in 1934.

10 QUESTION: Well, how could it contradict a
11 congressional presumption?

12 MR. ENNIS: There was no congressional
13 presumption in 1934. The point --

14 QUESTION: What if -- just to isolate this
15 particular issue, what if there had been? What if --
16 let's say, assuming for the sake of argument, that it was
17 clear that Congress thought there would be strength wars
18 in 1934, could a finding by a district court in 1992 that
19 in 1992 there was no danger of a strength war, could that
20 upset a congressional determination in 1934?

21 MR. ENNIS: Yes, absolutely, Your Honor, it
22 could. That's not this case, and we don't need to show
23 that in this case, because in this case there were no such
24 findings in 1934.

25 If you'll look at the congressional hearings and

1 the FACA hearings, you'll find that the sole and exclusive
2 concern was that beer -- unlike wine and spirits, beer
3 should not be sold on the basis of alcohol content because
4 at that time technologically it was impossible to
5 determine accurately the alcohol content of beer, so a
6 statement that this beer contains 3 percent, 4 percent,
7 5 percent, was inherently likely to be false and
8 misleading. That was not true with respect to wine and
9 spirits.

10 Structurally, the fact that the same law
11 prohibits disclosure of alcohol content of beer but
12 permits and, in fact, requires alcohol content of wine and
13 spirits, cannot be explained if strength wars was the
14 objective, but can be explained if preventing misleading
15 speech was the objective.

16 QUESTION: So Mr. Ennis, you are conceding that
17 in 1934, '35, there was a legitimate documented purpose
18 for this statute. That is, one could not accurately gauge
19 the percentage of alcohol in malt beverages?

20 MR. ENNIS: That's correct, Justice Ginsburg, we
21 do concede that, but the Government conceded in this case
22 that the information at issue in this case is accurate.

23 Technology has changed. It is now as possible
24 for producers of beer to determine the alcohol content of
25 the products precisely, as it is for producers of wines

1 and spirits, and therefore the Government has conceded
2 that this ban cannot be defended on the traditional ground
3 for defending restrictions on commercial speech, namely
4 that the speech would be false or misleading.

5 QUESTION: Mr. Ennis, surely there are different
6 classes of consumers of liquor, wine, and beer. I mean,
7 one doesn't find high school students hanging around the
8 street corner drinking rose wine, and if that's the class
9 of consumer one is worried about, it makes sense to have a
10 different rule for beer than one might have for hard
11 liquor or wine. I don't know that that's irrational.

12 MR. ENNIS: Well, Your Honor, first of all,
13 hopefully the high school students wouldn't be drinking
14 anything. That should be prohibited under the general
15 law.

16 QUESTION: But that happens, and that is the
17 kind of thing that the law may well be concerned with.

18 MR. ENNIS: There was actually evidence in this
19 case, Your Honor, and the agency itself agrees, that there
20 is a substantial market overlap in the markets for beer,
21 wine, and spirits.

22 That is why, when the agency, after the court
23 decisions below, issued regulations requiring or
24 permitting the statement of alcohol content on beer
25 labels, it required that it be stated as a percentage of

1 volume precisely so that consumers could compare like with
2 like, could compare with wine and spirits.

3 If I could turn for a moment to the House
4 report, which Mr. Kneedler began by discussing, that
5 passage from the House report to which he referred is, in
6 my opinion, taken entirely out of context. The House
7 report does say --

8 QUESTION: Are you reading from somewhere that
9 we can look at?

10 MR. ENNIS: Yes. I'm reading from the actual
11 House report itself, which is page 143 of the House
12 report.

13 QUESTION: Is that somewhere in the briefs,
14 or --

15 QUESTION: No, Your Honor, I'm afraid it is not,
16 except that isolated passage.

17 The House report states, quote, malt
18 beverages -- malt beverages should not be sold on the
19 basis of alcohol content because "attempts to sell beer
20 and other malt beverages on the basis of alcoholic content
21 are attempts to take advantage of the ignorance of the
22 consumer."

23 Now, if you will look at the -- that House
24 report was under the chairmanship of Representative
25 Cullen. When Representative Cullen introduced this bill

1 on the floor of the House, at the Congressional Record for
2 1935, page 11715, he explained precisely what that meant.
3 He said, quote, that the bill was designed "to prevent the
4 unfair trade activities of those in the industry who
5 chisel and take advantage of the ignorance of the consumer
6 by dishonest labeling and advertising." He went on to say
7 that the provisions of the act were designed --

8 QUESTION: Well, he may not have meant that. I
9 mean, that sounds good. That's how I would market the
10 bill, too.

11 MR. ENNIS: He surely meant that, Your Honor,
12 because --

13 QUESTION: Was it -- do we know how many people
14 were there when he said that? I mean, maybe nobody heard
15 him.

16 (Laughter.)

17 MR. ENNIS: We don't even need to know how many
18 people were there when he said that, Your Honor, because
19 the House report itself, and the Senate report itself, say
20 that the purpose of the bill is to prevent fraud and
21 deception.

22 And the reason for that was there was unrebutted
23 testimony -- everyone agreed that in 1935 you could not
24 accurately determine the content of malt beverages, but
25 you could of wine and spirits. That is structurally why

1 Congress prohibited disclosure of alcohol content for beer
2 but required it for wine and spirits.

3 QUESTION: When, between 1934 and the present,
4 did it become possible to measure the alcoholic content of
5 beer, because I remember in the service, all you could buy
6 in PX's was something called 3.2 beer, so apparently by
7 1943 they at least thought they had learned to measure the
8 content of beer.

9 MR. ENNIS: Well, that's a good question, Chief
10 Justice Rehnquist. I don't know the answer, and it's not
11 in the record when that became possible, but it is
12 undisputed that it is possible, and that this ban cannot
13 be defended on the ground of preventing false and
14 misleading speech.

15 QUESTION: I take it the Government could defend
16 its statute on the grounds that even though there was no
17 legitimate purpose at the time of its enactment, a
18 legitimate purpose has arisen since.

19 MR. ENNIS: Well, that's correct, Justice
20 Kennedy, and the Government has attempted to do that by
21 asserting in the lower courts the strength wars interest,
22 and now asserting in this Court the Twenty-First Amendment
23 interest, and let me turn to those.

24 As I've noted, empirically the lower courts
25 found there's no evidence that the labeling ban would

1 further the strength war interest.

2 QUESTION: But you concede that at least as an
3 interest on the first prong, or, I guess, the second
4 prong, Central Hudson, that's a perfectly legitimate
5 interest for the Government to have, so your attack here
6 goes simply to whether it furthers, and whether it fits?

7 MR. ENNIS: Your Honor, I do not dispute for
8 purposes of this case that the Government could have a
9 legitimate interest in deterring strength wars if that
10 means deterring people from continually increasing the
11 alcoholic content of their benefits. I do not dispute --

12 QUESTION: But the way you pose your -- put your
13 answer, I assume you are implicitly claiming that the
14 Government doesn't really entertain that interest.

15 MR. ENNIS: I think it clearly doesn't really
16 entertain that interest, because if it did --

17 QUESTION: Well, why don't we take the
18 Government's statement, the statement of the Government's
19 lawyer, as representing the Government's position on its
20 interest and then see whether in fact there is a
21 furtherance and there is a fit?

22 MR. ENNIS: Well, the reason we don't, Your
23 Honor, is that structurally, if that were the Government's
24 interest, why would Congress not have prevented disclosure
25 of alcohol content on wines and spirits, which are much

1 higher content?

2 Second, if that were the Government's
3 interest --

4 QUESTION: Well, maybe the Government doesn't
5 have a good argument in support of its interest in the
6 sense that it should have had an interest in doing more
7 than it did.

8 MR. ENNIS: Oh, I understand your question now,
9 Justice Souter. Let me be clear, then.

10 I do not dispute that the Government, namely the
11 executive branch, is today asserting a strength war
12 interest. I take that as given. What I do dispute is
13 that Congress in 1935 had a strength war interest in mind.

14 QUESTION: Oh, agreed, but your answer to
15 Justice Kennedy, I thought, was that in fact the
16 Government interest could change over time, and I thought
17 it was implicit in what you said that the Government
18 doesn't have to reenact the statute for the purpose of
19 manifesting a new interest that could legitimately be
20 considered under Central Hudson.

21 MR. ENNIS: I agree with that --

22 QUESTION: Okay.

23 MR. ENNIS: -- Justice Souter. In this case,
24 that interest, the strength war interest, was subjected to
25 a trial, and empirically was found that the evidence, the

1 labeling ban, did not further the Government's interest.
2 In fact, overall, the overall effect of the labeling ban
3 is actually to disserve the Government's asserted interest
4 in strength wars.

5 QUESTION: Isn't that a strange determination
6 for judges to make? I mean, it seems to me that it's
7 Congress and the other political branch that judges what
8 means are most appropriate to certain ends. Do you really
9 think a Federal district judge can sit in judgment on
10 whether, Nationwide, this particular interest is furthered
11 or not?

12 MR. ENNIS: Your Honor, I think that's what
13 district judges are required to do under the Central
14 Hudson test, and appropriately so, because we're talking
15 about a ban on speech which is concededly truthful,
16 accurate, not misleading, and important to consumers.

17 Let me turn, though, to the question -- to the
18 point your question suggests. Even assuming that this law
19 did marginally advance the Government's strength war
20 interest, it is certainly not reasonably tailored, under
21 the fourth prong of the Central Hudson test.

22 In fact, it is completely unnecessary. The
23 Government could directly and more effectively achieve
24 both its strength war interests and its Twenty-First
25 Amendment interest simply by limiting the alcohol content

1 of beer except in States that permit a higher limit.

2 The Government has actually conceded in this
3 case that its strength war objective could be fully
4 satisfied by a Federal alcohol content limit. It lamely
5 argues, however, that such a Federal limit would be
6 inconsistent with its Twenty-First Amendment interest.
7 That is plainly not so.

8 Simply by providing the same kind of State
9 override for a Federal alcohol limit that the law already
10 provides for the labeling ban, the Government could
11 directly and more effectively achieve both of its asserted
12 interests, so even if the law marginally advanced the
13 Government's interest, it surely fails the reasonably
14 tailored prong.

15 QUESTION: Can I go back for a second? I need
16 some help on this point, which may be just a technical
17 point, but it is one I need some help on.

18 Suppose that -- I think, divide the States into
19 two categories, States that have an advertising ban, and
20 States that don't. All right, as to the second group of
21 States, I don't know what interest this fulfills, this
22 labeling ban, so I guess I agree with you on that one.

23 But as to the first, what about their argument
24 that this helps -- this helps the States enforce their
25 Twenty-First Amendment right to get rid of all these trade

1 wars and so forth, and suppose I thought that. Then what
2 should we do?

3 And suppose I'd also thought that they've got
4 the interpretation of the statute wrong, that that word
5 require doesn't mean that you distinguish between (e) and
6 (f), but rather the second part of (f) sweeps both, and it
7 was just a little overkill, that word require.

8 Suppose I thought all those things. I'm not
9 saying I do, but suppose I did, then what would you do?

10 MR. ENNIS: Well, Justice Breyer, you've asked
11 two questions. Let me try to answer them.

12 QUESTION: Probably about four.

13 MR. ENNIS: First, the Government has described
14 the first question you asked basically as its border-
15 crossing argument. The argument is that by banning
16 labeling or advertising in States, that will facilitate
17 the interests of those 11 States who choose a State law to
18 limit the alcohol content of beverages. That totally
19 ignores the fact that in two-thirds of the country, State
20 law permits advertising.

21 QUESTION: All right, so that I'm thinking of
22 those 11. Now, suppose you interpreted the statute to
23 mean that what they had in mind was the advertising and
24 labeling bans are supposed to exist only where there are
25 State advertising and labeling bans. Why wouldn't I

1 interpret the statute that way?

2 MR. ENNIS: Your Honor --

3 QUESTION: Because there certainly is strong
4 language supporting that. And then if you do interpret
5 the statute that way, then why wouldn't it be
6 constitutional as an effort to simply prevent what at that
7 time they thought would have been shipping from out-of-
8 State a label that would have violated the State law?
9 That's what I think of that argument as being.

10 MR. ENNIS: Justice Breyer, we have not
11 challenged the interpretation of the statute.

12 QUESTION: I know. No one has. That's why --
13 we're supposed to uphold statutes as constitutional if
14 they can be so upheld, reasonably --

15 MR. ENNIS: We -- we --

16 QUESTION: -- and that's why I'm uncertain, as a
17 technical matter, what one is supposed to do in this
18 case --

19 MR. ENNIS: We --

20 QUESTION: -- if -- with that kind of an
21 argument. That's why I'm asking you.

22 MR. ENNIS: We do agree, however, with Your
23 Honor, and we said in our brief, that in our view the
24 proper interpretation of the statute is that both the
25 labeling ban and the advertising ban only apply in States

1 that themselves independently prohibit labeling or
2 prohibit advertising. We think that's the proper
3 construction of the statute, though we haven't challenged
4 the contrary construction.

5 But even if we're talking about a law that
6 parallels State law, it would still be unconstitutional.

7 QUESTION: Why?

8 MR. ENNIS: Because if the State wanted to
9 prohibit accurate, truthful information on beer labels for
10 the same strength war objective, then on the record in
11 this case, because it would not advance that objective
12 whatsoever, that would violate the First Amendment.

13 QUESTION: Or they have much more power, I take
14 it, a State, under the Twenty-First Amendment, or some
15 more power than if that Twenty-First Amendment weren't
16 there, and suppose that we thought, or I thought, suppose
17 I thought that it just squeaks within that, therefore a
18 State can ban this, then what happens?

19 MR. ENNIS: Well first, Justice Breyer, as Chief
20 Justice Rehnquist noted in one of his questions, this is a
21 Federal law, and the Twenty-First Amendment gives no
22 affirmative power whatsoever.

23 QUESTION: But does it not give power? That's
24 my question, really. Might it not, or does it or does it
25 not give power to the Federal Government to reinforce the

1 State ban by passing a law federally necessary --

2 MR. ENNIS: Let me turn --

3 QUESTION: -- to make that State ban effective?

4 MR. ENNIS: Let me turn to that. First of all,
5 it's not necessary, but even if it were, then the question
6 would be, could a State for these same reasons ban
7 labeling on beer, and the answer is no, because the First
8 Amendment would prohibit it.

9 The Twenty-First Amendment, as this Court ruled
10 in Crisp, is primarily a limitation on the Federal
11 Government's power under the Commerce Clause. In Crisp,
12 this Court said the Twenty-First Amendment does not
13 authorize the States to ignore their obligations under the
14 other provisions of the Constitution.

15 In Craig v. Boren, this Court ruled that the
16 intermediate scrutiny test under the Fourteenth Amendment,
17 which is virtually indistinguishable from the commercial
18 speech test under Central Hudson, was not lowered or
19 lessened even in a State case because of the presence of
20 the Fourteenth -- of the Twenty-First Amendment.

21 It would be astonishing if this Court were to
22 rule that for some reason the standard of review under the
23 Fourteenth Amendment is not lowered because of the Twenty-
24 First, but the standard of review under the First
25 Amendment is.

1 In fact, turning to the First Amendment, in
2 Larkin v. Grendel's Den, this Court has already held that
3 the Twenty-First Amendment does not lower the standard of
4 review under the Establishment Clause of the First
5 Amendment --

6 QUESTION: Well --

7 MR. ENNIS: -- and there's no reason why it
8 should lower the standard of review under the Free Speech
9 Clause of the same First Amendment.

10 QUESTION: Well, Mr. Ennis, perhaps conceding
11 that, could a State simply ban liquor advertising?

12 MR. ENNIS: Well, Chief Justice Rehnquist, that
13 raises a much more difficult and quite different question.

14 I know, as Your Honor wrote in Posadas, that it
15 has often been thought there is a common sense link,
16 without the need for evidence, between promotional
17 advertising that is designed to increase demand, and a
18 likelihood that it will increase demand, but it's a vastly
19 different situation here. We're not talking about
20 promotional advertising, we're talking about --

21 QUESTION: But I think you should respond to
22 hypothetical questions, even though they're not
23 necessarily involved in your case.

24 MR. ENNIS: I'm happy to do that. I'm happy to
25 do that, Your Honor. It's a complicated answer.

1 First of all, it depends on whether you're
2 dealing with a mature market or not. There's a great deal
3 of empirical evidence that in a mature market, such as the
4 beer market, the only purpose, the only effect of
5 advertising is not to increase overall demand but to shift
6 brand loyalties.

7 But putting that aside for the moment, we're
8 talking here about a particular product trait, alcohol
9 strength. There is no common sense reason to believe that
10 advertising a particular product trait will increase
11 consumer demand for the underlying product. That depends
12 on whether consumers want that trend or not.

13 QUESTION: Well, my question was not what you're
14 answering. Maybe I should repeat my question.

15 MR. ENNIS: I'm sorry.

16 QUESTION: My question was, could a State ban
17 liquor advertising, ban all advertising for alcoholic
18 beverages?

19 MR. ENNIS: I don't know the answer to that
20 question, Your Honor. I do know that there are decisions
21 of this Court saying that States cannot categorically ban
22 other kinds of advertising, price advertising of drugs in
23 Virginia State Board, price advertising of legal services
24 in Bates.

25 It would depend on whether application of the

1 Twenty-First Amendment authorized a State to ban a law
2 that was in fact designed to increase demand. That's not
3 this law at all.

4 Whether consumers would buy beer that's higher
5 strength or lower strength is an empirical question. That
6 empirical question was subjected to a trial, and the trial
7 courts found that the vast majority of consumers would
8 prefer low strength, just like, if you subjected it to a
9 trial, probably most consumers today would prefer lower
10 sugar content in children's cereals than higher sugar
11 content. Higher is not necessarily preferred.

12 QUESTION: If a State wanted to encourage
13 drinking wine instead of, say, distilled spirits, could it
14 say, we have a flat advertising ban on distilled spirits,
15 but we'll allow you, indeed encourage you, to advertise
16 wine so as to get the consumers to shift their
17 preferences?

18 MR. ENNIS: Your Honor, that's a question that I
19 haven't, frankly, thought about, and I don't know the
20 answer to. I do know, however, that the way that question
21 would be answered would be by applying the Central Hudson
22 test and deciding whether the Government had a substantial
23 interest in shifting consumer demand in that way,
24 substantial and legitimate interest, and whether the law
25 would advance it. That's not the interest that's at issue

1 in this case.

2 In fact, Justice Scalia made the point about
3 malt liquor in one of your questions. It is true that
4 this law already permits consumers to identify the highest
5 strength products, because it permits the use on the label
6 and in advertising of the term, malt liquor.

7 Now, Mr. Kneedler said that it's only some years
8 ago that malt liquor came to be known as the highest
9 strength malt beverage, but if you'll look at the 1935
10 hearings before the FACA regulations, you will see over
11 and over again there that at that time ale was thought to
12 be, and known to be, the highest strength beer product.

13 And there was questioning and testimony about
14 that, and the chairman and every witness said, it is okay
15 with us to allow you to use the word ale, as long as it's
16 truthfully ale, even though that means that consumers will
17 know which are the highest strength products. That is
18 completely inconsistent with any concern that accurate
19 disclosure of factual information will result in strength
20 wars.

21 QUESTION: What is ale? What's the difference
22 between ale and beer?

23 MR. ENNIS: Well, to the best of my knowledge,
24 Justice Scalia, ale is a malt beverage, but it is produced
25 quite differently from beer. Beer is what's called a

1 bottom fermentation process, and ale is a top fermentation
2 process.

3 QUESTION: Ah, that explains it.

4 (Laughter.)

5 MR. ENNIS: Well, I guess it's something -- I
6 guess -- I'm not sure, but I think it's something like
7 milk in the old days before it was homogenized. The cream
8 on the top of the milk would be the equivalent of the ale,
9 and the rest of the milk would be the equivalent of the
10 beer.

11 QUESTION: Which is malt liquor, top or bottom?

12 MR. ENNIS: Pardon?

13 QUESTION: Is malt liquor top or bottom?

14 MR. ENNIS: Well, malt liquor is the highest
15 strength --

16 QUESTION: I know it's the highest strength,
17 but --

18 MR. ENNIS: -- malt beverage.

19 QUESTION: Is that the only difference between
20 it and -- ale and beer, that it's got more alcohol in it?

21 MR. ENNIS: No. There is another difference,
22 Your Honor, which is the reason why most consumers
23 don't -- only 3 percent, historically, of consumers choose
24 malt liquor.

25 The other difference is, as you increase the

1 alcohol strength, you necessarily increase the bitterness,
2 the harshness, the roughness of the taste, and therefore
3 malt liquor has a much rougher, harsher taste than lower
4 alcohol products, which is precisely why most producers
5 are targeting the mid-market and lower.

6 Coors, for example, two-thirds of Coors' sales
7 are of its light beer product, which is 4.1 percent
8 alcohol. That's what they asked permission to do, to say
9 that our light beer is 4.1 percent alcohol.

10 Clearly, Coors was not trying to attract the
11 high strength market there, because 4.1 percent is at the
12 low end, the bottom end of the mainstream range of beers
13 in this country, and why would Coors, which gets two-
14 thirds of its revenue from selling a light beer, want to
15 abandon that market, increase the beer strength, lose
16 those customers, and compete for 3 percent of the market?

17 QUESTION: Well, light beer doesn't mean -- has
18 nothing to do with alcoholic content.

19 MR. ENNIS: It does have a great deal to do with
20 alcohol content, Chief Justice Rehnquist. It's not one-
21 to-one, but there is a one-to-one correlation between
22 calories and alcohol, and light beer is supposed to be
23 lower in calories, as it is, and in order to do that, it's
24 necessary to make it lower in alcohol content as well.

25 QUESTION: So your typical light beer will have

1 less alcohol content?

2 MR. ENNIS: Your typical light beer will have
3 less alcohol content. There is a range of alcohol
4 contents in light beers, however, and that's what Coors
5 wanted consumers to know. They wanted --

6 QUESTION: But is it a fact that in the Tenth
7 Circuit argument Coors disclosed that its reason for this
8 litigation was to dispel the notion that Coors is a weak
9 beer?

10 MR. ENNIS: Your Honor --

11 QUESTION: Was that part of the argument?

12 MR. ENNIS: I was not there, but that's
13 apparently what the transcript reflects, Your Honor.
14 Coors did want to dispel misleading impressions about the
15 strength of its products, but what it wanted to disclose
16 was the accurate, honest information about the strength of
17 its products, and that information would have shown that
18 its products were not the high strength products.

19 The Coors light beer is 4.1 percent -- that's
20 what it wanted to say -- which is at the low end. The
21 other product it wanted permission to label was its
22 regular beer, which is 4.6 percent, which is the very mid-
23 point of the range in this country. It's not a high
24 strength product at all. Coors was obviously not trying
25 to market its product to attract the high strength --

1 QUESTION: 4.1 is the low end of beers, but not
2 the low end of lights, I gather.

3 MR. ENNIS: I think it's probably about in the
4 middle of lights, Your Honor.

5 QUESTION: But we can't know any of this by
6 looking at the label.

7 (Laughter.)

8 MR. ENNIS: You can't. You can't. You cannot.
9 If you happen to be in one of the two-thirds of the States
10 of this country that permit advertising, you can learn
11 that from the advertising, including advertising right in
12 the beer store next to the label, but this Federal law
13 bans that information from the label itself.

14 It obviously cannot directly and materially
15 advance the Federal Government's interests because of that
16 fact, and even if it did, as I pointed out earlier, there
17 is a simple, more effective way to control the strength
18 war problem the Government currently asserts simply by
19 limiting the alcohol content except in States that permit
20 a higher limit.

21 The Government has conceded that that would
22 achieve -- fully achieve its strength wars interest.
23 There's no reason to ban truthful, accurate, and important
24 information in these circumstances.

25 Thank you very much.

1 QUESTION: Thank you, Mr. Ennis.

2 Mr. Kneedler, you have 2 minutes remaining.

3 REBUTTAL ARGUMENT OF EDWIN S. KNEEDLER

4 ON BEHALF OF THE PETITIONER

5 MR. KNEEDLER: Thank you, Mr. Chief Justice.

6 First of all, in response to questions by
7 Justice O'Connor and Justice Scalia, I call the Court's
8 attention to pages 65 and 336 of the Joint Appendix, which
9 include the wallet cards that Coors distributed listing --
10 comparing its alcohol content to those of others, in which
11 it was listing itself as highest, or close to the highest,
12 and also the advertisement that it asked ATF --

13 QUESTION: The highest light?

14 MR. KNEEDLER: Well, the advertisement it asked
15 ATF to include lists both lights, on page 65 lists both
16 light beers and full-bodied beers, and it lists itself as
17 one of the highest content light beers, and also within
18 the mid-to-high range of the regular beer.

19 So the point is, Coors was holding itself out as
20 having at least an average, if not above-average alcohol
21 content within each segment of the market, which is
22 precisely what this is --

23 QUESTION: The purpose served -- the purpose
24 served by this labeling reg in those 33 States that allow
25 you to advertise is?

1 MR. KNEEDLER: The purpose is to prohibit --
2 it's a balance of the interest in labeling.

3 At the point of sale, there are two interests,
4 and the labeling, to be able to compare alcohol content at
5 the point of sale by picking up two bottles can lead to
6 impulse buying in the same way that this Court recognized
7 in the lawyer advertising case there can be impulse
8 decisions on hiring an attorney by virtue of the face-to-
9 face contact.

10 The second point that I wanted to make with
11 respect to the purpose of the --

12 QUESTION: In this evidence of wars, was there
13 anything about substitution of consumers who are looking
14 for higher alcohol content to wine, to something with --
15 or to the bitterer beverage, the malt liquor?

16 MR. KNEEDLER: It was a discussion primarily
17 within the malt beverage industry, because that's where
18 the abuse was, and it was identified as an abuse, and I
19 call the Court's attention to the House report on page
20 16-A.

21 QUESTION: Couldn't this regulation make it
22 worse? I mean, if you go to New Orleans at Mardi Gras
23 time you see a lot of cheap wine around, perhaps as many
24 as those bottles of beer.

25 MR. KNEEDLER: Justice Ginsburg, no. The

1 statute has been construed by ATF to allow disclosure of
2 low alcohol content beer, so it's tailored to limiting the
3 concern about marketing on the basis of high alcohol
4 content and intoxication.

5 CHIEF JUSTICE REHNQUIST: Thank you,
6 Mr. Kneeder.

7 The case is submitted.

8 (Whereupon, at 11:02 a.m., the case in the
9 above-entitled matter was submitted.)

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CERTIFICATION

Alderson Reporting Company, Inc., hereby certifies that the attached pages represents an accurate transcription of electronic sound recording of the oral argument before the Supreme Court of The United States in the Matter of:

LLOYD BENTSEN, SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY, Petitioner v. COORS BREWING COMPANY

CASE NO.:93-1631

and that these attached pages constitutes the original transcript of the proceedings for the records of the court.

BY *Ann Mari Federico*

(REPORTER)